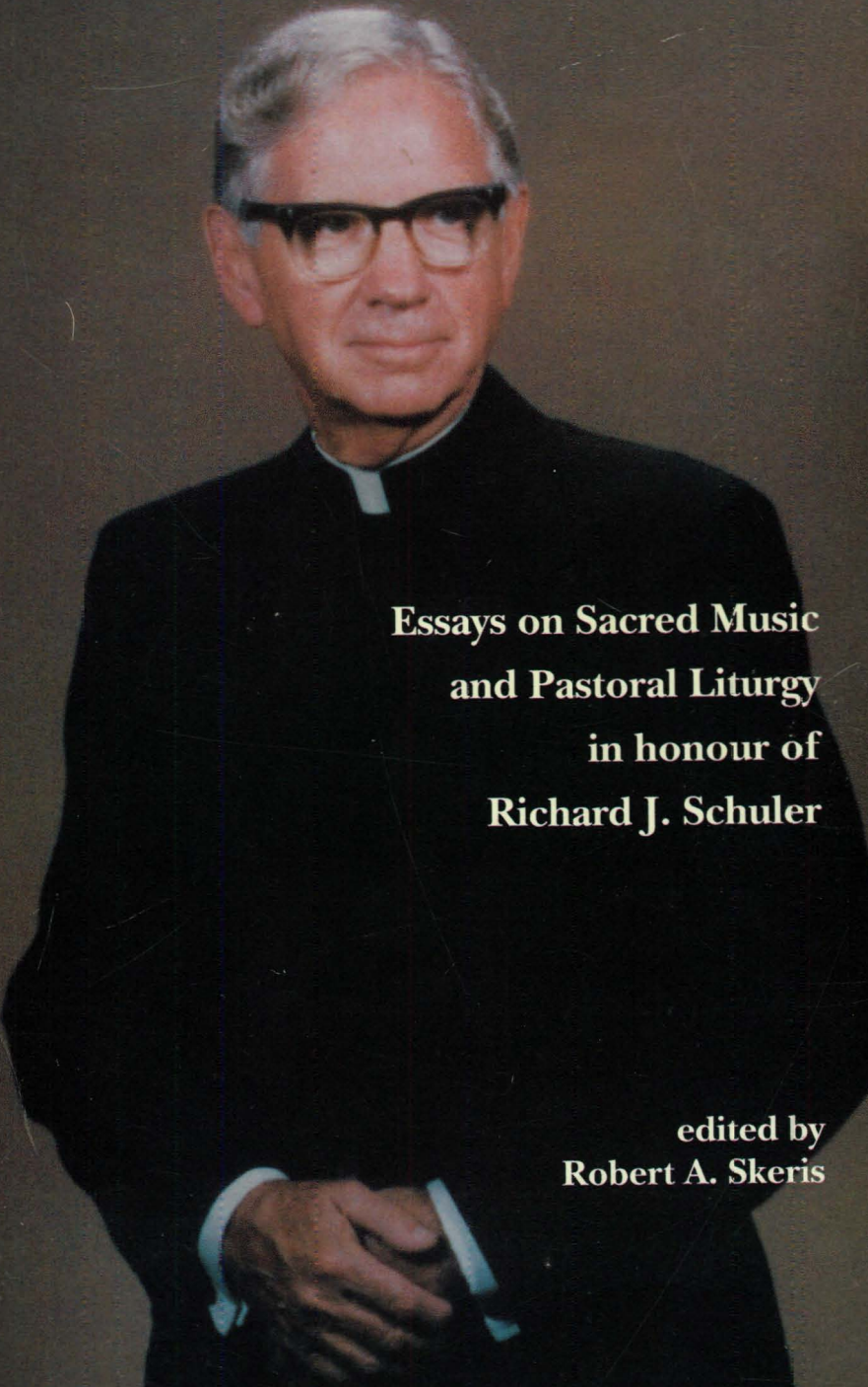


CUM ANGELIS CANERE



**Essays on Sacred Music
and Pastoral Liturgy
in honour of
Richard J. Schuler**

edited by
Robert A. Skeris



Church of St. Agnes
St. Paul, Minnesota

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Liturgy in honour of Richard J. Schuler**

1920-1990

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Saint Paul MN 1990

Catholic Church Music Associates

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To Sing With the Angels

Robert A. Skeris

*qui puro corde inter homines psallit, etiam sursum cum
angelis canere videatur.*

Cassiodorus, Expositio in Ps 137/1:
CCL 98 (1958) ADRIAEN

As the Age of Antiquity slowly came to an end, in mid sixth-century Italy, during the turbulent period of Ostrogothic rule which was the transition from a system of twin Empires in East and West, to the separation of Italy from the rest of the Empire, the statesman and chronicler Magnus Aurelius CASSIODORUS abandoned his responsibilities in public life to devote himself to the monastic ideal of his younger contemporary BENEDICT of Nursia. At Vivarium, and above all at his Calabrian monastery of Squillace, CASSIODORUS established the monastic tradition of learning which preserved classical culture during the so-called Dark Ages, and thus earned for himself a place in history as “father of literary monasticism in the West” (H.F. STEWART). Like the Fathers and Doctors whose works he imitated, glossed and passed on to posterity, CASSIODORUS was convinced that participation in the worship of the Church on earth is in fact a sacramental sharing in the liturgy of Heaven, where the presence of the angelic choirs confirms the fact that this liturgy is an official cultic act. New Testament writings such as the Letter to the Hebrews or the Apocalypse make it clear that the “heavenly Jerusalem” is not merely a city, but in fact the very temple and sanctuary of Christ the Eternal High Priest Who is also the Lord of all

creation. If the Divine Liturgy of the Church is indeed such a participation in the heavenly Liturgy, then this fact has unavoidable consequences for those who wish to take an active part *cum omnia militia caelestis exercitus* (Vatican II, *Sacros. Concilium* 8). One of these consequences was forcefully underlined by John CHRYSOSTOM in the fourth of a series of sermons he preached to the faithful at Constantinople in the year 397 and mistakenly thought to be directed against the Anomoeans.

Reflect upon whom it is that you are near, and with whom you are about to invoke God — the Cherubim. Think of the choirs you are about to enter. Let no one have any thought of earth, but let him loose himself of every earthly thing and transport himself whole and entire into heaven. Let him abide there beside the very throne of God, hovering with the Seraphim, and singing the most holy song of the God of glory and majesty.

The liturgical tradition of the universal Church, Latin and Greek, has never lost sight of this profound theological truth, which lies at the heart of any truly “active” participation in the Divine Liturgy, above all when this is celebrated in song.

