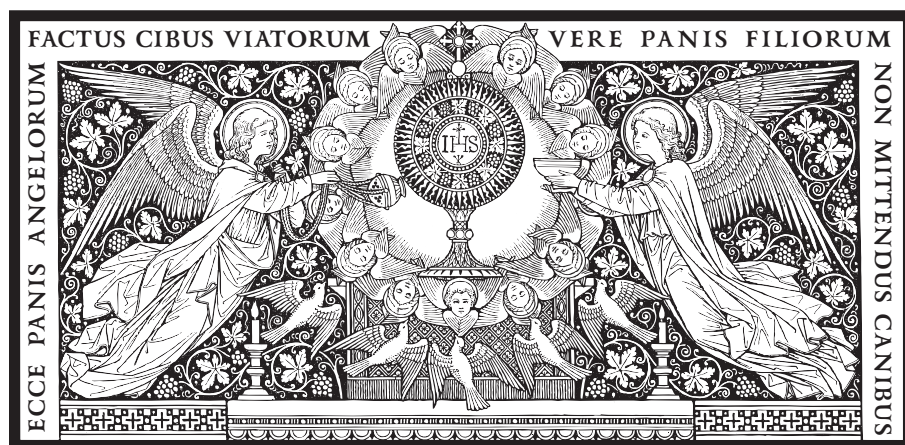


Sacred Music

Summer 2024 | Volume 151, Number 2





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Editorial

Sacred and Beautiful

Assisting the congregation with joining in Christ's sacrifice to the Father requires sacred and beautiful music.

by William Mahrt



he liturgy should be sacred, and it should be beautiful, a foundational principle of the CMAA. Music must be an essential part of it. In fact, the Second Vatican Council endorsed the sung Mass:

Liturgical worship is given a more noble form when the divine offices are celebrated solemnly in song, with the assistance of sacred ministers and the active participation of the people.¹

For the fathers of the council, “solemnly” and “sacred ministers” could only prescribe the Solemn High Mass, completely sung, with priest, deacon, and subdeacon. Many of the norms of the traditional liturgy were reiterated by the council, but not in a mandatory fashion, so that “a more noble form,” leaves all to our discretion, and constitutes our mandate.

By tradition, there were two forms of the Mass, *missa cantata or solemnis* or *missa*

lecta (sung Mass or spoken Mass). For the sung Mass, practically everything to be pronounced aloud was to be sung.² Moreover, the sung form was definitely normative. The spoken form (low Mass) was only introduced in the Middle Ages, when mendicants who travelled for preaching could not be with a community for a sung Mass but would say their Mass privately. So, as still today with the Byzantine liturgy, the only form was the sung form. It could thus be inferred that the most suitable way to address God liturgically is to sing. Pope Benedict has referred to this principle:

When man comes into contact with God, mere speech is not enough. Areas of his existence are awakened that spontaneously turn into song. Indeed, man's own being is insufficient for what he has to express, and so he invites the whole of creation to become a song with him.³

¹Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (1963), ¶113.

²The priest spoke the final blessing; only the bishop could sing it.

³Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (Commemorative Edition, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000), p. 150.

William Mahrt is the president of the CMAA and the editor of Sacred Music.

Likewise, the council authorized the traditional forms of music, particularly Gregorian chant and classical polyphony.

The Church acknowledges Gregorian chant as specially suited to the Roman liturgy: therefore, other things being equal, it should be given principal place⁴ in liturgical services. But other kinds of sacred music, especially polyphony, are by no means excluded from liturgical celebrations, so long as they accord with the spirit of the liturgical action, as laid down in Art. 30.⁵

This is our mandate, to propagate the “more noble form,” the completely sung Mass with adequate ceremonies and particularly with the tradition of chant, polyphony, and excellent modern sacred music.

These repertoires have been sung in preconciliar and postconciliar liturgies, and significant progress has been made in their cultivation. In 2007, Pope Benedict provided ample usage of the preconciliar liturgy, coining the distinction between extraordinary and ordinary forms.⁶

More recently, Pope Francis has abrogated Pope Benedict’s ample provision for the extraordinary form, placing serious restrictions upon it.⁷ His *motu proprio* del-

egated the authorization of the extraordinary form to the diocesan bishop, but a subsequent rescript placed a severe restriction on that: the diocesan bishop must have the approval of Rome before he can make such an authorization. Most recently, there are reports of a further document placing severe restrictions on the form.

Some have raised the question of whether a Vatican dicastery has the authority to overrule a bishop’s decision. In any case, congregations which celebrate the extraordinary form will not go away silently, and

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the complete suppression of the form may not be possible. After all, what Pope Benedict said should still hold: “What earlier generations held as sacred, remains sacred and great for us too, and it cannot be all of a sudden entirely forbidden or even considered harmful.”⁸

What of our mandate?

Many congregations celebrating the extraordinary form extensively employ both

⁴“Principal place” (*principem locum*) is usually translated “pride of place,” but this is too easily understood as a mere honorific and does not express the fundamental liturgical role of Gregorian chant.

⁵*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶116.

⁶Pope Benedict, *Motu Proprio Summorum Pontificum* on the “Roman liturgy prior to the reform of 1970” (July 7, 2007); I avoid the use of “novus ordo” since this has Masonic resonances—see the reverse of the United States dollar bill.

⁷Pope Francis, *Motu proprio Traditionis Custodes*

on the “Use of the Roman Liturgy prior to the Reform of 1970” (July 16, 2021).

⁸Pope Benedict, Letter to the Bishops accompanying the *Motu Proprio Summorum Pontificum* on the “Roman liturgy prior to the reform of 1970” (July 7, 2007).

chant and polyphony. Our Lady of Guadalupe Seminary for the Priestly Fraternity of St. Peter in Denton, Nebraska has an admirable cultivation of Gregorian chant. Some of their congregations benefit from the performance of polyphonic Mass ordinaries. The colloquium of the CMAA includes the celebration of Masses in the old form. These repertoires grew up in the traditional Mass, and they find their natural employment there. It would be a tragedy for these occasions to be suppressed.

However, the overwhelming preponderance of the Catholic Church celebrates the ordinary form. These celebrations must also be sacred and beautiful. Congregations have made some progress musically. Immediately after the council, congregations which did not already sing hymns (some did), were given the “four-hymn sandwich” (a hymn at the introit, offertory, communion, and recession). These were often Protestant hymns whose musical quality was good, whose texts were fundamentally sacred, but whose ethos was Protestant. But in some places these were soon replaced by “songs” in styles drawn from popular music. For the liturgy to be sacred, the music must be distinct from the everyday, and thus these songs contributed to a desacralization of the liturgy. Congregations also began to sing some other parts of the liturgy, the responses, the Lord’s Prayer, and particularly the ordinary. This music is sometimes accompanied by the piano, in a style of accompaniment that is not edifying, and the quality of the music is sometimes middling. Moreover, the repertory of hymns or songs is limited, and the uniqueness of every Mass in the tradition, created by propers of the Mass which change each day, is imperfect.

It is possible to improve both the sacredness and beauty of the liturgy by incorporating what the council designated as “the treasury of sacred music,” chant and polyphony as well as more recent compositions. And it is possible to celebrate the ordinary form in Latin, as one has often seen Popes Benedict and Francis do. I have often heard advocates of the extraordinary form speak of it as the “Latin Mass,” but a Mass in the ordinary form in Latin is also a Latin Mass. My choir celebrates a Sunday Mass in the ordinary form, in Latin, completely sung, with a couple of polyphonic motets, and on solemnities, a polyphonic Mass (mainly Renaissance, Byrd, Lasso, Victoria, Josquin, etc.). Occasionally someone from the congregation volunteers, “This is what the council prescribed.”

But it is possible to use some Latin in a Mass celebrated mainly in English. Many parishes include in the parish bulletin an order of the Mass, including music to be sung; here translations of anything in Latin can easily be included. For my parish, I have compiled a booklet of some two hundred fifty motet texts, which the congregation can use; motet numbers are posted on the hymn board; the congregation regularly use these in following the texts of motets and are appreciative of them.

The sacredness of the liturgy can be enhanced by the use of the Propers of the Mass, introit, gradual, alleluia, offertory, and communion, with tracts replacing alleluias in Lent. These can be sung in Latin, but English adaptations are also available. The collection authored by Fr. Weber⁹ includes varying degrees of elaborateness, for each

⁹Rev. Samuel F. Weber O. S. B., *The Propers of the Mass for Sundays and Solemnities* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2014).

piece, from simple psalm tone to a reasonable slight reduction of the original Gregorian melody. There are quite a few other adaptations available, and it is also possible for a choir director to do what high-church Anglican directors have sometimes done: make their own adaptations. Still, the Latin versions of the propers are somewhat more elaborate, and in my opinion, they project a greater sense of solemnity.

To introduce singing Gregorian propers, it is possible to do one proper each Sunday. My recommendation is to begin with the communion propers, since often there is time to sing the proper chant with a couple of psalm verses and still sing a hymn or have an organ voluntary. I contend that in a Mass for which only hymns have been sung, the singing of the communion antiphon will add something special, something notably sacred. After some time, depending upon how it is received, another proper could be added. On high feast days, yet another could be used; for example, the gradual *Hæc dies* could be sung on Easter. It is possible that the whole cycle of propers could be achieved in due time.

I remember visiting a parish church in which the congregation sang all of the ordinary in chant, and the choir sang most of the proper plus a motet, an excellent organist played a prelude, postlude, and a few interludes, and the church was packed. I spoke to the pastor who was responsible for the liturgy and asked him what was there before; he said, the normal parish Mass with songs accompanied by guitars. How long did it take to establish this excellent liturgy? About six months. This, of course, was the work of the pastor himself. In other circumstances the work must be a collaboration of music director with the pastor.

The role of music director is multiple. In addition to all manners of organization, he must also be an educator. While his principal function is to cultivate the sacredness and beauty of the liturgy in the context of his particular congregation, this function is enhanced by his conscious application of his work to the education of the congregation in the matters of sacred music. As a specialist, he rightly can educate the pastor himself (with a little diplomacy).

*There is now a crucial
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There is now a crucial question: what purpose should music serve in the liturgy? There is no question that the liturgy should serve the congregation; the tenor of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy bears that out. But there are different views of how that should work. They have been called anthropocentric and theocentric, basically centered upon human concerns or centered upon God. It is not a question of deciding upon one or the other exclusively, but rather deciding about their interrelation. A purely anthropocentric orientation deals with addressing the congregation as needy and fulfilling those needs. A theocentric orientation sees that the principal liturgical need of the congregation is to worship God. I would contend, then, that the most effective anthropocentric thing that can be done is to assist the congregation in doing

the theocentric—joining in Christ’s sacrifice to the Father—this is the most fundamental aspect of actual participation.

This point of view suggests some aspects of the music. Music can serve diverse functions. It can evoke a place, i.e. cocktail music, military music, church music. It does these things by various levels of effects: entertainment, edification, and contemplation.¹⁰ Entertainment pleases the listener at the level of the immediate points of reference; edification moves the listener to commitment, and contemplation elevates the listener beyond himself to a higher level. Much music has some aspect of each of these, but they are still quite distinct. One can also think about the object of the listener’s attention: for entertainment, it is often the action which the music accompanies; for edification it can be the text which the music sets; for purely classical music, such as chamber music, the work, and perhaps the personality of the composer embedded in it, but for liturgical music the elevation of the mind is not to the work of music, but to God himself, who is the object of the worship.

What characteristics of music reflect each of these kinds of function? To compare vernacular metric hymns with Gregorian chant, the rhythm and harmonization is a principal difference. The rhythm of Gregorian chant is irregular and unemphatic, characteristics which avoid the sense of the strict passage of time, evoking eternity. The vernacular hymns with their regular harmonic progression create a sense of the regular passage of time and leave the effect of

the music to be quite temporal.

The texture of classical polyphony is imitative, and projects a distinctive kind of purposeful order, something that caused it to be described in the Renaissance as evoking the harmonies of the universe. Even now, this evocation of order can lead the listener in following it to elevate the attention to the source of order, God.

Finally, the best of music has an effect upon the soul. Plato described it as ordering the motions of the soul,¹¹ whatever is disturbed or disordered can be brought into order by the contemplation of purposeful music. Harmony is far more than the concord of the notes of a triad; Medieval writers spoke of the harmonic relations of the pitches in an unaccompanied melody. Rather, it is purposeful order that results in an attentive repose, a state of rest that is highly conscious.

The soul refreshed then turns to God to participate in the highest thing a human being can do. And this must be supported by the most sacred and beautiful music. ❖

¹⁰William F. Pohl, “Liturgical Music and the Liturgical Movement (1966),” *Sacred Music*, 138, no. 3 (Fall 2011), 37–46.

¹¹“Music . . . is granted to us for the sake of harmony. And harmony which has motions akin to the revolutions of our souls is . . . meant to correct any discord which may have arisen in the courses of the soul, and to be our ally in bringing her into harmony an agreement with herself.” Plato, *Timaeus*, 47d.

Articles

A Medieval Deadline for the Reconstruction of Notre Dame Cathedral?

The “Phantom Dedication” of the Gothic Cathedral of Notre Dame and a proposal for a complete dedication ceremony on Easter Monday in 2027.

by Barbara Haggh-Huglo



It is established and well known that the main altar of the Gothic Cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris was consecrated on May 19 in 1182 by Cardinal Henri de Marcy, the Papal legate to France. At this time, the choir was completed but lacked a roof, and work on the nave and transept had only begun.¹ There is no evidence, however, that the Gothic Cathedral itself was ever formally dedicated and consecrated before 1864 (see below).² As late as

1496, Jean Le Munerat, Notre Dame's penitentiary, in response to considerations made by the Bishop of Paris, Louis Beaumont (d. 1492), concerning a dedication of Notre Dame and perhaps also with the much-delayed dedication in 1472 of the previously undedicated Gothic Cathedral of Cambrai³

the questions surrounding the absence of a dedication of the Gothic Notre Dame of Paris, in *ibid.*, pp. 127–28.

³Barbara Haggh-Huglo, “The Dedication Liturgy of Cambrai Cathedral and its Chant in Some Pontificals and Processionals,” *Études grégoriennes*, 48 (2021), 39–52. It is plausible that Le Munerat knew of the case of Cambrai Cathedral, because two influential bishops of Cambrai resided in Paris in the thirteenth century and Pierre d'Ailly, bishop of Cambrai and later Cardinal, had been chancellor of the University of Paris. See Barbara Haggh-Huglo, *Recollecting the Virgin Mary with*

¹Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 6–7. By this time, the choir had been completed, but little of the rest of the church.

²The expression “Phantom Dedication” was used by Craig Wright, who provides a useful history of

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in mind, published his tract *De dedicatione ecclesie Parisiensis*, in which he argued that a belated dedication would make no difference. In addition, an early legend stated that should the Cathedral of Notre Dame be completed, the relics of St. Marcel would have to be returned by the canons of Notre Dame to the canons of St. Marcel. According to Craig Wright, that could have been enough to keep the Gothic church unfinished and undedicated deliberately.⁴

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The medieval consecration of a church, called a dedication, consisted of a lengthy ceremony found in manuscripts called pontificals. It included the triple aspersion of the exterior of the church, the inscription of the Greek and Latin alphabets to form a cross of St. Andrew on the church floor, the aspersion of the inside of the church,

Music: Guillaume Du Fay's Chant across Five Centuries, chapters 2, 6, and 7 (Münster: American Institute of Musicology, forthcoming).

⁴Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 127–28.

and the aspersion of and placement of relics in the altar, followed by a Mass, which was normally required if worship was to take place in a new or rebuilt church. The dedication would be followed by a yearly feast of the anniversary of the dedication commemorating that ceremony, with its own liturgical texts and music. That yearly anniversary of the dedication was assigned to a specific date in the liturgical calendar of the church in question, which was not necessarily the date of the original celebration. For example, the old abbey of St. Gall celebrated the feast of the anniversary of its dedication on October 17, the day *after* the feast of St. Gall. Prior to the Gothic Cathedral of Notre Dame, the church at that location had celebrated the anniversary of its dedication possibly on October 11, but Craig Wright claimed that an anniversary of the dedication “was never celebrated during the church year at the cathedral [of Notre Dame].”⁵

It is thus not surprising that no medieval or early modern Parisian calendar dating from after 1163 was known to assign a date to an anniversary of the dedication of Notre Dame, but in 2000 in the archives of the church of San Nicola in Bari, I identified this text next to the date of March 29: “Dedicatio ecc[lesi]e b[ea]te marie p[ar]isien[sis], ix.lc.” on f. [2r] of the calendar at the beginning of Bari, Archivio di San Nicola, MS 1 (*olim* 7), a notated winter choir breviary for the use of the *capella regis* of France dating from the second half of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. This manuscript was destined, by copy or acquisition, for the 1296 foundation by Charles II of Anjou,

⁵Ibid., 128.

the nephew of King Louis IX, of a *capella regis* at the church of San Nicola in Bari.⁶ Comparison of the calendar of Bari, MS 1 with those of the oldest breviary of Notre Dame of Paris (Paris, BnF, lat. 748), dated from before 1207 by Rebecca Baltzer; and the calendar of the oldest thirteenth-century breviary of Notre Dame, Paris, BnF, lat. 1112, dated from the 1220s, according to Norman Smith and Rebecca Baltzer, situates the content of the calendar of Bari, MS 1 and its dedication entry written by the main scribe of the calendar, before the date of that of Paris, BnF, lat. 1112, so in or before the 1220s.⁷

⁶The musical contents of the liturgical manuscripts now in Bari that were associated with the foundation of Charles II of Anjou were most recently studied in a comprehensive dissertation by Elsa De Luca, “I manoscritti musicali dell’Archivio di San Nicola a Bari: elementi francesi nella musica e nella liturgia,” (Ph.D. diss., Università del Salento [Italy], 2011). Also see De Luca, “Il rito parigino Duecentesco nei manoscritti di San Nicola di Bari,” in *Celesti sirene 2: musica e monachesimo dal Medioevo all’Ottocento: atti del secondo Seminario internazionale, San Severo, 11–13 ottobre 2013*, ed. A. Bonsante and R. Pasquandrea (Barletta: Cafagna, 2014), 139–58.

⁷See Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo, “*Magnus liber—Maius munus*. Origine et destinée du manuscrit F,” *Revue de musicologie*, 90, no. 2 (2004), 193–230, especially 217–21, where Bari, MS 7 is an early catalogue number for MS 1, correct here, and on the dates of the early Parisian manuscripts, see Rebecca A. Baltzer, “A Royal French Breviary from the Reign of Saint Louis [Library of Congress, Ms. 15, from the 1260s],” in *The Varieties of Musicology: Essays in Honor of Murray Lefkowitz*, ed. John Daverio and John Ogasapian (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2000), pp. 3–25 and Appendix 1, pp. 19–23; Baltzer, “The Saints and the Sanctorale: Dating by the Decade in 13th-Century Paris,” handout of paper delivered at the 17th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, Belgium, August 1–7, 2002 (see the *Programme Abstracts*, ed. Ivan As-

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No other calendars to my knowledge assign the anniversary of the dedication of any Parisian church to March 29, but a calendar and a martyrology from the Abbey of St. Gall, Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 342 (also with the oldest complete gradual from St. Gall, ca. 1031–34, p. 6) and MS 915 (also with the oldest capitulary from St. Gall with martyrology and more, 955/6, p. 254) assign a “*dedicatio basilicæ sanctæ mariæ*” to March 29, but this is not a “*dedicatio ecclesie sancta marie parisiensis*,” and the Abbey of St. Gall, as mentioned, celebrated the anniversary of its dedication on October 17.⁸

selman and Bruno Bouckaert, Neerpelt: Alamire, 2002, p. 408); and Norman F. Smith, “The Parisian Sanctorale ca. 1225,” in *Capella Antiqua München: Festschrift zum 25 jährigen Bestehen*, ed. Thomas Drescher, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 43 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), pp. 247–61. Cf. n. 9 here.

⁸Haggh and Huglo, *Magnus Liber*, 219, n. 102. MS 453 cited there does not include “*dedicatio basilicæ sanctæ mariæ*” nor do the Hieronymian or Usuard martyrologies. MSS 342 and 915 may refer to the church of Santa Maria in Ara Cœli in Rome, whose Greeks were replaced in the ninth century by Benedictines.

My detailed analysis of the calendar of Bari, Archivio di San Nicola, MS 1,⁹ was part of a more substantial study completed with Michel Huglo (then emeritus *directeur de recherches au CNRS*, d. 2012) on the manuscript ‘F,’ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus XXIX.1, the main Parisian manuscript source of Parisian organum (the polyphonic vocal music of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Notre Dame Cathedral).¹⁰ This manuscript is the only one to include two- and three-voice organum setting the introit *Terribilis est* and two-voice organum setting the gradual *Locus iste*, both for the Mass for the dedication or its anniversary. ‘W1’ (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelph 628 Helmst.) from St. Andrews in Scotland has only the organum for the gradual *Locus iste*; ‘W2’ (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelph 1099 Helmst.) from France and of later date, has only the two-voice setting of *Terribilis*.¹¹

To understand why this dedication organum was composed and survives, even though the Gothic Cathedral of Notre Dame was not formally dedicated, Michel

Huglo and I sought an explanation for why the date of March 29 was associated with a dedication of Notre Dame of Paris. We soon realized that March 29 was Easter Monday precisely in 1182, the year when Notre Dame’s main altar was consecrated, albeit on May 19. We therefore concluded that in the years after 1182, an anniversary of the dedication of the church may well have been celebrated for a time on March 29, perhaps in anticipation of a future dedication that would change this date, but that it was eventually discontinued, most likely when the feast of the reception of the relics was established circa 1216 to be celebrated on December 4.¹² This would explain the absence of the dedication in all but this early calendar surviving from Notre Dame. One should note that the Sainte-Chapelle was dedicated on the octave of Easter, April 26, 1248, and worship began in the new Gothic Cathedral of Cambrai on Easter Sunday in 1251; its bishop Guiard of Laon had been Chancellor of the Church of Paris in 1237/38. At many churches, anniversaries of dedications were celebrated on the day *after* the feast of their patron saints, never *on* major feasts.

