

The
GREGORIAN
REVIEW



Gregorian Institute of America

VOLUME V NO. 1

JAN. - FEB., 1958

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.

All checks and money orders should be payable to the Gregorian Institute of America.

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Printed in the U.S.A.

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February 28, 1958

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VITA MUTATUR, NON TOLLITUR

by Dom Leon Robert, O.S.B.

Scripture teaches us to distinguish three kinds of birth and three kinds of death.

There is the birth into natural life, when an infant leaves the womb of his mother. Then there is birth into supernatural life, when, through Baptism, Holy Mother the Church begets it. In His discussion with Nicodemus, the Lord has clearly pointed out the distinction between these two kinds of birth. The third kind is the birth into celestial and eternal life, the true and final birth, after which one dies no more. This is the real *dies natalis* of a man, and when the Church honors the saints, it is the anniversary of this birthday which she celebrates in liturgical cult.

It is noteworthy that these three kinds of birth are all, in some way, sources of joy: joy in heaven at the throne of the Father of all creatures, just as on earth among the families of men. The first kind of birth, although tainted by original sin, is not an exception to this joy. It, too, brings its endowment of joy, for life, even to a sinner, is a thing of goodness, a gift of God, and original sin is not indelible. Baptism, whether of fact or merely desire, can erase it. This is why the Lord, in seeking to depict a pure and great joy, has chosen that one as illustration: "A woman, when about to give birth, is in dolor because her hour is at hand; but when she has brought forth her child, she no longer remembers her sorrows, because of her joy that a man is born into the world."

In opposition to these three kinds of birth, the three kinds of death are accompanied by sorrow. This opposition is total, and the sorrow which results is inconsolable, in the case of the worst of deaths, that "eternal death" from which

we ask, through the moving supplications of the *Libera* to be delivered. The liturgy does not hide from us the extent of the disaster for the soul to be cast into the regions of fire, into the "deep lake," into Tartarus, into the "jaws of the lion." This is an irremediable death, the most complete of all, for it is the separation of the soul from God, the only source of life. The second kind of death, that which, in this world, causes mortal sin within us, is also the source of a terrible sorrow, but this death, so long as the sinner yet lives on this earth, is not without remedy, and by a sincere conversion, through sacramental absolution, the sinner obtains, through the mercy of God, His resurrection into supernatural life.

There remains the very special case of the principal kind of death, natural death, which is the separation of the body from the soul, the farewell given to this world, to all those who love us, to all those whom we love and who must yet remain. A physical suffering, a mental suffering, this death is also a source of sadness. Yet, we know that there are happy deaths. How can joy and sadness come from the same source?

Our supernatural history provides the explanation.

We were created to be happy forever: happy in seeing and loving God, rejoicing in Him and being with Him.

But, hardly had we been created when we lost everything. Original sin separated us from God, the source of all real happiness, and in addition, we merited severe punishments: suffering and death. Joy gave way to sorrow, and had God wished to do so, He could have left us in that state in perfect justice.

God did not wish to do so. He promised to restore everything provided that His justice should be satisfied. Moreover, from the moment that He forgave Adam and Eve, He already knew Him Who would satisfy that justice. He therefore immediately granted the good effects of this satisfied justice to Adam and his race, restoring them to the state

of grace. Yet, although He granted them freely practically all the good effects, He did reserve one aspect of them. Adam did not completely find that original state in which he had lived before his sin. He remained subject to the disorders which his disobedience had called down upon him. He regained the contact with God, source of all happiness, and this was a gift of mercy, but he remained subject to the weight of the disorder produced by his sin, of suffering and death. This is what he owed to God's justice.

Man became therefore, for the entire length of his life on earth, the object of two opposing laws: a law of penitence and death and a law of joy and life. It is impossible to escape the first; man on this earth must suffer and die. *Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis miseriis.*¹ Quite naturally, then, this maintained a sense of sorrow in our hearts. But since God has restored us to life and grace, He has formulated for us a law of joy: "Serve God in happiness."² These are clearly two laws of equal force and requirement, but which appear to be in contradiction to a point of mutual exclusion.

Yet, they both come from God. They are contradictory only in appearance.

First, they are based on the same point of view. They do not take man into consideration in the same way. The law of suffering and death is a law of our nature left to itself. It belongs, in a sense, to the physical order of things, and one cannot detract from it any more than one can from the other laws of nature. It clearly carries the mark of a punishment which the guilty one receives passively.

The other law, on the contrary, that of joy, is a moral precept which is addressed to our intelligence and to our free will. Man can refuse to follow it. He can, in sinning further, separate himself from God and lose every motive for rejoicing in Him. But if he voluntarily consents to obey

1. *Job, XIV, 1.* Lesson V of Matins of the Dead.

2. Psalm XCIX, 1. *Alleluia* of the Sunday within the Octave of the Epiphany.

God, to seek his joy in Him, in the assured hope of pleasing Him and of being loved by Him, he will draw strength from that very grace which God gives him according to His promise. The motives, the causes of his joy are of a supernatural order. They belong to a world existing above and beyond this lower nature in which the law of suffering and death holds sway.

But this is not sufficient to explain the enigma. God did not wish that there should be the least contradiction, the least separation between these laws. He has linked them inseparably to each other. God is pleased to resolve this kind of difficulty, and just as He is the only Person able to create, that is, to produce a being from nothingness, in the same way He is able to produce good from the bad, joy from suffering and life from death. The reason is this: from the level of mere expiation and chastisement which suffering and death were to be, and which they remain for hardened sinners, God has raised them to the dignity of satisfaction and merit: *Ut quod pronuntiatum est ad supplicium, in remedium transferatur aeternum*: so that what was declared as a punishment was changed into an eternal remedy.¹ Henceforth suffering will serve to purchase joy, and death will serve to procure eternal life. This wonder was achieved for the first time and in its perfection in Our Lord Jesus Christ. His sufferings, sorrows and death have purchased eternal life and happiness for all humanity.

And in fact, each of us can profit from this redemption. It suffices that we wish to join the family of the new Adam and that we be reborn to the very life of Jesus. Now this life consists precisely in suffering and death for resurrection and entry into the glory of the Father: "It was necessary that Christ should suffer and that by that means He should enter into His glory,"² the Lord Himself said to the disciples of Emmaus. To be a living member of Christ is to pass through the same things Christ passed through during His earthly life, and we can understand, then, the zeal of the

1. Prayer of the third prophecy of the Vigil of Pentecost.

2. Luke, XXIV, 26. Gospel of Easter Monday.

saints for suffering and their joyful acceptance of death through martyrdom. This was not, however, merely suffering and death in themselves, which are ills and punishments, but rather the suffering and death of Christ, prolonged through ours, with their redeeming, life-giving and sanctifying virtues, opening the gates to eternal glory.

It is not, then, a question of *any* suffering and death, but only of those which have been elevated to the dignity of satisfaction, of redemption and sacrifice, because they are those of Christ, continued through us. The work which establishes forever the degree of merit, the extent of glory of the Christian, living member of Christ, is his death, his full sacrifice. Here we find ourselves a long way from the original notion of death as a penal law, a physical, inescapable law, a punishment and an expiation without respite. Death has now become, for those who will make it a voluntary offering, a gift which pleases God, an adoration, a praise, a thanksgiving, a prayer into which our heart is completely given, that sacrifice "of sweet odor" which obtains all forgiveness and complete resurrection. Death is the door opened to true and eternal joy and the object of ardent desires. "Death is to me a victory," said St. Paul.¹ And Saint Andrew, seeing the instrument of his martyrdom: "O bona crux, diu desiderata!" ("O good cross, so long desired!")² St. Theresa said: "Aut pati, aut mori." ("Either suffer, or die")³ She saw no other tasks to accomplish in this world. Everything else seems empty, sad and unbearable to her. Moreover, we should not think that this joy of suffering and death for God is found only among persons living since the passion of Jesus. Even the saints of the Old Testament, no doubt in a less significant and fruitful manner, understood this extraordinary relationship between suffering and joy, death and life.

