

The GREGORIAN REVIEW



Gregorian Institute of America

VOLUME IV NO. 2

MAR.-APRIL, 1957

The GREGORIAN REVIEW

Studies in Sacred Chant and Liturgy

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English-language edition of the *Revue Gregorienne*

Bulletin of the School of Solesmes

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The Gregorian Review is published bi-monthly. Subscription rates: \$4.50 per year; \$8.00 two years; single copies 80c. Canada and foreign countries \$5.00 per year.

Published by the Gregorian Institute Press, 2132 Jefferson Ave., Toledo 2, Ohio. Telephone GARfield 0884.

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April 29, 1957

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It is particularly fitting that the pages of this issue be devoted to the music of the Mass of the Octave of Saints Peter and Paul. The feast itself comes at the beginning of that season in which summer sessions throughout the country will be devoted to teaching the liturgy and its music. In the Apostleship of Sacred Music, it is laudable to bear in mind the great Apostleship of the Saints we commemorate here. Like every Christian calling, it aims at the advancement of spirituality and the salvation of souls. This is the light in which a church musician must view his task.

BY WAY OF EDITORIAL

by J. Robert Carroll

It has recently been our experience to receive a number of letters from musicians around the country who have been puzzled and perturbed by certain declarations in church music periodicals of attitudes toward the rhythmic system of the chant which differ from that of Solesmes from A to Z. Most of the letters we have at hand are not so much concerned with the expressed difference of opinion as with the lack of any coherent rhythmic method, differing from that of Solesmes, in the proposals put forth up till now.

Now it is not the intention of this *Review* to set forth in redundant and wholly superfluous fashion the answers of Solesmes scholars to this controversy. The issues raised are as old as the hills, and they have been adequately discussed in the past. Anyone with the will to dig into this problem can read of far more interesting disputes in the publications of the early part of this century, when Solesmes was first winning recognition. Needless to say, of all the systems and methods proposed since the modern revival of chant studies began, none lives today in a universally used edition save that of Solesmes. Any discussion of discarding it in favor of this or that new notion is entirely academic until something more substantial is offered by its detractors. In view of the number of disagreements between any two of these dissenters themselves, a substantial alternative to Solesmes is not likely to be offered very soon.

We feel that there is nothing to be said, and the official position of the *Review* is that the interested reader can find the material to salve his curiosity in the existing discussions of the method of Solesmes. We recommend that anyone who wishes to have a single reference which will explain these matters obtain a copy of Dom Sunyol's *Introduction a la*

Paleographie Musicale, published by Desclee & Co. In addition to discussing the manuscript sources of the chant, the author explains the points of view of several leading methods opposed to Solesmes and gives the background of research and reasoning behind the Solesmes method itself. Dom Mocquereau's *Nombre Musical* is also very valuable, particularly Volume II (available only in French) in which he answers many objections raised in his own day.

As to the right of any musician to hold his own opinions, we grant it to be without question. We recommend, however, that something more definite than opinion be offered in published articles. It is the duty of the responsible scholar, and it is the right to the reader to demand it. It is well, too, that we expect research to be reasonably well-cooked before it is served, and that the proverbially half-baked theorems be put back in the oven until done.

We know from experience that the church musician expects materials from which to sing the liturgy. Solesmes will continue to supply them. Others are welcome to continue research and discussion, of course. We ask simply that they give the correct explanation of the Solesmes position and that they refer their readers to the sources wherein Solesmes has stated its viewpoints.

SUPER FUNDAMENTUM APOSTOLORUM

The Incarnate Word of God, in establishing the Church among men, has done more than to bring to mankind a new doctrine, as so many philosophers have done, or to set up a new society for us, as so many law-givers have tried to do, or even to teach them a new religion, like so many founders of sects. His work certainly included all these points and in wholly perfect form, but it is still greater than this. The great revolution achieved by Jesus on this earth was that of drawing into Himself the posterity of Adam and of making it into a new humanity. Of a race of sinners, He made a race divine. It is a kind of new creation. From this point on, there are two peoples and two cities here on earth: the City of God for all those who have received Christ and are "born of God", and those others which are of the "world".

Through the example of His life, His death and His resurrection, Christ established the pattern for the new mankind. His Blessed Mother added the example of those virtues which He could not have: faith and hope. These examples, however, may seem inimitable. He was God, she, the Immaculate Conception. In order that the message of Christ, the Good News, might be fully accepted, it was necessary that from the earliest days of the Church there be examples of undeniable authenticity of this elevation of human nature. It was necessary that everyone be able to see real sinners transformed by grace. This is why the Sacred Scriptures give us so many cases of these first witnesses for Christ, taken from all environments and all races: Jews and Gentiles, poor and rich, simple and educated, soldiers, officials, business men, peasants and workers, and even public sinners. The call to rebirth is for all. Each of us can find here an image of his own state of life, without implying a mold from which it would be impossible to arise in answer to the call of Christ.

We must realize, however, that the first Christians mentioned in the New Testament are not pictured to us in much more than a passing glance. It was necessary that at least a few of them should be made known to us in more detail. Two of them, then, are described at length for us, and they live and speak abundantly in the pages of the New Testament; they manifest Christ living within them, and they will be forever in the first ranks of the finest examples of holiness among men. These are St. Peter, the first pope, and St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles.

These were two very different men. Every characteristic contributed to this difference. In origin, St. Peter was the product of a small nation of a fringe province and was a manual laborer. St. Paul, born in a large city of Asia Minor, was a Roman citizen. In education, Peter was steeped in a profound piety of older years. St. Paul, on the other hand, was well-educated, a Pharisee versed in the Scriptures and a discipline of one of the great doctors of the Law, Gamaliel. Their reception of Christianity was different. St. Peter lived in the intimate circle of Christ and preached a Gospel made up of personal memories. St. Paul had not known the Lord, and counted himself as the last of the Apostles, a "miserable come-lately" of apostle, as he himself put it.