Centuries later, after Viollet-le-Duc’s restoration of Notre Dame, the church was formally dedicated on May 31, 1864 by Mgr. Darboy, the archbishop of Paris.¹³ A new

⁹A complete transcription of the entire calendar with discussion is Barbara Haggh-Huglo, “Supplément à B. Haggh et M. Huglo, “*Magnus liber—Maius munus*. Origine et destinée du manuscrit F,” *Revue de musicologie*, 90, no. 2 (2004), 193–230. Appendices, Errata et Addenda in: *Archivum de musica medii ævi: Articles* at <<http://www.musmed.fr/AdMMAe/Haggh-Huglo,%20Magnus%20liber.pdf>>. The March 29 entry in Bari, MS 1, is on p. 21 of the online pdf. For further discussion, see the cited pages of n. 7.

¹⁰Cited in n. 7.

¹¹Massimo Masani Ricci, *Codice Pluteo 29.1 della Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze: Storia e catalogo comparato* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2002), nos. 36, 81, and 163.

¹²Haggh and Huglo, “*Magnus liber*,” 221–23; Rebecca Baltzer, “Another Look at a Composite Office and its History: The Feast of *Susceptio Reliquiarum* in Medieval Paris,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113 (1988), 1–27.

¹³Notre-Dame de Paris <<https://web.archive.org/web/20190530205135/https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/en/la-cathedrale/histoire/historique-de-la-construction/>>. Editor’s note: the former webpage of the cathedral contains a great deal more information, and in English, than the current website.



high altar was consecrated more recently, on June 16, 1989 by Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger (d. 2007).¹⁴ That date, June 16, was then assigned to the Feast of the Anniversary of the Dedication of Notre Dame in its liturgical calendar and remains in effect.

When the rebuilding of the Cathedral of Notre Dame is complete, the church will require a formal dedication ceremony. In order to bring the entire history of the construction of what began as the Gothic Cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris in 1163 to its most fitting conclusion, a complete medieval dedication ritual should be celebrated following a pontifical of Paris¹⁵ and

with music by the important composers and organists who worked at Notre Dame over its more than 850-year history, beginning with the medieval Parisian organum for the Dedication Mass by Magister Leoninus.¹⁶ That dedication ceremony, following the calendar of Bari MS 1, would most appropriately take place on Easter Monday, March 29, in 2027, by which time all work of restoring Notre Dame of Paris would need to be completed. Currently, Notre Dame's reopening is scheduled to last from December 8, 2024, to June 8, 2025. December 8 is the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, Notre Dame. ♦

¹⁴Notre-Dame de Paris, "Solennité de la Dédicace de la cathédrale," in News, May 23, 2012 <<https://web.archive.org/web/20190416201405/http://www.notredamedeparis.fr/en/solennite-de-la-dedicace-de-la-cathedrale/1338>>.

¹⁵Paris, BnF, MS lat. 961 (2) is a pontifical of the church of Paris dated 1400–1420, with the ritual for the dedication of a church on f. 84v ff. On this manuscript, see Victor Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*,

3 volumes and portfolio of facsimiles (Macon: Protat frères, 1937), vol. 2, pp. 73–75. Another pontifical of the church of Paris of the fifteenth century is Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, MS 145, see f. 85r ff. See Haggh and Huglo, "*Magnus liber*," 223, n. 114.

¹⁶This composer was identified and his biography reconstructed by Craig Wright in "Leoninus, Poet and Musician," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), 1–35.

Early Seventeenth-Century Small-Scale *Concertato* Motets: A Forgotten Repertoire

An unknown treasury for church musicians, concertato motets are readily available in modern editions and performable by a small group of capable singers. A suitable setting can be found for nearly every feast!

by Janet E. Hunt



There is an immense treasury of sacred music awaiting re-discovery. Termed “concertato” because they require instrumental (organ) accompaniment, and “small-scale” because they are of modest length and involve just a few singers, these motets fulfilled a need in churches and private chapels across northern Italy and beyond. Using texts from throughout the liturgical year, including a wealth of titles dedicated to Marian and Eucharistic celebrations, several composers produced an impressive amount of printed partbooks, which circulated throughout western Europe and England in the seventeenth century. These well-crafted motets deserve attention from modern church musicians as well as from performers of early music.

In the preface to his 1984 book, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi*, Jerome Roche lamented the dearth of mod-

ern scores: “What is needed—and the sooner, the better—is the publication of a body of this music in a modern edition, not only to compensate for the present lack of material but also to encourage the discovery of its attractions in performance.”¹ Fortunately several music editors, including myself, have set out to address this need, resulting in increased access to a significant amount of excellent sacred music suitable for liturgical use as well as concert performance.

Lodovico Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*

Conditions around the year 1600 favored the advent of the small-scale *concertato* motet. As a response to the Council of Trent's (1545–63) demands for increased clarity of

¹Jerome Roche, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. xii.

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text, sacred music composers produced more homophonic and melodic writing, avoiding long melismas and overlapping phrases of intricate counterpoint. At the same time, the secular experiments and ideals of the Florentine Camerata proposed a new attitude toward vocal composition, calling for “speaking in melody” and a close alliance to normal speech rhythm.² Although most sacred works did not take up the extreme techniques of the Florentine Camerata, they nevertheless emphasized increased attention to the text, particularly by an individual voice. Concurrently, harmonic language began its gradual transition from modal to tonal, and the texture changed from horizontal layers of invertible counterpoint to a more vertically conceived structure, eventually resulting in a treble-bass polarity.

The fact that most textbook surveys of music history cite the 1602 publication of Lodovico Viadana’s *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* as pivotal and ground-breaking in the transition from Renaissance to Baroque is likely the reason this genre is known to us at all. In this collection Viadana took the first steps in addressing the aforementioned new trends in sacred music composition, by having individual singers present concise phrases in a lighter texture. His reason for publishing was to make some music accessible to a small number of singers who wish to sing with the organ, in a variety of voice parts and combinations. His preface indicates that his main goal was expediency, not the creation of a new style.³

²Claude Palisca, “Camerata,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 3: 645–46.

³F. T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass* (New York: Dover, 1965), pp. 3–4.

Expediency aside, *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* was the first deliberate attempt to provide sacred music for a small group, adding an obligatory continuo part intended to supplement the reduced vocal texture. The collection contains ten solos each for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass, twenty motets for two voices, twenty motets for three voices, nineteen motets for four voices, one instrumental *canzona*, and *falsi bordon* *passeggiati*, or ornamental formulas, for each voice in different church modes. Examples of the latter indicate the *passeggiati* used with the Vespers psalm verse beginning “Donec ponam,” Psalm 109 (110): 2. Thus they appear to be suggestions for ornamenting the final text of a psalm verse when sung alternatim with plainchant psalm tones.⁴

*Viadana’s text choices
for this remarkable
compilation underscore
its usefulness for
liturgical services
throughout the year.*

Viadana’s text choices for this remarkable compilation underscore its usefulness for liturgical services throughout the year. In addition to Marian and Eucharistic motets, there are texts specific to Christmas

⁴The complete *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* partbooks can be downloaded from imslp.org. I have prepared all Viadana examples from this source.

and Easter, isolated psalm verses, Sunday Vespers psalms, and many other biblical passages. How is the text treated? In solo works, Viadana sets the text syllabically for

the most part, with occasional ornamentation on the final accented syllable of a phrase (see Figure 1).



Figure 1. Lodovico Viadana, *Exaudi me*, from *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (1602).

Figure 2. Lodovico Viadana, *Duo Seraphim*, from *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (1602).

The duet *Duo Seraphim* features two sopranos echoing each other in a canonic fashion (see Figure 2).

A charming feature of this motet occurs

when the continuo player must join in at the text, “Tres sunt qui testimonium,” emphasizing the discussion of the Trinity (see Figure 3).

33

Sop 1
Tres sunt qui te - sti - mo - ni-um dant in cae - lo: Pa -

Sop 2
Tres sunt qui te - sti - mo - ni-um dant in cae - lo: Pa -
Qui l'organista Sona, e Canta

Organ
Tres sunt qui te - sti - mo - ni-um dat in cae - lo: Pa -

38

ter Ver - bum et Spi - ri-tus San - ctus, et hi tres

ter Ver - bum et Spi - ri-tus San - ctus, et hi tres u - num

ter Ver - bum et Spi - ri-tus San - ctus, et hi tres u -

43

u - num sunt, et hi tres u - - - num sunt.

sunt, et hi tres, et hi tres u - num sunt.

num sunt, et hi tres u - num sunt.

Figure 3. Lodovico Viadana, Duo Seraphim, from *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (1602).

The image displays a musical score for the Easter motet *Christus resurgens* by Lodovico Viadana. The score is arranged in three systems, each containing four staves. The first system (measures 31-35) features two Soprano parts (Sop 1 and Sop 2), a Bass part, and an Organ part. The lyrics for the first system are: "mor-tu - us est se - mel, quod au-tem vi - vit, vi-vit De - o,". The second system (measures 36-39) continues the vocal parts with lyrics: "quod au - tem vi - vit, vi-vit De - o, quod au - tem vi - vit, vi-vit De - o, quod au - tem vi - vit, De - o, quod au - tem vi - vit, vi-vit De -". The third system (measures 40-43) concludes the vocal parts with lyrics: "De - o, quod au - tem vi - vit, vi - vit De - o, vi-vit De - o, vi-vit De - o, vi - vit De - o, o, quod au - tem vi - vit vi - vit De - o." The Organ part provides a continuous harmonic accompaniment throughout the piece. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C).

Figure 4. Lodovico Viadana, *Christus resurgens*, from *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (1602).

The Easter motet *Christus resurgens* combines two sopranos and a bass, and the voices imitate each other in syllabically-set text phrases reminiscent of Renaissance

polyphony. The bass voice and basso continuo are practically identical, rendering the vocal bass superfluous (see Figure 4).

The four-voice motets employ the same compositional techniques as described above: mostly syllabic text-setting, imitative entries, and a continuo bass line which usually follows the lowest voice in *basso seguente* fashion rather than providing an independent bass part. The concept of *basso continuo* was the next step after *basso seguente*, which had been in practice already in the late sixteenth century. Generally there is no overall formal plan; each text phrase receives its own melodic outline, concludes with an internal cadence, and is followed by the next phrase treated in a similar manner. Sometimes the use of triple meter sets off a section of text, often of a joyous character.

Jerome Roche's assessment summarizes the influence of Viadana's work:

The publication of Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* in 1602 had an impact on the style of Italian church music out of all proportion to the intrinsic worth of its contents. It had proved the viability of a small-scale medium and, in introducing the *basso continuo*, had broken the dominance of a conventional four- to six-part texture... The *concertato* principle infused new life into music for the more traditional choral texture of four to six voices, for it did not preclude the use of counterpoint, and encouraged a new awareness of contrasts of texture and sonority.

Thus sacred music in any number from two to six parts with organ flooded the Venetian publishers in the early decades of the seventeenth century: now that the pomp of the Counter-Reformation was on the wane, the need for a small-scale, practical music in many provincial churches urged scores of new composers into print, many with considerable talent. Their style combined a freshness of melody with polyphonic and rhythmic interest, and mood-expression.⁵

Composers and Collections

The appearance of Viadana's 1602 publication set in motion an approximately forty-year tidal wave of printed partbook sets of similar compositions. By this time, the system of movable type already utilized in book publishing had been adapted to music printing, enabling music to be printed cheaply and quickly (see Figure 5).

The Venetian printing firms of Vincenti, Amadino, Gardano, and Magni, along with Phalèse of Brussels, flooded the market with collections titled "Concerti Ecclesiastici," "Concerti Spirituali," "Melodiæ Sacræ," and the like. These included motets

⁵Jerome Roche, "Liturgical Music in Italy, 1610–60," *The New Oxford History of Music: Opera and Church Music 1630–1750*, ed. Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 350.



Figure 5. Examples of movable type for music printing, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, Belgium. Photograph mine.

ranging from a single voice to six, all with continuo. Six voices were usually the maximum, often with two soli set against a quartet. Initially, motets for two voices were most common, although the number of motets for three to five voices gradually increased over time. The expansion in number of voices allowed composers more flexibility in contrasting textures, as well as the ability to effectively depict texts containing dialogues amongst Biblical characters.

Like the printing houses, many of the composers were based in northern Italy as well: Alessandro Grandi (Ferrara, then Venice), Gaspare Filippi (Vicenza), Egidio Trabattone (Varese), and Giacomo Finetti (Ancona), although others such as Peter Philips, Cornelius Burgh, and Giovanni Battista Aloisi had posts in Brussels, Erkelenz, Germany, and Prague, respectively. An examination of motets of three of these composers whose works are available in modern editions follows.

Alessandro Grandi ([?1575–80]–1630)

Grandi, the music director at the *Accademia dello Spirito Santo* in Ferrara, published several volumes of small-scale *concertato* motets for use at that establishment. His first five books appeared between 1610 and 1619. The motets display a distinctive melodic style, rather than merely resembling the excision of vocal lines from Renaissance polyphony (see Figure 6). He uses counterpoint effectively, and employs suspensions and carefully crafted ornamental passages to intensify textual meaning.

Quæ est ista, a Marian motet for two sopranos and continuo from *Il terzo libro de Motetti* (1614),⁶ depicts these character-

istics. Notice the quasi-canonic entrances and the two suspensions in the first phrase, over a supportive continuo bass which is clearly establishing a modern sense of tonic-dominant tonality. Each phrase possesses an attractive melodic contour. Often the phrases imitate each other, but occasionally two different melodies combine (mm. 36–40). The word “laudaverunt” features impressive ornamentation.

Grandi’s *Ave regina cælorum* (1615) for SSATB and continuo displays the composer’s impressive ability to combine different voice groupings in a variety of ways. At times just two voices sing in imitative exchange, then three. Sometimes all five voices sing a homophonic passage but in other places short imitative phrases. The vocal bass is frequently, though not all the time, independent of the continuo line. The full score appears on the cpdl.org website.

Peter Philips (c. 1560–1628)

Roughly contemporary with Alessandro Grandi, the Roman Catholic Peter Philips left his native England in 1582 for a more sympathetic environment in Rome and later Brussels, where he served the Spanish Habsburg Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella. After publishing *Cantiones sacræ* for five voices in 1612 and a volume of motets for eight voices the following year, with no continuo (although Phalèse later reprinted both with an unnecessary continuo part), he turned his attention to the small-scale *concertato* motet. His first offering, titled *Gemmula sacræ*, appeared in 1613, followed by *Deliciæ sacræ* in 1616 and

from the original partbooks available on imslp.org. American Institute of Musicology lists a modern edition as “forthcoming” in their catalogue.

⁶I created examples from *Il terzo libro de Motetti*

Soprano 1
Quæ est i - sta quæ pro - ces-sit si - - cut sol, quæ est

Soprano 2
Quæ est i - sta, quæ est i - sta

Basso per l'Organo

10
i - sta quæ pro - ces-sit si - cut sol, quæ pro - ces-sit si - cut sol, et for-mo-sa
quæ pro - ces-sit si - - cut sol, quæ pro - ces - sit si - cut sol, et for-

19
tan - quam Je - ru - sa - lem, et for - mo-sa tan - quam
mo - sa, et for-mo-sa tan - quam Je - ru - sa - lem, et for-mo-sa tan - quam

26
— Je - ru - sa - lem, vi - de - runt e - am fi - li - æ Si - on,
— Je - ru - sa - lem, vi - de - runt e -

34
vi - de - runt e - am et be - a-tam di-xe -
am fi - li-æ Si - on, fi - li-æ Si - on, et be -

Figure 6. Alessandro Grandi, *Quæ est ista*, from *Il terzo libro de motetti* (1614).

41

runt, et Re-gi-nae lau-da-ve-runt e-am, et Re-gi-nae be-

-a-tam di-xe-runt, et Re-gi-nae lau-da-ve-runt e-am, et Re-gi-nae,

48

a-tam di-xe-runt, be-a-tam di-xe-runt, et Re-gi-nae

fi-li-ac Si-on be-a-tam di-xe-runt, lau-

53

lau-da-ve-runt e-am, be-

-da-ve-runt e-am,

57

a-tam di-xe-runt, et Re-gi-nae, et Re-gi-nae

be-a-tam di-xe-runt, et Re-gi-nae lau-

62

lau-da-ve-runt e-am,

-da-ve-runt a-am.

7 6 #

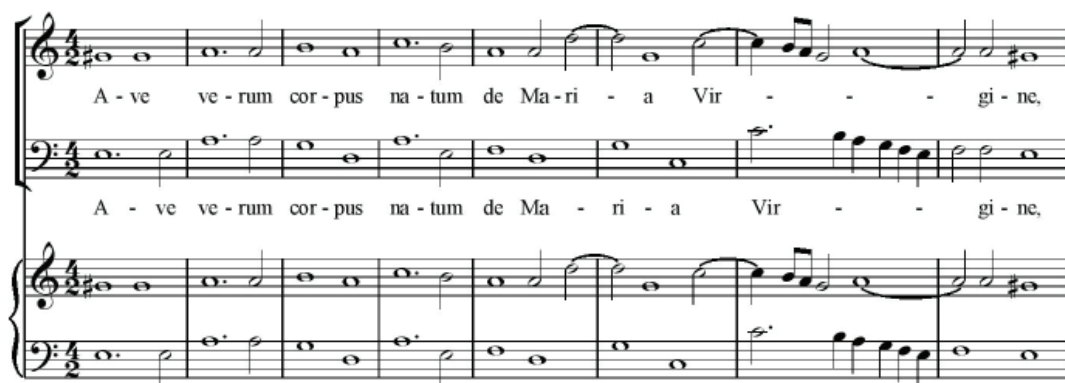


Figure 7. Peter Philips, Ave verum corpus, from *Gemmulæ sacræ* (1613).

his magnum opus *Paradisus sacris cantionibus* in 1628.

Gemmulæ sacræ contains thirty-one motets for two voices and continuo and eight motets for three voices (all SSB) and continuo. An examination of the title list reveals a significant number of Eucharistic/Adoration and Marian texts. One can imagine the transplanted composer feeling safe in setting these texts dealing with topics English Protestants regarded as superstitious or cult worship. Visually, these texts appear as if they are in “white” notation, with an absence of dazzling passage work, perhaps to signify their serious nature⁷ (see Figure 7).

Other texts include selected psalm verses, antiphons from specific feast days, and extra-liturgical penitential texts of sacred poetry.

Most of the two-voice motets begin with individual entries, usually in imitation, although sometimes the second voice intro-

duces a new text and melodic line. Generally the voices imitate or echo each other in short phrases, then unite in a cadential phrase before starting a new text segment. Often ornamental flourishes in smaller note values occur on the last accented syllable of a phrase.

The three-voice motets display more diversity in compositional techniques. Although the first two phrases of *Benedic Domine* (see Figure 8) resemble the beginning of a three-voice Renaissance motet, more modern treatment appears at bar seventeen, with two voices in parallel thirds against a contrasting third voice, following which all cadence together in a consciously “vertical harmony” fashion.

The rest of the motet contains a variety of textures used in quick succession, ornamental flourishes both solo and trio, some homophonic treatment, and close imitation in short phrases.

Gemmulæ sacræ includes one example of a *dialogo* or dialogue, wherein the composer assigns phrases to different voice parts as characters to illustrate a Biblical text containing conversations. The entire ensem-

⁷Excerpts from *Gemmulæ sacræ* are taken from my edition using images obtained from the Jagielloonian Library of Krakow, Poland, which granted permission for the edition’s publication.

Figure 8. Peter Philips, *Benedic Domine*, from *Gemmulæ sacræ* (1613).

ble functions as a crowd as well as narrator. Howard Smither notes that the Latin dialogue was “essentially a continuation, with emphasis upon the dramatic element, of the type of Renaissance motet that used similar subjects.”⁸ Philips’ *In illo tempore dixit Jesus discipulis suis* sets the passage from Matthew 16:13–18, where Jesus as solo bass asks his disciples who people say that he is. Individual voices respond, “some say John the Baptist,” “others say Elijah,” and so forth. Jesus (bass) asks, “But what do you say?” and one of the singers takes the role of Peter. The solo bass responds, then all three repeat his text and bring the motet to a conclusion.

Noteworthy about Philips’ continuo part is the inclusion of a treble line and sometimes even a third line in the middle, as seen

in the examples above. Continuo expert Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhammer provides evidence that the treble line is not necessarily played but is intended to be helpful to organists who did not have the vocal parts in front of them.⁹ Nevertheless, these extra lines greatly aid someone learning early seventeenth century continuo. (Continuo realization is addressed later in this article.)

Philips followed *Gemmulæ sacræ* with *Deliciæ sacræ* in 1616, which contains forty-one motets for two or three voices and continuo. His final publication, *Paradisus sacris cantionibus* (1628) comprises 107 motets: fifteen for solo voice, seventy-five for two voices, and seventeen for three voices. An examination of the solo voice motets

⁸Howard Smither, “The Latin Dramatic Dialogue and the Nascent Oratorio,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20, no. 3 (Autumn 1967), 424.

⁹Thérèse de Goede-Klinkhammer, “*Del suonare sopra il basso*: Concerning the Realization of Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Unfigured Bases,” *Performance Practice Review*, 10, no. 1 (Spring, 1997), 84.



Figure 9. Peter Philips, *Quæ est ista*, from *Paradisus sacris cantionibus* (1628).

shows that the composer finds a nice balance in observing the natural accentuation of the text while creating a melodic line. He builds up phrases well, considering there is no second voice to echo or complement the first one. In *Quæ est ista*, for solo soprano or tenor, he uses just the initial words of a phrase, repeats them a step higher, and then completes the text¹⁰ (see Figure 9).