For it is Christ alone, in Whose Person are united the suffering, mortal nature of man and the eternal and blessed nature of God, and Who has assumed our sins, taking them

1. Philip., I., 21.

2. *Act. St. Andrew*, Lesson VIII of matins of his feast.

3. Lesson of matins of the feast of St. Theresa.

away while achieving full justice, it is He alone Who could accomplish the transmutation of death into life. All other men together, uniting the limited value of their acts and all their deaths, could not have achieved the satisfaction of justice and merited eternal life. Punishment would have remained punishment, a pure expiation, passively received, never becoming satisfaction, oblation and redemption. But in uniting ourselves to Christ, the new Adam, new head of all mankind, our suffering and death have lost their terrifying aspects; they have become the price of happiness.

Thus death has been absorbed by life. Our death is henceforth so closely related to the third kind of birth, noted above, to the true birth, that birth into eternal and blessed life, that it now appears only as the first moment of that birth. Of course that first moment occurs here on earth, the valley of tears, and the last view of it and the separations which are about to take place are completely colored by the view of this valley of tears. But this is a door which opens into light, in which we shall immediately see the Father, Infinite Love, Who extends His arms to us.

The Church in her liturgy of the dead nevertheless maintains a part of the gravity and sorrowful supplication which veils, to a great extent, the true nature of her prayer. It is as though, as an attentive mother, she worries about the weaker of her children. In the face of death she reminds the heedless, the perverse and the ignorant that their eternal destiny hangs on that last hour and that there is a Hell. She reminds those who fear the justice of God and the severities of Purgatory that divine mercy rejects no one who confides in her. She knows that all men need prayers to supplement the inadequacy of their expiation. She knows that every day, at every hour, countless souls are called to appear before the Sovereign Judge, without having had the visible aid of a priest or the grace of a sacrament. This is why the Church must constantly remain, with the sorrowing Virgin, in continuous appeal at the foot of the cross.

But this is not the entire essence of the liturgy of the dead. For those who know, for those who live in faith, hope

and charity, who know the promises of the Heart of Jesus, for these the mass and office of the dead are illuminated with eternal light. The first prayer of the office is a cry of joy: *Placebo Domino in regione vivorum*.¹ Then, too, the first words of the mass evoke the blessed peace and beatific light of Heaven: *Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis*.² The Church knows that we mourn our dead, but she consoles us and dries our tears while telling us that they yet live. For those who die in the Lord, death does not take away life: it transforms it: *Vita mutatur, non tollitur*.³ The Gospels and Epistles in the masses of the dead are merely the recalling of the solemn promise of God, Who opens Heaven to us and Who gives us a share of His own life in the radiation of His own glory. It is, then, with firm confidence in the fact that God will hear the supplications of the liturgy for each of those who sleep in the blessed ground of the cemetery that we sing ceaselessly with the Church: "Forgive their sins, O Lord, grant them eternal life in that holy light which you have promised to Abraham and to his children."⁴

Is it not by instinct that the pious faithful are motivated when, in spite of their heavy hearts, they come to the cemeteries on the feast of All Saints to decorate the tombs of their departed with flowers, as though to include them in the joy of that feast? The month of November is beginning, and nature is entering that melancholy sleep of winter, too often a reflection of life on earth. But the dead are already in that "Land of the living" where shines the sun of an eternal summer, and we want the cemetery, where their bodies await the resurrection, to be on that feast an image of Heaven, the most beautiful of gardens. The Church approves this custom, and above the ringing of the deathknell and the singing of the *Dies irae*, she fills the hearts of the faithful with the reminder of the promise of endless happiness: "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."⁵

1. "I shall please God in the region of the living." First antiphon of Vespers of the Dead.
2. Introit of the Mass of the Dead.
3. Preface of the Requiem Mass.
4. Offertory of the Requiem Mass.
5. *Apoc.*, XIV, 13. Epistle of the daily mass for the dead.

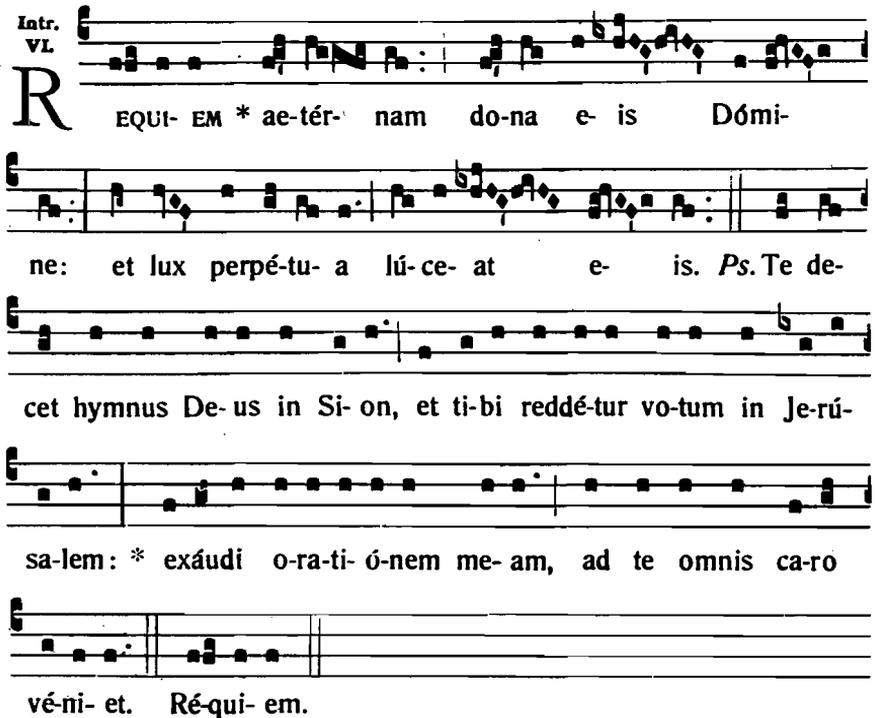
THE INTROIT AND KYRIE OF THE REQUIEM MASS AND THE RESPONSORY SUBVENTE

by Henri Potiron

I wish to discuss the Introit, *Kyrie* and the Responsory *Subvenite* from the Mass and Office of the dead. In spite of their apparent simplicity, these pieces are especially illuminating for us, as much as regards the modal analysis as the accompaniment.

Introit

Intr.
VL.



R EQUI- EM * ae-tér- nam do-na e- is Dómi-
ne: et lux perpé-tu- a lú-ce- at e- is. *Ps.* Te de-
cet hymnus De- us in Si- on, et ti-bi reddé-tur vo-tum in Je-rú-
sa-lem: * exáudi o-ra-ti- ó-nem me- am, ad te omnis ca-ro
vé-ni- et. Ré-qui- em.

Kyrie

vi.

K Y-RI-E * e- lé-i-son. *ij.* Christe e- lé-i-son. *ij.*

Ký-ri-e e- lé-i-son. *ij.* Ký-ri-e * e- lé-i-son.