Of these very different men, then, grace made two witnesses for Christ, similar in their radiant and unshakeable faith, their ardent charity which extended to total selflessness, and in their eloquence in announcing the Good News. They became wholly new creatures. Both of them realized within themselves their profound transformation at the placing of the hand of Christ upon them, at the touch of which the sinners that they were became part of Him Who is Holiness itself.

Both of them reiterated in their preaching the nature of the redemption which was accomplished in them. Their insignificance and their pettiness was only too evident before their conversions. Not only did the bitter memory of their past errors remain always with them, but they made this the theme of their preaching. They admitted, before sinful men,

the depths of their misery in order to show the infinite mercy, which through sheer goodness, had saved them. Peter taught that he had slept during the agony of the Lord, that he fled at the moment of Christ's seizure, and above all, that he had denied Him three times in the time of His trial. He who had sworn to die for Christ, he who had been warned constantly to be on guard had seen his own presumption lead him to the inevitable temptation, and he had given in. As for Paul, his remorse was still greater. He had been guilty of the blood of Christ's disciples. In his pharisaical fanaticism he had thought he was glorifying God in persecuting His Church. He "breathed threats of death"; he enchained and cast into prison Christian men and women. "forced them to blaspheme" and to apostasize, and "when they were put to death, he gave his approval". This was the course of his purely human zeal. Three times in the Acts of the Apostles, four times in his Epistles, St. Paul recalls that he was a blasphemer, an insulter and a persecutor who ravaged the Church of God.

Here now, however, is the all-powerful softening of grace. It was in the very act of sin that grace reached out to the sinner, instantly changed him and made him a new creature. For St. Peter, the glance of Jesus and the crowing of the cock sufficed. Immediately he who had just renounced Christ felt the pain in his heart, felt his eyes fill with tears and was ready to give a triple protestation of love and fidelity. As for St. Paul, he was abruptly halted in his ardent pursuit of Christians by a sudden and brilliant flash of light and those few words of quiet reproach, almost plaintive: "Why do you persecute me?" Instantly he was ready to submit to the teaching of that Ananias whom he had determined to cast into prison, and to ask for him to be baptized!

From this point on, the triumphant Christ was to send throughout the entire Roman Empire these two trophies of His victory. He drew them away from evil, from the world and from themselves and made them his own members. They were filled with His Holy Spirit. They became the witnesses of a new race of men which had just been created, and for which a new royal kingdom was organized on earth. Jesus

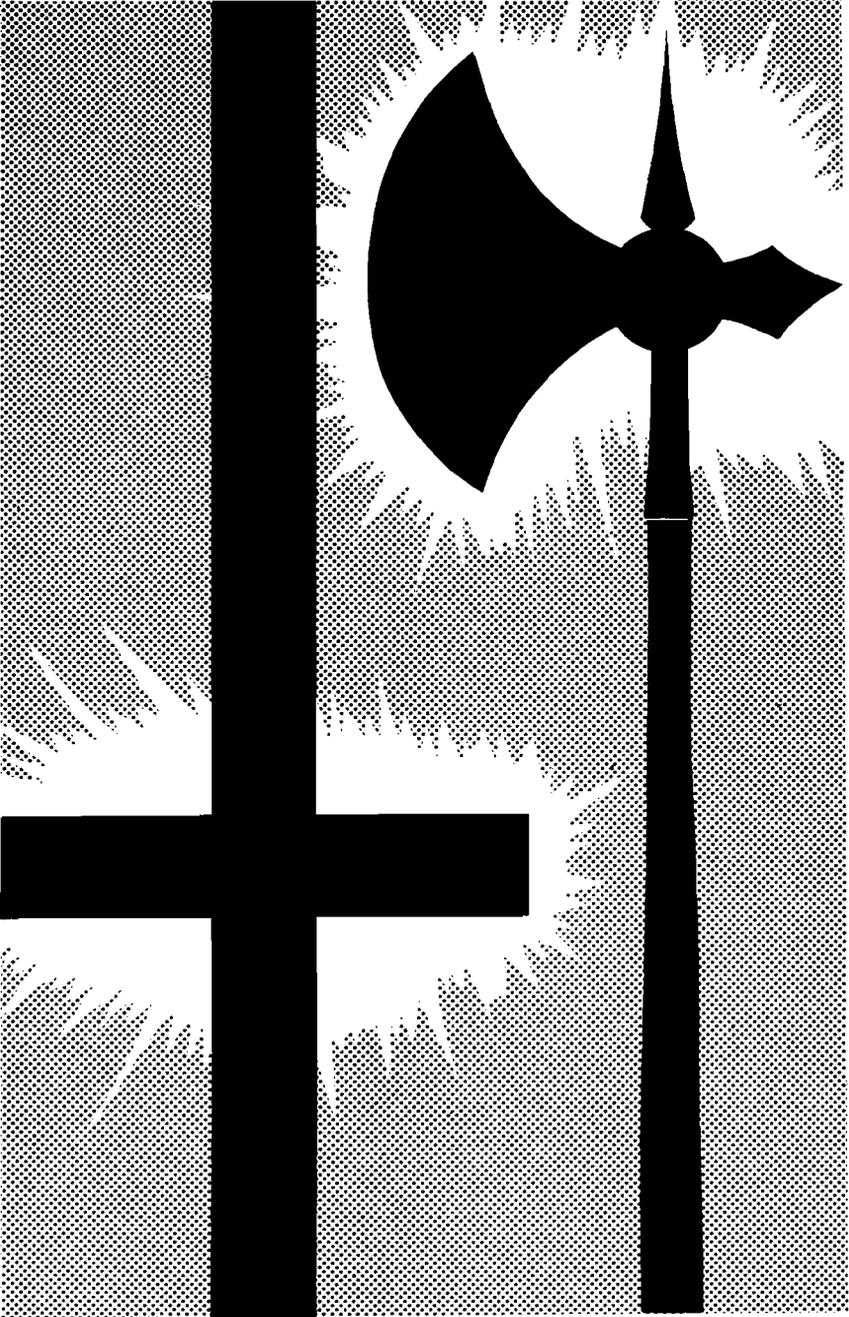
led all men to that kingdom through his Apostles. Through their mouths he announced the Good News of Redemption. By their hands He baptised, confirmed, consecrated and absolved. Through them He built the Church.