¹⁰I prepared all excerpts from *Paradisus sacris can-*

Some text painting occurs in likely places, such as “si ascendero in cælum” and “si descendero in infernum” in *Domine probasti me* for tenor solo (see Figure 10).

tionibus from microfilms obtained from Christ Church Library, Oxford, with permission from The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

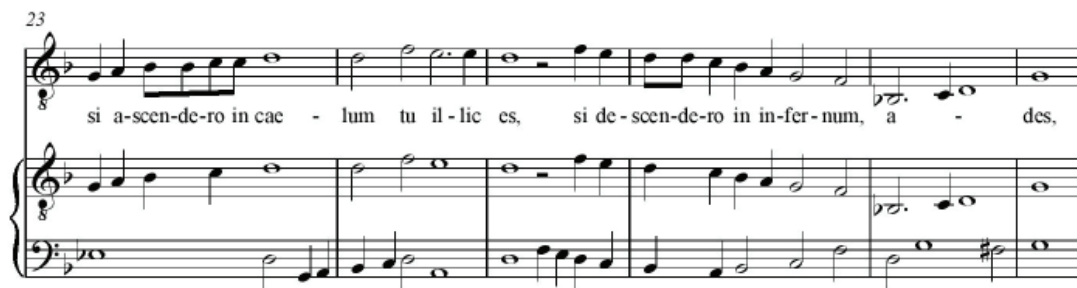


Figure 10. Peter Philips, Domine probasti me, from *Paradisus sacris cantionibus* (1628).

While most of the notated ornamentation is rather restrained, there are some beautiful exceptions. The soprano motet *O*

si quando videbo includes exquisite coloratura (see Figure 11).

O, O si quan - do vi - de - bo gau - di - um me -

3

- - um quod de - si - de - ro,

Figure 11. Peter Philips, *O si quando videbo*, from *Paradisus sacris cantionibus* (1628).



Figure 12. Peter Philips, *O fons vitæ*, from *Paradisus sacris cantionibus* (1628).

Similar florid passages occur also in the motet for two sopranos, *O fons vitæ* (see Figure 12).

Both *O si quando videbo* and *O fons vitæ* take their texts from emotionally charged sacred poetry, which is not specifically liturgical, suggesting that the composer allowed himself greater latitude in vividly expressing the passion conveyed in their words.

The two and three voice motets of *Paradisus sacris cantionibus* utilize the same techniques as those in the motets of *Gemmula sacrae* described above. In summary, both Philips and his contemporary Grandi further refined the format initiated by Viadana and contributed significantly to the repertoire of small-scale motets suitable for liturgical and devotional events throughout the year.

Giacomo Finetti (d. 1630 or 1631)

A native of Ancona who was a priest as well as a musician, Giacomo Finetti composed several collections of music for use at Vespers and Compline, in addition to settings of psalms and other sacred texts for more general use. His *Concerti ecclesiastici* of 1621 is a large anthology containing seventy-two motets for two, three, or four voices, plus continuo. Characteristics of Finetti's style include colorful word-painting, florid vocal effects, and effective dialogues between singers. The collection includes settings of the Sunday Vespers psalms, antiphons and psalms intended for specific feasts, and passages from the Song of Songs.

Several distinctive compositional techniques set Finetti apart from his predeces-

29

Cantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Bassus Generalis

32

35

Figure 13. Giacomo Finetti, *O Domine, salvum me fac*, from *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1621).

sors. Among these are declamatory sections written for the entire ensemble (see Figure 13). At times these declamatory passages

appear between lengthy solo passages.¹¹

¹¹I prepared all excerpts from Finetti's *Concerti ecclesiastici* from microfilms obtained from Christ Church Library, Oxford, with permission from

15
8
O pa-sto - res, O pa-sto - res quid-nam vi-di - stis, di - ci - te, di - ci - te,
19
8
an-nun-ci-a-te no-bis in ter-ris quis ap-pa-ru - it,
na - tum vi - di-mus, na - tum
na - tum vi - di-mus
25
vi - di-mus et cho - ros An - ge - lo - rum col - lau - dan - tes Do - mi - num,
et cho - ros An - ge - lo - rum col - lau - dan - tes Do - mi - num,

Figure 14. Giacomo Finetti, *Quem vidistis pastores*, from *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1621).

Domine duo talenta sets the text from Matthew 25:22–23 in dialogue, illustrating the conversation between servant and master. Solo characters step forth from the ensemble on occasion, although they also sing as part of the whole group. *Quem vidistis pastores* is another dialogue (see Figure 14); the tenor questions the shepherds, and the two basses (shepherds) respond.

In an uncommon example of formal cohesion, *Tu gloria Jerusalem* opens with a triple-meter refrain sung by all. A soprano solo follows, then the refrain occurs again

between successive solo passages by alto, tenor, then bass. As noted above, the typical *concertato* motet of the early seventeenth-century usually has no formal plan but sets each successive text phrase to a new melodic idea.

Modern Editions

There are dozens more composers of small-scale *concertato* motets whose works appeared in the early seventeenth century, with modern editions becoming increasingly available in our time. Most collections contain a wonderfully practical variety of texts. Very useful are “fill in the

The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

saint's name" motets appropriate for any saint: *Gaudete omnes, Lætamini fideles*, or for any male saint, *O beatum virum*. There are several dialogues. Common dialogue subjects include Mary Magdalene and the angel at the tomb on Easter morning (*Heu, me misera* - Egidio Trabattone), the woman of ill repute anointing Jesus with expensive

oil and the other dinner guests criticizing her (*Maria Magdalena* - Nicolò Fontei), and Mary and Joseph asking the young Jesus why he has wandered away from them (*Fili, quid fecisti?* - Lodovico Viadana).

The following table lists some of the small-scale *concertato* motet collections available in modern editions.

COMPOSER	TITLE	PUBLISHER
Aichinger, Gregor	<i>Vocal Concertos for 2–4 Voices</i>	A-R Editions B054–55
Aichinger, Gregor	<i>Vocal Concertos</i>	A-R Editions B13
Aloisi, Giovanni Battista	<i>Coelestis Parnasus, Op. 1</i>	huntmusic.us
Aloisi, Giovanni Battista	<i>Corona Stellarum Duodecim</i>	huntmusic.us
Burgh, Cornelius	<i>Hortus Marianus</i>	Denkmäler Rheinischer Musik Band 6
Carrone, Giovanni	<i>Il Primo Libro delli Motetti</i>	huntmusic.us
Cesare, Giovanni Martino	<i>Concerti Ecclesiastici, Libro Primo</i>	huntmusic.us
Cima, Andrea	<i>Il secondo libro delli concerti</i>	A-R Editions B202
Cozzolani, Chiara Margarita	<i>Motets</i>	A-R Editions B087
Dering, Richard	<i>Motets for 1, 2, 3 Voices and Continuo</i>	Musica Britannica Vol.87
Facho, Agostino	<i>Motetti, Libro Secondo</i>	huntmusic.us
Filippi, Gaspare	<i>Concerti Ecclesiastici</i>	huntmusic.us
Finetti, Giacomo	<i>Concerti Ecclesiastici</i>	huntmusic.us
Fontei, Nicolò	<i>Melodiae Sacrae, Op. 3</i>	huntmusic.us
Gallerano, Leandro	<i>Ecclesiastici Armonia de Concerti, Op.6</i>	huntmusic.us
Grandi, Alessandro	<i>Il primo libro de motetti</i>	AIM CMM 112/1
Grandi, Alessandro	<i>Il secondo libro de motetti</i>	AIM CMM 112/2
Grandi, Alessandro	<i>Il quarto libro de motetti</i>	AIM CMM 112/5
Graziani, Bonifazio	<i>Motets for 2–6 voices, Op. 1</i>	A-R Editions B173
Gualtieri, Antonio	<i>Motetti . . . Libro Terzo, Op. 10</i>	huntmusic.us
Marini, Francesco Maria	<i>Concerti Spirituali, Libro Primo</i>	huntmusic.us
Philips, Peter	<i>Gemmulae Sacrae</i>	huntmusic.us
Philips, Peter	<i>Deliciae Sacrae</i>	UMI Dissertation Anne Lyman, 2008
Philips, Peter	<i>Fifteen Motets for Solo Voice and Continuo</i>	Antico Edition AB1

COMPOSER	TITLE	PUBLISHER
Philips, Peter	<i>Seventy-Five Motets for Two Voices from Paradisus Sacris Cantionibus</i>	huntmusic.us
Philips, Peter	<i>Motets for Three Voices and Continuo</i>	huntmusic.us
Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Motetti a 1, 2, 3, & 4 voci</i>	A-R Editions B126
Sances, Giovanni Felice	<i>Motetti 2–5 voci</i>	A-R Editions B148
Trabattone, Egidio	<i>Concerti a 2.3.4 Voci, Libro Secondo</i>	huntmusic.us

Additionally, Prima la musica! publishes individual motets by Ignatio Donati, Giovanni Antonio Rigatti, and Giovanni Rovetta. The cpdl.org website includes several single-title motets of this genre. A determined sleuth can search for specific composers through a dissertation index such as UMI to see if doctoral candidates have examined and edited particular works as part of their advanced music studies. Finally, for the truly adventuresome, imslp.org offers some complete original partbook sets for downloading to prepare one's own editions.

Early Seventeenth-Century Continuo Realization

Obviously, the presence of an obligatory continuo part distinguishes these motets from their Renaissance predecessors. Early baroque continuo realization is simple and straightforward, so this need not be a deterrent, even for the inexperienced. The website bassus-generalis.org offers contemporary treatises, in their original language and in English translation, containing concise and practical advice for realizing early seventeenth-century bass lines. Of these treatises, Francesco Bianciardi's *Breve*

regola per imparare a sonare sopra il Basso con ogni sorte d'Instrumento ("A short guide for learning to play on a bass with every kind of instrument") of 1607 is ideal for the beginner interpreter of this style.

The Bianciardi guide is a quick read and easy to understand. His charts show the following rules. When no figure appears, assume that the bass is the triad root, with third, fifth, octave and their doublings above it, unless this results in an upper note a tritone from the bass. In that case, use a sixth instead of a fifth because tritones between bass and another voice should be avoided in unfigured situations. Figures appear when the basic rule application is not clear, the vertical harmony adds an accidental, or if the bass itself carries an accidental. The guide contains a short but comprehensive description of whether a third above the bass should be major or minor; this is based on the interval from one bass note to the next bass note.

Time is taken here to discuss continuo realization because it is such an integral part of interpreting these works successfully. One should not rely on modern printed realizations. The early seventeenth century still considered each additional realization

note in its individual relationship to the bass note and not as chords linking up in harmonic progressions. Many twentieth-century editions contain realizations based on the functional harmony of the late Baroque, resulting in too many sixth chords, an avoidance of false relations, use of chords not typical of the early seventeenth century, and final cadences without the prescribed major third.¹²

A great treasury of sacred music exists and awaits discovery by present-day church musicians. Small-scale *concertato* motets

are a valuable resource for a small number of capable singers. Their length and subject matter render them ideal for use during Mass, Vespers, Adoration, and concerts of sacred music. The simple continuo parts offer an opportunity for organists to begin learning this skill. May more musicians become acquainted with this genre and may these motets be performed with increasing frequency in church as well as in concert venues. ♦

¹²de Goede-Klinkhammer, “*Del suonare*,” 81–82.

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Out of the Depths: The Journey of One Psalm from Ancient to Modern

A musical tour through the centuries shows the ways Psalm 129 (130) has been set in different styles and languages.

by Shelby Fisher

cholars believe that the earliest psalms were written in the tenth century B.C. Since that time, they have represented a common thread interwoven through centuries of sacred music. They have been translated, paraphrased, sung a cappella and with accompaniment, and have inspired music that is modal, tonal and post-tonal. Music influenced by the psalms has been played or sung in homes, in churches, and in secular concert halls. No other body of text has so universally captured the interest of musicians from so many disparate sects, nations, and eras. Nancy deClaissé-Walford, in describing the history of ancient Israel, has called the psalter a “constitutive document” that allowed ancient Israel to “continue to exist as an identifiable entity in a world it no longer controlled.”¹ This oral-turned-written tradition, which became a piece of national identity for the ancient Israel-

ites, has somehow managed to transcend its original purpose, becoming a text that provided identity for the early Christian church, the Eastern and Western churches, the Protestant Reformation, and numerous revival movements. The psalms provide a unique opportunity to trace the development of sacred music over time.

One psalm in particular, Psalm 129 (130), seems to have captivated theologians and composers alike, perhaps because of its poignant text that is ideal for artistic elaboration. Though by no means a complete survey of every setting of Psalm 129 (130), the purpose of this study is to use one single psalm to demonstrate the evolution of Christian sacred music from its roots in ancient Judaism until the present by observing its use and embodiment at key points in Western church history.

Psalm 129 (130) belongs to a collection of fifteen psalms with a shared superscription in the Hebrew Psalter known as the “Songs of Ascent” (Psalms 120–134 in the Hebraic numbering), most likely dat-

¹Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford, *Introduction to the Psalms: A Song from Ancient Israel* (Des Peres, Missouri: Chalice Press, 2004), p. 56.

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ing from after the Babylonian captivity.² The superscription for each of these psalms is *shir* (song) and *hamma'a lot* (translated to “the ascent” or “the steps”).³ The original liturgical purpose of the songs of ascent has been lost to history, however several theories have emerged as to their ancient use. One possibility is that the psalms were sung as part of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem three times each year for the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the Feast of the Harvest, and the Feast of the Ingathering, as described in Exodus 23:14–17. When read collectively, the songs of ascent describe a sort of pilgrim’s journey beginning with a blessing of protection, traversing through danger and peril, and finally arriving at the destination with a final doxology. Jewish tradition suggests the songs of ascent were sung by Levite priests as they climbed the fifteen steps of the temple in Jerusalem (Mishnah Sukkah 5:4, Middot 2).

It is apparent from the writings of church fathers that psalmody was an integral part of early Christian worship; Ambrose called the psalms the “voice of the church” in his *Commentary On Twelve Psalms*, dating from the late fourth century.⁴ But how did the psalms

transition from Judeo-Hebrew scripture to that of the Latin church? Jerome, a contemporary of Ambrose who is credited with the translation of the Latin Vulgate Bible, created two Latin versions of the psalms called the *Versio Gallicana* (translated from the Septuagint) and the *Versio iuxta Hebraicum* (translated from the original Hebrew).⁵ A third psalter called the *Versio Romana* became the basis for some Roman/Gregorian chant. The Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites each had their own translations of the psalms; however, they tended to be syntactically very similar to the Roman Psalter.

Gregorian Chant Settings

Prior to the eighth century, little is known about the actual music associated with psalm-singing. Early descriptions of the Mass indicate points where singing occurred. There are however no extant sources that date concurrently to these descriptions. The Roman and Gallican chant from this era was eventually supplanted by Gregorian chant, largely due to the latter’s adoption by Charlemagne and the dissemination of the Roman Rite throughout the Holy Roman Empire. The first two verses of Psalm 129 (130) appear in the corpus of Gregorian chant in several places: the offertory and alleluia for the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost and in Vespers from the Office of the Dead (see Figures 1, 2, and 3).

²In many cases, psalm superscriptions indicate the manner of performance, such as whether the psalm was to be sung by a group or a soloist, the instrumentation preferred for accompaniment, or the tune that was to be sung. That the superscription for this group of psalms uses the word for steps suggests there was some kind of movement involved in their original mode of performance.

³K. W. Bodenhamer, “Dwelling Together: Psalm 133 and the Songs of Ascents,” *Review & Expositor*, 116, 2 (2019), 219–24.

⁴James W. McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 126.

⁵Oliver Norris, “Tracing Fortunatianus’ Psalter,” in *Fortunatianus redivivus: Bishop Fortunatianus of Acquileia’s Commentary on the Gospels*, ed. Dorfbauer & Zimmerl-Panagl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 283–305.

Offert. II

D E profún- dis * clamá- From the depths I have cried out to thee, O Lord; Lord, hear my prayer: from the depths I have cried out to thee, O Lord. Ps. 129, 1-2.

vi ad te Dómi- ne : Dó- mi- ne ex-áu- di ora- ti- ó- nem mé- am : de profún- dis cla- má- vi ad te, Dómi- ne.

Figure 1. Offertory Respond: De profundis, *Twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost*.

Twenty-third Sunday. 959

VII

A Lle-lú- ia. * ij. From the depths I have cried to thee, O Lord : Lord, hear my prayer. Ps. 129, 1-2.

¶. De profún- dis clamá- vi ad te, Dómi- ne : Dó- mine exáudi * vó- cem mé- am.

Figure 2. Alleluia: De profundis, *Twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost*.



Figure 3. *Vespers, Office of the Dead.*

The eleventh century saw the gradual introduction of polyphony into church music, first through melodic doubling of chant melodies at the third, fourth, or fifth and later through organum, a practice where the low voice sings the chant in long notes while the upper voice sings a string of florid melismas against it. Early forms of polyphony were based upon existing chant, particularly graduals and alleluias and responsorial chants from the Divine Office and were generally improvisatory. Although the primary source from this period, the *Magnus Liber Organi*, does not contain a setting of the Alleluia with the *De profundis* verse, it is not unreasonable to conclude that it too was sung in organum in these styles in places which had such a polyphonic practice.

A Motet by Lasso

The psalms were not only an important aspect of communal liturgy, they were often included in private devotion as well. Throughout the late Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance, decoratively illuminated “Books of the Hours” were popular among the lay nobility.⁶ These books

contained prayers that could be recited throughout the day (similar to the office kept by clergy), devotions to the Virgin Mary, and a collection of seven psalms known as the “Penitential Psalms,” a designation originally given by Augustine in the fourth century. Included among these is Psalm 129 (130).

One such collection was written by Franco-Flemish composer Orlando di Lasso (1530–1594). Lasso’s settings can be categorized as psalm-motets and represent the mature polyphonic style of the Renaissance. Dated around 1560, Lasso composed the Penitential Psalms for use in the court chapel of Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria.

Lasso’s vocal music is noted for its attention to detail in the text, which he highlighted with word-painting, ornamentation, rhetorical devices, and chromatic voice-leading. His setting of *De profundis* is non-imitative (unlike settings by other Renaissance composers such as Josquin des Prez and Giovanni Palestrina) and contains the psalm tone in the tenor voice sung in long notes, an earlier practice that was less

dieval Bestseller,” in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017) <[www.https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/hour/%20hd_%20hour.htm%3E](https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/hour/%20hd_%20hour.htm%3E)>.

⁶Wendy A. Stein, “The Book of Hours: A Me-

common in motets of the high Renaissance. An octave leap in the bass over the word *profundis* (depths) is emblematic of Lasso's

predilection for word painting (see Figure 4).

[1] Ps. 130 (129)

D De pro-fun - dis cla - ma - vi

A De pro-fun - dis cla - ma-vi ad

T De pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi ad

Qv De pro-fun - dis cla-ma - vi

B De pro-fun - dis cla - ma - vi ad te,

Figure 4. Orlando di Lasso, Sextus psalmus poenitentialis, LV 799, De profundis, mm. 1–4, ed. Bärenreiter-Ausgabe.

Vernacular Psalmody & Hymns

Lasso's compositional career sits at a critical moment in the history of sacred music. Several years earlier in 1517, Martin Luther published a document cataloging his disagreements with the Catholic Church and setting in motion a period of reformation that swept through other parts of Europe. Though not directly related to music, Luther's challenges to the church in Rome nevertheless had an impact on the conventions that governed sacred music. Luther viewed polyphonic choral singing of the type and complexity exhibited by Lasso's *De profundis* as rather performative, and though he did not discount it, he championed congregational singing in a simple

style and in German, which could be easily understood by the laity.

Luther completed his translation of the Psalter in 1524 writing:

The Psalter ought to be a precious and beloved book, if for no other reason than this: it promises Christ's death and resurrection so clearly—and pictures his kingdom and the condition and nature of all Christendom—that it might well be called a little Bible. In it is comprehended most beautifully and briefly everything that is in the entire Bible.⁷

⁷Martin Luther, *Luther's Works, Vol. 35: Word and Sacrament I*, ed. Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, Hilton C.



Figure 5. Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir (I), *Zahn*: 4438.

Luther's tendency to interpret the psalms through a New Testament lens is evident in this quotation, as it is in his paraphrase of Psalm 129, called *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*. The paraphrase is significantly longer than the psalm itself and expounds key Reformation doctrine such as the concept of salvation through grace. The melody most commonly associated with this chorale was written by Luther himself and features a distinctive melodic leap at its outset (see Figure 5).

Though many other composers wrote settings of Luther's chorales, no composer elevated the chorale's status quite like Johann Sebastian Bach. He harmonized over four hundred Lutheran chorales, using many of them in the cantata cycles he wrote during his tenure as cantor at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig. Bach produced numerous chorale settings for organ as well which have become synonymous with the German Lutheran tradition. In 1726, Bach began a collection of pieces called *Clavier-Übung* or Keyboard Practice. The third volume of the collection contains settings of Luther's cate-

chism chorales as well as chorales that were central to the Lutheran liturgy, including *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir* (see Figure 6). His pedaliter setting is modal rather than tonal (Phrygian mode) and is reminiscent of the *stile antico* motet style of Palestrina, demonstrating the musical ties that still bound the Lutheran liturgy to its Catho-

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Oswald, and Helmut T. Lehmann (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), p. 254.

AUS TIEFER NOT SCHREI' ICH ZU DIR

85

a 6 in Organo pleno con Pedale doppio.