From the very intonation of the *Requiem* we are in tritus plagal, even though no hexachord has been determined and no third has been heard. This intonation formula belongs specifically to the sixth mode. The double *fa* is placed on the accented syllable (see, for example, the Gradual *Christus factus est*). When the double *fa* occurs as a second element, a *re* precedes it (see, for example, the Gradual *Timebunt gentes*). We also have the case of the Introit *Quasi modo geniti*, in which this last word is the only accented one. The case of the *Alleluia* of Holy Saturday, however, (tetrardus plagal) is not the same style.

We might be tempted to convey the third *re-fa* with a chord of D minor falling on the *fa*, but this *re* is merely a preparatory degree, a sort of remote sub-tonic, similar to the *fa* in tetrardus and the *do* in protus and only the harmony of F major suits the modal character of the passage, dominated as it is by the importance of the tonic.¹

There are no special difficulties in the word *Requiem*. There is a root position chord of F, and, if one should so wish, a change to the first inversion at the end of the word:

1. For a case of the importance which can be assumed by the low' *re*, see, for example, the Communion *In splendoribus*: the beginning (where it is impossible to avoid D minor) and particularly the passages of *utero* and *luciferum*, frequently found formulas.



Then, we note, it is pointless to underscore the ictus of the following salicus. This is a matter of the choral interpretation, since, if we seek to emphasize every detail of the performance, we shall overdo the thing. It is not the same for the pressus on *sol*, however, which would sound bad if taken as a non-chord tone. Since, however, the whole piece is constructed in the B-flat hexachord, the chord of C major is completely impossible. It is unfortunate that so many accompanists think that they are merely in F major here and blithely use the so-called perfect cadence at *Domine* and at *eis*, when coming to a close. If this introit were written on G (or *sol*), which is perfectly possible, it would remain as a piece in tritus plagal, but the semitone below the tonic would not be possible. This shows how much the nature of a Gregorian mode is independent of the intervals of the scale (which in this piece would be the same, whether it were written on F, G or C) and of the cadence (which here is imprecise, being analysable either as tritus or tretrardus), but that the mode is, on the other hand, dependent on processes of composition (mode = manner of composing).

On the other hand, the B flat is not heard immediately at the beginning. This is not, however, a systematic use of an equivocal structure; we shall anticipate it, although this is not always advisable. Of course the chord of G minor includes a D which is never heard in the melody, but it is one thing to take the D as a chord root and quite another to take it as the fifth of a G chord or the third of the chord of B flat. Otherwise the only possible chord would be that of F. We shall refrain from treating the half-cadence of *aeternam* with a D minor chord, but the B flat placed under the accented syllable as a bass note will be perfectly acceptable:

[Réqui]em æ- tér- nam

We can keep the same arrangement up to the great classical formula of *eis Domine*. Note that up to that point everything is contained in the third *fa-la*, which confirms the quality of tritus plagal. The continuation belongs to the authentic mode as well, but it is often found written a whole step higher as a formula in tetrardus. The melodic curve G-B flat indicates the harmony of G minor, which permits us to make a plagal cadence, the only possible one. This chord, taken in inversion, gives a B flat in the bass, but it can also be used over a tonic pedal:

[e]-is

The cadence of *Domine* is obviously compound; thus there is a chord of F on the next-to-last syllable. To bring out the final clivis there are three solutions: (1) traditional suspension of the tenor, with resolution at the clivis, (2) a discreetly handled six-four chord on the tonic pedal, with resolution to the tonic chord at the end, and (3) a simple drop of the chord voices to a lower octave:

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In the first example the melody sounds the resolution note of the suspension during the sounding of the suspension itself; this is contrary to the academic rules. But the melodic A is in itself merely an ornament, since the tonic F takes all harmonic importance. Nevertheless, since we are concerned with a major third, this treatment is somewhat harsh. In similar cadences in protus with a minor third the suspension is more readily acceptable. Basically, I prefer the third solution.

Et lux perpetua is established quite clearly on the root position chord of F, with a change to the first inversion at the end of the last word, then *luceat eis* follows exactly the pattern of *eis Domine*.

As regards the Psalm, let us not forget that a recitation note should have absolutely no harmonic movement. Only the mediant and final permit, in this case, by nature of their intervals, a particular color:

...in Je- rú- sa- lem.



It is pointless to go into detail on the *Kyrie*. We must not, in particular, allow ourselves to be influenced by the *mi* which precedes the cadences. This note should not be considered as part of the harmony of a C chord; that would give it too much of the color of a "leading tone." The plagal cadence is needed here. Naturally the *clivis* of *Kyrie* can only be harmonized with a G minor chord (inverted), possibly with a six-five chord (inverted G minor seventh chord).

Ky- ri-e * e- lé- i-son.

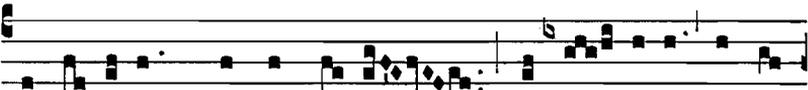
A musical score for a vocal line. The lyrics are "Ky-ri-e * e- lé- i-son." The music is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is a sequence of eighth and quarter notes, starting on a G4 and moving upwards. The accompaniment is on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one flat. It features a bass line with a prominent G3 note and a treble line with chords and single notes. A circled number (1) is placed at the end of the score.

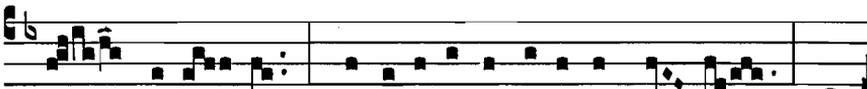
The Introit and the *Kyrie*, which are in the same mode, are easily linked together, but these are two separate pieces. Some composers seem to have confused them into a single piece, sometimes even with a mixture of the texts (Mozart, Gounod in *Mors et vita*, Faure, etc.). In the same way *Pie Jesu* is merely the final phrase of the Sequence *Dies Irae*, and not an independent fragment. Sometimes a composer makes a separate piece with *Pie Jesu* sung three times and the addition of *Sempiternam*, borrowed from the final *Agnus Dei*, as a conclusion (Gounod, Faure, Durufle, etc.), which is used, we note, particularly in the Paris area. Assuredly, in

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the course of a low mass such a piece is not necessarily to be condemned, but it does not belong to the Mass of the Dead, except in the order and position as is normal, that is, as the conclusion of the sequence.

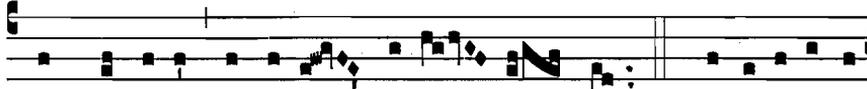
Responsory Subvenite

iv. 

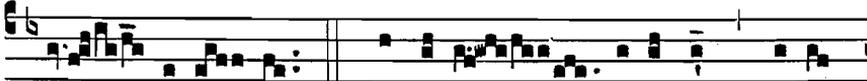
S UBVE-NI-TE * Sancti De- i, oc-cúr- ri-te Ange-


li Dómi- ni: * Susci-pi- éntes á-nimam e- jus: † Of-

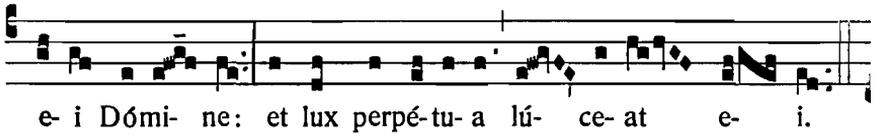

fe-réntes e- am in conspé- ctu Al- tíssi- mi. †. Sus-


cí-pi- at te Chri- stus, qui vo- cá- vit te: et in si-


num Abrahæ Ange- li de- dú- cant te. * Susci-pi- éntes


á-nimam e- jus: † Offe- réntes e- am in conspé- ctu


Al- tíssi- mi. †. Réqui- em aetérnam do- na



The Responary *Subvenite* is of a construction similar to that of the other ancient responsories, such as are found in the Matins of Christmas, Holy Week, Easter, etc. It was restored, however, at the same time as the Vatican edition, and thus with the same errors. Fortunately, the version of the *Monastic Antiphonale* permits us to make a more precise analysis of it.