Peter and Paul were aware of their extraordinary vocation. They knew that among the signs which bore weight among the pagans were their own conversions. They did not hesitate to give themselves as examples. "Be imitators of me", said St. Paul, and he emphasized the omnipotence of the grace which had made him an Apostle from the sinner that he had been. "It is by grace that I am what I am," that is, a child of God, an adopted member of the divine family, and he said: "It is no longer I myself who live, but rather Christ who lives in me". St. Peter was to even write that God had wished to "make us participants in His divine nature". And this, adds St. Paul, was because of no merit of ours, and without our ever having been able to conceive of the idea of such a wonderful thing.

When at last the time came for the foundation of the Church of Rome, which was to be the Mother and Mistress of all the others, God led both Peter and Paul there. There they received the final mark which stamped them in the image of Jesus when they shed their blood on the Vatican hill and on the Ostian Way. In them Jesus continued His sacrifice of Calvary, His work of redemption, now not in the midst of the Jewish people, but at the center of the pagan world. No other Church has had as foundation stones such illustrious Martyrs, nor any so fully representative of the Christian ideal. St. Paul is the great doctor, the mystic, too, who wrote the wonderful poetry on charity, that essentially Christian virtue. St. Peter exemplified the act of ultimate faith in Jesus, which all the faithful will forever seek to imitate, and which merited for the son of Jona to become that rock, that "Petra", upon which the Church is built. He has transmitted to his successors the privilege of confirming the faith of all, of ruling the entire Church, faithful and pastors, and of teaching with infallibility. Henceforth, on these new foundations, Rome has become the religious capital of the universe.

Rome is grateful to God and to His two Apostles. No other church has so honored its founders as the Church has honored St. Peter and St. Paul. The liturgy devoted to singing their glory is of a richness which we find supplied for no other saint, except the Mother of God. The first two great basilicas which were raised after the victory of the Church and the conversion of Constantine were those of the Vatican hill and of the Ostian Way, the latter remaining until today in its original form, the former being replaced in the course of the Renaissance by the largest church in the world. St. Leo the Great, interpreter of Romans, expressed in a definite manner the unique glory of Rome and its founders, found in his sermon which the Church reads every year on June 29th in the course of the second Nocturne of Matins :

These, O Rome, are the two heros who made the Gospel of Christ shine forth for thee so that thou who wast the mistress of error hast become disciple of truth. These are thy Fathers and thy true Shepherds who, to bring thee into the heavenly kingdom, gave thee a better and far happier cornerstone than those who at such cost built the first foundations of thy walls, one of whom, Romulus, who gave thee thy name, stained thee with the murder of his brother. These are those two Apostles who have raised thee to such glory that thou hast become a holy nation, the chosen people, the priestly and royal city, and, by the sacred chair of holy Peter, the head of the world, so that thou reignest in the name of the divine religion beyond the limits of thy terrestrial dominion.



THE INTROIT MIHI AUTEM

by Rev. Marcel Godard

*Mihi autem nimis honorati sunt, amici tui, Deus:
nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.*

I see how greatly honored are Thy friends, O God;
how firmly rooted is their authority.

(Psalm 138-17)

Verse 17 of Psalm 138, which in its present form is actually a false reading by the Jerome version (the translation of the Hebrew would be: "How difficult are Thy thoughts, O Lord for me; how great is the sun thereof."), is applied by the Church to the Apostles. It is used very extensively in their liturgical commemorations. We find it, therefore, as the Introit of the masses of St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Mathias, St. Barnabas, St. James the Greater, St. Bartholomew and in the Mass of the Octave of Sts. Peter and Paul, which we are presently concerned with.

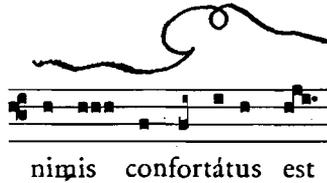
The Introit is written in the modality of Protus plagal, a very classical example, within the very limited ambitus of a sixth, *do-la*. It is of binary form, and the melody falls into two phrases of practically equal importance, one of which ends on the sub-tonic note, the other on the modal final, each using within its own structure the architectural fourth *re-sol*, so characteristic of modal writing in the Protus plagal group. We are of the opinion that it is not amiss to call the attention of the reader to the faculty with which the melodic line is drawn to the natural fall of its cadences. Here as elsewhere, the processes of Gregorian composition have left nothing to hazard.

First Phrase: *Mihi autem nimis honorati sunt:* (semi-cadence on the recitation tone of *fa*)

amici tui, Deus: (cadence on the sub-tonic *do*)

We should not hesitate to choose in favor of the arsic treatment of the tonic accent of the word *amici* and then again, the arsic treatment of the high pressus. The main thing here is the preservation of the melodic unity of the incise, particularly as we are in the process of making a principal cadence at the end of the phrase.