Figure 6. Johann Sebastian Bach, Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir, BWV 686, mm. 1–12, ed. Riemenschneider.

lic foundation. The chorale is introduced phrase by phrase in each voice in a thick, imitative vocal texture.

Protestant reformers in other parts of Europe produced psalters in the vernacular as well. Perhaps the most impactful of these was the complete Genevan Psalter of 1562, created under the supervision of John Calvin who believed the only appropriate worship music was simple, unaccompanied, unison congregational singing of biblical texts (psalms and canticles). He engaged the help of two different writers,

Clement Marot and Theodore de Beza for the texts and used tunes by Louis Bourgeois in addition to writing texts of his own. Over time, these psalm tunes were harmonized by various composers, including Claude Goudimel who completed three complete harmonizations of the Genevan Psalter. The 1565 version is hymn-like, but with the *cantus firmus* in the tenor. Note that Goudimel's setting of Psalm 129 (130) opens with a distinctive descending fifth reminiscent of Luther's chorale melody (see Figure 7).

Ps 130: De profundis clamavi

Claude Goudimel 1565

Du fons de ma pen-sé-e, / au fons de tous en-nuis, /
a toy s'est a-dres-sé-e / ma cla-meur jours et nuicts, /
en-ten ma voix plain-ti-ve, / Sei-gneur, il est sai-son, /
ton o-reille en-ten-ti-ve / soit à mon o-rai-son.

Figure 7. Claude Goudimel, Psalm 130: De profundis clamavi.

The first complete English psalter was published in 1562 by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins under the title, *The Whole Book of Psalms Collected into English Metre*. At the time of its introduction, congregational singing was not common practice in England. The custom gradually made its way into English congregations via religious exiles who had fled to Geneva during Queen Mary's Catholic reign.⁸ Some of the

psalm tunes originally used in England were from the Genevan Psalter. These however did not tend to pair well with English verse and were eventually replaced. The majority of the texts were written in common meter with paired *abab* stanzas.

High-church music of the English Restoration found its full form in the anthem, analogous to the Roman Catholic motet. Anthems were composed for double choir, single choir, or even choir with soloists. The earliest examples date from the sixteenth century, but by the eighteenth century, anthems had become quite elaborate,

⁸Nicholas Temperley, "All Skillful Praises Sing': How Congregations Sang Psalms in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Studies*, 29, no. 4 (2015), 538.

such as this setting of Psalm 130 by William Croft, organist at the Chapel Royal, for soloists and organ (see Figure 8). Croft's version uses text from the King James Bible rather than the Sternhold/Hopkins versification, which was common for English anthem settings of the psalms. Croft's anthem is ornate

and would have been performed by a trained singer; however, simple choral anthems that could be rendered by the most humble parish choir were prevalent as well.

English psalmody changed significantly during the eighteenth century with the work of Isaac Watts. A Congregationalist minis-



Figure 8. William Croft, *Out of the Deep*, mm. 1–35, ed. Riemenschneider.

ter, Watts believed that translated psalms did not sufficiently express the “present” Christian experience or address the many occasions for praise and thanksgiving in Christian life.⁹ Watts wrote hymns, essentially poetry based in scripture, that could be sung to existing psalm tunes. A generation later, Watts’s efforts were intensified by John and Charles Wesley, Anglican ministers (and the initiators of the Methodist movement), who between them penned at least six thousand hymns. Hymnody spread throughout England and its diaspora, in some places replacing metrical psalmody altogether.

Predictably, there are numerous hymns based on Psalm 130, as a single hymn may cite as many as a dozen different scriptural references. Hymns that draw upon Psalm 130 tend to fall into one of two categories. Some reference God’s unfailing love and mercy as it is found in verse seven, such as *Jesus Lover of My Soul* (Wesley) and *There’s a Wideness in God’s Mercy* (Faber). Others express the entirety of the psalm and in some cases could be considered psalm versifications or paraphrases, despite their appearance within hymn collections. These include *From Deep and Troubled Thoughts* (Watts), *Pardoning Grace* (Watts), and *Out of the Depths* (this text has been adapted many times, but most are adaptations of Luther’s paraphrase).

Sacred Tropes

During the nineteenth century and with the rise of the middle class, public concerts grew in popularity. Large-scale works with

liturgical roots such as the masses, requiems, and oratorios of Handel, Mozart, Haydn, and Bach were performed in concert halls rather than churches, having largely outlived their original liturgical purposes. Choral societies, such as the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston (begun in 1815), mounted performances of works such as Handel’s *Messiah* and Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion*. It became increasingly common for composers who wrote primarily secular music to borrow forms and structures from the sacred repertoire to produce works that were never intended to be sung during the liturgy and were conceived strictly as concert literature, such as Verdi’s Requiem. Because of its associations with grief and death, *De profundis* and *Aus tiefer Not* essentially became compositional tropes, often assigned to works written in memory of the deceased. Some examples of pieces that feel more germane to the concert hall than to a church service include Felix Mendelssohn’s Sonata No. 3 in A major, Op. 65 for organ, Franz Liszt’s *De profundis—Psaume instrumental pour orchestre et piano principal*, S. 121, and Lili Boulanger’s *Psalm 130, Du fond de l’abime* for orchestra.

One intriguing case is that of Arnold Schoenberg’s difficult choral setting of *De profundis*, Op. 50B (see Figure 9) which is sung in Hebrew and makes frequent use of tone-rows, *Sprechstimme*, and tone painting.¹⁰ Though highly religious in nature, the piece demands much of both the choir and

⁹Isaac Watts, *The Works of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. in Seven Volumes* (London: Edward Baines, 1800), pp. 1–20.

¹⁰A melodic motif that Schoenberg termed the “Adonai dyad” is repeated and manipulated throughout the piece to represent God. Mary-Hannah Klotz, “From Out of the Depths Arnold Schoenberg’s ‘De Profundis’ (Psalm 130), Op. 50B,” *The Choral Journal*, 60, no. 4 (2019), 8–27.

Figure 9. Arnold Schoenberg, *De profundis*, Op. 50B, mm. 1–4, ed. Belmont.

audience and tends to be performed only in academic settings.

Modern Settings

If the nineteenth century saw the proliferation of sacred music in secular settings, the modern era has witnessed the opposite as musical instruments, forms, and styles that have traditionally been viewed as secular have made their way into worship services. The Second Vatican Council granted some allowance for the use of vernacular languages in liturgy and asserted that while the organ should maintain a place of “high esteem” within the worship, “other instruments characteristic of a people” were also permissible.¹¹ There was a rush to produce

vernacular masses, guitar masses, and even modern-day parody masses (reminiscent of pre-Tridentine parody masses based on popular chansons and secular melodies) that sounded remarkably similar to a rock concert. Protestant churches experienced a similar trend, with “contemporary” services featuring praise bands offered alongside more “traditional” services with organs and robed choirs or with some churches abandoning traditional service music altogether. Unlike this phenomenon in the Renaissance, modern hymnody designed for this type of service is often indistinguishable from pop music, aside from its religiously aligned text. With a title that could be

¹¹Sacred Congregation of Rites, Instruction on Music in the Liturgy, *Musicam sacram*, (1967), ¶46 <[https://](https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_instr_19670305_musicam-sacram_en.html)

www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_instr_19670305_musicam-sacram_en.html>.

equally suitable for a love ballad, a 2018 setting of Psalm 130 called *I Will Wait for You* (Kauflin, Merker, Getty, and Townend) is structurally identical to the contrasting verse-chorus form that was popularized in 1960s rock. The verse and chorus differ harmonically, and the chorus is generally repetitive and easily learned.

The modern church has a nearly inexhaustible treasury of psalm-based music at its disposal. Revival campaigns, such as the Cæcilian movement that sought to reintroduce Renaissance polyphony to churches and traditionalist Catholicism which favors the extraordinary form (with its accompanying plainchant), have attempted to rescue musical practices long since passed over as too archaic. Congregations that had previously abandoned psalm-singing during services have reintroduced it. And new compositions inspired by the psalms are still entering the repertoire. In describing the Benedictine practice of daily psalm study, Richard H. Schmidt writes:

According to Benedict's scheme, the community reads through . . . the entire book of Psalms every week. The monks are therefore exposed . . . to all the despairing, doubtful, bitter, vindictive, jingoistic, nationalistic, and seemingly racist passages in the Psalter. It is not that every sentiment expressed by a psalmist is admirable, but that in praying the Psalms, we confront ourselves as we really are. The

Psalms are a reality check to keep prayer from becoming sentimental, superficial, or detached from the real world.¹²

The psalms perhaps have the same impact within sacred music, tethering the faithful to an ancient expression of human experience that feels both universal and highly individualistic. ♦

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¹²Richard H. Schmidt, *God Seekers: Twenty Centuries of Christian Spiritualities* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2008), pp. 73–74.

A Collection of Gregorian Chant Recordings in Nova Scotia

Dr. Jean-Claude Dol preserved his French heritage in his large collection of records and CDs, while living as an ex-pat in the Acadian region of Canada.

by Harold Rennie

n his 2009 review of Ken Cane-do's book *Keep The Fire Burning*, Jeffrey Tucker wrote that "one finds old missals in bookstores or attends the extraordinary form or looks back at old instructional books in music or catechesis and is overwhelmed to consider the lost knowledge, the immense chasm that separates what was from what is today."¹ Two years after that review was published, a small-town discophile in Nova Scotia, Canada by the name of Dr. Jean-Claude Dol died, leaving behind a large collection of music that included 144 records and 134 CDs containing mostly or exclusively Gregorian chant. Dol's collection of recordings, like the artifacts listed in Tucker's review, is a reminder of a former time. But Dol's collection is so much more. It is possible to view it as a testament to a layman who preserved Latin chant because he

missed hearing it in the liturgy and because it reminded him of home.²

Maarten J. M. Hoondert suggests that ascribed meaning, separate from liturgy or performance practice, is an alternative lens through which we can view Gregorian chant:

²This article has benefited from the writings of Fr. Jerome Weber in terms of understanding the extensive history of recorded chant. However, whereas Weber is mainly concerned with how these recordings exemplify chant interpretation, rhythm, semiology, and historically informed performance, this article focuses on aspects of the acquisition and dissemination of chant recordings, and on what the music meant to one particular collector. See Jerome F. Weber, "A Discography of Western Plainchant Online," *Sacred Music*, 138, no. 1 (Spring 2011), 76–77; "A Century of Chant Recordings," in *Calculemus et Cantemus: Towards a Reconstruction of Mozarabic Chant*, ed. Geert Maessen (Amsterdam: Gregoriana Amsterdam, 2015), pp. 119–36; "Ten Chant Recordings Not to Be Missed," *Sacred Music*, 47, no. 3 (Fall 2020), 21–31.

¹Jeffrey Tucker, "The Fire Burned Hot," *Sacred Music*, 136, no. 4 (Winter 2009), 70.

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Gregorian chant cannot only be heard in the liturgy, but also in the concert hall and on CD. Gregorian chant has ended up and been appropriated in entirely different contexts . . . The accent of the research has shifted from top-down to bottom-up, from a prescribed ritual to a living, celebrated singing practice . . . It means that Gregorian chant is not only seen as a chant book and subject of scientific research, of ecclesiastical guidelines and instructions, but moreover as a bearer of meaning in a process of finding meaning and significance, with which groups or individuals experience and give meaning to (liturgical) repertory that is presented to them.³

I hope that the story of how and why one individual acquired a massive number of records and CDs of chant, and what the collection meant to him personally, may contribute to this kind of “bottom-up” research into the acquisition and dissemination of chant recordings.

This approach is strengthened by the literature on collecting in general and record and CD collecting in particular. In his study of the “social practice” of record collecting, Roy Shuker describes the collector’s “interwoven narrative of desire, compulsion, and identification, alongside a love of music and notions of cultural and economic value.”⁴ His focus provides valuable insights

³Martin J. M. Hoondert, “Gregorian Chant as Bearer of Meaning and Identity. Appropriation of Gregorian Chant,” *Questions Liturgiques / Studies in Liturgy*, 89, no. 1 (2008), 17–28. Translation by Hilary Staples.

⁴ Roy Shuker, *Wax Trash and Vinyl Treasures: Record Collecting as a Social Practice* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 133, 199.

into the links between record collecting and the making of identity, between the social practice of record collecting and a retrospective sense of self and the past.

This article will show how a collection of Gregorian chant recordings reflected the identity and personal history of its collector, while maintaining his own sense of the past, primarily within his life as a franco-phone. While this collection is not an official archive, some of the categories used for official archiving are useful when trying to make sense of such a collection.⁵

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⁵The structure of this article was suggested by two helpful blog pieces on the subject of archival collections by Samantha Thompson, Archivist for the Region of Peel Archives. See Samantha Thompson, “How Do Archivists Describe Collections? (or, How to Read a Finding Aid),” in the blog “Peeling the Past” <<https://peelarchivesblog.com/2016/02/29/how-do-archivists-describe-collections-or-how-to-read-a-finding-aid/>> and from the same blog, “How Do Archivists Organize Collections?” <<https://peelarchivesblog.com/2015/08/26/how-do-archivists-organize-collections/>>.

I have dubbed this collection “the Jean-Claude Dol Collection of Gregorian Chant Recordings.” While this name is not “official,” it will serve as a way of describing and understanding the collection. The title tells us that the chant CDs and records belonged to the extensive collection of the late discophile Jean-Claude Dol. The Gregorian chant component is a subset of a larger collection of music that he owned, parts of which have gone to other collectors or have been hived off into other categories.

Collector Jean-Claude Dol

Jean-Claude Dol was born in Paris, France on November 7, 1942 and died suddenly on February 4, 2011, in Saulnierville Station, Nova Scotia. Jean-Claude Dol received his doctoral degree in chemistry from the Sorbonne in Paris. In 1968, he arrived at Collège Sainte-Anne (now Université Sainte-Anne), located in Pointe-de-l'Église, Nova Scotia, as one of the first French *coopérants* who opted for a teaching position in a francophone area overseas in lieu of compulsory military service.

In this context, it is important to note that Pointe-de-l'Église is located in an Acadian region of the Canadian province of Nova Scotia. The Acadians, a French-speaking minority found mostly in Atlantic Canada, are perhaps best known to English-speaking audiences through the epic poem “Evangeline,” written by the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Although forcibly expelled by the British in 1755, many Acadians made their way back to their homeland, where they maintained their language and Catholic faith. Their “national” anthem is a version of the medieval chant *Ave maris stella*.

Although most of the other *coopérants*

who lived in the region for a period of two years returned to France after their cooperation program, Dol remained in the area for more than forty years. He taught at Université Sainte-Anne until his retirement in 2002. During his teaching career, he traveled many times to France on research missions, and in the 1980s he studied the effects of acid rain on the lakes of the municipality of Clare.

At the time of his death, his obituary noted that he was a keen lover of classical and baroque music as well as Gregorian chant. He was also a chef par excellence who had mastered the art of fine French cuisine.⁶

I acquired Dol's Gregorian chant records and CDs after his death. His son Sébastien Dol, later told me:

My father attended the Catholic church and sang in the choir. From an early age, he wanted to learn to play the organ, but his parents did not permit it. At one point, when I was a teenager, he made friends with a choir director from the Anglican church in Yarmouth, and we participated for a while in their choir, which sang English canticles using Gregorian melodies. I think he regretted that Latin had been replaced by the vernacular. Each time he went back to France, he went to hear the Mass in Latin, particularly Vespers at Saint-Nicholas-du-Chardonnet, in Paris. My father collected all sorts of things, notably antiques, model trains and also music. The Gregorian chant records were just a fraction of his classi-

⁶“Décès du professeur émérite Jean-Claude Dol,” *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle-Écosse*, February 11, 2011.

cal and Baroque music collection. In my opinion, Gregorian music was a link to the place of his birth and his childhood.⁷

It is understood that Dol collected music, especially religious music, because of his sheer love of it. But he collected Gregorian chant in particular due to nostalgia for his homeland and for Latin in the liturgy. Arguably, this closely fits Hoondert's model of Gregorian chant as "bearer of meaning . . . with which groups or individuals experience and give meaning to (liturgical) repertory that is presented to them."

Université Sainte-Anne, where Dol taught for many years, was founded in 1890 under the Eudist Fathers. It became a secular institution in 1971, not long after Dol arrived in the region, but for a while retained some of its earlier religious character. (Older graduates who learned about my interest in Gregorian chant occasionally shared stories of singing chant at early morning services.) It would not be far-fetched to suggest that Gregorian chant may still have been part of the university "atmosphere" at the time that Dol arrived. He may have found it congenial.

His son's reference to Saint-Nicholas-du-Chardonnet is interesting. Since the expulsion of the parish priest and his assistants by traditionalist Catholics in 1977, the church has been run by the Society of St. Pius X, which celebrates traditional Latin Masses there.⁸ So we can identify at least

one link between the collection and the traditional Latin Mass movement in France.

Custodial History

Custodial history is an account of where a collection, or parts of a collection, have been since they were created. How the items in a collection arrived in their current placement can affect our view of them.

In this case, the music collection remained in Dol's house for several years after his death, until Sébastien Dol put up a notice on Facebook in July 2014, offering to sell parts of his late father's collection. I saw the notice and offered to buy the Gregorian material. In August of 2016, I met Sébastien in Pointe-de-l'Église and picked up several boxes of CDs and records. Ever since then, the items have been with me, spread out over several bookshelves.

The Hierarchy of Arrangement

The archival principle of original order suggests that relationships between the contents of a collection should be preserved because they tell us more about those items than do the individual items taken alone. Collections that have passed through numerous hands are more likely to have become fragmented or to have incurred changes. Records that come straight from the person or organization who created them are more likely to display informative original order.

In the case of the Jean-Claude Dol collection, by the time the records and CDs were packed up, moved, and unpacked, five years had passed since his death, and there was very little indication of what the origi-

⁷E-mail to the author, from Sébastien Dol, May 15, 2023.

⁸This history is commonly known. See, for example, Theresa Marie Moreau, "Celebrating Fortieth Anniversary of Takeover of Saint-Nicholas-du-Chardonnet, Paris," *The Remnant*, Sept. 19,

2017 <<https://remnantnewspaper.com/web/index.php/articles/item/3429-celebrating-fortieth-anniversary-of-takeover-of-saint-nicolas-du-chardonnet-paris>>.

nal order might have been. Labels on some of the LPs, and a few of Dol's handwritten notes, seem to suggest that he acquired the records piecemeal over time, and from various sources (such as the Société française du Son). But whether he had a system for organizing them in his own home is now impossible to guess.

As Sébastien told me, his father's Gregorian chant records were "just a fraction of his classical and baroque music collection." When I received the records and CDs from Sébastien, I discovered that a small number of the records and a lot of the CDs were actually Renaissance polyphony, baroque and classical music, French folksongs, Russian Orthodox chants, and what might be broadly called "early music" (e.g., Palestrina, Victoria, Pergolesi). While I greatly appreciate such music, my reason for acquiring the collection was to further the promotion of Gregorian chant, and to add something to the activities of a Gregorian chant choir to which I belonged at the time. As a result, many of those non-Gregorian items were set aside before cataloguing, leaving a "core" collection of Gregorian (and other) chant.

Admittedly, this meant that I was reconstructing the collection for my own purposes. Most of the other classical recordings had been dispersed to other people, so there was no question of being able to recreate the entire collection, even if I had wanted to. The "context" had now changed. While there had to be judgment calls about what to keep and what to set aside, I tried to do so in a way that reflected the "spirit" of the original collection.

After several false starts, the records were catalogued according to monastic choir. The seminal influence of Solesmes on the development of chant since the

nineteenth century (and the later spin-offs through other monasteries such as Ligugé and Saint-Wandrille) made it seem logical to start by grouping all the Solesmes records together, followed by other monastic choirs. After that, non-monastic choirs were grouped together if they were represented by more than one title. As it turned out, Schola Hungarica is the only example in this collection. All other individual albums were then shelved and catalogued under the heading of "miscellaneous or multiple choirs."

I created a spreadsheet indicating the title of each album, the name of the monastic choir or other ensemble, the year the album was issued (where possible), type of Mass or liturgical season, summaries of liner notes or inserts, publisher's catalogue number, publisher's name and any special items or particular comments. The spreadsheet for the records included the LPs, 45s and 78s, and the different formats were noted. In the next phase of cataloguing, the CDs were arranged in a manner similar to the records. Even if this was an artificial hierarchy, retroactively imposed on the collection, it still allowed certain patterns to become visible. For instance, it made it much easier to see if there was any duplication of recordings between the records and the CDs, or which CDs were re-recordings of original records.

Dating and Physical Description

The dates of publication/release of the records and CDs should tell us the time span covered by the collection. However, this was a particularly troublesome step in the creation of this inventory, which was predictable, given the "less than complete information on most liner notes," as Jerome

F. Weber wryly comments.⁹ When these dates were not visible on the record sleeves, CD inserts or liner notes, various online sources were used to determine the dates of publication or recording.¹⁰

As far as it is possible to ascertain, the records were released between 1953 and 1986, but it is not clear that Dol stopped collecting records after 1986, since there is no indication of when a given title was acquired, nor whether it was acquired new or used. In the case of one 45 RPM record of three thousand bishops singing the *Missa de Angelis*, the recording was done “at the closing of the first session of Vatican II,” which at least indicated a year!

Some of the CDs were dated according to when the music was first recorded in earlier formats, rather than when the CD was produced. As a result, it is sometimes difficult to identify accurately the earliest CDs, and this will require some further work on the spreadsheet. The majority of them appear to have been produced from the mid-1980s onward (whether as original recordings or as re-releases), and the latest ones in the Dol collection were from 2003. As with the records, it is not clear when or why Dr. Dol stopped collecting CDs.