Richard SCHULER has been convinced of this reality throughout all of his long and meritorious priestly ministry. This volume is presented to him as a tribute because, like the select group of authors who symbolically represent his countless friends, colleagues and admirers, he shares the conviction that *participatio actuosa* in the sung liturgy of the Church really means “singing with the angels” — *cum angelis canere*. Such verities are not appreciated by all, however. Recently, an “original Polka Mass” formed the highlight of the annual summer festival of a large parish in a Midwestern American diocese — but not only there. The priest-celebrant, who travels with his own band from one gig to the next, explained to the congregation that he and his group have been “involved in Polka Masses” for some seventeen years. “I got the green go-ahead light for this type of liturgy after the Vatican Council suggested the liturgies should be put together for the cultural level and faith of the worshippers. I had been brought up with polka music because my father was a polka-band musician.... We sing to polka music, we dance to it — it gives us great joy — so, why not worship to it also.... At the Polka Mass, there is

no such thing as a generation gap. We can experience strong family togetherness at this type of liturgy. The music is universal because all ethnic groups like it. Everyone is tempted to stomp their feet to the polka hymns during Mass.”

The legitimate liturgist cannot but be nonplused — indeed, baffled and perplexed by the complete value-blindness revealed in these frank and forthright assertions. But how does one confront the pastoral problem inherent in a mentality which substitutes foot-stomping for *cum angelis canere* at the very *actio praeclenter sacra* which is the divine Eucharistic Liturgy? Is the solution perhaps to be found at the level of belief in the fundamental truths of the Faith? Not long ago, the parochial vicar in a large metropolitan congregation preached a homily on Mark 12/35-7 in the parish “gathering room,” saying that in His use of this particular Scripture passage, Jesus was “mixed up,” in fact had “misinterpreted” Psalm 110 which He had quoted. Pressed for an explanation a few days later, the young priest explained that the Saviour had mistakenly interpreted a prayer for the inthronisation of a king as a messianic prayer. When asked if that did not raise some problems, such as Christ being wrong about other things as well, “the priest shrugged and extended his hands outward, palms up, in the classic ‘Who knows?’ gesture. You’ve got to remember, he said, Jesus didn’t have the benefit of the same religious education that we have today, with all the things that modern scholarship brings us.” The journalist reporting the incident stresses that his priest is “no dingbat. He is personally kind, hard-working, musically talented and conscientious. He’s just completed a graduate course in church music at a Lutheran seminary and this coming school year will teach at ...the major seminary that forms priests not only for (this diocese) but for various other dioceses around the country.” Correspondent OLMSTEAD correctly concludes that this incident somehow says a great deal “about the state of ... American Catholicism. Under the press of ‘modern scholarship,’ the humanisation of Christ proceeds at a brisk pace, while genuflections in front of tabernacles get fewer and fewer.” And more and more frequent are things like the Polka Masses, while “the beat goes on”. ... Evidence such as this points up the basic problem of pastoral theology with which the jubilarian has dealt for over

four decades. Even assuming the indispensable precondition of a high level of professional competence and qualification, it is not possible to achieve a solution either in theory or in practise, without a clear understanding of the fundamental principles involved, the firm will to take all measures necessary to actualise those principles, and the perseverance to carry them out in actual parish practise. Because of Mons. SCHULER'S extraordinary success as a priest-musician who exemplifies these qualities, it was thought opportune to mark his seventieth birthday with a series of reflections on pastoral theology, sacred music and liturgical worship. The point of departure for what follows, is the concept of "worship in spirit and in truth," here viewed first of all from differing though complementary perspectives by two priest-professors, a jurist and a contemporary composer.

The "chant proper to the Roman rite" is a prime ingredient of the solemn sung worship of the Latin Church. Hence an analysis of the classic Paschal Alleluia and reflections on the printed editions of the Gregorian books precede a study which furnishes new details about the life of Justine Bayard WARD, the genial author of what is surely the most successful method of musical formation ever devised by an American. Even today, the WARD Method remains unsurpassed as an integrated approach to spiritual enrichment through Gregorian chant.

A new choral piece by a prominent contemporary composer intruduces a group of articles including a study of a hitherto relatively unknown sixteenth-century composer of polyphonic motets and an essay on the earliest and most famous organ publications of seventeenth-century France. Since each family not only forms a "domestic church" but, if you will, the nucleus of every potential "choir" as well, there follow some important postoral reflections on nature, law and the family—realities permanently relevant to the efforts and concerns of any pastor of souls, though not to him alone. Efforts on behalf of a truly divine liturgy and its music are being made at all levels in the Church, if not with equal success everywhere. The role played by the jubilarian is documented in several contributions dealing with the international papal church music society (C.I.M.S.), the U.S. national organiza-

tion, the interparochial Twin Cities Catholic Chorale and the Latin Liturgy Association. Biographical and bibliographical summaries conclude the volume.

A quondam ICEL editor and well-informed observer, speaking about the changes in pastoral liturgy introduced in the wake of the last Council, said that the new rites "were supposed to have restored active participation in the liturgy and a more balanced sense of the Paschal mystery. It is doubtful that we have restored either; we have probably, in many cases, stamped out the last vestiges of both." The observation may be, in many cases, as true today as it was twenty years ago. But it does not seem to apply at the Church of Saint Agnes..... May the readers of these pages be inspired to an ever more profound and fruitful participation in the Divine Mysteries!

It is the editor's pleasant duty to thank all those whose cooperation made possible the publication of this *Festschrift*. His gratitude goes in a special way to each of the authors for his or her willing collaboration, to the proprietors of copyrights who graciously consented to re-publication in several instances, to the publisher for his patience and professional expertise, and to the subscribers, without whose support the whole effort would have been illusory. A particular word of acknowledgement is gladly directed to Duane L.C.M. GALLES, for reasons which he knows best.

The Editor

Front Royal, in Ember-Week of Autumn 1990

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Monsignor Richard J. Schuler: A Biographical Sketch

Richard Joseph Schuler was born on December 30, 1920 in Minneapolis, Minnesota to Otto and Wilhelmine Schuler. He was the third child in the Schuler family. However, the first child, Helen, died shortly after birth and the second child, Donald, died at the age of seven in 1922. With these unfortunate deaths, Richard was raised as the oldest child. After Richard's birth, there were two sisters born into the family, Catherine and Jeanne.

Richard's parents were both of German descent. Otto Schuler's parents had emigrated from the upper Lech valley in Tirol, Austria. Wilhelmine ("Minnie") Hauk (her maiden name) was a descendant of a family who had emigrated to the United States from the area of Baden-Baden, Germany. Despite this German ancestry, the family lived in an Irish parish, the Ascension. All the Schuler children were baptized at the Ascension. Minnie was very active in the parish. Otto had his own business, a shoe store, known as Schuler Shoes. (In fact, Schuler Shoes has expanded considerably and is still in business.) Otto would often provide the sisters at Ascension convent with the shoes they needed.