The minor third at the beginning (*re-fa*) is not rare in the intonation of pieces in deuterus plagal, but it often encloses a *mi* (final of the mode), or it leads to one. From this point of view, the two *mis* of *vidistis* in the Responary *Quem vidistis* of Christmas are very characteristic. In the present case, if we consult the Vatican edition, the rise to *fa* profoundly alters the modal character. But in the monastic version we have *mi* which immediately clarifies the modality as deuterus plagal. It is true that the cadences on *re* (for example, that of *Dei*, in both versions, or the final cadence of the psalm verse) have a certain analogy with those of protus, to the extent that the dominant *la*, common to the two modes (deuterus plagal and protus authentic) is often found together with an authentic B natural, and even sometimes is found freely linked to the low *re*. The style, however, is not the same here, nor is the general context.

Up to the word *Dei*, inclusive, the accompaniment presents no difficulties. The flat (Vatican version) of *occurite*

REQUIEM

This note should not, then, be made part of the harmony. Moreover, the episematic *la* will be effective if emphasized:²



We note that in the following passage the *mis* have seemed to slip upwards to the *fa* in the faulty Vatican edition, but the accompaniment is easy (*suscipientes animam*). The fall to the low B flat of *eam* (same cadence in both versions) is most naturally made on the B flat chord, inverted:



The scribes often avoided writing the low B flat. They preferred to write a piece in deuterus that might require it on *ti* instead of *mi*. Thus the note lying an augmented fourth lower would be *fa* instead of B flat (for example, in the Communion *Tollite hostias*, Eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost). In the present case, however, the notation on *mi* is the only one possible, due to the use of a B natural in the middle (which, if the tonic were transposed to *ti* natural, would require the forbidden F sharp). A similar case may be seen in the Communion *Tanto tempore*, of Sts. Philip and James.

2. Regarding the performance of this formula, a frequent one in the repertoire, see the *Revue Gregorienne*, 1922, p. 224 (note 1) and 1956, p. 17.

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The verse is a true psalm tone, adapting itself to all responsories of this type. First there is a preparatory note, when such is useful, (*prosthesis*) on the dominant, then an intonation formula, with the first recitation note on *sol*. The mediant is on *mi*, a second authentic recitation note on *mi*, thus prepared by the drop of the mediant, with a final cadence on *re*. Lacking text, the first recitation note is not really apparent until the second verse, *Requiem aeternam*. The second is better indicated, but unfortunately the restored version has erroneously raised it from *mi* to *fa*. The accompaniment is easy. The mediant, influenced by the recitation note on *sol*, has its cadence on the C chord; the second recitation note will also be sung over a C chord, because of its context. The faulty *fa* of the Vatican version, however, will take a chord of D minor as its harmonic support.

We note that the choice of the final chord in deuterus, A minor or C major, is determined in most instances by the importance of the *sol* or the *la*.

Naturally the accompaniment of the organ is merely tolerated during the office of the dead, but in fact, in nearly every parish this toleration has become a habit. The observations which we have just made do not touch upon much more than two pieces, but they have a broad scope, first for the analysis of tritus and deuterus plagal, and secondly for the style of all accompaniments, regardless of the modal type involved. Although accompaniment cannot in any real sense embellish Gregorian chant, it could, on the other hand, if poor, do much to destroy the beauty of a good rendition by the singers.

REGARDING THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE GRADUALE

Its Need, Advantages and Method

by Dom Eugene Cardine, O.S.B.

[In articles and lectures over the course of the past few years we have had occasion to mention the critical edition of the *Graduale* which is being prepared by Solesmes. So that the reader might be informed as to the scope of the project, and because there seems to be a general lack of understanding of what this important study really is, we have decided to reprint Dom Cardine's fine report on the subject. Editor's note.]

I.

For the study of Gregorian chant musicologists have today for their consultation only the official edition, called the "Vatican". In it we find the repertoire of liturgical melodies in use in the Roman Church, and not really a collection of truly "Gregorian" chants. Certain pieces, in fact, have been eliminated in the course of centuries, and still more important is the fact that a number of additions have been made which it is impossible to detect at first glance in any certain way. The pieces of different centuries and different regions, which therefore represent greatly differing styles, lie in these pages side by side and form a snare for the uninformed reader.

Our present-day books have a second defect not less serious than the first. How can we find in them the difficulties of restoration, the doubtful points which perplexed the editors and which were resolved for better or worse, sometimes in despair of the truth? These cases are lost in a host of others, and nothing brings them to the attention of the

researcher. Authentic neumes, probable neumes, hypothetical neumes, all are printed in the same way. There is nothing surprising about this, since, as we are concerned primarily with *practical editions*, we cannot demand perfections which are not available, or within their scope.

This is as much as to say that we cannot use the Vatican edition for the compilation of any exact statistics, any definitive research. No matter what question be studied or what point of view be adopted, one is unavoidably led to mix with the authentic cases and very certain examples, others which are in no way certain and which increase the risk of falsifying the results of the research.

To escape such dangers, some specialists have sought to examine the sources, and they have consulted the manuscripts which they had at their disposal. But this is a limitation and a reduction of the problem and not a solution for it. The chant manuscripts, even the most ancient ones, add certain new "twists", new ideas, to the traditional and authentic repertoire, here and there, which we must eliminate if we are to avoid error. Yet, even if one could be sure of studying a piece of the authentic repertoire, a reference to a few manuscripts, even selected ones, could not provide any certain information. We must know the value of these documents. What is their relationship to the whole manuscript tradition in general? Are the versions which we find in them possibly mere deformations due to a local tradition? This can, of course, lead us in a direction directly away from the truth. With such documents, then, as with the Vatican edition, we cannot arrive at an exact notion of the questions to be studied.

It is therefore necessary to present musicologists with a critical edition which will permit them to avoid these pitfalls. The first thing to do, moreover, is to clarify the various stratifications of the present liturgical repertoire. We cannot, in fact, study all the pieces together. The process of transmitting a Roman introit of the eighth century is not the same as that which passes down to us an Aquitanian *Alleluia* of the tenth century. Where we are concerned with compositions

of various origins, the paths of their absorption into the repertoire are crossed and mixed in an impenetrable maze.

It seems clear that the pieces of the Roman repertoire of the eighth century, which form what we might call "the ancient Gregorian heritage", were passed down to us in a single unit and have all suffered the same vicissitudes. As for the additions which were made in the course of time to this original core, they became established here and there, and were extended to general use only through the haphazard pressure of influences which religious, monastic or political history can reveal to us.

If, then, musicologists should not unduly mix these different facts together but should rather place them chronologically and geographically in as clear a fashion as possible, this same obligation naturally imposes itself on anyone who wishes to draw up a critical edition. This edition will study first this "ancient Gregorian heritage", isolated from the rest. Then, later, in the form of monographs, we shall add the later compositions, grouped according to their particular attributes of time and place. We shall begin with the *Graduale*, which demands such a choice because of its importance, its widespread use, the variety of its contents, and the solidity of its tradition. It is with the *Graduale* alone that we shall be concerned in the present article.

II.

The critical edition should seek to remove the obstacles which we have just mentioned.