Even after the culling of some of the non-Gregorian recordings, there remain 144 records and 134 CDs, containing mostly or exclusively Gregorian chant. There are no obvious duplications between the record titles and CD titles. There are also about fifteen records (mostly 78s) of

great archival value, badly enumerated and in somewhat random order. These are still to be catalogued and are not yet included in the total numbers. In a few cases, their condition probably precludes playing them.

Scope and Content

It is not the intent to write extensively about each and every recording in this collection. Similarly, a focus on rare or quirky items could distort the picture of the collection overall. However, some patterns do emerge, reflecting both individual collecting decisions and changes in the music industry over time.

Generally, the collection—especially, though not exclusively, the record collection—reflects the fact that Jean-Claude Dol was a francophone, living in a French-speaking area of Nova Scotia, teaching at a francophone post-secondary institution, and making occasional visits back to France. It is not surprising, therefore, that the vast majority of the items in his collection are from French sources, primarily from French monastic choirs (though there are a few from England, Spain, Canada, the U.S., Germany, and Italy). In some cases, recordings from non-French choirs even appear in editions aimed at the French-language market, with record covers and liner notes in French. For example, there is one title from the Capella Antiqua München in the record collection, whose cover and liner notes are in French, not in German or English.

The overwhelming presence of records from Solesmes and similar French monastic choirs in the collection is not surprising. It reflects not only Dol’s individual tastes, but also the predominant influence of Solesmes in Gregorian chant right into the present day. As Katherine Bergeron

⁹Jerome Weber, “Chant Discography” <<http://chantdiscography.com/>>.

¹⁰Among these sources were: <<https://www.all-music.com/>> <<https://www.discogs.com/>> and <<http://www.chantdiscography.com/>>.

wrote, “through the power of mechanical reproduction, the practice that began exclusively as la méthode bénédictine has largely defined the sound we associate with Gregorian chant.”¹¹

However, as other choirs and publishers got into the act, and as CDs replaced vinyl in the 1980s and 1990s, the sources of such recordings became more diverse, and Dol seemed to cast his collecting net much more widely. For instance, there are thirty-four records from Solesmes in the collection, but only one CD with any Solesmes content (as one of a number of different choirs). New CDs from Solesmes were still being issued as late as 2009,¹² two years before Dol’s death, and are still available through the boutique at the abbey.¹³ But, for some reason, Dol seems to have stopped collecting Solesmes recordings in any format. Similarly, there is only one vinyl record from Québec’s St-Benoît-du-Lac, but six CDs, including several albums that are re-issues of earlier recordings. Again, a liking for French or Québec sources may explain Dol’s sudden interest in these, during a time when perhaps the influence of Solesmes was on the wane. Ironical, perhaps, since St-Benoît-du-Lac and its music were derived from Solesmes.

There is only one title from Santo Domingo de Silos in the record collection, but eight titles from Silos in the CD collec-

tion (one of which is a two-CD set), making it the largest single group among the CDs. The title “Chant” is among them. It is well attested that the sudden surge of popularity of Gregorian chant in the 1990s was largely prompted by the Benedictine monks of Silos on CD, singing music that had originally been recorded years before. One CD, “Chant,” caught the fancy of a large listening public worldwide, thanks to a marketing campaign that positioned it as relaxing, meditative music.¹⁴

Silos was not the only example. The liner notes for several other CDs in the Dol collection show how Gregorian chant was being rebranded for a larger, more secular market during the 1990s. There are, for instance, two CDs from the Capella Antiqua München (neither of which is a re-issue of the record mentioned earlier). One of them, “Quietude,” was originally recorded in 1966, while the CD is from 1994. The notes on the outside of the CD are all about quietness and meditation, while, inside the cover, the highly didactic text explains the importance of rhythm in Gregorian chant. In this case, the rebranding has led to hybrid liner notes.

A similar situation occurs for “Meditation—the Tranquility of Timeless Plainchant” (by Magnificat). According to the liner notes on the outside: “Gregorian chant

¹¹Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 137–38.

¹²For instance, see <<http://www.chantdiscography.com/index.php?id=1669>> and <https://www.amazon.ca/s?k=Solesmes&i=popular&ref=nb_sb_noss>.

¹³<https://www.abbayedesolesmes.fr/product_category/7>.

¹⁴John Irvine, “The Gregorian Chant: An Examination of the Ancient Musical and Spiritual Tradition,” *Cross Rhythms* (December 1, 1994). <https://www.crossrhythms.co.uk/articles/music/The_Gregorian_Chant_An_examination_of_the_ancient_musical_and_spiritual_tradition/40230/p1/>; Greg Sandow, “Gregorian chant,” *Entertainment Weekly* (May 6, 1994) <<https://ew.com/article/1994/05/06/gregorian-chants-eternal-chants/>>.

can be what you want it to be. Its universal sound allows the mind to listen and to be free. It gives the imagination opportunity to think itself out of normal everyday life into a special, spiritual world of calm and orderliness. Sit back, close your eyes and let the stresses be soothed away by the sheer beauty and power of this remarkable music.” On the other hand, the inside notes for “Meditation” do a great service by explaining both Sarum Rite and Osney Rite, and therefore contribute to the educational value of the collection.

From what we know of Dol’s background and his previous collecting history, it is unlikely that he collected any of the CDs simply because they were trendy. It is more likely that he found it easier to collect them because they were suddenly available in large volume, or because he found the sound quality appealing. It is unlikely that the music’s meaning would have changed for him.

From among the records, three titles might appeal to supporters of the Traditional Latin Mass and to lovers of Latin in the liturgy generally. They are: “Messe à Écône (Messe traditionnelle chantée en Grégorien),” sung by the Séminaristes de Mgr. LeFebvre; “Gregorian chant,” sung by the Pius X Choir, Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart (whose history was extensively documented in *Sacred Music*¹⁵), and “The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass sung entirely in Latin—as we remember it,” sung by the Columbian Male Choir, Mater Dei Council, Knights of Columbus. All appeal overtly to nostalgia for the pre-Vatican II

Mass. They are also valuable as historical documents, since they show how traditionalist sources were using chant recordings as a way of disseminating their messages.

Both the records and the CDs contain some Ambrosian and Mozarabic chant, Sarum Rite, Osney Rite, chant of Hildegard of Bingen, Anglican plainchant, Russian Orthodox chant, and one sample of Premonstratensian (Norbertine) Gregorian chant. Taken together, they form only a small part of the overall collection, but they do show Dol’s very “Catholic” tastes. Non-Gregorian chants are included in the spreadsheets and are not separated by category. The “notes” column on the spreadsheets usually indicates if a different rite or style of chant is included on any given record or CD.

Given Dol’s preference for French sources, at least when he was collecting records, and his inclusion of some material from traditionalist Catholic sources, one would not normally expect to find material from Anglican plainchant or medieval English in such a collection. However, as his son Sébastien noted, the family did a stint of singing Anglican chant in a local Anglican church. So it is not so surprising to find the presence of “O God, My Heart is Ready – Psalms and Hymns” by the St. Thomas Choir of Men and Boys and “An English Ladymass,” researched and sung by Anonymous 4. Although they are not, strictly speaking, part of the Gregorian chant tradition, these items have been retained in the Dol collection (among the 134 CDs), since they seem to reflect his collecting journey.

In summary, the later collection (primarily CDs) shows a wider range of content, but no clear indication that the original impetus for the collection had changed. While

¹⁵Francis Brancalone, series of articles in *Sacred Music*, 146, no. 1 (Spring 2019), 15–46; 147, no. 1 (Spring 2020), 21–56; and 148, no. 1 (Spring 2021), 19–56.

Dol did not collect just what was “trendy,” he clearly did not disdain the rebranding of chant that came about in the 1990s. At the same time, the lack of titles duplicated between the record collection and the CD collection suggests that he did not try to get CD versions of everything he had previously collected on vinyl, but instead tried to diversify his collection with new material.

The Changing Narrative of the Collection

As I mentioned above, my interest in acquiring the Gregorian chant parts of Dol’s collection reflected the fact that, at the time, I was a member of a Gregorian chant choir, the Holy Heart Schola Cantorum (HHSC), based in Halifax, Nova Scotia, under the direction of Robert Bruce. The choir used to sing Latin propers at ordinary-form Masses, Anglican plainchant at Masses of the local Ordinariate parish, and miscellaneous pieces at various other public events (including a Gregorian chant version of *Ave maris stella* at the closing Mass of the Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse in 2010).

I bought the chant recordings as a way of expanding my own understanding of chant but also with the hope that it would be a valuable resource for the choir. That being said, it was noted almost immediately that the various “monastic” versions of the chants were different from what the HHSC was singing at the time for liturgical purposes. To cite Jeffrey Tucker again: “There are differences between the chant these monks sing—some small issues of notes and rhythm—and what you will find in the Graduale Romanum, due to the tradition in their own order. So if you are seeking a CD to help you sing the Graduale, this is

not it.”¹⁶ Although other people in the choir appreciated the broad range of music, our repertoire was largely dictated by where and when we were singing, and for whom. The choir’s primary purpose, after all, was, and is, liturgical, not performative.

Above all, by the time of the purchase of the collection, the choir as a whole was growing far more reliant on selections from YouTube and other online sources. This was accentuated during the pandemic, when the choir members could not gather in person for practices. Online recordings were easier to customize for a choir’s needs (e.g., learning how to pronounce Latin properly, learning the melodies of the eight “Gloria Patri” tones for the introit of the Mass, and learning neumes and psalm tones). As in society at large, despite the limited revival of vinyl, the fact remains that streaming and YouTube have largely replaced both records and CDs.

At one point, I had nourished fantasies of the choir doing a “tribute” performance using only music from the Jean-Claude Dol collection. Instead, this article will have to stand as such a tribute to Dol’s memory, and as an attempt to give something back to his family and his university. While the modern Acadian community is largely secular, and the records and CDs are now located in Halifax, it is not an exaggeration to view the collection as a part of the heritage of that Acadian region of Nova Scotia and a recognition of the supportive community of which Dol was a part. ♦

¹⁶Jeffrey Tucker, “Chant for the Soul,” *Sacred Music*, 135, no. 2 (Fall 2008), 64.

Repertory

Celebrating Du Fay at 550 Years

Guillaume Du Fay—a famous fifteenth-century composer—offers an abundance of music for the liturgy that is as relevant and beautiful today as it was 550 years ago.

by Emily Thelen

On November 27, 2024, we will celebrate the five hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Guillaume Du Fay's death. The leading composer of mid-fifteenth century Europe, Du Fay (ca. 1397–1474) deserves to be as well-known among church musicians as Josquin des Prez or Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. He was a priest and singer who composed music for nearly every liturgical genre—motets, hymns, Magnificats, polyphonic antiphons for the Divine Office, and polyphonic mass cycles, as well as plainchant melodies for the Mass and Office. His works, which also include secular songs, survive in nearly one hundred manuscripts across nine countries from the second quarter of fifteenth century to the early sixteenth.¹

Born near Brussels, Belgium, Du Fay

¹For a complete list of works and a biographical overview, see Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Du Fay [Dufay; Du Fayt], Guillaume," *Grove Music Online* (accessed May 20, 2024) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08268>>.

trained in music, catechism, Latin, and grammar at the school attached to the Cambrai Cathedral of Notre Dame.² Cambrai, located in northeast France, was once the center of a multi-lingual diocese extending as far north as Antwerp in Belgium and boasted an impressive Gothic cathedral known for its liturgical music (see Figure 1).³ In 1450, Fursy du Bruille, the archdeacon of nearby Valenciennes who was living in Cambrai, bequeathed a Byzantine Marian icon

²The most recent comprehensive biography of Du Fay is Alejandro Enrique Planchart's *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). Other major studies include: David Fallows, *Dufay* (New York: Vintage, 1988); Peter Gülke, *Guillaume Du Fay: Musik des 15. Jahrhundert* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003); and Laurenz Lütteken, *Guillaume Dufay und die isorhythmische Motette: Gattungstradition und Werkcharakter an der Schwelle der Neuzeit* (Karl Dieter Wagner: Hamburg, 1993).

³For floorplans and artistic depictions of the cathedral, including more information on the history of Figure 1, see Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 163–68.

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Figure 1. The Cathedral of Notre Dame of Cambrai before its destruction at the end of the eighteenth century.



Figure 2. Notre-Dame de Grâce, Cambrai Cathedral.

from Rome to the cathedral.⁴ The icon of Notre-Dame de Grâce (Our Lady of Grace) was believed to be painted by St. Luke himself and attracted thousands of pilgrims, including the Dukes of Burgundy, who ruled the area at the time. Having survived the destruction of the original Cathedral of Cambrai during the French Revolution, the Madonna can still be venerated today in the current cathedral (see Figure 2).

It was in this milieu that Du Fay spent the majority of his career, most of which was as a canon.⁵ In this capacity, his primary responsibility was to sing the Divine Office as part of the chapter of canons of the cathedral, though he was also ordained to the priesthood in 1427 and would have celebrated Mass as well. Cathedral canons did not lead monastic lives; his positions also included significant financial and clerical duties for the chapter. Du Fay held stipends from multiple churches simultaneously as was common at the time, even if he did not appear in those places in person. He owned a house, however, in Cambrai close to the cathedral, the roof of which can be seen in Figure 1—the fourth roof from the right, closest to the Cathedral was in fact the house where Du Fay lived.⁶

⁴Interest in Byzantine icons in the Low Countries was widespread. See Maryan W. Ainsworth, “À la façon grèce’: The Encounter of Northern Renaissance Artists with Byzantine Icons,” in H. C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 544–55. The cathedral chapter and other individuals commissioned several copies of the Cambrai Madonna; see pp. 582–88 on the original and its copies.

⁵For a chronology of Du Fay’s life, see Fallows, *Dufay*, 215–24.

⁶Planchart notes that the wine cellar of Du Fay’s house is still extant and includes an inscription with the date of 1417 in one of its stones. For

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Du Fay’s life is remarkably well-documented in archival records compared to other medieval figures.⁷ He traveled extensively, spent significant time in Italy, and sang in the choir of two Papal chapels (Martin V and Eugene IV). He also had a stint as chapel master for the Duke of Savoy, where he met another composer, Gilles Binchois, with whom he is pictured in an illumination accompanying Martin le Franc’s poem, *Le champion des dames* (see Figure 3).⁸

more information on Du Fay’s house and a seventeenth-century floorplan, see Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 184–87.

⁷Over two hundred archival references to Du Fay exist. Craig Wright, for example, presents the significance of the documentary record of Du Fay’s life in Cambrai. See Craig Wright, “Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28, no. 2 (Summer 1975), 175–229. Scholars have amassed a considerable number of details of Du Fay’s biography over the course of the last fifty years. See also Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “Guillaume Du Fay: Evidence and Interpretation,” in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 87–88.

⁸Martin le Franc (c. 1410–1461) was a French priest, poet, and diplomat who held several



Figure 3. Du Fay (left) with portable organ. Bibliothèque nationale de France MS 12476, f. 98r. <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525033083/f201>>.

Du Fay's *Œuvre*

Much of Du Fay's surviving music is readily available today. The American Institute of Musicology published a six-volume set of his motets, masses, songs, and other polyphonic liturgical music with commentary.⁹ Du Fay scholar Alejandro Planchart began an updated *Opera Omnia* but died before he could complete it. The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM), however, has made available online the

high-ranking clerical positions including the provost of the Lausanne Cathedral. He wrote this allegorical poem in 1440 or 1442, which is found in the fifteenth-century manuscript, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS 12476 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525033083/>>.

⁹For editions of the complete works of Du Fay, see *Guillaume Dufay* (ca. 1400–1474), *Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, vol. 1, nos. 1–6, eds. Heinrich Bessler and David Fallows (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1948–2006). The table of contents for each volume can be viewed here: <https://www.corpusmusicae.com/cmm/cmm_cc001.htm>.

beautiful editions and commentary that he finished.¹⁰ Planchart's completed work includes scores for sixteen paraphrase and cantilena motets, fourteen isorhythmic motets, and seven mass ordinary cycles, all of which can be freely downloaded. The Choral Domain Public Library also has a considerable number of editions of his sacred music as well as secular songs.¹¹ For those who like to read from mensural notation or make modern transcriptions from original sources, DIAMM displays the images of many of the manuscripts in which Du Fay's music is preserved.¹²

¹⁰Scores can be accessed and freely downloaded here: <<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/resources/music-editions/du-fay-opera-omnia/>>.

¹¹See <https://www.cpdll.org/wiki/index.php/Guillaume_Dufay>. The IMSLP Petrucci Music Library posts some editions of Du Fay's sacred music, but editions of his secular songs are predominant.

¹²For a list of compositions with their linked manuscript sources, see <<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/people/91/>>.

Before suggesting a few of Du Fay's pieces with which a parish might begin, I will briefly highlight two compositions that while musically may be too ambitious for an amateur choir are historically fascinating. The first is the well-known motet, *Nuper rosarum flores*.¹³ This four-voice motet has been long been the subject of musicological debate for the numerical proportions of the motet and their relationship to the architecture of both the Florence Cathedral and the Temple of Solomon.¹⁴ Du Fay wrote the motet for the dedication of Santa Maria del Fiore and the completion of Filippo Brunelleschi's remarkable dome in 1436. Du Fay himself sang the motet for the occasion as a member of the papal choir of Eugenius IV, who consecrated the high altar of the cathedral. The text first recounts the golden roses that the Pope gave to the Florence Cathedral, a special papal gift given only once a year and usually reserved for the nobility, and then describes the consecration before concluding with a petition to the Virgin, as the cathedral's namesake, for her intercession. The intricate rhythms in the upper voices are fun to sing and supported with the tenors singing "Awesome is the place," one can imagine the majestic harmony reaching the heights of the towering new dome.¹⁵

¹³For the score, see <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/175/09_Du_Fay_Nuper_rosarum_flores.pdf>.

¹⁴The most recent reading of the motet's relationship to the cathedral and which summarizes previously published theories is Marvin Trachtenberg, "Architecture and Music Reunited: A New Reading of Du Fay's 'Nuper Rosarum Flores' and the Cathedral of Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54, no. 3 (Autumn 2001), 740–75.

¹⁵I recommend the ensemble Pomerium's rendi-

While this motet connects Du Fay to the esteemed architect Brunelleschi, whom he probably met and with whom he may have even collaborated, one of his masses connects him to the famous sculptor Donatello. David Fallows has suggested that Du Fay may have met Donatello in Florence through the latter's friendship with Brunelleschi and that Du Fay's Mass for St. Anthony of Padua may have been written for the dedication of the high altar in the Basilica of St. Anthony of Padua, for which Donatello created his monumental bronze sculptures and reliefs.¹⁶ Du Fay's presence in nearby Turin, Italy is documented around the time of the dedication in June 1450 with the precise number of singers that he later specified were necessary for this particular mass, providing circumstantial evidence for this hypothesis.

Though their transmission history is quite complex, Du Fay's polyphonic settings of both the mass ordinary and proper survive for this feast.¹⁷ Du Fay had an interest in composing polyphonic proper cycles, many of which survive, and was involved in a project to produce a book of polyphonic proper sets for major feasts celebrated in the Cambrai Cathedral, in a way anticipating

tion, which demonstrates the conductor's comprehensive understanding of mensuration changes in fifteenth-century music: *The Virgin & the Temple. Du Fay: Chant & Motets, Pomerium*, dir. Alexander Blachly, Archiv, Deutsche Grammophon, 1997.

¹⁶Fallows, *Dufay*, 66–67, 185.

¹⁷On the complex nature of the ascription of the proper movements to Du Fay, see Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 574–82 and Fallows, *Dufay*, 188–91. Planchart explains that this ordinary is actually part of two plenary mass cycles with different proper movements, the other being for the feast of St. Francis.

Ave Regina caelorum I

Guillaume Dufay

The image displays a musical score for the Ave Regina caelorum I by Guillaume Dufay. It consists of three systems of three staves each (Soprano, Alto, and Bass). The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the staves. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and accidentals. The first system covers measures 1 to 11, the second system covers measures 12 to 23, and the third system covers measures 24 to 35. The lyrics are: A - ve Re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, A - ve Do - mi - na an - ge - lo - rum, Sal - ve Ra - dix san - cta, Ex qua mun - do lux est or - ta. Gau - de glo - ri - o - sa, Su - per om - nes spe - ci - o - sa, Va - le, val - de de - co - ra, Et pro no - bis sem - per Chri - stum ex - o - ra. Al - le - lu - ja.

A - ve Re - gi - na coe - lo - rum, A - ve Do - mi - na an - ge - lo - rum, Sal - ve Ra - dix san - cta, Ex qua mun - do lux est or - ta. Gau - de glo - ri - o - sa, Su - per om - nes spe - ci - o - sa, Va - le, val - de de - co - ra, Et pro no - bis sem - per Chri - stum ex - o - ra. Al - le - lu - ja.

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Figure 4. Ave regina cælorum, Choral Domain Public Library.

the sixteenth-century polyphonic proper settings of the *Choralis Constantinus* by Heinrich Isaac.¹⁸ The mass for St. Anthony is beautiful but difficult, with an unusually demanding range for the cantus and complex cross-rhythms. In this case, the ordinary is set for three voices with some sections of reduced scoring in the last three movements and is not based on a *cantus firmus* like his late mass cycles. The proper movements are also set for three voices with the exception of the offertory, which is set for four; these movements clearly paraphrase chant in the cantus. Singing the complete polyphonic mass ordinary and proper would be an ambitious project but an extraordinary way for a parish dedicated to St. Anthony to celebrate its patron or to crown the completion of the nine-month novena to the saint.¹⁹

Both this plenary mass and the motet are available in Planchart's online editions. For a parish choir just beginning with Du Fay, however, his *Ave regina cælorum* is a great place to start and is also available in an online edition by Planchart.²⁰ One of Du Fay's earliest pieces, this is a short three-voice setting of the Marian antiphon, though it does not use the chant as a melodic source as do his other two settings of this antiphon. The declamatory style is quite simple compared to his more typical rhythmically active lines but is a great way for choirs to become acclimated with his style (see Figure 4). For

¹⁸See Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 501–09 for lists of Du Fay's polyphonic mass proper settings.