As he grew older, his parents taught Richard the prayers of the Catholic faith and the Catholic traditions. He attended Mass with them and later, with his sisters. After six months in kindergarten in the public school, he began first grade at the Ascension. He made his first confession in the fourth grade at

the age of nine. First Holy Communion followed in the fifth grade when he was ten. Richard graduated from the Ascension school in 1934 at the age of 13. He was also confirmed in that year. Clearly, the reception of the sacraments in these years together with the religious instruction he received from the sisters at the Ascension nourished and developed Richard's faith. Further, the example and religious practices of his parents contributed in no small way to Richard's own faith life.

During these grade school years, Monsignor Schuler began his music education. He took lessons in piano and flute and played in the orchestra at the Ascension. As Monsignor explains today, none of this was out of the ordinary in a German family. Most children of German descent learned how to play at least one musical instrument. Otto and Minnie, at least in these early years, did not see any particularly special musical talent or ability in their son. Nevertheless, Richard's ability and talent was nurtured and developed by the "ordinary" musical education that was part and parcel of growing up in a Catholic German family. Today, Monsignor Schuler notes that part of the tragedy of Catholic church music is that these "ordinary" things are not done. Lacking opportunities in the normal curriculum for music education, those children with musical talent and ability do not have the chance to discover their God-given talent and to develop it. By the time they realize they are interested in music, it is often too late because musical talent must be nurtured from a very young age. Taught by his own experience, Monsignor has constantly urged and tried to institute musical education in Catholic grade schools.

After graduating from the Ascension, Richard entered De La Salle High School, a school of the Christian Brothers. As with most of us, the beginning of high school introduced Richard to a much wider world. De La Salle had students from all parts of Minneapolis. In addition, the Christian Brothers were able to give Richard and their other students a deeper appreciation of the Catholic faith. The Brothers enriched the faith of their students by their religious instruction. It was in his sophomore year that Richard made a resolution to attend Mass every day. While at De La Salle, Richard also continued his musical studies. He took organ lessons at Mcphail, a school

of music in Minneapolis. He put these lessons to use when he was hired to substitute at the Basilica of St. Mary in downtown Minneapolis. In 1938, at the age of 17, Richard graduated from De La Salle and entered the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul. At the College, he majored in English.

He was at St. Thomas for only two years because in 1940, he decided, on the advice of his pastor and other priests, to enter the St. Paul Seminary. Still, in 1943 he was able to graduate with a B.A. in English from the College of St. Thomas because he had been taking some summer courses at the University of Minnesota while he was at the College. In the first years at the seminary, he continued to take summer courses at the University. With these summer courses and some credit given by the College for courses at the seminary, he had the credits necessary for his degree.

In reflecting on seminary life, Monsignor admits that it was less than ideal. The courses were not of the same quality as those taught at the College. The living routine was highly regulated, probably too highly regulated. The students were not always treated with proper respect and dignity. In the same breath, however, Monsignor will also indicate that he and all his classmates regarded these difficulties as necessary steps towards the priesthood, a pearl of great price. Further, they felt themselves fortunate because many of their friends were fighting in World War II. In fact, Monsignor recalls the Archbishop coming to the seminary after World War II began. The Archbishop told the seminarians that they were doing as much for their country, perhaps more, through their studies as those who were fighting. The Archbishop saw the benefit to America from these future priests.

The war brought changes at the seminary. Classes were continued through the summer months. As a result, Monsignor Schuler's seminary class was ordained earlier than originally anticipated. Monsignor was ordained a priest of the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis on August 18, 1945. This was a very joyous occasion, but there was a tinge of sadness. Catherine, Monsignor's sister, had suddenly died in January, 1943.

After ordination, Fr. Schuler was assigned to the preparatory seminary, Nazareth Hall, where he taught music and his-

tory. He also continued as organist for Fr. Missia's choir. (Fr. Missia was the seminary professor of music who had encouraged Fr. Schuler, while he was still at the seminary, to put his musical talents to use as a priest-church musician.) Further, at Nazareth Hall, Monsignor began his continuing and intense interest in young people and especially in vocations. This interest in young people has been one of the chief characteristics of his priesthood. The students at Nazareth Hall benefited from this interest as did the students at St. Thomas and, eventually, the parishioners at St. Agnes. There are many priests who have been ordained from St. Agnes because of Monsignor's interest in young people and vocations.

At Nazareth Hall, Monsignor had the responsibility of training the students in Gregorian chant for use at Mass and in the celebrations of the Liturgy of the Hours. He continued his own education by pursuing an M.A. degree in music theory at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York. (Although his B.A. was in English, when he took the entrance exam at Eastman he was judged to have the equivalent of a B.A. in music.) Every summer between 1947 and 1950, Monsignor would leave Nazareth and go to Rochester, New York.

After earning his Masters in 1950, Monsignor had the next summer free. Europe was just recovering from the war and Americans were coming to visit again. Monsignor always has loved travel so when his aunt asked him to accompany her on a trip to Europe, he accepted. In the summer of 1951, Monsignor made his first trip to Europe, spending nine days in Rome. This trip opened a vast new area for travel and, more importantly, deepened his appreciation of Catholic culture. The two travelers even stopped in the valley of the Lech where they met some cousins, descendants of ancestors who had not emigrated to America.

Fr. Schuler stayed on at Nazareth until 1954 when he was awarded a Fulbright scholarship for a year's study in Rome. With the permission of the Archbishop, Monsignor left for Rome in September 1954. Since his father had died in 1953, Minnie Schuler went with her son and spent the year in Rome with him. They traveled to Spain, Austria (the Lech valley), France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Britain.

Returning in 1955, the Archbishop asked Fr. Schuler to teach at the College of St. Thomas. As he reflects on this assignment now, Monsignor is very pleased that the Archbishop sent him to St. Thomas. At the time, it was a rather disappointing surprise because he had been promised a post at the seminary. But while he was away, his friend and former professor, Fr. Missia, had died and had been replaced by another. Monsignor held his teaching position at St. Thomas for fourteen years. At first, he taught religion, but soon he was teaching in the music department. He also began studying for his doctorate in music history at the University of Minnesota. He took classes at the University when his schedule permitted, graduating in 1963 with his Ph.D.