In it we shall include all the pieces, and only those pieces, of the original repertoire. The few texts which have at one time or another been dropped from the Roman liturgy will be restored to their traditional places, such as the introit *Justus non conturbabitur*, the gradual *Posuisti Domine* and the communion *Voce mea*, not to mention the vast collection of offertory verses.

On the other hand, we shall eliminate all the more or less recent works, or, to put it more precisely, all those which, without prejudice as to their age, do not come from the Roman sources, taken as a basis. In this regard the service rendered will be particularly valuable, for although it is easy to be on ones guard in respect to the repertoire for somewhat recent feasts, it is considerably more difficult to recognize a substitution made in an ancient set of pieces. The offertory of the Blessed Sacrament, for example, deceives nobody, but is it the same for that of the feast of St. Stephen? The Mass of the First Martyr is made up of authentic pieces, except for the offertory *Elegerunt* which has been substituted for the offertory *In virtute*. And on the other hand, would we not wish to lend some order to the present confusion of *Alleluia* verses?

Not only will the authentic compositions be all presented in the critical editions, but they will be in their original form. We should state immediately that this restitution has but rarely to be applied in regard to the Vatican edition versions. Only a few pieces have undergone, in the course of time, either additions, as in the case of the offertory *Ave Maria*, with its mediant phrase *Dominus tecum*, or mutilations, as in the case of the communion *Principes*, which has lost its long conclusion. If we wish to understand the character of a work, should we not consider it as its author has conceived and shaped it?

The third advantage of the critical edition will be emphasized in a much more frequent manner, since its values will extend to every word and every note of the volume. It is, indeed, of the very greatest importance to know whether the word and the note which we happen to be studying are certified without doubt by the entire manuscript tradition, in which case they are sure—or whether they are supported by only a part of the same tradition, for in the latter case, the value of the restoration will vary greatly, according to the authority of the supporting documents. One might be able to feel almost absolute certainty, or an opinion might border on one of many degrees of probability, or, in some cases, faced with the division of evidence or its lack of clarity, judg-

ment is prevented and we cannot decide on a subtle problem, which may not yet be approachable . . . or perhaps may never be. All these forms of hypothesis should be clearly stated. An apparatus is therefore necessary to clarify for each case the nature of the doubt and to whatever extent may be possible, to measure the element of probability.

In this way musicologists will be supplied with a tool of real value. No matter what the goal of their studies may be, they will be able to begin with a knowledge of the proved facts and those which are not yet entirely certain. In limiting themselves to the former, they will be able to draw definitive conclusions. Their diagrams and statistics will have a real meaning. As for the hypothetical factors, it will be best to handle them with prudence, while carefully studying the scope of probabilities. But, under such conditions, we can hope for a great deal as the result of patient work. Comparisons will be able to shed light on new certainties, or at least to cast an indirect light on phenomena which have remained until now as obscure points.

III.

To bring this critical edition to a fruitful result, it will require the gathering of sufficient documentation, in the form of manuscripts of the *Graduale* itself, or of extracts of it, such as the *Cantatorium*, or its combinations with other liturgical books, such as the *Graduale-Sacramentary*, the full Missal, the "*Totum*". We cannot hope to gather all the sources of the ancient tradition. They were too numerous, and destructions of one kind or another have made too many inroads on their ensemble, but we must try to have representative manuscripts of all countries and of all epoques, granting preference to the earlier centuries, without, however, systematically neglecting the later manuscripts of the fourteenth, fifteenth or even the sixteenth centuries.

With these documents we shall reconstruct the history of the *Graduale*, showing the different stages of its evolution, their succession and their relationship. This will lead us to an understanding of its original form. Everything will be

achieved by way of comparison, using the divergent versions provided by the various manuscripts.

On the subject of these divergencies an important remark must be made. We must take care not to treat everything on the basis of equal importance. The conditions inherent in a living tradition oblige us to classify them in two distinct categories: those which stem from the process of transmission itself, and those which are merely the result of the passage of time.

The former group includes the true "variants", similar to those which we shall find and which we deal with in the other areas of textual restoration. They result from modifications introduced at a specified time and in a specified document, and reproduced in copies made from that document. They convey the relationship of a descendant to a parent, and therefore permit the study of manuscript families and the establishing of their "family trees". The restoration will then be made by using the version on which the majority of the independent "heads of families" seem to agree.

To realize its fullest potentials and to provide complete security, the method presupposes that the variants retained for the establishment of the lineage were the results of a purely mechanical transmission of the tradition and that they do not derive from an arbitrary intervention which could upset the usual function of critical principles. If a manuscript, instead of being merely copied from another, had drawn from several sources and created a synthesis of several traditions, it would, because of that fact alone, be able to do nothing better than to confuse research and falsify conclusions.

It is a similar situation in the case where a certain manuscript may have been modified by a musical theorist. Indeed, with a psychology very different from ours, and with a systematic mind in keeping with their day, some of these theorists of the middle ages felt no reluctance in modifying existing points to make them conform with a preconceived idea. The real value of this preconceived idea is hardly of

any importance to our present discussion. It is enough that we know that historical fact has been tampered with and that the regular principles of the transmission of evidence have been negated. Systematic contamination and correction are the two worst enemies we can encounter in our work. We must, therefore, make every effort to discover and eliminate without hesitation every manuscript found to be of such a nature.

In regard to the divergencies of the second category, matters present themselves in an entirely different light. We are not concerned in this instance with the occasional errors which are perpetuated in the passing down of a document, but with variations of practice which are the product of the passing of time. At certain times innovations were introduced and began to spread nearly everywhere at a more or less rapid pace. These threads of diffusion, which stemmed from changes of taste and habit, have in themselves nothing in common with those which created the families of manuscripts. We find all kinds of manifestations, in, for example, the elimination of the psalm at the communion or the verses of the offertory, or in the raising of certain recitation notes by the interval of a semitone. These facts reflect the laws of liturgical and musical evolution, which special study will be able to verify and clarify with precision.

Under these conditions, any clearly established archaicism will be brought out, even if it exists in only a very small number of manuscripts, providing that these documents are related to the prototype in an independent manner.

As we can see, the special treatment which each of the two categories requires obliges us to make a careful selection of the observed facts. A confusion in this choice would be a calamity.

*
* *

The restoration of the *Graduale* is a complex task which cannot be accomplished in a single stroke. It must be carried out in three successive steps, according to the nature of the subject and the logical continuity of facts.

The most ancient copies of the *Graduale*, from the eighth and ninth centuries, gave only the literary texts, without musical notation of any kind. Taking these documents as a basis and supporting their evidence by that of other somewhat more recent manuscripts, in order to obtain a general comparison of all the families of manuscripts, it is easy to arrive at an "analytical table" of the original *Graduale*, that is, the list, the order and the structure of the masses which make up the book. The unanimous agreement of consulted documents proves the authenticity of a given mass or a given piece, whereas their disagreement conveys evidence of a later modification which must be eliminated. The editing of the literary text of the retained pieces is achieved in the same manner. In this way we shall arrive at the first historical status of the *Graduale*.

The continuation of studies concerns the musical notation. The notation appeared toward the end of the ninth century, in the form of neumes, and it is, therefore, a neumatic restoration which will interest us first. The neume, moreover, is the element common to all the types of notation, whether diastematic or not, and it is the neume which must, necessarily, furnish the variants in the classifying process we have previously mentioned. In selecting melodic variations we cannot use any but the diastematic manuscripts. The most ancient and most valuable documents must remain outside this part of the discussion. The entire critical task will therefore first be directed at the neumes, and it will result in the forming of a neumatic *Graduale*, the second status of the historical evolution.