¹⁹An excellent recording of the complete mass is *Guillaume Du Fay: Mass for St. Anthony of Pauda, Pomerium*, dir. Alexander Blachly, Archiv Produktion, Deutsche Grammophon, 1996.

²⁰<www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/152/04DuFay-Ave-regina-1.pdf>.

Immersed in the world of plainchant and coming out of a tradition of improvised polyphony based on chant, it is no surprise that more than half of Du Fay's surviving works are in fact chant paraphrase settings.

choirs singing this antiphon during Lent, the final alleluia can be omitted. Planchart's editions of Du Fay's other three- and four-voice settings of the *Ave regina cælorum* are also available online as well as two settings of the *Alma redemptoris mater*. Du Fay's second setting of this Marian antiphon paraphrases the plainchant in the cantus and requires more advanced musicianship but is still manageable and could serve as a post-communion meditation if sung outside of Vespers or Compline.²¹

Du Fay's Chant Settings

Immersed in the world of plainchant and coming out of a tradition of improvised polyphony based on chant, it is no surprise that more than half of Du Fay's surviving works are in fact chant paraphrase settings. The highest voice usually sings a chant melody with some slight elaborations accompanied by two or three other voices,

²¹<[https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/150/02DuFay-Alma2.pdf](http://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/150/02DuFay-Alma2.pdf)>.

Conditor alme siderum

Guillaume Du Fay

[Tenor]

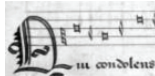


1. Con - di - tor al - me si - de - rum e - ter - na lux cre - den - ti -
3. Ver - gen - te mun - di ve - spe - re, u - ti spon - sus de ta - la -
5. Te, de - pre - ca - mur a - gi - e ven - tu - re iu - dex se - cu -



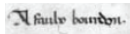
-um, Chri - ste, re - demp - tor om - ni - um, ex - au - di pre - ces sup - pli - cum.
-mo, e - gres - sus ho - ne - stis - si - ma Vir - gi - nis ma - tris clau - su - la.
-li, con - ser - va nos in tem - po - re ho - stis a te - lo per - fi - di.

[Cantus]



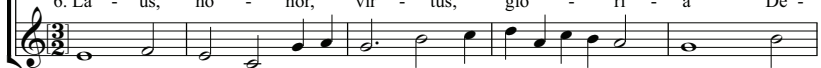
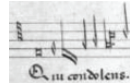
2. Qui con - do - lens in - te - ri - tu mor -
4. Cu - ius for - ti po - ten - ti - e ge -
6. La - us, ho - nor, vir - tus, glo - ri - a De -

Fault bourdon



2. Qui con - do - lens in - te - ri - tu mor -
4. Cu - ius for - ti po - ten - ti - e ge -
6. La - us, ho - nor, vir - tus, glo - ri - a De -

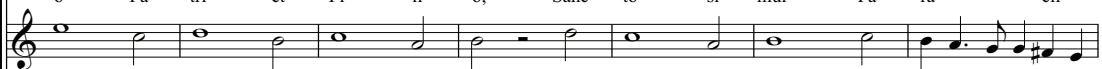
Tenor



2. Qui con - do - lens in - te - ri - tu Mor -
4. Cu - ius for - ti po - ten - ti - e ge -
6. La - us, ho - nor, vir - tus, glo - ri - a De -



-tis pe - ri - re se - cu - lum, sal - va - sti mun - dum lan - gui -
-nu cur - van - tur o - mni - a; ce - le - sti - a, ter - re - stri -
-o Pa - tri et Fi - li - o, Sanc - to si - mul Pa - ra - cli -



-tis pe - ri - re se - cu - lum, sal - va - sti mun - dum lan - gui -
-nu cur - van - tur o - mni - a; ce - le - sti - a, ter - re - stri -
-o Pa - tri et Fi - li - o, Sanc - to si - mul Pa - ra - cli -



-tis pe - ri - re se - cu - lum, sal - va - sti mun - dum lan - gui -
-nu cur - van - tur o - mni - a; ce - le - sti - a, ter - re - stri -
-o Pa - tri et Fi - li - o, Sanc - to si - mul Pa - ra - cli -



-dum, do - nans re - is - re - me - di - um.
-a fa - ten - tur nu - tu sub - di - ta.
-to, in se - cu - lo - rum se - cu - la.



-dum, do - nans re - is - re - me - di - um.
-a fa - ten - tur nu - tu sub - di - ta.
-to, in se - cu - lo - rum se - cu - la.



-dum, do - nans re - is - re - me - di - um.
-a fa - ten - tur nu - tu sub - di - ta.
-to, in se - cu - lo - rum se - cu - la.

Per finire

A - men.

Transcribed by Leonardo Lollini.

Figure 5. Conditor alme siderum, Choral Domain Public Library.

often using a technique called *fauxbourdon*. Begun in the early fifteenth century, *fauxbourdon* is a technique to elaborate chant with a series of parallel 6–3 sonorities with cadences on octaves or unisons.

Du Fay's hymn settings employ these techniques and are an excellent repertory for introducing fifteenth-century music to a parish and its choir. His collection of hymns—for Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Ascension, Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, and All Saints—appears to be Du Fay's attempt at a systematic cycle for the liturgical calendar. The cycle survives in three main sources, two from the 1430s and 1440s and another from the 1490s, and includes the familiar texts *Pange lingua gloriosi*, *Veni creator spiritus*, *Vexilla regis*, *Christe redemptor omnium*, and *Audi benigne conditor*, among others.²²

The simplest setting of the cycle is the *Conditor alme siderum* with only seventeen measures of polyphony to learn (see Figure 5). This advent hymn alternates strophes of the chant, *Creator of the Stars*, with polyphonic verses. Since Du Fay's anniversary will have just passed a few days before the first Sunday of Advent this year, this hymn would be a timely way to introduce this composer, especially with its use of the *fauxbourdon* technique particularly suited to Advent. Another accessible setting with only twenty-three measures of polyphony is the *Ave Maris stella* (see Figure 6). These alternatim settings provide a strategic way to introduce a congregation to both plainchant and polyphony at the same time, especially if the parish is new to both. Additionally,

²²A complete list of the hymns of this cycle with their sources can be found in Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 422–24.

both the congregation and the choir will become familiar with the traditional Gregorian melodies.

For the choir that sings Vespers, adding a polyphonic Magnificat could be the next step after learning some of these hymns. Du Fay likely composed polyphonic Magnificat settings for all eight modes, especially given his generally systematic approach to liturgical music. What survives though are four settings for modes three, five, six, and eight. The mode five Magnificat verses are set in alternatim with the chant, while the others have all of the verses set polyphonically. The Magnificat was certainly a popular prayer by which to add polyphony during Vespers in the fifteenth century.

Finally, for choirs who regularly sing plainchant, Du Fay's *Recollectio Festorum Beatæ Mariæ Virginis* might be of interest. As singers of plainchant know, it is unusual to be able to assign a specific composer to a particular chant. Yet Barbara Haggh-Huglo has presented the documentary evidence that demonstrates Du Fay's authorship of the music for this feast, which survives in thirty-five manuscripts and prints from the Cambrai Cathedral.²³ In 1457, a canon and friend of Du Fay, Michael de Beringhen, provided the money to the cathedral for the perpetual celebration of the new feast and asked Gilles Carlier, the cathedral's dean and a theologian to write the texts for the Office and Mass, which Du Fay then set to music. The *Recollectio* is a compilation

²³Barbara Haggh, "The Celebration of the 'Recollectio Festorum Beatæ Mariæ Virginis,' 1457–1987," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica*, 30, 1 (1988), 361–73. Her book on the feast is forthcoming and will include the music. The plainchant can be heard on the Pomerium recording mentioned in note 15.

Ave Maris stella

Guillaume Du Fay

1. A - ve ma - ris stel - la De - i ma - ter al - ma
 5. Vir - go sin - gu - la - ris, in - ter om - nes mi - tis,

3
 at - que sem - per vir - go, fe - lix cae - li por - ta.
 nos cul - pis so - lu - tos, mi - tes fac et cas - tos.

5
 2. Su - mens il - lud "A - ve"
 6. Vi - tam praes - ta pu - ram,

12
 Ga - bri - e - lis o - re, fun - da nos
 i - ter pa - ra tu - tum, ut vi - den

20
 in pa - ce mu - tans no - men He - vae.
 -tes le - sum sem - per col - le - te - mur.

Figure 6. Ave Maris stella, Choral Domain Public Library.

30



ma - la nos - tra pel - le, bo - na cunc - ta pos - ce.
Spri - ri - tu - i Sanc - to ho - nor tri - bus u - num. A - men.

33

4. Mon - stra te es - se ma - - trem.
7. Sit laus De - - o Pa - - tri,

4. Mon - stra te es - se ma - trem
7. Sit laus De - - o Pa - - tri,

4. Mon - stra te es - - se ma - - - trem.
7. Sit laus De - - - o Pa - - - tris

40

su - mat per te pre - cem, qui pro no -
sum - mo Chris - to de - - - cus, Spi - ri - tu

su - mat per te pre - cem, qui pro no -
sum - mo Chris - to de - - - cus, Spi - ri - tu

su - mat per te pre - cem, qui pro no -
sum - mo Chris - to De - - - cus, Spi - ri - tu

48

-bis na - tus tu - lit es - se tu - - us.
i Sanc - to ho - nor tri - bus u - - - num.

bis na - tus tu - lit es - se tu - - us.
i Sanc - to ho - nor tri - bus u - - - num.

-bis na - tus tu - lit es - se tu - - us.
-i Sanc - to ho - nor tri - bus u - - - num.

of six Marian feasts honoring the Virgin's Conception, Nativity, Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, and Assumption and was assigned to the cathedral calendar on the fourth Sunday of August. After its initial celebration in August of 1458, the feast continued to be celebrated in the Cambrai Cathedral for over two hundred years and spread throughout the Low Countries and beyond.

Remembering a “Composer”

As we celebrate Du Fay's work five and a half centuries after his death, we can conclude with how the composer himself asked to be remembered. Du Fay's complete will and details of its execution survive today and give evidence of his own devotion. Several years before his death, Du Fay purchased land to provide money for what was known as a foundation, or an endowment, to pay for an annual Mass to be sung on the anniversary of his death. He also made provisions for a solemn Mass to be sung on the feast of St. Anthony of Padua in the St. Stephen chapel in which he would later be buried.²⁴ This chapel is the semi-circular structure on the right side of the transept of the Cambrai Cathedral as seen in Figure 1. He requested a number of other devotions to be performed for various saints and feast days and wanted his four-voice *Ave regina cælorum* sung as he lay dying, though time did not permit this, so it was sung at his funeral instead.²⁵

Amazingly Du Fay's funeral monument survives with what we can assume is a reasonable likeness of the composer (see Fig-

ure 7). This stone would have been mounted on the wall in the St. Stephen chapel. Du Fay is the figure kneeling at the far left of a resurrection scene depicting Christ rising from the tomb to the astonishment of the surrounding soldiers. Because he had been appointed a canon in Mons (Belgium), St. Waltrude (or Waudru in French), the

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patron saint of the collegiate church there, is shown putting her hand protectively on Du Fay's shoulder. Du Fay's name is represented in each of the four corners with a capital G, and within it his surname is denoted with a rebus: the letters “Du,” then the solfege syllable “fa” represented as a music note, followed by the letter “y.” Space was left for his death date to be added in

²⁴Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 307.

²⁵Robert Nosow, “Song and the Art of Dying,” *Musical Quarterly*, 82 (1998), 542–45.

relief, though the date was engraved instead after his death. What makes the survival of this stone even more fantastic is its history. The stone, which was made of fragile slate, somehow survived the demolition of the Cambrai Cathedral at the end of eighteenth century. It was only discovered in 1859, being used unbelievably as a stepping stone (placed face down) for a well at the home of a canon. In 1889, the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille purchased it and sent it for restoration, making it available for viewing today.²⁶

In the epithet, which Du Fay wrote when he arranged for the sculpting of the stone, he referred to himself as a “musi-

cus,” which today we would consider a composer. That Du Fay considered himself a composer in the mid-fifteenth century is significant because it anticipates the general understanding of the modern concept of a composer, which only developed towards the very end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth.²⁷ Though he was employed as a priest and singer, Du Fay likely considered his compositions an important legacy. The reputation of his music is certainly attested by the large number of surviving sources and their geographical spread. Five hundred and fifty years after his death, Du Fay’s works still elevate the liturgy and inspire devotion. ♦

²⁶For a high-resolution image, see <<https://pba.lille.fr/Collections/Chefs-d-OEuvre/Moyen-Age-et-Renaissance/Monument-Funeraire-de-Guillaume-Dufay>>. On the history of the monument and its restoration, see Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 298–303.

²⁷On Du Fay’s self-perception as a composer, see Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 331–37.



Figure 7. Funerary monument of Guillaume Du Fay, c. 1474, held by the Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille.

Reviews

Louis Bouyer. *Rite and Man. The Sense of the Sacred and Christian Liturgy*. Translated from the French by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. Providence, Rhode Island: Cluny Media, 2022. 233 pp. Paperback. \$ 24.95. ISBN: 978-168591344. Original: *Le Rite et l'homme. Sacralité naturelle et liturgie*. Lex Orandi 32. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1962.

by John M. Pepino



he fledgling publisher Cluny Media (formally established in 2015) has given itself “the mission of recovering and republishing works from the Catholic intellectual, literary, and spiritual traditions,” in the words of John Emmet Clarke, its editor-in-chief. Most of the works they (re)publish are from the twentieth century (though not all—St. Gregory the Great has a couple of titles) and constitute a sort of *ressource-ment* of that ebullient century of Catholic theology and literature; call to mind Daniel-Rops, Evelyn Waugh, Karol Wojtyła, Joseph Ratzinger, Charles de Foucauld, Ronald Knox. . .

Within this scope, Cluny has recently republished Louis Bouyer’s *Rite and Man* along with five other books by the same author: *The Paschal Mystery*, *Liturgical Piety*, *The Bible and the Gospel*, *Christian Initiation*, and *The Meaning of the Monastic Life*.

One has cause to rejoice that *Rite and Man* is seeing the light of day once again, as it provides a key to much else that Bouyer said about the liturgy in general. While some of the scholarship undergirding it may, sixty-two years on (it was first published in

1962), seem outdated, its principal insights remain valid if not a healthy corrective to currently entrenched reflexes against which it sought to warn as they were budding.

Indeed, the Bouyer who wrote *Rite and Man* had just spent the past eighteen-odd years working within, and sometimes at cross-purposes with, the liturgical movement of the post-World-War-II era, with its scholarship, hopes, and fancies. The purpose of this book, while not expressed quite so starkly, was to warn against wrong-headed reforms of the liturgy in the near future, so in the decade 1962–1972.

This book is, in keeping with Bouyer’s output, an intellectual feast, shot through with insights and allusions. It seems best, therefore, to provide a somewhat detailed summary of its argument as it goes from the fundamental ritual elements common to religious man *tout court* all the way to concrete proposals for a solution to the perceived liturgical problem of the early 1960s.

The first chapter, “Natural Religion and Christian Liturgy,” sets up the thesis of the book: that religion is natural to man (the original French subtitle, *Sacralité naturelle et liturgie*, announced this whereas

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the English title obscures it), and that the Incarnation is the radical originality of Christianity. Bouyer nearly immediately addresses two opposed and equally wrong-headed approaches to the liturgy: the “Monophysite” approach that treats the liturgy as wholly sacred and irreformable (the intransigent outlook) and the “Nestorian” tendency that stresses the worldly aspects of the liturgy (the “primitive supper” dear to the liturgical progressives). This provides him with the opportunity to express his disagreement with the Maria-Laach school that saw the Mass as a Christian adaptation of the Hellenic mystery cults (Bouyer would rejoice that Vatican II’s Conciliar Constitution on the liturgy, *Sacrosanctum concilium*, set this notion aside).¹ The chapter ends on a hopeful note: even modern man’s natural religiosity makes him a proper object of re-evangelization.

*Modern man’s natural
religiosity makes him
a proper object of
re-evangelization.*

The second and third chapters, which are critical summaries of recent developments in the history of religions and in psychology, reflect the author’s penetrating reading and criticism of the then-current bibliography in those two fields. His history of religions starts with Nicolas of Cusa (d. 1464)

¹Louis Bouyer, *The Liturgy Revived* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), p. 15.

and reaches two authors whose theses he adopts: Gerardus van der Leeuw (d. 1950) on the manifestation of religious activity in prayer formulas and rituals and Mircea Eliade (d. 1986) on the permanence of the religious attitude in man. Both authors are phenomenologists (Bouyer approvingly speaks of “that objective sympathy which is the ideal of phenomenology,” p. 29); in fact, early criticism of *Rite and Man* brought out his reliance on this school. On the other hand, Bouyer dismisses the simplistic views of religion of Freud and Marx and offers a reasoned refutation of James Frazer’s views on the continuity of all great myths as articulated in his famous *Golden Bough*. In the realm of psychology, too, Bouyer follows Eliade . . . and Jung, in the sense that his psychology has revealed “how fundamentally religious that soul [of man] is” (p. 40). Indeed, Mircea Eliade’s mythico-ritualistic patterns “find remarkable parallels in the models on which, according to Jung, our dreams are built” (p. 52). Yet Bouyer sees Jung’s work as unfinished, “in the same state of adolescence that the natural sciences were in the sixteenth century” (ibid.).

The fourth chapter sets out to strike the delicate balance between “Word and Rite,” that is, between reasoned expression and ritual action. Here Bouyer warns against excessive emphasis on either of the poles. On one hand, an exclusive attachment to the word unmoors man from the sensible world; this is the temptation of Protestantism and certain modern Catholic trends. On the other hand, if the word is considered as a mere appendage of the rite, one reaches the degenerate Medieval Mass in which the understanding of the rites has little or nothing to do with the words that accompany them. In fact, the swing of the

pendulum away from the Medieval Mass led Christians of the Renaissance and later to opine that “religion is true to the extent that it is immediately and wholly intelligible” (p. 62); this in turn explains their call for the exclusive use of the vernacular, for “obvious meanings without any mysteries,” and ultimately for the suppression of any and all rites. The consequence in architecture will be altars visible on all sides, the pulpit pushed close to the altar, and the prominent position of a huge Bible upon the altar. Bouyer, the former Lutheran pastor, sees contemporary Catholicism drifting in that direction “to the point of caricature,” with the result that “Christianity exercises less and less influence upon modern man” (p. 63).

To all this, Bouyer proposes an antidote which must have seemed paradoxical to his contemporaries: rather than “a too facile adaptation . . . to modern circumstances,” which in his view would “only strengthen the barrier” between man and the divine, what is needed is the “rediscovery of the original meaning and nature of words and rites” to avoid presenting them as opposed to each other (p. 64); “a phenomenology of a still living rite” needs to “recover words . . . truly alive in the ritual” and “the meaning of the ritual symbol . . . must first be recovered” (p. 64).

This leads to the fifth chapter, “Phenomenology of Rites: Sacraments and Sacramentals and Their Natural Analogues.” This chapter presents Bouyer’s most distinctive insight in the matter of religious rites, namely that “the symbol always exists prior to the meaning placed upon it” (p. 79, n. 1). Already in the mid-1950s Bouyer had been giving this thought, and gave expression to it during a discussion at the 1955 session of

the *Centre de Pastorale Liturgique*: “the rite, on the contrary, seems to have come first, and the myth arose as a certain phase of historical development as an explanation of a rite which had previously existed without the myth.”² Furthermore, what Christ did in establishing the sacraments was not to impose, from without, an arbitrary meaning upon preexisting acts (washing, eating); rather, He “amplified and enriched” a preexisting natural, religious significance. The reason for this is that natural symbolism matters.

A consequence of this fundamental fact is that “rituals are never artificial compositions” (p. 68) since religious man is not inclined to celebrate man-made rites (p. 69). In this connection, Bouyer distinguishes between sacrament and sacramental in their *origins* but not in their *material aspects*. A sacrament is a divine action in which the faithful participate and in which divine life becomes our own—the *mysterium tremendum*. A sacramental is a human action brought to the sacred sphere, it is a blessing that sanctifies men’s lives—the *mysterium fascinans*. But there is no strict material separation, hence the pairs Baptism/*Asperges*; Eucharist/Table Blessings, and so on. Bouyer provides a list of specific natural rites to which myths only later gave specific meaning. The first of these is the silent plucking of the ear of wheat in the Eleusinian mysteries, a ritual act in which man solemnly acknowledges

²“Discussion” following P. Idiart, “The Priest, Pagan and Christian,” *The Sacrament of Holy Orders. Some Papers and Discussions concerning Holy Orders at a Session of the Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, 1955* (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1962), p. 293. Mgr. Martimort, who chaired the discussion, had to put an embarrassed stop to Bouyer’s verve: “May we have a little break here please?”

his dependence on a higher source (p. 72). Other such primordial rites include processions, which are so many returns to paradise, and the veneration of trees pointing to a lost heaven, and the various rites of water, which both destroys in deluge and gives life in birth. The one constant ritual act is the meal (p. 74), which can be a nuptial feast or a funeral banquet.

In all of these instances, Bouyer rejects Frazer's magical origin of the ritual. For him, the ritual pre-exists: magic is merely man's attempt to harness its power for his own ends; it is not the infancy, but the adolescence of the rite. In fact, it is precisely when man is tempted to turn to the ritual as to a potent magical rite that, in the next stage of his development, he elaborates the myth. The point of the myth as an explanation of the rite is to forestall man's desire to ascribe the rite to himself; myth seeks to return to the primitive symbol and develop it further. This happens first through poetic imagination (for example in the Homeric Hymns) and, later on, through intellectualization (so Plato interpreting myths as teaching the immortality of the soul).