In addition to his teaching and academic responsibilities, Monsignor also directed two choirs. In 1955, shortly after returning from Europe, Monsignor founded the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale. This metropolitan-wide choir was originally composed of members from Fr. Missia's former choir as well as other younger members who were attracted by the opportunity to sing Catholic church music. In the years that Monsignor was at St. Thomas, the Chorale sang, at the invitation of pastors, in churches in the Archdiocese. It also often gave concerts. Monsignor also directed the Nativity parish choir in these years. Further, the Guild of Catholic Organists and Choirmasters, an archdiocesan-wide organization of parish choir directors and parish organists, absorbed some of Monsignor's time. Officially, he was secretary of the Guild, but unofficially he planned the meetings and the programs. Each year in the spring, the Guild, with choirs from around the Archdiocese, sang a High Mass. The parish choirs had practiced the music for the Mass all year long. Monsignor directed. With both the Guild and the two choirs, Monsignor Schuler studied new music—often church music written in this century. Monsignor also would use instruments in the choirloft: violins, trumpets, horns—whatever the score called for. Of course, to many in church music, these innovations seemed unwarranted and even strange.

At the same time, Monsignor was active in national and international Catholic church music circles. He wrote articles for the American church music journals *Caecilia* and *Catholic Choirmaster* and also usually participated in the Boys Town

workshops organized every summer, normally in August. He also attended the Fourth International Church Music Congress held in Cologne, Germany in 1961. After the beginning of the Council, in 1964 the St. Caecilia and the St. Gregory church music societies merged. Monsignor Schuler was present at the meeting at Boys Town which resulted in the union.

Monsignor Schuler also directed the music for the ordination of Bishop James P. Shannon in the Cathedral of St. Paul in March, 1965. Bishop Shannon was named auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The ordination liturgy was done in English, one of the first episcopal ordinations to be done in the vernacular in the world. Monsignor wrote a setting of the Hail Mary as part of this liturgy. He also arranged the music so that the liturgy could be done in the vernacular. Clearly, he was implementing his own principle that it is vital to follow the Church and to do what the Church asks.

In the same year as Bishop Shannon's ordination, Monsignor Johannes Overath from Cologne visited Fr. Schuler at the College. With some others, it was decided that the next international church music congress should be held on American soil. Fr. Schuler invited CIMS (the new international papal church music society established by Pope Paul VI in 1963) to schedule the next international congress in St. Paul, MN. However, it was decided to hold it in Milwaukee and Chicago. The date would be August, 1966. Fr. Schuler was named general chairman of the Congress and gathered a committee from Chicago and Milwaukee to direct various aspects of the congress. The Fifth International Church Music Congress produced a series of papers that remain today significant statements on church music. As the first international gathering of Catholic church musicians after the Council, it helped to set the proper tone for the implementation of the conciliar decrees. However, as Monsignor has often said, there was an opposition to the texts of the Council.

There were those at the congress, he notes, who were opposed to the liturgical reform as given by the Council. Had the program of the church musicians as presented at the Fifth International Congress been followed, the state of Catholic church music would be far better. Unfortunately, the program

of the congress remains a dead letter. As Monsignor often notes, "The Council has not failed; it has never been tried."

From 1965 to 1966, Monsignor was a member of the Church Music Advisory Board. This was a committee of church musicians who were asked to advise a subcommittee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops on matters of church music. There were some very significant decisions made at these meetings. Unfortunately, these were somehow leaked to the press and publicized as though they were decisions of the bishops, when they were only decisions of an advisory board to a subcommittee. Monsignor had argued with some decisions, especially one approving the "hootenany Mass," but the vote went against his position. His membership on the Advisory Board was terminated rather abruptly—probably because he had opposed some of the more radical decisions. He had stood, as he always had, for the Church and the conciliar decrees. One could say that the actions of the Music Advisory Board did much to leave the program of the church music congress a dead letter.

In the Sixties, Fr. Schuler was much in demand and traveled around the country giving workshops and conducting seminars. These invitations gradually decreased as it became known that he stood with the program of the Congress. Still, he decided to continue his work with his own choir, the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale. He could implement the conciliar decrees as he understood them through the cooperation of the members of this choir. This was particularly gratifying because in 1965, a year before the congress, he had given up the Nativity parish choir.

Still, the Chorale offered a limited stage on which to implement the conciliar decrees. Further, the College of St. Thomas was changing. For both these reasons, Monsignor asked for St. Agnes parish in St. Paul when the former pastor, Monsignor Rudolph Bandas, died. The Archbishop appointed Monsignor Schuler pastor of St. Agnes in September, 1969. He is now in his twenty-second year as pastor of St. Agnes.

The parish of St. Agnes has offered Monsignor the chance to implement the conciliar decrees on a parish level according to the mind of the Church and in light of principles he has followed throughout his life. As you would expect from a man

who has devoted his rich musical talents to the service of the Church, there is a well-developed liturgical life at St. Agnes. At the Sunday High Mass, the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale together with members of the Minnesota Orchestra sing the Masses of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert and other great composers. These Viennese settings of the ordinary of the Mass are sung together with the propers in Gregorian chant. The program of the Council as proposed at the Fifth International Congress can be seen at St. Agnes. But the liturgy is not enhanced solely by the music, there are solemn ceremonies with appropriate vestments.

There are processions—especially noteworthy are those on the feasts of Corpus Christi, St. Agnes, and Holy Thursday. Monsignor combines the new with the old as the Council wished.

Monsignor's other major focus in his priestly life has been his interest in young people. St. Agnes affords him ample opportunity to express this interest because of its grade and high schools. Of course, of primary concern to him is the teaching of the faith. For this reason, he has and continues to take an interest in the teaching of religion in both St. Agnes schools. He supports new efforts, but wants to insure that the students of St. Agnes schools receive the unbroken teaching of Christ.

He explained his attitude towards catechetics in a remarkable homily he preached in the early seventies. He indicated that there had to be a second St. Thomas, a new doctor of the Church, who would find a new language and a new way to express the age-old teachings. Monsignor said that the ways the thirteenth century had for expressing the faith were no longer adequate to our century. This he said was what the Council was all about: finding a new language to be a vehicle for the faith. When asked who he thought was doing this, he was at a loss. Without knowing it at the time, Monsignor had predicted precisely the program of Pope John Paul II, years before this man was elected to the papal office! The present Holy Father has a new way of expressing the faith and this new language is being adopted at St. Agnes.

Monsignor's interest in young people has born fruit in the number of vocations to the priesthood from St. Agnes. There have been twelve priestly ordinations from St. Agnes since

Monsignor has been pastor. He attributes this to the sacred liturgy as it is celebrated at St. Agnes, but one must give some credit to Monsignor's own hospitality and personal warmth.

While at St. Agnes, Monsignor has directed the complete re-decoration of the church's interior. St. Agnes was built as a baroque church, but the interior was never completed. As part of the 100th anniversary of the parish, Monsignor launched a fund-drive to pay for the interior decoration. Previously, he had redone the exterior stone work. In 1990, the bells were renewed and a fourth, named Richard after the present pastor, was added.