Then and only then shall we begin the melodic restitution, the third and final status of this evolution. The distinction made previously between that which is the result of transmission and that which is the product of the passage of time must now be applied with utmost accuracy. And if the solutions at this point take on a more pronounced hypothetical character — the inevitable result of the time which elapsed between the writing of the first neumatic manuscripts and the first manuscripts on lines —

the critical apparatus will provide each problem with the required indications.

The critical edition of the *Graduale* will make a synthesis of the results of these studies, combining these three restorations. We shall not then have the original book in its actual form, since musical notation was then unknown, but we shall have something equivalent to it, since the notes and neumes will be, for us, the means of representing the melodic and rhythmic tradition which accompanied the prototype when it passed from one locale to another. We say "prototype" and not "original," for the method of restoration permits us only to arrive at the document from which are derived, as copies, the manuscripts which we shall study. Now the pieces contained in the prototype must have had very diverse origins, some ancient, some more recent, and certain modifications could have taken place in the lapse of time which passed between their composition and their introduction into the general repertoire. Here we see the limitation of our method. We shall reconstruct the prototype and nothing more. A critical edition of the "original" may be attempted later on, but that will be through other processes. Moreover, this extremely subtle work, which will go back beyond the evidence of the manuscript sources, will have its basis in the present critical edition of the prototype. Our present critical edition will provide that more subtle study with its materials and, through its observation of the tiniest anomalies of composition, will provide such advanced study with its first hypothesis on many points.

Such are the general lines of the method which we are using, for the work we are describing has been already underway for nine years at Solesmes. It takes into account nearly four hundred manuscripts, dating from the ninth to sixteenth centuries and coming from all the countries of western Europe. The task is being handled by a whole team of monks, in order that many viewpoints may be had, and it moves with the greatest care possible, each step being made twice, in order that it be carefully controlled. The principles used, the stages of the operation, the difficulties

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met with and the details of the conclusions reached will be published, in complete objectivity, so that everyone may make his own evaluation. Our immediate goal is not of a practical nature. We wish, first of all, to furnish a scientific basis and a working instrument adaptable to the research which remains to be done. Is this not an excellent means toward the greater understanding and appreciation of Gregorian chant, the precious treasure of the Roman Church?

THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE RESTORATION OF THE AUTHENTIC GREGORIAN VERSIONS

by Dom Joseph Gajard, O.S.B.,
Choirmaster of Solesmes Abbey

The chief duty which falls to whoever would attempt to restore an ancient text, whether this be a matter of literature, of music, of science, or of religious or worldly content, is clearly that of discovering the original status, the authentic form of the text, as it came from the hand of the craftsman or artist who created it.

It would never occur to anyone of serious intent that a literary or musical work could have existed originally only in the form of a series of variants proposed by the author, among which each person might choose the one he preferred. Obviously I am not speaking now of sketches, remaining in a half-finished state, which the composer did not have time to bring to detailed perfection; I am speaking of works which tradition gives to us as having well defined forms.

If, then, there is a single imperative requirement of contemporary science, this is most assuredly the one. It is a question of going back to the sources, to all the sources, and of utilizing everything available to obtain the authentic and objective version of the work. No effort is too great; no research may be neglected. We are very demanding. We are not content with the mere results, even when clearly established. We want to know the sources, in order that we ourselves may observe the work being done. Scholars sift whole libraries in search of the least indication which would permit them to clarify a point, a detail or aspect, no matter how small. Anything which cannot justify its right to consideration is viewed as having no value.

We know, for example, what came of the attempt by Rimsky-Korsakov to correct the opera *Boris Goudonov* of Mussorgsky, with the avowed purpose of eliminating the harshness of awkward passages. There is hardly an artist who does not prefer, even from the artistic point of view, the original version of Mussorgsky, which is far more beautiful in its austerity than the glosses of its corrector.

In the liturgy, too, we realize today what we must think of the corrections made, in the sixteenth century, in the versions of our liturgical hymns, by the Commission of four Jesuits, who were so taken by classicism and also so intent on avoiding errors of prosody.

Why this attitude? The reason is very simple: it is merely that any work, be it literary or musical, which is worthy of this title, has more than an limited aesthetic value. It has a profound meaning and is the bearer of a message, and it is this very message which we must find, by means of the signs intended to transmit it to us. If someone should substantially modify these signs, the meaning itself is altered, and the work has lost its real reason for existence. This explains, far better than a simple convention of a school or method, the intensity with which scholars study not only the original manuscripts, but also every document capable of adding to knowledge of the circumstances of their composition, their spirit, the intentions which governed their creation in order to reproduce it and to interpret it in the same sense as that of its conception and its creation by the composer.

We cannot see why things should be any different in regard to Gregorian chant. Here there is, moreover, an additional reason for this extra care. Besides "that mysterious marvel," of which Dom Mocquereau spoke, "for which the notes, groups of neumes, words, texts and all the rhythmic and dynamic signs are only means, I mean to say real, true sense of the musical composition, that which in our day we call *the genius of the work*," (*Paleographie Musicale*, Volume XI, p. 19), we also sense in it the living spirit of our forefathers, their emotions and super-

natural awareness; we actually communicate with their spirituality. "These chants are sacred, do not tamper with them," Dom Delatte has said. "The anonymous work of artists who were saints has given us the treasure of these formulas, which are the purest and the most expressive which human art has found for speaking to God . . . These are men who have brought intellectual clarity to such a point that we cannot explain these things which they have explained, except in a more extended and less precise manner."

This, too, is the directive set forth by St. Pius X in his *Motu Proprio* of April 25, 1904, for the workers whom he called together for the purpose of publishing an edition of the *Graduale* and *Antiphonale* which would be as perfect as possible, the Vatican edition: "The Gregorian melodies," he said, "will be restored in their integrity and purity according to the fidelity of the most ancient manuscripts." What he wished to restore to the Catholic Church is obviously its traditional chant, the original and authentic version of the melodies, and not an approximate version, regardless of what such an approximate version might have as artistic or paleographic rights.

I must apologize for seeming to go on unnecessarily, but not very long ago I heard the expression of all sorts of strange theories which were being proposed for acceptance. According to one, there would not be a single authentic version of the ancient melodies, having the right to take precedence over all others, but merely a number of "dialects," with, for each one, equal right to existence with the others. We were told that there were German, French, Italian dialects, and others.

This is obviously a playing with words, and without going into the stranger aspects of such a theory, the manuscripts themselves provide its most decisive refutation. In general, we find in the manuscripts a very impressive agreement, often a unanimity, particularly for the ancient pieces of the repertoire, those of the so-called Golden Age, which we can consider as forming the original basis. Naturally I

am not now considering the smaller details, of lesser importance to the meaning of the work, if not to the paleography, as, for example, here or there, the question of the use of a liquescent note. I am concerned for the moment only with the main substance of the melody, in its general lines and in its characteristic details. Once we have thus recognized and restored the primitive version according to the most severe critical principles, it goes without saying that the more extensive variants observed in one or another of the manuscripts cannot be considered as stemming from a different "dialect." These are alterations, nothing more. Let us state frankly that they are corruptions of the melody, and as such, they should be unhesitatingly rejected.

Yet let us stress the fact that an intelligent critical judgment is vital. It happens that in certain very clear cases of certain important melodic characteristics, that is, affecting the very character of the piece, a slip has occurred at a relatively early point in the development of the tradition. Remember that diastematic manuscripts, that is to say, those which convey the melodic intervals, did not appear until quite late, a long time after the composition of the melodies, and that it is therefore not surprising that serious modifications should have taken place, under the influence of causes which it is not, however, always easy to determine. Yet Providence has provided that the true version has generally been preserved in a privileged and isolated spot, and with characteristics which make it possible to say with certainty that we have in such a case the original and objective version, and not merely a local variant. Thus we note that it is not so much the quantity as the quality of the sources which we must watch for, if we wish to be truly objective: *non numerandi, sed ponderandi*.