In view of the similarity of their constructions, we give the words *confortatus est* the same treatment which we applied to *honorati sunt*. We take the podatus of the architectural fourth in arsis, and then the two first notes of the cadence toreulus in thesis, as they seem to be a kind of double appoggiatura.



The final incise is again a very simple affair. The melodic curve is blended perfectly with the form of the two words which it serves to expand into song.



Perhaps we may be permitted to make an observation in conclusion. Many choirmasters, knowing perfectly well how to distribute the ictuses on paper and even to allot them in a precise fashion their qualities of arsis or thesis, wrongly believe that the art of conducting consists of making curving gestures in the air. To conduct is quite another thing. It is

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the knack of conveying with the hands in their gestures that which one wishes to obtain from the singing voices.

Putting it in another way, it is the technique of indicating the ictuses in a spacial sense, using the arsic and thetic distinctions, in order that the singers, in an audible sense, will not fail to move smoothly from ictus to ictus. Naturally, these ictuses must be linked by the curving strokes of the hand, but these very curves will be pointless unless they are coordinated with the precise indication of the rhythmic foot-fall, arsic or thetic, by means of which the binary and ternary compound beats are articulated one with another in the synthesis of the incise.

THE ALLELUIA ROGAVI PRO TE

by Rev. Paul Kirchhoffer

Rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua; et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.

I have prayed for thee, Peter, so that thy faith might not fail; and when thou art reassured, shalt strengthen thy brethren.

(Luke, XXII, 32)

The chants of the Mass intended for the days within the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul borrow their texts and melodies from certain well-known sources of the feasts of Apostles: the Introit *Mihi autem*, the Gradual *Constitues*, the Offertory *In omnem terram*, the Communion *Vos qui secuti estis me*. The melody of the *Alleluia* is that of the Common of a Confessor Bishop (second version), with a text which is, however, proper to the feast.

I. **A** L-LE- LU- IA. * *ij.*

ŷ. Ro-gá- vi pro te, Petre, ut non de-fí-

ci- at fi-des tu- a: et tu a-liquán- do con-

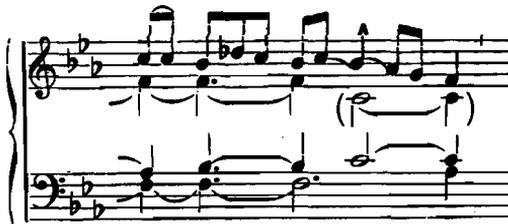
vér- sus, con- fír- ma * fratres

ALLELUIA

bass up to the cadence, which is itself given impetus by the seventh of the chord in the tenor :



In the following incise, the beginning of the jubilus, we encounter the first flatted *ti* (D-flat) which we mentioned above. Although it is of merely passing importance, it is not entirely negligible, in view of the configuration of the neume to which it belongs. In other words, the interval *sol-ti* flat (transposed to B-flat-D-flat) definitely suggests the chord of B flat minor, with the D-flat as an essential part. A passing second inversion, unstable in character, will give this D-flat just the right kind and degree of emphasis.



The rest, namely the two final incises, hardly needs comment. The six notes of the natural hexachord can be given a harmonization of only those chords we have noted. We have only to take care that they are made into as smooth a progression as possible, following the rhythmic structure.



The preceding processes hold for the verse. The *ti* flat (D-flat in our transportation) in the word *Rogavi* will be considered as a non-chord tone, since, in spite of its ictus, it is merely the upper ornament of the modal dominant, to which the initial podatus has brought us in the first syllable. Our harmonization of the scandicus subbipunctis on the syllable *ut* is supported by the need to unite this passage through use of an unchanging bass. If one would prefer to bring out the melodic curve descending from the episematic note to the *F* of the syllable *non*, an *A* flat chord might be used, taking *A* flat in the bass under the episematic note. Then, *C* minor can be maintained up to the cadence. The cadence itself is very nicely handled through use of the *C* minor seventh chord as noted above, which sheds a proper light on the pressus.

✠ Ro- gá- vi pro te, Pe- tre,

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The first solution takes into account the importance of the D flat, by using the chord of B-flat minor, but without the third at first, in order to avoid the false relationship. The second solution, which is a little more elegant and facile as harmonic writing, treats the D-flat as a non-chord tone. Someone might say that this latter procedure violates the nature of the formula, but we seriously doubt the truth of such an objection. The importance of the *mi* (G natural) in these cases is the main point of consideration.

The image displays two musical staves, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The first staff is labeled "con- fir-" and the second "ma". Both are in B-flat major (two flats) and 4/4 time. The piano accompaniment uses chords and single notes to support the vocal line.

In conclusion, the more the apprentice accompanist progresses in his humble task, the better he realizes the difficulties which must be surmounted, the distortions which he is in danger of making at every turn, and, consequently, the necessity of constant effort toward self-advancement, in order largely relative. Is this a reason for discouragement? No, of course not, for from these efforts the glory of the Lord is to arrive at a perfection which, alas, will always remain to that small degree enhanced and sustained.

THE HIERARCHAL CELEBRATION OF THE MASS

by Canon Etienne Catta

The question of concelebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice seems to be of prime importance among the liturgical preoccupations of our day. It would be worthwhile to ask ourselves, without being really paradoxical, whether the ancients would have seen it in the same light as we. In all truth, there is one very striking point which we should consider before launching into our study. Although certain points do hold our attention in one or another ancient remnant of the liturgical texts, there is nothing at all in the writings of the Fathers which would seem to spend even a brief moment in discussing the matter from a doctrinal point of view.