While at St. Agnes, Monsignor Schuler has continued his interest in the national and international Catholic church music scene. For ten years, from 1969 to 1979, he was vice-president of the papal church music society (CIMS). In that capacity, he attended the Sixth International Church Music Congress in Salzburg in 1974. He also brought his own choir, the Chorale, and made arrangements for at least one other American choir to be present in Salzburg. In 1975, he became editor of the journal of the Church Music Association of America, *Sacred Music*, and in 1976, he was elected president of the society. He continues to hold both positions today.

Further, it was during his second year at St. Agnes that he was named an honorary prelate (Monsignor) of the Church. The honor was announced at Monsignor's twenty-fifth ordination anniversary in 1970.

Of course, not everything has been easy in the postconciliar Church. In the early years at St. Agnes, Monsignor had to maintain his right as pastor to determine the catechetical materials to be used in the school. Further, not all the priestly vocations from St. Agnes have been warmly received by the archdiocesan vocation office and the seminary. In all these matters, Monsignor has always asked that everyone in the Church follow the Holy Father and implement the teachings of the Council. There will always be difficulties, but if there can be agreement on the fundamentals, the other things will take care of themselves.

Thankfully this biography is not finished because we hope and pray that God will give Monsignor Schuler many, many more years. *Ad Multos Annos!*

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The Beauty of Holiness? Liturgical Music Today

Giles R. Dimock, O.P.

As a religious priest, on Sunday mornings I am often sent out to help neighboring parishes by celebrating Mass for the overworked pastor. Although the people and their pastor are usually kind and hospitable, the liturgy is frequently depressing. Often the church has been poorly remodeled for the current liturgy. The readings are badly proclaimed (sometimes by children who can barely read), but the overwhelming memory that one carries away is of the dreadful music, the listless singing and bad selection of hymns. Surely low Mass would be better than this — at least it would not aesthetically offend the ears. What's wrong? Why have we come to this impasse? Why isn't the present approach working? I tackle this question as one who is trained in liturgy, not in music, which I dearly love, recognizing that there are wonderful exceptions to the dreary picture I paint, but I fear they are few and far between in the United States.

For years I have been teaching liturgy, and having scanned the document *Musicam Sacram*, issued by Congregation of Rites in 1967, I had assumed rather blithely that *Music in Catholic Worship*, issued by American Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy in 1972 was substantially the same in its approach. Recently, having studied both documents, I realize how wrong I was. It is true that there are similarities but the differences in the two documents far outweigh them.

In the Bishops' Statement, there is really no theology of sacred music explicated and the term seems not to be used.

“Sacred song” is referred to, but not “sacred music”, which term carries the stamp of Pius X’s insistence that it be characterized by universality, holiness and artistry. *Musicam Sacram* actually defines the term as “that which (is) created for the celebration of divine worship and is endowed with certain holy sincerity of form” (n.4a). The Bishops’ Document sees music as one of the sacred signs that should let their full “meaning and impact shine forth in clear and compelling fashion... must be humanly attractive... meaningful and appealing to the body of worshippers (n.7)”. It does say that this music should assist the assembled believers to express and share the gift of faith that is within them and to nourish and strengthen their interior commitment of faith (n.23), but nowhere do we find the sublime task of sacred music described as in the Roman document:

Liturgical worship is given a more noble form when it is celebrated in song... Indeed through this form, prayer is expressed in a more attractive way, the mystery of the liturgy, with its hierarchical and community nature, is more openly shown, the unity of hearts is more profoundly achieved by the union of voices, minds are more easily raised to heavenly things by the beauty of sacred rites and the whole celebration more clearly prefigures that heavenly liturgy which is enacted in the holy city of Jerusalem. (n.5)

It is this transcendent dimension which gives sacred music its exalted, though, ministerial, role and since we find it lacking in the American document, it does not surprise us that we find the same lack in practice on the parochial level.

It is not only the failure to provide a liturgical, theological underpinning that flaws the American document, but also its rigidity and lack of flexibility in pastoral application. Whereas *Musicam Sacram* upholds the possibility of low Mass (read) Missa Cantata (with many musical possibilities) and Solemn Mass, the American Document sees these distinctions as outdated, which is less serious than its cavalier jettisoning of the distinction between the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass. Pastorally, a simple Ordinary can be taught the people to sing, while the Proper can be easily done by the choir. The disregard for this distinction has been disastrous in our recent history. *Music in Catholic Worship* also banishes to the concert

hall the classical *Missa Romana* which its *Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus-Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*, while admitting that *parts* of these composed masses might be used. *Musicam Sacram* is gentler stating that these Masses may yet be sung by the choir provided the people are not completely excluded from the singing. Indeed, in Germany and Austria, when the great Haydn and Mozart Masses are performed, the people chime in lustily during the vernacular hymns at other parts of the Mass. I don't wish to prolong this criticism any further but reiterate, that the Roman document is far more truly pastoral and flexible in its approach.

From what has been said, could this document's teaching be of help in the parish settings described above? First it is often said that people vote with their feet, and I think this is true of the followers of Archbishop Lefebvre with their little churches springing up all over and the large numbers who attend Tridentine Mass when it is celebrated with due authorization under the indult of *Ecclesia Dei*. I deplore, of course, Catholics going into schism although I think I understand what may have driven them to that point. I am delighted to see the Tridentine Mass offered more freely so that real pastoral needs might be addressed, but I do not feel that this is the final answer for the future. If the current liturgy outlined in the Missal of Paul VI were celebrated with the richness of the musical tradition of the Church, we might have quite a different story to tell. People also vote with their mouths. If, after almost twenty years, many American Catholics won't sing at Mass, including many of the young, are they telling us something?

The thrust of this article is not directed at those places where people are singing well. Sometimes, one could broaden and expand their repertoire and wean people away from the omnipresent St. Louis Jesuits. It was my good fortune to teach at the Franciscan University of Steubenville, where most of the students and staff are Charismatics who love to sing. Since the chaplaincy asked my liturgical advice, we left well enough alone in general, but added to the lively Charismatic standards, more traditional Catholic hymns that the students were actually requesting. We encouraged all to learn some simple Latin chants, the schola to do more complex and meditative chant and a little polyphony.

Choirs need to be encouraged in their task and re-founded where a misunderstanding of Vatican II brought about their untimely demise. The Council in its *Constitution on the Liturgy* sees an important role for choirs, whether large or small. They are not only to lead the people but preserve the great treasury of sacred music with great care (n.114) *Musicam Sacram* especially speaks of large choirs doing this in cathedrals, basilicas, and monastic churches. It would seem that while all sacred music should inspire the people, all need not be equally “pastoral” especially in larger city churches with mobile congregations. There it would seem that classic Gregorian Mass or those of the great composers, can still be used with sufficient acclamations and hymns interspersed to insure popular participation. In fact, in our parish church in New Haven, Connecticut, it is precisely at those Masses where the choir sings a Gabrieli or Mozart Mass that the people nearly take off the roof in the singing of hymns at appropriate times.