We may even say that in this regard each family of manuscripts has its own characteristics. Let us consider just a few typical cases:

1. In the question of recitation notes and modal cadences, notably in the third and fourth modes, the Aquitanian, and still more strongly, the Beneventan manuscripts are absolutely indispensable.

2. To determine the quality of the note B, in certain difficult cases, the German manuscripts are among the best.
3. In regard to the authentic general line, in the not-so-rare case of real chromaticism, even though it be hidden, it is very often the Anglo-Norman manuscripts which are the only useful ones.

Let us discuss each of these points in turn. Obviously I cannot give you in these pages a demonstration with supporting documents. I can only set forth a few important explanations.

I. Recitation Notes and Modal Cadences in the Third and Fourth Modes

This is not a new question. It would seem, moreover, that there is no point in discussing it further, since it has been so often written about, and, moreover, in an apparently irrefutable manner. Yet we should mention it, because of its importance, since we are obliged to recognize that the Vatican edition leaves a great deal to be desired on this point.

The deuterus group (third and fourth modes) has as its essential notes, if we compare it with the modern scale, E and B natural. On these notes are formed most of the recitations and cadences. This special importance, and in particular this cadential value, both of which are attributed to these degrees of the scale which fall a semitone above a higher note, and for that reason often used in our modern system to precede the tonic and to lead to it ("leading tone"), are highly characteristic and confer on this deuterus group a very special color which distinguishes it clearly from our modern major and minor modes. There is something discreet, reserved, delicate and withdrawn about this group which it is difficult to overlook. This is a further reason, it would seem, for maintaining it faithfully.

Now it is a fact that most of the manuscripts noted with staff lines, even the older ones, give in to this "attraction" of the quasi-leading tone to the note a half-tone above, which later led to the formation of our modern major scale, and slip the original notes upward to this higher note, often giving a C where there should be a B, an F for an E, and even a B flat for an A. Naturally we are speaking of comparative intervals, not necessarily the true pitch of our performance.

Of all, or nearly all the manuscripts on lines (or the diastematic ones), only the Aquitanian and Beneventan, in particular, have remained faithful to the original versions. Faced with the relatively small number of these documents compared with the rest of the manuscript tradition, and perhaps still more influenced by a fear of upsetting the habits of the modern ear, many Gregorian scholars have been led to believe that this is a local variant, interesting, perhaps, but really only local, belonging to a certain church, but which has no right to take precedence over another version . . . in sum, merely a different "dialect."

Unfortunately for such persons, this is a point of view which, paleographically and scientifically, cannot be supported. In the very case which we are about to examine, the Beneventan version, far from being a local variant, is clearly the universal, authentic and original version, as is proved by the evidence of the ancient manuscripts in pure neumes, the St. Gall, Metz, Chartres documents, etc., which are the basis of scientific research, and also by evidence of the principles of Latin philology. If we take, as examples, only the St. Gall scripts, which are German, with their system of punctums and virgas, we find it impossible to transcribe them without the aid of the Beneventan manuscripts. Volume XIV of the *Paleographie Musicale* has already given a demonstration of this point. Volume XV establishes it clearly with an abundance of proof.

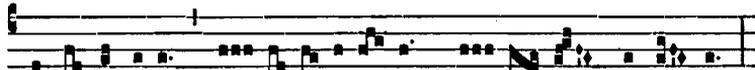
Moreover, it seems that there is certainly no loss of artistic quality.

Vatican version:



Remi-niscere mi-se-ra-ti-ó-num tu-á-rum Dómi-ne.

Authentic version:



II. The Nature of the B

This is another question which, although it may not actually affect the modal line in some cases in any real sense (it does have a very important influence in certain cases), is nonetheless of a very great importance in the aesthetic values and inner meaning of our melodies.

In many cadences, for example, those of the third, fourth, fifth and first modes, the nature of the B offers a very real problem: is it a B natural or a B flat? In many cases the Vatican edition has chosen what we may call the line of least resistance. It has inserted the B flat because of the proximity of an F natural, this being done to avoid the famous tritone. This is another example of deference for the habits of the modern ear!

To what extent is it justifiable? Obviously, except for the question of melodic formulas or patent phrases, it is impossible to lay down a priori rules. This is a matter of separate cases. What we must admit, however, is that the problem is not always too clear, and most of the time the evidence of the manuscripts is disappointing.

Many of the manuscripts must be immediately discarded because of their negligence in inserting the flat, or in omitting it where it should be included. In other cases, there is some sort of indication at the beginning of the staff, something like a key signature, but does it hold good for the

entire line? The use of the natural sign is so rare that it cannot be presumed as either absent or implied. Still worse, even in explicit notation we must sometimes be on guard. It is not rare to find very clearly noted flats in places where it is possible to prove that the natural is required, and vice versa. This is certainly one of the greatest difficulties which the restoration of the Gregorian melodies has encountered.

Fortunately, we are not completely lacking in informative sources. I shall merely mention here the evidence of the German manuscripts, which is particularly useful, precisely because of that tendency which I noted previously and which is more pronounced in the German scripts than in the others, that is, the raising of the B, E or A to the note lying a semitone higher. It is very remarkable, and this is a fact of experience, verified over hundreds of well-established points, that in the case of the B natural, they usually give a C, whereas in the case of a real B flat, they give a B, most of the time without indication of its nature as flat or natural.

For example, let us examine the introit *Lux fulgebit* of the Dawn Mass of Christmas:

Vatican version:



Lux fulgé-bit hó-di-e su-per nos: qui-a natus est

Authentic version:

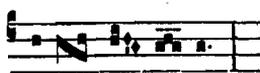


Vatican version:



nobis Dó-mi-nus.

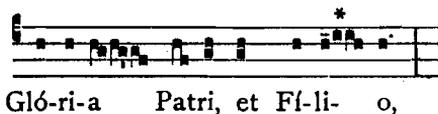
Authentic version:



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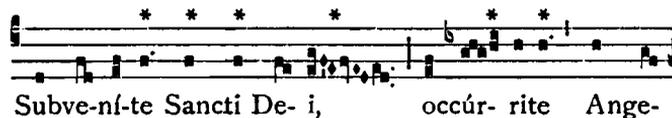
At the cadence of the first two phrases the Vatican edition has given a B flat, which causes a modulation to the protus group (second mode), completely changing the character of the passage. Now sing the authentic version, with the B natural, in the tetrardus group (eighth mode), as it is indirectly revealed to us by the German manuscripts, Graz 807, Treves 2154, etc. How much lighter it is, more vital and wholly in character with the atmosphere of joy and brightness of this beautiful mass!