With chapter six, "Sacrificial Rites and Their Ambivalence," Bouyer tackles the thorny issue of sacrifice and its meaning. After mentioning a few older theories such as that a sacrifice is an annihilation (Condren, Quesnel), an immolation (Lepin), a transfer of property to heaven (Masure), as an oblation that became a painful immolation only as a consequence of sin (de la Taille), Bouyer claims that the etymological meaning of *sacrificare* ("to make sacred") can only be a later development since man is not capable of creating the sacred. Indeed, to the primitive, all that is is sacred and man can only carve out a small, "profane"

portion of it for his own use—a portion that will grow as civilization progresses. Indeed, the rites do not create, but circumscribe the sacred (p. 85). While magic is an attempt at manipulating the divine, consecration accepts it.

In fine, for Bouyer, the "sacrifice is nothing other than a sacred meal" (p. 86); he goes so far as to say that the immolation is simply the slaughter of the animals and is not necessary for the rite. This sacred meal is one in which man is associated with the feast of the gods. Bouyer, then, severs the connection between sacrifice and propitiation of sin, a connection he attributes to the theology of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation (p. 90). What, then, restores purity? Bouyer answers: it is blood, which transmits life (p. 91).

The seventh chapter, titled "The Different Religious Uses of the Word: From Myth to Creative Word," advances Bouyer's argument by achieving greater precision in defining the terms he has been using so far, and in describing the functionalities of the rites. At the outset he describes the use of words in the rite: "it is by means of words that a man determines the meaning he puts into his rites as this meaning develops and becomes progressively clear." He further defines the term "myth" as opposed to "fable:"

the primitive, spontaneous expression of reality as man intuitively perceives it . . . It is above all the total expression of this reality as opposed to its fragmentary expression . . . it is the basically religious expression of reality in contrast to every profane expression of it. It is a projection of man's first experience in its original unity which, as we have noted, was spontaneously, essentially religious (p. 101).

The myth explains the rite; the story of Kore and Persephone come to explain the plucking of the ear of wheat to avoid magical thinking that the plucking produces an abundant harvest. At root, the myth starts as a prayer to the gods, *theology* here meaning the praise of the *mirabilia Dei*, thence reaches “enigmatic formulae” and, at its height: silence (p. 109). Here the distinction between priest and prophet vanishes with the “Divine Word, the ἱερός λόγος . . . is not only incorporated into the ritual but is essentially one with it” (p. 110). Such words do not explain: they express.

Bouyer undertakes to contrast pagan and Jewish Word.

Here Bouyer undertakes to contrast pagan and Jewish Word. The Delphic oracles were oriented to the perfection of this world, while in sacred history God challenges man, who does not ask for it and is terrorized by the Word. On the other hand, in the same way that Christ made the sacraments from preexisting rites, so too the unique Word of God does not destroy the materials of the ancient myths: it remodels them for its own purposes so that the rite may express the redemptive intervention of God in history.

In this way, the invasion of the Divine Word into history is a datable “insertion of the Divine into the affairs of men” after a slow germination gradually regaining control of history, through “providential events in which the decisive coming event is pre-

pared and outlined in advance.” This is no “invasion of a strange God,” it is the “reconquest of creation by its Creator” (p. 119). At this point Bouyer brings in what he considers the “new type of prayer that is inseparable from a completely new concept and realization of sacrifice”: the “Jewish *Berakah* which was the predecessor of the Christian Eucharist” (p. 120), a concept that Bouyer would further develop in his *Eucharistie* (1966), especially in its second chapter.³ For him, the Jewish *Berakah*, with its recapitulation of the salvific events of Jewish history, is the contemplation of God as revealed in his Word. This reintroduction of the Word into a fallen world allows man to rediscover the “divine meaning of all creation in its entirety” (p. 120); the *Berakah* “enclosed all the existence of the believer in a universal acknowledgement of the active presence of God Who created all things through His Word” (p. 121). At this point, then, all is ready for the transition from Judaism to Christianity, and the Last Supper is the perfection of the *Berakah*, which Bouyer describes beautifully on pages 124–25.

And yet there does remain an observable resemblance between the Sacraments of the Christian Church and Pagan mysteries; chapter eight tackles the matter. Bouyer dismisses the school of Maria-Laach, led by Dom Odo Casel, as well as the ideas of Reitzenstein and Bousset, who saw the Christian sacraments as the addition, to a Jewish substrate, of the mystery religion idea of salvation through participation in the death and resurrection of a savior god.

³Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, tr. Charles Underhill Quinn (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968).

Likewise, Bouyer found that Frazer had used “hasty, superficial, and at times *a priori* assimilations” to link together various rite derived from agrarian rites that “consecrated the processes of assimilation” (p. 131). In response to these impasses, Bouyer provides a subtle account for the relationship between pagan rite and Christianity—in a manner reminiscent of, but far more detailed and thought-out than, Justin Martyr’s propaedeutic role of Greek philosophy.

The stages of religion through which the Greeks proceeded, for Bouyer, can be summarized as the following five:

1. there was seasonal worship at Athens, open to all with no mystery at all;
2. the Dorian invaders were let into the local Greek rite they did not understand;
3. the popularity of the rite extended to all of Greece and people came to engage in it from all over; by now its primitive meaning was entirely lost, philosophers gave it arbitrary interpretations (Plato *Phaedo* 69c, *Phaedrus* 250b-c) but initiates were encouraged to “experience” rather than to “understand”;⁴
4. a kind of missionary preaching of the mystery religions arose in a syncretic form (Serapis, Cybele-Demeter, the Great Mother, Mithraism) with an initiation in blood (though not before St. Paul’s “baptism in blood”);
5. the second and third centuries A.D. saw the exhaustion of the pagan mystery with Neo-Orphic and Neo-Pythagorean “thiases” and the exclusively literary mysteries as found in the *Oracula Chalda-*

⁴Bouyer here quotes a fragment of Aristotle he was fond of bringing up in this connection (frag. 45.1483a19): οὐ μαθεῖν ἀλλὰ παθεῖν, “not to learn but to experience.”

ica, the Hermetic books, and Neo-Platonic theurgy, which as a rule are a-ritual or even anti-ritual, but will amount to a quest for immortality imposed upon the primitive material.

This is the sense in which the pagan mysteries prepare the way for Christianity: in that they pose the problem of the loss of original contact with the transcendent without being able to provide a solution to it: “Yet, this transcendence must now meet [man] in his newborn consciousness, that of a mortal and sinful being. It is in this way that Christianity will come to him” (p. 144). Bouyer returns to this in the chapter on sacred time, where he articulates it with greater precision (p. 201):

Myth, as the most religious pages of Plato attest, preserved among men a hope for grace, a foreshadowing of faith, but in a sense which these terms would never attain outside of Judaism or Christianity.

Yet Christianity, far from being a complex of entirely new rites or a new mystery religion, introduces new meaning in to preexisting rites while transforming them (washing, eating) through God’s intervention into history; moreover, it is open and accessible to all who will receive His revelation. What, then, is the mystery at the heart of Christianity? It is Christ Himself, given to the world, the revealer and accomplisher of God’s designs, above all on the cross. It is not therefore a mythical or philosophical explanation of a rite: it is the unique event, the entrance of the divine king into his kingship and defeating all authorities, visible and invisible, freeing

man from the law of Moses and from the demons. Bouyer summarizes his thought as follows: “The Christian mystery is neither an ancient rite, nor the interpretation of an ancient rite: it is only the revelation of a divine design. In that revelation our history is recapitulated short of sin and consummated in the very life of God” (p. 151). His death substitutes for the sacrifices of the Old Testament—hence the surprising defense of the second-century apologists: “We have no sacrifices.”

Chapters nine and ten, the last two of the book, turn to the sacredness of space and time. A space can be sacred for three reasons: 1. as the locus of a hierophany (Mount Horeb, the Grotto of Lourdes) or a space pointing to such a hierophany (church steeples and cupolas), 2. by virtue of the space’s shape, orientation, or location without reference to its contents (the omphalos of Delphi, the stone of murder in Rome, the astronomical layout of Stonehenge), 3. through an act of consecration (the hearth where fire is lit). In all cases the sacred space is set apart in some way (the three circles made around the casket at a funeral Mass—by the candles, the holy water, the incense—serve this function).

Bouyer points out the ambivalent nature of the Jewish temple as opposed to pagan temples. The latter were static enclosures within which the divinity was confined, whereas the temple of Yahweh—long resisted by the prophets as a magical attempt to lay hands on the sacred—starts as a movable tent and, even when fixed in Jerusalem, is arranged in such a way that the ark’s poles protrude out of the *naos* as a way to show that God cannot be confined. Nevertheless, the temple does conform to the three reasons outlined above: 1. through

the hierophany of the angel on the threshing floor of Ornan (1 Sam. 24:16–25), 2. through its shape as a hill-top that had been sacred even to the Canaanites and Melchizedek, 3. through consecration (1 Kings 8:22–52).

At this point Bouyer addresses the issue of the orientation of Roman basilicas—a point he was to treat further in his *Liturgy and Architecture* (1967), to the dismay of the then-liturgical establishment.⁵ These basilicas, which for various reasons were not orientated, nevertheless housed a liturgy that always was orientated. Bouyer does not varnish his opinion (pp. 180–181):

The notion that the arrangement of the Roman basilica is ideal for a Christian church because it enables priests and faithful to face each other during the celebration of Mass is really a misconstruction. It is certainly the last thing which the early Christians would have considered and is actually contrary to the way in which the sacred functions were carried out in connection with this arrangement.

Visibility was never a consideration: the ciborium, or baldachin, is probably the remnant of veil as still found in the Syrian rites and the rite of Milan. On the other hand, Bouyer bewails what he considers to be the excessive separation of clergy and faithful in the contemporary Roman rite (i.e., in 1962), owing to the faithful’s loss of Latin over the centuries; he even resorts to the common cliché that the faithful were now “simply spectators of ceremonies which no longer concerned them and

⁵Louis Bouyer, *Liturgy and Architecture* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967).

which they little understood, or not at all” (p. 184).

For Bouyer, the ideal worship space is that used in the Byzantine churches: a cupola on a square base, in which “the primary concept of the building . . . is to celebrate the Christian mystery as explicitly as possible” (p. 185), with the hierarch at the heart of the celebration heralding the divine Word. The cupola, that ancient cosmic symbol, here arises anew in a “Pauline vision of Christ Pantocrator” (ibid.). Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is Bouyer’s ideal.

He then speaks of the relationship between the rites (baptism/confirmation, ordination, consecration of a church) that happen in the church, and shows how the unfolding of the rites in space brings out their meaning: the catechumen entering the western door of the baptistery then to proceed eastwards into the nave of the church after baptism, the imposition of the bishop’s hands as a “taking of possession that that a transmission of powers” (p. 190), the Mass as the central act of the consecration of a new church.

Regarding time, Bouyer presents the naturally religious man’s cyclical festivals as occurring along a contracting spiral towards death though in an attempt “to coincide with the unbreakable circle of the eternal powers” (p. 200). But the conflict of the three calendars (solar, stellar, lunar) represents a “tacit avowal of the fact that none of them is conceived as being perfect” (p. 202).

The specificity of Israel in this regard is that time has a beginning in creation and that the day of final judgment will not constitute the beginning of a new cycle. Yet the central liberating event of Israel, the Pasch, is renewed yearly and gradually assumes deeper meaning throughout the history of

Israel: first the crossing of the Red Sea, of course, but then that of the Jordan river by Joshua, its renewal against idolatry (Josiah), the return from exile as a Resurrection (Ezekiel). By the time of Christ, the Pasch was a preparation for the future. Indeed, Christ Himself went through Paschs: his march to Jerusalem was an exodus, his Resurrection a reconciliation of all nations—the perfect fulfilment of the Pasch. Of this future fulfilment the people of Israel were gradually made more aware, and in a reciprocal movement the people recognized the meaning of the events God was moving them to just as he in return would seize the people in the rite to advance them in carrying out his designs.

This culminates in the Last Supper, in which the Word fulfills the divine design by fully sanctifying the people in his body and foreshadowing the final accomplishment on the cross. This in turn is perpetuated through time in the Eucharist, through which Christ reconciles the world to himself. As for the recurrence of the Christian Paschal celebration, it breaks through the closed circle of the naturally religious calendars since it points beyond creation to the renewing Creator; the same can be said of the feasts of Our Lady and the Saints as opposed to the monthly pagan cycles as well as of the Sunday Masses in their opposition to the pagan enslavement to cosmic elements represented by the names of weekdays. Even the day itself, in the prayer of the church, is a recapitulation of God’s intervention through history: Lauds commemorate creation, Vespers the history of Salvation, while the Vigils are an anticipation of the Parousia.

We started out noting that Bouyer hoped this book would prove to be a corrective

against the wrong-headed liturgical principles of his time. His conclusion is explicit in proposing that a proper history of comparative religions (his chapters one and two) and in-depth psychology (his chapter three) help better understand Christian ritual. In application to any future liturgical reform (Vatican II loomed), Bouyer warned against, on the one hand, a timid conservatism that inclined to retain elements that had come to obscure the meaning of the rites, and on the other hand fearless reforms “that would discard some of the most permanent realities of human nature and Christian belief” (p. 218). Indeed, “the sacred rites are realities which cannot be known, much less shaped, if their roots in human nature and Christian tradition are never really understood” (ibid.).

There are three elements that Bouyer wanted to say to the future of the liturgical movement: the Word, the principles of reform and adaptation, and the setting of the liturgy. Regarding the Word, Bouyer insists, following St. Thomas Aquinas and Söhngen, that sacraments signify what they do and do not need detailed explanations in the moment: “supreme apprehension of the Truth . . . was not a matter of pure thought but of faith in the divine Word nourished by the sacraments” (p. 221).

As for adaptation, Bouyer grants that allowances need to be made for both modern, technical, and rational man as also to men of “civilizations other than our own” (p. 222). His solution, however, is the opposite of verbalism or didacticism. On the contrary, the rites ought to be clearly apprehended in and of themselves: baptism ought more closely to resemble a physical washing, the species used at Mass should more obviously be bread and wine, etc. “*In*

fine, shortsighted rationalism is the temptation that must be resisted” (p. 224). The same solution applies to cultural adaptation in mission lands: the “substance of man’s religiously oriented soul has already been assumed” (ibid.) in the Jewish and Christian rites—if anything, primitives are often more at home in our rites than we are.

Lastly, for the setting, Bouyer expresses his distaste for cross-shaped churches with their transepts breaking up the flow of the nave into the sanctuary. As mentioned above he favors a central, circular plan—so long as the altar is not at the center of it. There needs to be a *bema* (raised platform from which lessons and sermon are proclaimed) at the center, orientated towards the altar in the east in the ancient Syrian, medieval Spanish, and early Byzantine manner. “This would certainly be a more fruitful innovation, and one more securely founded on tradition, than the chimera of an altar facing the people . . . [which] only sanctions the idea that the liturgy is a kind of spectacle” (p. 228). The important consideration is the proper orientation of the church, which

would permit the morning celebration to unfold in an increasing light, which each time would reveal anew the dynamism of an iconography adapted to the structure of the church, as it was in ancient times. Thus, our churches would become a permanent *verbum visibile*, which would ceaselessly interpret the mysterious “announcement” of the Eucharistic rite (ibid.).

As a kind of epilogue, Bouyer takes on Bultmann’s demythologizing enterprise. In the wake of Jaspers, who had already

exploded Bultmann's scientific determinism, Bouyer repeats that the sacred, and therefore myth, is a religious component of human nature and simply cannot be evacuated: man is either myth-orientated, or he is neurotic. Bultmann's rationalism is a repeat of the Greeks' attempts to reason away their own myths at the terminal stage of their religion.

This is Bouyer's own summary of the thrust of his entire argument as it applies to any attempt at reforming the liturgy (pp. 231–32): Our adaptations of the liturgy should not attempt to rationalize it . . . They should, on the contrary, seize again upon the chords of the heart of modern man which respond to these eternal expressions in order to restore to them their maximum efficacy.

The brilliance of Bouyer's argumentation, his wide and perceptive reading (he cites Anglican divines and . . . Léon Gromier, the notorious anti-pastoral liturgist of the 1950s!), not to mention his prose (which the English translation, despite some faults, actually clarifies), make the task of assessing this book a daunting one. Yet it seems that there are a few counterpoints to be made.

Some of Bouyer's assertions are bold and do not necessarily claim the reader's assent. First among them is the outline of the development of a rite from simple gesture to complex myth and thence to philosophical and ultimately occult explanations. While the latter stages of the development can be argued from written evidence, the very early ones are more difficult to ascertain with the assurance that Bouyer evinces. The same applies to the assurance with which he asserts the universal applicability of certain rites: one is to take his word for it, based on Jungian universals—but short-shrift is given to structuralist approaches,

even though Claude Lévy-Strauss's *Tristes Tropiques* had been available since 1955.⁶

Besides these there are some infelicities of translation which, while they do not always betray the thought in the original, are nonetheless jarring: too slavish is "of the heaven" (p. 29) for "du ciel" (p. 47 in the original French edition); likewise the consistent use of "alliance" (p. 119) for the French "alliance" (p. 163) instead of the more usual English "covenant," or the surprising "Pekin" (p. 161) instead of the then-usual "Peking" (now often "Beijing") for the French "Pékin" (p. 213). The same tendency emerges in "Kiddousch" (p. 175), which is the French spelling (p. 232) of the usual English transliteration "Kiddush." A false friendship led the translator to render "Dieu . . . s'y est engagé" (p. 267 in the original) as "God . . . has engaged Himself with it" (p. 204), where it really means "God . . . has entered into it." This last example, however, is the only one I have found that actually alters the meaning of the original.

Hellenists will trip on misspellings of the Greek in this translation (the original is flawless in this regard—Louis Bouyer had been a high school Greek teacher): on p. 120, read ἐξομολόγησις for ἐξομαλόγησις; on p. 148 read σοφία ἐν μυστηρίῳ for σοπία ἐν μυστηρίῳ. One last textual misfortune is an incorrect cross-reference: page 155, note 3 should refer to page 35 rather than to page 36. But these are mere quibbles.

It is hard to stress adequately the importance of this work for a proper grasp of Bouyer's liturgical thought. It helps to

⁶Claude Lévy-Strauss, *A World on the Wane*, tr. John Russell (New York: Criterion, 1961). Bouyer can be forgiven for being unaware of idem, "The Structural Study of Myth," *Journal of American Folklore*, 68, no. 270 (Oct.–Dec. 1955), 428–44.

understand his early enthusiasm for the Vatican II Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, which he believed vindicated the principles outlined in *Rite and Man*, particularly with emphasis on the rites better expressing their contents and in its rejection of the Maria Laach school.⁷ Likewise, his 1967 work on architecture and liturgy is an expansion on the points made in the ninth chapter of *Rite and Man*, “Sacred Space.”⁸ It also explains his palinodes on the “decomposition of the liturgy” in the post-conciliar period,⁹ when it had become clear that the hope of Vatican II had not been fulfilled.

Students of Josef Ratzinger’s liturgical theology will feel quite at home in *Rite and Man*. Ignatius Press’s volume on the German Pope’s teaching on the liturgy cites Bouyer nine times. While *Rite and Man* is not mentioned, books that built on it are: we have mentioned *Liturgy and Architecture*; and on the elevation of Eucharistic Prayers from the Jewish *Kiddush*, Ratzinger relied on Bouyer’s *Eucharist*.

In fact, these citations of Josef Ratzinger’s bring into focus the place of *Rite and Man* within Louis Bouyer’s output on the liturgy: *Rite and Man* sets down the prin-

ciples that govern man’s engagement with the sacred and provides some trailheads for greater development on Christian ritual in later books on Christian corporate prayer and its setting.

Lastly, this beautifully bound book has lost none of its urgency as a contribution to the current discussions on what constitutes authentic liturgy and provides fruitful reading for anyone interested in what the rite in general and Christian liturgy in particular are all about. ♦

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⁷Louis Bouyer, *The Liturgy Revived. A Doctrinal Commentary on the Conciliar Constitution on the Liturgy* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964).

⁸Louis Bouyer, *Liturgy and Architecture* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967).

⁹Louis Bouyer, *The Decomposition of Catholicism*, tr. Charles Underhill Quinn (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1969) and *The Memoirs of Louis Bouyer: From Youth and Conversion to Vatican II, the Liturgical Reform, and After*, tr. John M. Pepino (Brooklyn: Angelico Press, 2015).

Sacred Muscial Ouput of Ramón Garay (1761–1823)

Paulino Capdepón. *Ramón Garay (1761–1823). Obra musical sacra en latín*. Madrid, Spain: Fundación María Cristina Masaveu Peterson, 2023. 2648 pp., paperback or eBook. ISBN 978-84-09-49585-6. \$95.00. Available from fundacioncristinamasaveu.com.

by Matilde Olarte



his musical edition has been published in the context of the research on Hispanic musical repertoire sponsored by the María Cristina Masaveu Foundation. As a result, a first part related to sacred music with Spanish texts by Ramón Garay, chapel master of the Cathedral of Jaén in the second half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, has already been published.¹ This research is now being completed with the publication of two volumes focusing on the study and editing of the sacred musical output in Latin by the same author, one of the most prominent Spanish composers of that time, whose musical work had remained unpublished and whose recovery was urgent.

Garay, born in Avilés (Asturias) in 1861 and musically trained as a choirboy in Avilés and Oviedo, furthered his musical studies in Madrid. He brilliantly obtained the position of chapel master at the Cathedral of Jaén in 1787 at the age of twenty-six. In this cathedral, he displayed extraordinary musical tal-

ent for over thirty years, leaving behind a prodigious repertoire of vocal and instrumental music. Additionally, Garay stands out as one of the pioneers of the symphony in Spain, which was truly unusual in the Spanish sacred music scene of that era when chapel masters typically focused on ecclesi-

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¹Paulino Capdepón, *El compositor asturiano Ramón Garay (1761–1823)* (Madrid: Fundación María Cristina Masaveu, 2016).