If, on the other hand, there is one which we may say that they return to repeatedly, it is that of the singular nature of the celebrant, the symbol and visible sign of the Eucharistic unity. "Only that Eucharist is certain which is made by the bishop, or by the person designated by him."¹ This assertion of St. Ignatius of Antioch is in keeping, in regard to his other letters, with a complete corpus of doctrine based on the unity of the bishop, the "form", we might say, of Christian unity in worship as in its discipline. "The presence of the bishop binds that of the people, just as the presence of Christ unites that of the universal Church."²

To go back to the very institution of the Eucharist, moreover, the same principles held true. There was only "one Lord"³, and thus we see that at the Last Supper, Christ alone

1. St. Ignatius of Antioch, *Smyrn.*, VIII

2. *Ibid.*

3. *I Cor.*, VIII, 6.

celebrated. He gave thanks; He alone broke the bread; He alone spoke the words of consecration: "This is my body . . . This is the chalice of my blood."

Basically, is it not the long-standing impression which we have received from the low mass, from the private mass, the solitary mass, from our being used to something quite different from the "episcopal" mass in its ancient form of celebration, which has led us to view this whole situation in the wrong light?

In the low mass, the sung mass, or even the solemn mass, we view the actions of the priest alone, and our thoughts are centered on him alone. The priest "says his mass"; he "celebrates his mass". When several priests gather around a single altar, therefore, they celebrate their mass as one. The presence of a large number of priests gives us a concelebration on a numerical plane which will converge to form unity. Aware, in a sense, of what we know to be true theologically regarding the efficacy of the minister in the celebration of the sacraments, we stop short before the fact of a single formula spoken by many persons over a single subject and achieving a single and unified transsubstantiation.

Now this was never the primary point of view in the eyes of the early Christians.

The ancient church saw the liturgy in only one light; the celebration of the Eucharist by the Christian assembly. This assembly, far from being an indifferent mass of people, was ranked in hierarchy in relationship to the bishop. Each person took part according to his place and his own role. The structure of the celebration, instead of being conceived as a flat plane based on the ministerial efficacy of the priest, viewed in the light of his power of order, was more like that of a pyramid of authority or government. There was a true *hierarchal celebration* of the mass.

Origins, Evolution and Present Forms of the Hierarchal Celebration

The name of the Christian assembly, *ekklesia*, implies in itself a hierarchy. It has an active meaning. We are here concerned with a "convoked" assembly, (*en kaleo*), called together by whoever had the right to do so. This is the point upon which St. Ignatius insists with such remarkable clarity. The bishop represents our heavenly Father; those who meet without his leadership do so "by a direction which is not of certain authority."¹

Around the bishop, however, and assisting him, there are "orders", the presbyters, the deacons, etc., forming a hierarchy. "Without the hierarchy," St. Ignatius says, "one cannot and one should not do any of those things which are intended to be accomplished in the assembly."¹

Even earlier than St. Ignatius, the Letter to the Corinthians from St. Clement of Rome makes a much more striking reference to this hierarchal order, in that it was based on that which was at that time still in force in the Temple. "We ought to accomplish in good order all things that the Lord asked us to do . . . let the offerings and the liturgical functions be done properly, and not take place haphazardly and without order. . . . Where and by whom He wants them done, (the Lord) has determined Himself by His sovereign decision, in order that all things, done piously and in accord with His preference, might be agreeable to His will. . . . To the chief priest, certain functions have been given; for the priests, a special place has been assigned; to the Levites are given determined functions; the layman has been included in the precepts addressed to laics."² The oldest ecclesial rule which we have expresses itself therefore in terms which distribute the hierarchy to places in the Christian gathering, according to the manner of the old laws. This hierarchy, according to Clement, included priests and deacons, both established by the Apostles of Christ.

1. *Magn.*, VII, *Tral.*, II.

2. St. Clement of Rome, *Ad Corinth.*, XL.

3. *Magn.*, III, IV.

A century and a half after Clement, and about a century after Ignatius of Antioch, towards the middle of the third century, the *Didascalia*, or *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, stemming from the same Syrian territory as St. Ignatius, describes the liturgical cult. We see here again that same care taken that all take place in perfect "order". "In your meetings, in your holy assemblies, hold your services in some degree of beauty, and carefully assign the places for the brethren in all respect. Let a place in the building facing the East be set aside for the priests. Then, in the center, among them, let the bishop's throne be placed, and let the priests sit with him, and likewise, in another area facing the East, let the laypeople sit . . . and lastly the women."³ The role of the deacons is, to a great extent, that of maintaining "good order". "Let one of the deacons give all his attention to the oblations of the Eucharist, and let another stand outside, at the door, to observe those who enter, and then, when you [the bishop] make your offering, let them all take their part together in the congregation."⁴

A little later in history, the spiritual aspect of this exterior order is expressed by Cyprian: "When we gather together and celebrate the divine sacrifices *with the priest of God*, we ought not to pray haphazardly."¹

In a truly evolved liturgy which has arrived at its full splendor, it is possible to trace the flow of this magnificent organization of the ceremonies which accompany the Pontiff from his entrance into the basilica and which follow accurately each of the phases of the sacred action. This sequence is explained in the ancient *Ordines*. The *Ordo primus* in

3. *Didascalia Apostolorum*; passage reproduced in Book II of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (fourth century).

4. The *Didachia*, although it uses a less clear context in this regard, clearly establishes that the presence of the bishop and deacons was bound to the celebration of the Sunday services of the congregation.