However, there are places where hymn singing hasn't caught on at all. Is it because many of the hymns are Protestant? I rather like these hymns since I grew up singing them in public school, but are they the answer? First, it might be noted that whenever really Catholic hymns like “Holy God, We praise thy Name” or “Immaculate Mary” are sung, the nave rings with sound. Further, the *Notre Dame Study of Catholic Life* (U. of N.D. Press, 1984-88) in its liturgical survey, found that the people respond in singing best with the organ to fill the church rather than a guitar (p.7). They doubtless feel more confident of musical support.

Secondly, while recognizing the wonderful hymn tradition of Catholic Germany and also of our Protestant brethren, one wonders how well in general that musical form accords with the Mass. Historically, hymns were sung at the Liturgy of the Hours and the entrance and communion processions had simple antiphonal responses for the people to sing in alternation with the schola. Ought we to use more of this tradition? Also, one might note that Protestant hymns were spread when the printing press newly invented made possible hymnals, as indeed newly printed Bibles made a *sola scriptura* approach to Christianity possible. The Protestant hymn (often based on a psalm) is a very wordy vehicle of praise. Is this what we need

now, when our people are bombarded with cheap words in advertising, and an all vernacular liturgy with three Sunday readings and endless *ex tempore* homilizing nearly suffocates them? Is our medium too *hot*? Do we need more of the *cool* medium of Gregorian chant or chant-like music? Is that not more in our Catholic tradition?

The Notre Dame Study also found that the congregation does slightly better with repeated texts like the Sanctus than with hymns that are changed from week to week (p.7). It seems to me that this is a good reason to teach the congregation one Ordinary in English or Latin, a staple of its worship life. I have heard little altar boys unself-consciously singing these unchangeable parts. In our parish at the five o'clock Sunday afternoon Mass, during which hardly anyone will sing the hymns which are played, there are many who join in the English Ordinary. Aidan Kavanaugh used to say that priests and religious who were used to daily Mass needed much more variety than those who were Sunday Mass goers; for them one Ordinary will do. If people won't sing hymns (e.g. the five o'clock Mass crowd — made up, I might add, of mostly young people), why not use instrumental processions and recessions? *Musicam Sacram* has a whole section on sacred instrumental music and it recommends preludes, offertory and communion music as well as postludes. Might not such instrumental music give a more contemplative dimension to our often too verbose celebrations of the Mass?

I said at the beginning of this article that I wanted to tackle the question of what was wrong with liturgical music today, but in re-reading my article I find I have mostly asked questions. Still, that may not be a disservice if part of getting the right answer is asking the right question. I hope my questions will stimulate discussion of this most important topic, even though there are many aspects of it I've left untouched. Yet, I suspect I've "stepped on enough toes" to elicit responses, both friendly and unsympathetic but any reaction at all is welcome if it helps to get us out of our contemporary musical morass.

Some Reflections on “Contemporary” Hymns

Mary Oberle Hubley

Twenty-five years ago, and nearly within a year or two of the start of the liturgical reform, the musical landscape of our Catholic parishes was transformed. Music and texts which had withstood the rigorous test of time were injudiciously and almost wholly replaced, often by mere doggerel and ditties. Much of this music had been hastily produced in answer to the major Catholic publishers' pleas for newly written hymns in the vernacular; for the illicit abandonment of Latin created a dearth of hymns. Simultaneously, songs were immediately needed to accommodate that exemplar of parish “love,” “community” and “democracy,” the guitar which was in fact a pre-eminent symbol of the protest movements during the Sixties.

The pipe organ and its musically trained organists were pre-empted by amateurish strummers who managed, at best, to “chord” the puerile harmonies supplied by the musically illiterate songwriters. I personally knew two of the latter; they expressed good-humoured chagrin at their success with a couple Chicago-based publishers, and this in spite of their acknowledged ignorance of music theory, harmony, form and history. A third and far more successful songwriter (an oxymoron?) said that he did not even know how to tune his own guitar! The three would “come up with” melodies, graft them onto vaguely biblical texts, and with help of their friends would manage to get the music written down for submission to the publisher. I felt and indeed still feel a deep sadness, as well

as embarrassment, at the lack of Catholic publishers' responsibility in this area. Ought we not to have expected some measure of responsibility, some upholding of musical standards at the very least, from firms with, no doubt, long time-honored traditions of service to the Church?

But then, the "times they were a-changin'" in the Sixties. Numerous pressing social changes (greater accessibility of higher education to the young, the spectre of Viet Nam, smug optimism brought about by expansive economic boom, the civil-rights turmoil, etc.) seemed to dictate the need to make things "relevant" for the young people. They were riding high on the big baby boom and, candidly, quite spoiled and gradually becoming aware of their "clout". Simultaneously, as reflected in their rapidly plummeting SAT scores, the beginnings of our current educational failure made themselves felt in unravelling academic, artistic and behavioural standards.

"The rebellion of the young found its voice in folk music. The guitar became the young person's favorite instrument (much in the same way that the ukelele had been in the 1920's). Singing songs with folk themes to strumming guitar chords became a favored form of entertainment in college dorms, on the beach, and in pads from Greenwich Village to Haight-Asbury. When they were not making folk music, the young were listening to it through the records of the Kingston Trio, the Chad Mitchell Trio, the Limeliter's, the New Christy Minstrels, all of whose best-selling records were of the folk song variety."¹

By the mid-sixties, America's rage with the guitar coincided with its adoption and that of the current soft-rock, "folk" type music in many Catholic churches.

In 1966, speaking at the Fifth International Church Music Congress² held in Chicago-Milwaukee, the eminent musicologist from Columbia University, Paul Henry Lang, sounded an alarm:

"Historians and sociologists cannot but be aware that the worst kind of pseudo-popular, "commercial" music is threatening to invade the Mass. Guitar, rock n' roll and jazz Masses do not represent the *actuosa participatio* envisaged by the Council. This not only lacks the devotional

quality but also the particular grace of art, because it gives us in the raw those cultural traits that were not influenced by Christian ethics."³

The reason for Mr. Lang's alarm is his witness to not only the departure from, but actual rejection of natural, organic development in Catholic church music. This is synonymous with revolution.

As a matter of definition, "folk" music as commonly referred to in its use in Catholic churches, is a misnomer. True folk music is that which is anonymous and unwritten, handed down from generation to generation. Again, Mr. Lang:

"There is a distinction between 'folk' and 'popular' art, the one being popular in origin, that is, of communal growth, the other being popular by destination, e.g., containing elements drawn from common experience calculated to assure popular adoption. The first of these categories, true folk music, can be used to advantage in the Church; a good many of the fine hymns were based on such tunes.