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astical music genres (masses, psalms, motets, hymns, lamentations, etc.). Undoubtedly, Garay's studies in Madrid allowed him to become familiar with symphonic repertoire from composers like Haydn and Boccherini, who were highly esteemed by both the public and critics in Madrid at that time.

The publication first contains a theoretical part, including a methodological introduction and an extensive study around the historical and musical context of Spain and Jaén during Garay's time, in addition to his biography—based on unpublished documentary sources—and the analysis of his sacred musical output in Latin. The second part consists of the musical edition of Garay's unpublished works, which constitutes one of the great contributions of this publication. The commendable transcription of the works follows the criteria that should prevail in an academically critical edition: in addition to specifying editorial criteria in a separate chapter, each

work is accompanied by a preliminary record detailing the main conservation data (archive location, source, and original title), information on formal structure and choral and instrumental staff, as well as critical notes. Specifically, the works that are being made available for the first time to the academic community and performers are masses, responsories, motets, psalms, two settings of the *Te Deum*, and a *Stabat Mater*, revealing the extraordinary inspiration of this Spanish composer within the context of adopting compositional techniques characteristic of musical Classicism that serve liturgical worship.

Ultimately, the dissemination of Ramón Garay's music will promote the recognition, performance, and recording of a repertoire of great artistic value. Congratulations to Paulino Capdepón and the Fundación María Cristina Masaveu for recovering a fundamental part of our historical musical heritage. ♦



Music at the Talavera Collegiate Church (Toledo, Spain)

Paulino Capdepón. *Música y músicos en la Colegiata de Santa María la Mayor de Talavera de la Reina (1800–1851)*. Madrid, Spain: Alpuerto, 2022. 660 pp., paperback. ISBN: 978-84-381-0504-7. \$29.00. Available from editorialalpuerto.es.

by Matilde Olarte



his book belongs to the series titled *Investigación y Patrimonio Musical* by the Spanish publishing house Alpuerto, one of the main and most prestigious Spanish music publishers, and is dedicated to the study of an ecclesiastical centre whose activity had remained unpublished until now.

A significant part of Spain's historical musical repertoire is preserved in the ecclesiastical archives of cathedrals, but the historical role played by collegiate churches should not be overlooked. These institutions had chapters and music chapels like cathedrals, although their musical repertoire was not as well-known as that of those centers. However, in recent times, several studies have been published revealing a musical heritage of great historical interest. Among these studies are works published by Professor Paulino Capdepón, who has edited an extensive study on the Collegiate Church of Santa María la Mayor in Talavera de la Reina during the nineteenth century. Prior to this, the author had already published a comprehensive study on the musical history of the music chapel of the same collegiate church in the eighteenth century, for which he was awarded the "XX Jiménez de Gregorio History Prize" in 2011.¹ This cur-

rent study focuses on the final stage of the existence of the music chapel and the collegiate church itself as both institutions were abolished in 1851 due to the signing of the concordat between the Holy See and the Spanish government. This agreement at that time led to the disappearance of numerous chapels, furthering the decline of Spanish religious music in the nineteenth century.

Regarding the content of the book, Capdepón first justifies the need for this publication by addressing the current state of study in this area, the research objectives, methodology, and sources. The author then examines the circumstances surrounding the evolution of a tumultuous century in Spanish history, which began with the War of Independence against invading French troops. Additionally, he considers the historical, social, and economic contexts of the city of Talavera de la Reina in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The musical chapel of the Collegiate Church of Santa María la Mayor had benefited from the economic boom during the eighteenth century, being able to maintain a group of singers and instrumentalists in order to solemnize devotional

Santa María la Mayor de Talavera de la Reina durante el siglo XVIII (Talavera de la Reina: Ayuntamiento, 2012).

¹Paulino Capdepón, *La música en la Colegiata de*

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worship and participate in all kinds of religious events that were not limited to the liturgy but extended to paraliturgical festivities, such as processions, supplications, or honors. The role of the musical chapel of Santa María la Mayor was not limited to performance and ceremonial aspects but also extended to educational endeavors to transmit musical knowledge and perpetuate the continuity of the musical chapel itself. In this sense, there was a constant interest from the ecclesiastical authorities of the collegiate church in ensuring the quality of musical education received by choirboys. However, as the income of the collegiate church was diminished because of the disentailment measures adopted by the various liberal governments throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, this situation negatively impacted the functioning of the chapel, gradually diminishing its role as a religious emblematic center of the city due to financial instability, reduced personnel, and support. Consequently, we can speak of a decline in sacred music in Talavera de la Reina, although by the end of the eighteenth century, initial signs of a crisis had already emerged.

Capdepón accurately details the functions of the chapel masters of Talavera, including the following:

1. the composition of new works for divine worship, such as the Corpus and Christmas carols, for which the masters were freed from their usual duties;
2. the direction of rehearsals and performances during various liturgical and paraliturgical festivities;
3. supervision and approval in the hiring of boys, singers, and instrumentalists;

4. maintenance of the musical funds and chapel instruments;

5. distribution of the benefits obtained by the chapel in extraordinary religious or secular performances outside the collegiate church;

6. maintenance of internal discipline;

7. issuance of reports to the chapter; and

8. teaching of choir boys.

Furthermore, the author thoroughly analyzes the causes that led to the decline of the chapel in the nineteenth century, highlighting factors such as the diminished role of music in the life of the collegiate church, a drastic reduction in the number of liturgical festivities due to the smaller size of the musical chapel, or lack of qualified candidates for key musical positions. All of these were within the context of the gradual suppression of numerous musical chapels, which had to face measures from successive liberal governments' disentailment policies during that era. Despite this challenging situation, musical creation in the Collegiate Church of Talavera achieved notable accomplishments including musical works that effectively fulfilled their primary purpose: to solemnize divine worship. As evidence, Capdepón includes a selection from one of Talavera's most prominent masters at the beginning of the century, Francisco Bernal. The author publishes four *villancicos* by Bernal in an impeccable critical edition that appropriately complements the study of Talavera's sound landscape in the nineteenth century.

To conclude this review, we congratulate the author and Alpuerto publishing house for recovering an important and fundamental part of Spain's musical historical heritage that had remained unnoticed until now. ♦

Requiem for the Forgotten: A Review

Frank La Rocca's *Requiem for the Forgotten* premiered in Florida in March of 2024.

by Zachary Landress



As a composer of liturgical music, I look towards the musical masterworks of the Renaissance for inspiration and artistic guidance. Amid the political and religious chaos of the sixteenth century, architects, composers, and poets crafted works of transcendent beauty despite the challenges and tragedies of their times. It dawned on me some time ago that we are also living in a similarly chaotic age. Like those alive during the Renaissance, we have been blessed with artwork and music of a beauty contrary to the calamity of our times. Today we are living in a new renaissance, and, more specifically, a new renaissance of Catholic sacred liturgical music and art.

It is within this context that I attended the world premiere of Frank La Rocca's *Requiem for the Forgotten*—a requiem dedicated to the homeless, to refugees fleeing war, and to all those marginalized by society. The Mass was celebrated by Archbishop Salvatore Cordileone at the Church of the Epiphany in Miami, Florida on March 15, 2024. As I walked into the church, I sensed a kind of somber excitement in the congregation; there were many in attendance and the feeling of anticipation in the air was palpable.

The introit began with a low drone and a chant melody sung by the gentlemen in the choir. I was immediately taken back a thousand years with this somber beginning as the archbishop and other ministers processed to the altar. As the music developed, the ladies joined in singing, and the music gradually shifted into triple meter. As the piece grew in orchestration and intensity, I was left with an impression of grandeur and, interestingly, tenderness—triple time created something of a gentle rocking that underpinned the majestic scope of the work. La Rocca's direct quotation of the chant-tone verse for the introit text was a natural and powerful way to tie the piece into the rich musical tradition.

While a full analysis of each movement is outside the humble scope of this review, I do want to comment on the Agnus Dei, the meditation *O vos omnes*, and the requiem as a whole.¹ La Rocca takes the simple Agnus Dei XVIII chant melody that is familiar to Catholics across the world and layers the melody against itself in an echoed fashion—first heard sung by the gentlemen and then

¹The live-streamed performance can be found here: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TuYz7p7oxh4>>.

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echoed by the ladies. The melody and its echo are both beautifully framed by a tranquil, yet shimmering bed of strings, harp, and organ. This “echoed” technique is one of my favorites used by La Rocca—he has also used this to great effect in *Mass of the Americas* for his version of the simple-tone *Salve Regina*.²

The communion meditation, *O vos omnes*, was the movement that most resonated with me. The range of expression (anger, isolation, frustration) La Rocca fits into the work while still maintaining its liturgical character was particularly inspiring; I consider it a masterclass in contemporary liturgical composition. I also could not help but appreciate what I believe to be a nod to Sir James MacMillan. About six minutes into *O vos omnes*, there is a “Mac-Millian” melodic flourish that I imagine is La Rocca tipping his hat to MacMillan’s work and artistic influence in the contemporary liturgical music scene.

I was fortunate to meet Frank La Rocca last year at the Catholic Sacred Music Project’s Composers Institute. As I became more familiar with his work (I was able to attend the Miami premiere of his *Mass of the Americas*), I became aware of many hallmarks of his compositional voice. La Rocca’s music has both an accessibility and depth that speaks to a wide-ranging audience.

La Rocca’s sacred music, his *Requiem* more specifically, is a masterclass in writing for liturgy; his service and illumination of the liturgical texts serves as an example of how to compose liturgical music that is both musically rich and sophisticated without becoming self-indulgent. Even moments of sudden declamation, or ear-catching, chro-

matic dissonances are reserved for especially poignant moments called for in the text. This approach ensures that these moments are properly ordered towards the liturgical action. In La Rocca’s own words, “writing music for liturgy requires a composer to reconcile considerations that can appear to be in conflict. The music must, first, be reverent, and strive to bring glory to God. It must flow from a spirit of humility and simplicity.”³

Additionally, La Rocca’s *Requiem* captures the extraordinarily rich tradition of liturgical music within his own modern, fresh, and relatable compositional medium. Moreover, his music reflects the timelessness of the Mass in that his listeners are exposed to an encyclopedic collection of sacred soundscapes from Gregorian chant to Renaissance polyphony along with music of Pärt, Howells, and beyond. Here, ancient and modern sounds combine to mirror the timeless sacrifice of the Mass experienced by generations of faithful across space and time.

As I left the premiere, I took note of something profound and encouraging: a musical and liturgical revival within the church is well underway. *Requiem for the Forgotten* is a work that I am sure will continue to leave a profound, spiritual impact on listeners for years to come. ♦

Editor’s Note: Three concert performances of the Requiem by Cappella Romana (<https://cappellaromana.org/>) are scheduled for March of 2025: March 28 at St. James Cathedral in Seattle, March 29 at St. Mary’s Cathedral in Portland, and March 30 at Our Lady of the Lake in Lake Oswego, Oregon. To contact Frank La Rocca, visit <<https://www.franklarocca.com/>>.

³Frank La Rocca, *Requiem for the Forgotten*, CD, Benedict XVI Choir & Orchestra, directed by Richard Sparks, Cappella Records, 753459808627.

²See <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P10B-2BR-8Y0>>.

Commentary

Notes for the New Kid on the Block

Remember these helpful tips when directing a choir for the first time or as a seasoned veteran.

by Mary Jane Ballou



Do you remember being “the new kid on the block”? New school, new neighborhood, new church, new pick-up basketball team? Now you are the new choir director. Congratulations! While you are selecting repertoire, here are some non-technical thoughts.

Who are you? You could be an experienced director with a new choir, a brand-new director fresh out of college, or even a volunteer director stepping forward from the ranks. Even if you are a grizzled veteran, here are some reminders. (It should be noted that this little essay is addressed to directors of amateur choirs or choruses, not those with hand-picked professionals or auditioned semi-professionals.)

First of all, do you know this choir? *This* choir—not the choir you had before, the I-have-to-take-this-for-credit-so-I-can’t-quit-college choir, or the choir that you wish you had. This is the choir you have right now. Never disparage this ensemble to their faces or behind their backs. It will get back to them, trust me. Do not waste time telling them how much better (or worse) your other groups were.

They are a collection of individuals, not a “lump of sound.” Each of your singers brings more than their voice. They may be bringing worries about work, family problems and joys, the car that started making

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Mary Jane Ballou is a musician in Jacksonville, Florida. She has served as a music director in large and small churches, as well as small women's ensembles. Dr. Ballou has been active in the Church Music Association of America and is a regular contributor to CMAA's Sacred Music.

strange noises on the way to rehearsal, and a million other concerns and fears. Remember that their participation in your choir is just one part of their lives.

Respect, Choir Dynamics, and Honesty

First, treat your choir with respect. Dress for rehearsal—not a coat and tie, but not as though you just finished cleaning the garage. Go for “workplace casual.” You want them to do their best, so you should be offering the same. Try to understand what the choir’s “best” is right now. If there is a great deal of room for improvement, be sure to *festina lente*.

Take the time required to understand the choir’s dynamics. Are they happy to have a new director? If you have arrived after the previous director was fired or died, are they happy, sad, or angry? Are you filling the shoes of a director everyone loved? Be prepared for how circumstances over which you have no control will affect your reception. How did Covid affect the membership?

Which singers seem to be the leaders of the sections and of the choir as a whole? How long have various singers been with the choir? Just ask. Roll back through five through twenty years. This can also tell you whether this is a declining or a growing choir. Are they eager to welcome more singers or are they satisfied with the current group? You can read this by watching their reaction to a new singer. Will they make room for him or her to sit down?

It is a given that when singers stop singing, they start talking. You need to be ready before they stop singing with what you want next. At the same time, just keep moving forward with your plans. Don’t waste time telling them to be quiet.

Be honest with your choir while still

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being kind. Never lose your temper no matter how badly things are going. “That was awful” is not useful criticism. You need to be specific about problems. What is the problem—pitch, rhythm, entrances, or cut-offs? Locate the problem in the piece and in the section(s) if this is polyphony. Generalization such as “you’re all flat” will not fix the singers going flat and will insult the singers who are on pitch. Check by sections and only model the correct pitch and rhythm.

There are times when it seems that *everything* is wrong. Decide on your “priorities of correction” and recognize that you cannot fix everything at once. You should also ask yourself if this piece might be too far above your choir’s abilities. That is not defeat; it is making a realistic judgment.

Of course you want the singers to watch your conducting. However, are you watching the singers? You should not be staring down at the score. In fact, that communicates insecurity with the music. The ideal is a conductor who has memorized the piece. That is an ideal; for most of us the reality is knowing the piece well enough to look up frequently, especially at the start and finish.

If you have an individual who needs correction beyond what can be done in a sectional, do it privately. Arranging individual “tune-ups” for singers is difficult because of limited time. However, never call out a singer in a volunteer choir during rehearsal. That sets in motion a fear factor among the others, both good and bad, that the same might happen to them.

How about some positive comments? Complimenting the choir as a whole or sections when a problem is resolved only takes a few seconds. Praise should be genuine and brief.

Repertory Changes and Gratitude

Take your time with initiating a major change in the style of music. There are numerous articles on moving a choir from one style to another. You need to have a concrete plan as well as reasons for doing this. The pastor needs to be onboard with your ideas,

and the choir should know this. Never disparage the music your choir has sung in the past. If there are pieces they love and you cannot stand them, bite your tongue.

Finish rehearsals and Masses with a positive note! At the end of Mass, find something to compliment your singers on. Do not offer a point of criticism. If there was a problem, make a note for yourself and work on it at the next rehearsal. Always thank them for their work.

Conclude your rehearsals with something that sounds great and is fun to sing. The round “Dona nobis pacem” or Mozart’s Alleluia round are easily memorized and enjoyable. Finish on a high note (figuratively speaking), and remember to say thank you.

“New kid on the block” or seasoned veteran, we can all take something away from these reminders. Remember—singers are people too. ♦

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Last Word

Dr. Joseph Shaw on the Future of the Traditional Latin Mass

Despite Traditionis custodes, Shaw believes that the celebrations of the extraordinary form of the Mass will not decrease.

by Kurt Poterack

When the chairman of the Latin Mass Society of England and the president of the International Federation Una Voce, Dr. Joseph Shaw, speaks, I listen. I do this for two reasons: 1) he has a very calm, non-combative, reasoned approach to controversial subjects, and 2) his posh British accent reminds me of Monty Python's John Cleese. So, I get the added ironic pleasure of seemingly hearing John Cleese defend the Traditional Latin Mass.

At any rate, he was recently in America speaking to the Arlington Latin Mass Society, just down the road from where I live and work. I even considered making the one-and-a-half-hour drive to hear him in person. Unfortunately, I was not able to do so, but his address was posted on the internet within a day. Let me give some highlights.

In his talk, entitled “*Traditionis custodes* and the Future of the TLM,” he begins with the reassuring statement that “the Traditional Latin Mass will not be wiped out.” He sees supernatural grounds for this, saying that the TLM is such an

integral part of the church that for it to be cancelled out would be the equivalent of removing the book of Ruth from the Bible. Although, for this talk, he decided to make his case for his confident assertion about the Latin Mass from “natural grounds.” Due to the “current balance of forces” within the church, the disappearance of the TLM would be hard to imagine. The TLM has been harmed, certainly,

Due to the “current balance of forces” within the church, the disappearance of the TLM would be hard to imagine. The TLM has been harmed, certainly, since Traditiones custodes, but its disappearance is not likely.

Kurt Poterack is choirmaster at Christendom College and editor-at-large of Sacred Music.

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He began by mentioning the recent “rejection of *Fiducia supplicans* by individual bishops and, indeed, entire bishops’ conferences around the world which illustrates the limitations of the power in practice of the Holy See. Sometimes opposition to an initiative is too big, too entrenched, too difficult to brush aside.” He said that, similarly, the attachment of traditionalists to the Old Mass “has proven to be so strong that banning it altogether would create a major pastoral problem.” Of course, *Fiducia supplicans*, touches, in a very close and confusing way, on a moral issue, whereas *Traditiones custodes* touches on a liturgical issue. Shaw acknowledges the distinction but thinks the analogy apt in that, traditionally, “sensible popes give way on liturgical questions that do not impinge on the faith where the unity of the church and the salvation of souls is at stake.” There is a long history in the church of this being done.

Shaw moves on to an analysis of *Traditiones custodes*. The need for restrictions on the extraordinary form, after a formal explanation, are put in a rather jovial way by Shaw as: 1) “Trads are bad people, and 2) liturgical diversity is a bad thing.” The first reason is an *ad hominem* and, thus, unfair; the second is so contrary to post-Vatican II ecclesial culture that it would call into question pet projects of some of the very people behind *Traditiones custodes*—the Zairean Usage and the proposed “Amazonian Usage.” Thus, the opposition to liturgical diversity would lead to undesirable results (for liturgical liberals) if brought out to its logical conclusion. After speaking to numerous people in Rome, Dr. Shaw came to the conclusion that there is no “party line.” Rather, *Traditiones custodes*

“came into being thanks to a coalition of people who wanted it for different reasons.”

Traditiones custodes also did not fit with Pope Francis’s practical gestures of granting new saints-day Masses to the extraordinary form as late as March 2020 and giving a Roman basilica to the traditional Institute of Christ the King in December of 2019—just a stone’s throw from the Vatican, as well as the ongoing rapprochement with the SSPX. According to Shaw, “*Traditiones custodes* clearly wasn’t long planned, and it doesn’t cohere with his other policies, but this is rather Pope Francis’ style. He is not a deep plotter.”

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He continued:

In the 1960’s the liturgical reform was based upon a coherent set of ideas backed up by a group of prestigious scholars . . . there were themes and arguments that had

a certain plausibility and could be popularized, and these appeared regularly in the Catholic press and in mass market books to explain what was happening and to respond to objections. There is nothing equivalent to that in support of *Traditiones custodes*.

This and other documents of the current pontificate (he mentions *Amoris laetitia* and *Fiducia supplicans*) “are the products of an intellectually exhausted liberal Catholicism trying to make the most of its temporary control of the levers of power.”

In fact, the energy, youth, and enthusiasm of today are much more with liturgical tradition than against it. The *Mass of the Ages* Trilogy and the Chartres Pilgrimage are examples that come to mind. Formal, scholarly groups like C.I.E.L. and the Society for Catholic Liturgy do, too. Sure, there are a big number of Catholics who “do not care” so much for liturgical tradition, but the percentage of those who want to “crush” the Old Mass are of a certain age and disappearing from the scene.

All that is left for most supporters of *Traditiones custodes*, at least as it has played out on the popular level, are appeals to papal authority. As Dr. Shaw states, what seems to be left of their argument is that

“the pope has decreed it, so it must be right, unless it was the wrong pope, or they happen to disagree with it.” Try to make sense of that. (Also, try to say it fast and with a British accent and then you *definitely* have John Cleese.)

What this all means is that although “a lot of powerful people must have come together to make *Traditiones custodes* happen, the roots of the movement behind it are extremely shallow. If the powerful people find that persecuting the traditional Mass no longer gets them what they want—preferment, influence, the discomfiture of their opponents—they will walk away from it as if they never had anything to do with it, and it will collapse like a *soufflé*.”

Shaw concludes with speculations on what might happen under different types of men who might succeed Pope Francis in the Chair of St. Peter. He thinks that, regardless of the man’s specific views on the TLM, most likely there will be movement back toward the “old *Ecclesia Dei* policy.” That is, leaving it to the judgement of the local bishop. Most bishops would be content with this but, since times have changed since the 1990s, he thinks that there would be much freer permissions granted by local bishops. ♦

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