1. *Quando in unum convenimus et sacrificia divina cum Dei sacerdote celebramus, debemus non passim ventilare preces nostras.* St. Cyprian, *De oratione dominica*, IV.

which we find an account of the liturgical efforts under the Roman Pontiffs of the sixth and seventh centuries omits no detail of the actions which are intended to convey the majesty of the "order" of the functions, as that order is established by the Holy Church. Those subdivisions of the diaconate which make up the "minor orders" provide this ranked distinction of the functions proper to each one. In the same way that the necessity of the ministry had called for a distribution of "titles and functions" in the city of Rome, this same necessity assigned still more detailed distinctions to the "presbyterium".

Some persons have emphasized in these solemn provisions which surrounded the celebration of the Mass by the Pope something similar to the protocol and worldly splendors of the imperial court. As far as the exterior brilliance of the liturgy and certain of the special functions, such as the use of incense, for example, are concerned, this is certainly justified. But rather than raising democratic postulates, we must recognize in this rich ceremonial the essential element which is contained in embryonic form in the prescriptions of the *Didascalia*, of Ignatius, Clement, St. Paul, and others whose care in relegating each person to his proper place is not less significant on the whole than their account of the Lord instituting His Church and saying to the Apostles: "Do this in commemoration of me", at a time when only they were grouped around Him.²

The triumph of the Church, falling on the wake of the victory of Constantine, only further accentuates the exterior manifestation of the internal structure. Honor is given to God, to Whom a "liturgy", or public service is addressed, *the* liturgy par excellence, the designations of which, *oblatio*, *actio*, etc., underscore the functional character, whereas even the original word "eucharist", thanksgiving, disappeared from use. Its meaning was henceforth attached to the central mystery on the occasion of which it continued to be celebrated.

2. Luke, XXII, 19.

A similar veneration in this sacred liturgy, in this sacred "function", seems clearly to have attached itself both to the mystery itself and to the person who performed it. The phenomenon produced in the thirteenth century in the static form, so to speak, of the adoration of the Host, of the cult of the Blessed Sacrament, the centuries running from the days of Constantine to those of Charlemagne had a precedent for, but in another more active form, that of a dramatic representation based on the sacrifice and centered on the Pontiff in full *actio*, offering the sacrifice.

It is clearly thus from the moment of the reception of the Pontiff in the *sacrarium* of the stational basilica. His hierarchal authority was looked to in order to assign each person his place and his function. The sub-deacon of the region submitted to the Pope the names of those who were designated to participate, such as the "psallist", or the reader of the Epistle. The deacons who were busy up to this point in preparing the altar came now to the Pontiff, who then came forward, attended on either side by the archdeacon and the second deacon, preceded by the seven acolytes with their candles, representing the seven titles of Rome, but also representing the principle of universality.

The place to which the Pope came was called the *presbyterium*. This was in the apse of the basilica. At the back was the elevated *Bema*, the episcopal chair, which was flanked on both sides by the benches of the priests. The *Bema* was even beyond the altar. The important point is that in the Christian gathering the place of significance was given the seat of the presiding official, very much in evidence, the same place which was given the presiding magistrate in civil gatherings. The altar was the wooden table which was set up on the occasion of each celebration and was taken away afterwards. On it were arranged the offerings, and the mysteries were celebrated there, before it had become the consecrated stone in which the very symbol of Christ was envisioned. This very disposition of the altar as facing the people, to which in our times we attribute a meaning of liturgical piety, seems not to have had meaning except in relationship to the hierarchal authority of the bishop. The bishop came down

from the *Bema* to approach the altar, which was placed directly in front of him, without undue movements or circling about, and carried on the holy action on it.

The Pontiff had the role of continual command during the divine offices. He halted the Litany at the point which he determined to be sufficient as regards length. He intoned the *Gloria* and gave the "Peace" to the people afterwards. Turning to the East, he gave the Collect the character and seal of the corporate prayer. He blessed the deacon for the reading of the Gospel. He received the offerings, and he helped the deacons. He sang the Preface and, from the time of the *Ordo primus*, it would seem that he had the opportunity of saying secret prayers which permitted his voice to carry only to those around him at the altar: *Tacito intrat in canonem*, says Ordo II.¹

We can pass over the rest of the mass, in which everything seems to be arranged in order to demonstrate from one end to the other this majesty of the Pontiff, counterpart of the majesty of the ceremonies of which he is director. We have one other point to bring out, however, concerning the place held by the *schola*, usually made up of clerics. It was in the *sacrarium* attending the Pontiff, ready to intone on his order the antiphon and psalm of the entrance procession. Set aside in a special place, during the course of the ceremonies, the *schola* was given the task of supplying the chants of ceremonial accompaniment or of praise: the Litany and *Gloria* at the beginning of the Mass, the *Sanctus*, the antiphons and psalms of the offertory and of the communion. On the other hand, the single readers and sub-deacons were allotted the singing, in solo or in pairs, of the responsorial chants of the graduals and *Alleluias*. This is another aspect of the hierarchal celebration of the mass.