As to the second category, and this includes the commercial product commonly and erroneously called 'folk music', its use would be a denial of everything our Catholic tradition and piety has stood for ever since the first songs rose in the catacombs."⁴

But perhaps many of the adults' inner convictions of the truth and eminence of their own Catholicity were not secure; for why else did they feel the overriding need to make the Church and its music "relevant" to their young? Why the frenetic desire to please and placate the youth, if not for a genuine lack of confidence on the part of the parents and, yes, the priests? It seems that the closing of the Council in 1965 did not coincide with, but rather only followed some serious weakening already apparent in the body of the Church.

At any rate, the radical newness of guitars and guitar music in Church might well provide the enticement to keep the kids in the Church and going to Mass, far away from the radicalism and drugs slowly inundating American society. "Do your own thing" was becoming a common tenet of these Sixties; "don't think twice, it's all right" was another. The prevailing senti-

ments “blowin’ in the wind” were directed to self; a whole jargon of popular psychology was adjuring the youth to “do your own thing” as true flower children.

The guitar and its kind of music flowed naturally out of these narcissistic impulses. It was a relatively inexpensive instrument, and, outside the percussive instruments, the easiest to begin playing. No exerted and continual amount of discipline was demanded of the player; it was not even necessary to know the rudiments of music reading, including rhythm. Being a soft instrument, it was “a natural” to accompany the human voice; one could sing and play simultaneously. Its portability, and that of the now ubiquitous microphone, therefore enabled the guitarist to lead the group or congregation, shifting the musicians’ locus from the choir loft to the sanctuary.

In the frantic rush for “relevance” and self-expression through use of the guitar, the traditional choirs were largely disbanded through lack of clerical support. Parenthetically, the question presents itself: Why? Were the priests and especially the pastors taught up in the confusion of the times? It seems that, in spite (or because of?) their seminary training, when the seeds of theological and liturgical knowledge and formation were cultivated, the clerics were confused as much as the laity they were supposed to lead. It is hard to explain otherwise the near wholesale capitulation of the clergy to the secular din, and their intimidation by theologically and musically untrained parishioners.

Concurrent with the abandonment of the choir, the veneration and use of Latin, with its tradition of fine chant which stretched back to the halls of antiquity, overnight became *passé*. In the twinkling of an eye, Catholicism’s unparalleled sacred music, the brilliant jewel wrought by centuries of development, was muffled, then silenced. Of course, it was not considered relevant.

The common sense and sensibilities of our Catholic faithful were systematically offended; their instincts that something was seriously amiss were, when articulated, often rebuffed in the name of the “spirit of Vatican II”. Their observation that even the documents of Vatican II, when read, were also contrary to the spirit of Vatican II put an end to the dialogue.

Since those early days of the "new music", some of the too obviously infantile and tawdry songs have fallen to the wayside. (Do you remember singing "Kumbaya" incessantly? And do you remember your parish church soft-rocking to that Australian radio hit of the "Our Father"?) However, serious harm was caused which persists to this day. Most noticeable, perhaps, is that the cheap music with its cheap lyrics established a tone of informality and irreverence within our sacred liturgies. The texts of much of this music are so theologically innocuous as to waft one's intelligence off to the land of Nod; while some songs even sport(ed) theology contrary to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

An example of this comes readily to mind.

A full generation of Catholic grade, high school and CCD children and parish congregations were reared on the lusty HAPPY THE MAN.⁵ The center section advises

He seeks no gold,
He wants no gain,
He knows those things are all in vain.
He needs no praise
nor honor too (sic)

climaxing with the ringing

His only motto: "To your own self be true".

Is the whole of Christianity, of Catholicism, able to be distilled into a single "motto"? Unless for the Saints' predilection for brevity as in "To live is Christ, to die is gain!", or the abundance of Christocentric inspirations which nourished the lives of our holy ones through the ages: but "'To your own self be true'?! Did not Christ, rather, insist, "He who would save his life must lose it for My sake", and countless times adjure us to deny ourselves?

And yet for over twenty years, under the aegis of the Catholic liturgy, our impressionable children and faithful were quite literally reared (in many parts of the country, this song is one of the big "hits") by its saccharine nonsense. And there is the matter of the music — specifically, the melody.

If I were to successfully disassociate by remembrance of the melody from the twenty-year plus experience of it in

Catholic churches, regarding it solely in itself, I would say, “How cute! What a nice, bouncy little thing! It would be perfect for a — television sitcom theme! Or a child’s play song, such as a scout song”. Even though the tune is appropriate to its rather breezy, nonchalant lyrics, the question begs answering: Is the music, and are the lyrics as well, appropriate for use in our Catholic liturgies? For that matter, are the lyrics appropriate as a rendering of the great Psalm 40? The casual informality of such a song does not do justice to our profound Catholic conviction that we, in our Catholic churches, are in the Eucharistic Presence of the Godhead.

Rather, such mediocrity has gained acceptability and even a quasi-respectability within our churches and liturgies, providing the conduit through which the secular and worldly invade the domain of the sacred.

In the sixth Chapter of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy,⁶ the Second Vatican Council proclaims that music intended for worship must possess the dignity and the “qualities proper to genuine sacred music”, and that the “instruments accord with the dignity of the temple, and truly contribute to the edification of the faithful.”

As is being observed more and more frequently from even disparate quarters, the concept of the sacred is receding from people’s consciousness. Throughout all of Western society there is a general erosion in actual belief in God; hence, things of God such as His works, His creation of heaven and hell, His revelation and, of course, His Church and sacraments. It only follows, therefore, that the meaning of the concept of “Sacred” is greatly distorted and diminished.

The Latin word “sacer” means “set apart, untouched, taboo.” That which the sacred is set apart from is the “profane”, from the Latin *pro* + *fanum*, literally “outside the temple”. Here we can understand “profane” in its wide sense as the everyday, the usual — not necessarily as something bad, or something to be condemned . — but the common, the popular, the trite; the secular (worldly).

In the history of all religions of mankind we find this distinction, this separation (of the sacred and the profane). Christianity has always taken great care to treat

that which is sacred under sacred forms, and to exclude everything profane.

This distinction can be better understood in light of the subordination of the profane to the sacred, or rather by maintaining that the sacred holds a higher place as something above ordinary life: something nobler, more worthy, exalted as the content of religion itself. . .like the desired goal which is eternal life. In this sense it is desired for worship.⁷

Monsignor Schubert continues:

When music, rhythms and instruments which are borrowed directly from contemporary profane music are brought into the church, it occasions serious consequences in scandal, separations from Church and cult, a diminishing respect for the Church, and increasing religious doubt and confusion.⁸

The above is indeed a serious charge; and though first enunciated in 1966, finds its prophetic fulfillment in much "contemporary" music and the consequences of its use in our churches today.