Again, listen to the verse melodies of the first mode *Responsories*, with their bright B natural. It gives an impression of light and fullness, which is the usual effect of the B natural, particularly when it comes soon after the F natural:



Sing, too, the *Subvenite*, in the version given by the Vatican edition and then in that of the monastic edition. You will then see what result is obtained by the combination of two points which we have just discussed: the restoration of the fourth mode recitation on E instead of F and the B natural in the cadence instead of the antimodal B flat. We have in one case the authentic Gregorian version, and on the other the same piece, but altered and corrupted:

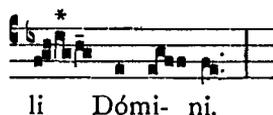
Vatican version:



Monastic version:



Vatican version:



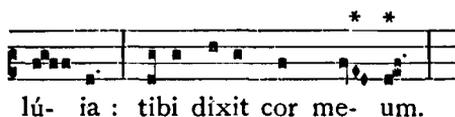
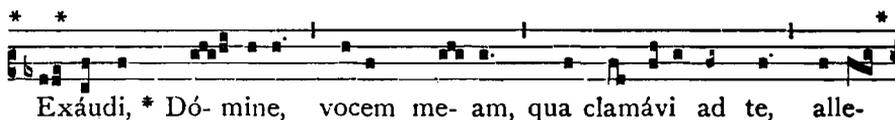
Monastic version:



III. The Case of Hidden Chromaticism

This is another point. We have been repeatedly told that there is no chromaticism in Gregorian chant. As far as direct, and if I may say, brutal chromaticism, through the direct progression of three semitones, such as E, F, F sharp, G, no, of course not! But how about the case of a hidden chromaticism? These cases are not rare, we must admit. To be sure, this chromaticism is often achieved very discreetly, with so much art and subtlety that frequently we do not sense it until after having heard it. It is nonetheless real, and often of very fine effect. Each of the phrases is diatonic; it is their combination which produces chromaticism.

The most common case is that which consists of the establishment of two different modal scales on the same tonic, or the same degree of the staff. Here, for example, is the introit *Exaudi Domine* of the Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension:



In this introit the tonic *la*, equivalent for purposes of discussion to our modern A, is followed first by a B flat, and later on by a B natural, giving rise to deuterus and protus successively, on the same degree, with the specific color which is peculiar to each of these two modal groups. Let us repeat, the case of this sort of thing is quite frequent in the repertoire.

In spite of its frequency, this kind of thing caused the ancient scribes some enormous difficulties. For as long as the scribes had available only pure neumes, *in campo aperto*, which gave nothing more than the general line, without intervals, there was no problem. But after the invention of the staff, when it became necessary to relate the ancient neumes to fixed lines, and then to notate precise intervals, without being able to call on the use of accidentals, sharps or flats, the transcription of these chromatic melodies posed what seemed to be insurmountable problems. We find that scribes, in despair of solutions to the problem, raised or lowered whole lines of music the distance of a tone or so, in order to avoid the forbidden sharps or flats, without, however, warning the reader about it. This, obviously, substantially altered the melody in question.

Permit me to cite as an example a transcription made a long time ago by Dom Pothier in the *Revue du Chant Gregorien* of the beautiful responsory of the feast of St. Agnes, *Anno Christum*. In this case he lowered an entire phrase of this wonderful melody by the interval of a whole tone.

The only solution was, therefore, not to notate the piece in the usual position on the scale, selected according to the mode by which the piece begins, but rather to select a position on the scale where the flexibility of the B, which may be either flat or natural, can serve the best purpose.

Let us look again at the introit *Exaudi Domine*. It begins in deuterus. Try writing it in the usual position, on E. The first notes will then be E, F, D and G. You will be obliged, however, to use an F sharp at the modulation to

protus on the words *cor meum*, which is a forbidden accidental. The only solution is notation with a tonic on A, which permits us to move from a semitone to a whole tone through the moveable B.

The solution is simple, you may say. Surely, but so was that of Columbus for standing an egg on end! Someone must think of it first! In fact, in a great many cases we shall find that the Anglo-Norman manuscripts are, in this instance, the most flexible. Often we cannot get along without their evidence.

I have mentioned the responsory *Amo Christum*. If I may be permitted to bring personal experience into the discussion, since I had the task of restoring this piece myself some time ago for the edition of the *Responsoriale*, let me say that I sat for hour after hour before the comparative chart, unable to find my way through the confusion of pages of various versions transcribed from the manuscripts. Each scribe had shifted the melody upward or downward at the point where he had thought that the least damage might be incurred. It was only after many reflections and attempts, and finally by a decision to begin with the end of the piece and restore it working backwards, that I arrived at a solution, with considerable pleasure, and I may say, fascination with the beauty of the melody, which, in the light of the English manuscripts, turned out to be the original, authentic version.

I shall further cite, among others, two antiphons of the *Mandatum* for which we never know the right key to be used in performance, since either the antiphon or the verse is always too low or too high, depending on our choice. These are the antiphons *Postquam surrexit Dominus a coena* and *Si ego Dominus*, both marked as fourth mode. The study of the comparative tables is absolutely discouraging. We find each of these two pieces noted in the eighth mode, seventh mode, fourth mode, third mode and even the first mode, depending on the manuscript. Each scribe accomplishes a *tour de force* to bring the piece to a suitable conclusion. In reality, it would seem that these are antiphons

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in the first mode, with verses in the seventh, but we must study them seriously still more before deciding on the scale in which to write them. Without the English manuscripts it would be absolutely impossible to rediscover what we can consider to be the authentic version.

Let us add that these melodies which contain latent chromaticism by virtue of the unexpected modulations which they contain are often among the most beautiful of the repertoire, and it would be too bad to alter them. I shall give just one example, a very short antiphon, in which the combination of chromatic modulation and modal cadence, already discussed above, literally transform the character of the piece. This example is the antiphon of the *Benedictus* for the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany: *Ascendente Jesu in naviculum*:

Vatican version:



Ascendénte * Je-su in na-ví-culam.

Monastic version:



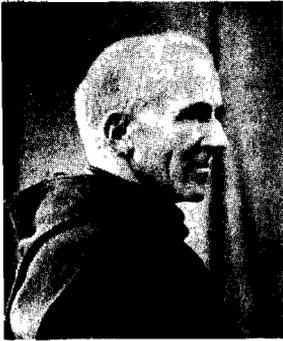
This is a sixth mode piece. The *Vatican Antiphonale* gives it on *fa*, in the usual way, which provides a leading-tone type of cadence at the cadence of *naviculum*, the *podatus* and *punctum*, *mi-fa-fa*. Moreover, at the intonation the Vatican edition retains the version of most of the manuscripts, German and others, maintaining the B flat where there should be an A, the phenomenon we mentioned earlier. The Vatican melody gives *fa-sol-la-ti flat-ti flat*, which gives the effect of a leading-tone relationship. From long study we know that this leading-tone effect is contrary, in principle, so to speak, to Gregorian modality. It gives an impression of falseness and painful sentimentality.

The *Monastic Antiphonary*, in conformity with the true tradition, has carefully retained the podatus of the cadence of *naviculum*, which is excellent. But, since the piece is now transcribed on *do*, the podatus has become *ti flat-do*, a whole tone movement below the tonic, according to the principles of the purest Gregorian modality. Then, too, at the intonation the B flat of the last syllable of *Ascendente* has been lowered, in conformity with the Beneventan manuscripts and that of Hartker, to the A, a semitone below. Thus it avoids the two leading-tone effects, and in their place we have authentic Gregorian formulas. Let us sing them!

Two equal "dialects," shall we say? Of course not; these are the original work and corrupted versions.

I have spoken of chromatic modulation. This is to say, in fact, that anyone who *hears* this monastic version without having the printed music before him will hear it as written on *fa*, as is usual for the sixth mode, a notation which usually includes a semitone interval below the tonic. When then, the whole tone of *naviculum*, completely unexpected, strikes the ear, it sounds like an E flat. This is a real chromaticism, although the notation is diatonic.

I must stop here, having already been too long on these matters. The conclusion, a brief one, is that all the families of manuscripts have some importance. We must neglect none of these sources, for it is only by consulting all of them that we have a chance of rediscovering the original version, . . . not a local variant, but the universal, primitive and authentic version, the one which should be the only goal of anyone who has the honor of working toward the restoration of the inestimable treasure of sung prayer to the Church.



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