It is clear to everyone that our "pontifical masses", those of our present-day bishops, and those of abbots in their

1. *Ordo V* according to the recent edition of Msgr. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen age, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, Etudes et documents*, Vol. II, Fasc. 23, Louvain, 1948, p. 221. This *Ordo* would seem not to have been written before the second half of the ninth century, in a Rhenish area.

monasteries, are merely the scaling down of the papal mass. More precisely, they are merely a transposition within the hierarchal plan to the Church in point, of the Roman system. To that alone, the complicated accoutrements with which the bishop is vested, besides the special insignia, the tunic, dalmatic and chasuble, would be sufficient indication of this vesting of power in a single person. The presence of the "assistant priest", curiously inconspicuous in so many functions behind the ministerial action of the deacon, is significant, too, of this assistance of the presbyterium around the bishop during the celebration of the mass in former times. The Lyonnaise rite today is simply a survival in its amplified form of the richness of the old Roman mass. But our simple mass with "deacon and subdeacon" is merely the carrying out, manifested in many ways, of this hierarchal plan, completely designed for the honoring of the priest and his holy action. As for our low masses, they are the reduction to the minimum but essential of the sacred hierarchy in and by the single priest, accompanied obligatorily by his server.

The mass in the oriental rite, the Byzantine mass, for example, has no other organization. What strikes us most forcibly is the more active role of the deacon, a sort of intermediary between the priest and the people, sometimes concerned with one, sometimes with the other, passing from one to the other, praying aloud with the people or schola and often leaving the priest or pontiff at such times to pray alone in a low voice in a sort of synchronized prayer which only concludes, in order to make a proper junction, with the ekphonesis. The entire anaphora is performed—aloud, to be sure, including the words of consecration—behind the enclosure of the iconostase. This is the sacerdotal, privileged and incommunicable role, in view of which everything else is subordinate: "Do this in commemoration of me."

We must consult St. Denis to see how, up to the distant time at which the mystic author wrote, the notions of the liturgical and hierarchal celebration of the Church were bound together. In the course of his treatise on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* St. Denis set down, wrapping it in mystic considerations, the order of the sacred services, in-

cluding in his observations in the same discussion the "orders" who carried it out. The ecclesiastical hierarchy itself is placed in parallel with a celestial hierarchy, which is that of the angels, those angels convoked by the hierarchy of the mass, in our Latin rite as in the Greek, when, after having enumerated their different orders, it calls them to the *Sanctus* in a mystical celebration: *socia exsultatione concelebrant*.

When Maximus the Confessor, in the course of the Roman rite, comments in the seventh century (at the approximate time of the first *Ordo*) on the work of Denis, he compares the functions of the ministers, according to the Byzantine rite, with those of the seven regional deacons of the Roman liturgy.¹

Hierarchal and Sacramental Concelebration in the Latin Church

The proper notion of concelebration naturally stems from the sacred order at some stage of the liturgy or in some certain rite which one is considering.

The terms "celebration" and "offering" are in themselves insufficient to give any indication at all of the sacramental power of the minister of the Eucharist in the Holy Mass. Gregory of Tours, in the fifth century, could therefore speak to us quite simply of that woman who each day "celebrated" or "offered" the holy sacrifice for the repose of the soul of her husband.² In the life of Alcuin, who was only a deacon, it is reported that "every day he celebrated the mass": *celebrabat missarum solemnia*.³

The main principle is that of the unity of the sacrifice "celebrated" by all, around the officiant, the representative of Christ. The single priest, that is, the bishop, called "Pontiff" to designate his eminence and "excellence" among the rest (the modern connotation is perfectly proper) pos-

1. Maximus the Confessor, *Scholia*, Migne, P.G., t.IV, col. 136.

2. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria confessorum*, C. 65, Migne, P.L., LXXI, col. 875.

3. *Vita*, n. 26, Migne, P.L., t.C, Col. 104.

sesses his priesthood in fullness. To the priests the bishop can say, as he did on their day of *ordination*, that they are the "cooperators of his order", *cooperators ordinis nostri*. Since the bishop cannot be everywhere to take care of the functions of his priesthood, he has aides, *sequentis viros ordinis*, who actually extend him and multiply his contacts. The deacon, at least, has the character that in his function he is a distinct person, subject to the bishop, of course, with the dependence of the "minister", that is, a kind of servant following the steps of his master (St. Laurence as regards St. Sixtus), the two roles remaining quite separate. The priest, however, as regards the bishop, is in a position of intrinsic dependence which sustains him in his "state", in that state by right of which he is a priest, since his priesthood is an emanation of that of the bishop. He achieves all the functions of the bishop, those, at least, which are evidently not linked to a goal of perfection, or of completion, such as a confirmation (unless in necessity), or of fecundity, such as the sacrament of Holy Orders. But he preaches, he consecrates the Eucharist like the bishop; he blesses, he absolves, like the bishop; but he preaches, consecrates, blesses and absolves only under the bishop's mandate, directed by the bishop and in his name. The very mention of the bishop's name, in the canon of the mass, is the sign of sacerdotal communion with the bishop.

A great deal of concern has been given to the text of Hippolytus (beginning of the third century) in regard to the consecration of bishops, in order to find in it a proof either for or against the concelebration of the priests. In regard to the bishop-elect, it says "the bishops lay on their hands, and the presbyterial college stands quietly and remains silent, praying in their hearts for the descent of the Holy Spirit." One of the bishops present then pronounces alone the great consecratory prayer. The consecrated person then received the kiss of peace. Immediately afterwards, mass began. The deacons bring the oblation, and the new bishop "imposes his hands on the oblations with the whole presbyterial body."¹

1. Hippolytus of Rome, *La tradition apostolique*, translated by Dom B. Botte, O.S.B., Paris, 1946, p. 27, 30.

We must surely have all the preconceptions of our modern day to see in this "silent concelebration"—impressive as it is—the concelebration-consecration in the properly theological and efficient sense in which we usually take it. Only preoccupations after-the-fact could have raised such problems of which the contemporaries of Hippolytus would certainly never have thought, since their attention was centered on the unique role of the bishop. The action of the bishop in the celebration of the Eucharist is completely primary and sufficient. As far as the consecration of the new bishop is concerned, the assistance of the other bishops appears to be more and more as a necessity, in virtue of another principle, that of the collective nature of the episcopacy, a reflection of the college of the apostles, and a guarantee of unity. As for the priests, they are merely the *presbyterium*. They assist the bishop in the hierarchal celebration of the mass in the same sense that they assist in the consecration of the bishop. Their place, their role, in the course of the mass ceremonies, is that assigned them by their order. To presume that this marks a concelebration-consecration in the sense we give it today is to base our view on implications only. There is no text, let us repeat, either in patristic writings or in the liturgical texts taken by themselves, which permits us to affirm that there was an intention of such consecration, explicit and formal, since everything, even this subordinate role of the priests, helps emphasise the effective sacramental role of the presiding bishop over the assembly. The silence of the others seems, then, in the beginning, to have been a normal condition, implying, in sum, that only one prayer is recited.

According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Pope Zephyrin (198-207 A.D.) established a custom of having ministers hold patens before the priests "until the bishop celebrates": *donec episcopus missas celebraret*, the priests standing before him: *ante se adstantes*. The text continues: the consecration thus being accomplished (*ex ea consecratione*), each priest receives from the bishop's hand a piece of consecrated bread, so that it may be given to the people.¹ The *Liber* is the evidence, no doubt much later than Zephyrin, possibly in

1. *Liber Pontificalis*, edit. Duchesne, Paris, 1886, Vol. I, p. 139.

the sixth century, of a liturgical custom which was already old enough to be attributed to the earlier times, but which, to the silent prayer, adds only a simple gesture of subordinate and respectful participation, an assistance and a service. The consecrator is always the bishop alone.

But to what extent was this assistance, this participation of the presbyterium in the holy ceremonies performed by the bishop to go? The priesthood of the assistants is so clearly a union with his priesthood that it tended to convey itself in the service. The priests tended to relinquish their silent role. In common with the bishop, they began to recite the entire texts, such as the collects or the preface, and from that point, all the prayers.¹ There was only one more step to take in order to make their participation become the sacrificial ceremony itself, of their priesthood in union with the bishop's priesthood, even to the point of their pronouncement of the words of consecration.

It is clearly this point which is attested to by *Ordo primus*.² The demonstration of the sacerdotal primacy of the Pontiff, the only "Christ" of the mass, by the processional and ceremonial ensemble of the ceremony, is reenforced by the role taken by those around him at the altar by the cardinal priests of the city of Rome. On Sundays and days of the ordinary celebration, each one participated according to rank.³ It was deemed necessary that the great feasts of the year, such as Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, Ascension, etc., should be emphasized, in spite of the dispersion which the demands of the ministry imposed, in the aspect of the permanent unity of both the sacrifice and the singular nature of its priest. The cardinal priests therefore celebrated, as was the custom, the mass which they usually celebrated in

1. Cf. Joseph Andrew Jungmann, S.J., *Missarum solemnina*, t. I, p.245-250.
2. More precisely, the second supplement of *Ordo primus*, republished by Msgr. Andrieu as *Ordo III*; *op. cit.*, t.II, pp.131-133. The passage concerning the cardinals is paragraph No. 1. Msgr. Andrieu calculates that the document goes back to the eighth century.
3. He still received at this occasion the *fermentum* of the mass celebrated by the Pope. See the letter of Pope St. Innocent I, Ep. XXV, *ad Decentium*, c.V; Migne, P.L., t.XX, col.556-557.

the place of and as representative of the Pope, each according to his rank, but in the case of the great feasts, they celebrated with the Pope himself. The "hierarchal" intention, as much as of jurisdiction as of rank, is obvious here; it would be impossible to demonstrate more clearly the "ecclesiastic" nature of the institution of concelebration.

At the moment of the offertory, the cardinal priests received the offerings placed on the corporal, which each of them held in his hands. When the gesture is made, the arch-deacon comes forward and gives to each of them three offerings, analogous to the pieces of bread of Pope Zephyrin. Then the Pontiff went to the altar, and the cardinal priests encircled it to right and left and recited the canon with him, each of them holding his offering in his hands, and not on the altar. The assisting priests spoke in a voice of a lower level of volume, so that the voice of the Pontiff carried over theirs. *Et simul consecrant corpus et sanguinem Domini* (And together they consecrate the body and blood of the Lord). The Pontiff alone consecrates the oblations on the altar.

Thus did the festival concelebration show to the last detail how the "delegated" mass, the mass of the priests, separated from that of the Pope during the course of the rest of the year, still retained its hierarchal character and its dependence on him. Again, this description is applicable with certainty only to the eighth century.

This rite has such a representative significance, however, that it followed the spread of the Roman liturgy into Gaul, Germany, and the other nations. Certain old Carolingian ivories show its expressive representation: around a person carved as taller than the others—the bishop—were the *adstantes*, vested in the *planeta* like the bishop's (at that time there was no other vestment for the clerics), and raising their hands at the same time with him, in the gesture of prayer.¹

1. See *Dict. d'Archæologie et de Liturgie*, Vol III, Part II, col.2476-2477.

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This practice disappeared from the papal mass in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but it remained in usage at Lyon, at least on Holy Thursday. Evidently we must view the mass of ordination of new priests on another tack, for the custom appeared suddenly on "certain churches," as St. Thomas indicates from time to time. The medieval character of the practice seems clearly indicated here; we are concerned mainly with a process of initiation. We may draw certain conclusions from it, however, at least in implication, of the original intention. It was at the very moment when the bishop gave to the new priests the right to participate in his own priesthood that he introduced them personally to the mystery he celebrated.

(To be continued)

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