It is indispensable to a clear understanding of music that the basic fact be first acknowledged; and that is that music — its melody, rhythm, harmony and form — is an abstract medium. As such, it is neutral. There is no such thing as a sacred triplet, or a sacred dominant chord.

It in this very abstractness that makes it so difficult to be precise in regard to music: whether it is sacred, and thus fitting for use in our churches, or not; whether it is appropriate, or not.

By the time of the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century, general criteria for solving this dilemma had been established. St. Charles Borromeo, then a Cardinal, was a highly knowledgeable lover of music who dedicated himself to applying these criteria in the wake of Trent. By the Second Vatican Council these same general principles were acknowledged, assuring the continuity and organic growth of responsible musical understanding until this very day. Without the benefit of these general principles, the task of appraising the suitability of music in our churches would be analogous to

poll-taking: one's opinion would be as good, or bad, as another's and ruled by subjective feelings, by likes and dislikes.

What Makes Music Sacred?

Music is made sacred by its association to other, related factors, each of which is indispensable:

- 1.) By association with the occasion (or purpose);
- 2.) By association with a sacred text;
- 3.) By association with that which is set apart, or separate from the worldly or profane;
- 4.) By association with what is truly art;
- 5.) By association with a particular tradition.

1.) By association with the occasion

The music used in our Catholic churches must be worthy (Anglo-Saxon — value) for the occasion, which is the worshiping of the Divinity through rites and prayers in His House.

It ought not to be understood in terms of ourselves, such as in celebrating ourselves, as a “community”; for true community will flow naturally and honestly only out of our first giving God His due, which is the priority. A self-directed perspective is too limiting of God as well as of ourselves; it would direct the rites to ourselves, not to God, Who alone gives them meaning and significance.

Our music, then, must reflect God as He reveals Himself (His transcendence, His omnipotence, His immanence); not as we deem Him to be through our puny, created minds and vision.

PEACE IS FLOWING LIKE A RIVER, a song which claims to be based on Psalm 107, is an example of a self-directed, community-oriented song. It is symptomatic of many of these songs, so often of pentecostalist inspiration, that almost nothing is said in regard to God while the real reference is to the congregation.⁹ Also symptomatic is the juvenile character of the melody; second graders are unchallenged by it, which fact complements the monotonous repetition of the text. The text, by the way, is utter nonsense.

Another song which offers an example of self (community) — not God-direction is the immensely popular ALL THAT WE HAVE.¹⁰ So minimal is its reference to God that He is only obliquely referred to in the third person. The actual subjects of the folksy reflections are "some", "others", "sometimes", etc.

2.) By association with a sacred text

The elements of music, such as its melody, are of an abstract medium and hence cannot be deemed sacred in themselves. Scripture, however, since it is the inspired Word of God, is indeed sacred in itself; and, derivatively, the verbal form of rites.

Music, therefore, which "fulfills" the worthy text is sacred. It renders the sacred text respectfully, and does justice to its dignity as the Word of God. It must be understood and accepted, however, that the *text itself* must be worthy, and itself "fitting" for the occasion.

"In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum."

"In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God; and the Word was God."¹¹

How serious our responsibility, since the Second Person Himself is Word!

One of the great scandals of large amounts of church music in the last twenty-five years has been the corruption of Scripture or (often through omission) theology presented through it. In his apostolic letter "Vigesimus Quintus Annus", marking the 25th anniversary of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, the Holy Father wrote:

"Side by side with these benefits of the liturgical reform, one has to acknowledge with regret deviations of greater or lesser seriousness in its application.

On occasion there have been noted ... songs which are not conducive to faith or to a sense of the sacred".¹²

The corruption of texts seems to fall into two categories, the first being a listless paraphrasing of Scripture, necessarily

adapting it to the Procrustean bed of popular, secular melody. Although this loose rendering of the Scripture is often identified by terminology such as “text based on Psalm...,” frequently the text is only remotely similar. A fine example of this careless rendering of Biblical text is COME UNTO ME.¹³ Such a practice, because it only approximates scriptural verses, does not in itself invalidate its claim to being appropriate for use in our churches; many fine hymns of the past do the same, such as HOLY GOD, WE PRAISE THY NAME (a rendition of the ancient prayer TE DEUM.) However, because of the extreme looseness of the paraphrasing, the *integrity* of the text is compromised, if not lost. It is an injustice to Scripture itself; and an injustice to the faithful, who have a right to the *truth* in Scripture to be presented to them.¹⁴

Another category in which texts are inappropriate and unworthy is in a type of song known musically as the “gospel song”. This type of song is, prior to the sixties, profoundly alien to our Catholic tradition. Whereas the hymn, because it is (supposed) to focus on God, is proper for worship (literally “worthship”, i.e. reverence, dignity, respect offered to God and to God alone); the gospel song is of a totally different genre. It does not focus on God, therefore not on worship. Rather, it is subjective and sentimental, expressing feelings and personal testimony.

In the early nineteenth century, on the heels of the romanticism and naturalism which permeated the West, less formal and structured sects such as the Baptists, evangelicals and other Protestant fundamentalists developed the gospel song. Initially, the mainstream Protestant churches resisted this new kind of music preferring the more dignified “hymns”. Little by little, though, gospel songs were allowed not just in the less formal evening services, but since the 1950’s in the more formal morning services as well. (It is worth noting that the music of parishes has followed in the wake of the Protestant churches, although about fifteen or twenty years behind.)

Examples of gospel songs now abound in our Catholic liturgies and churches; all of them are products of the 60’s, 70’s and 80’s. Each of the afore-mentioned songs¹⁵ are more truly gospel songs than hymns.

In Chapter 6 of the Sacred Constitution on the Liturgy, Article 121 states:

Composers, filled with the Christian spirit, should feel that their vocation is to cultivate sacred music and increase its store of treasures. Let them produce compositions which have the qualities proper to genuine sacred music...

The Council Fathers admonish that

The texts intended to be sung must always be in conformity with Catholic doctrine; indeed they should be drawn chiefly from Holy Scripture and from liturgical sources.¹⁶

The commentator's note to the above article states:

There is need for new music, both for Mass and for devotions; new hymns should be liturgically and scripturally inspired, and not in the sentimental "devotional" manner that has proved the bane of much Catholic hymnody.¹⁷

Gospel songs (generally but wrongfully called Catholic folk music, guitar songs, or contemporary hymns) have been attaining a greater measure of textual sophistication in the last several years. It is as though the form has been "growing up"; and as with a crooked twig which, unless destroyed or rooted up early on, will develop into a crooked tree, the sentimentality of the genre becomes the vehicle for a yet more serious abuse. As the twig bends, so grows the tree.

The powerful symbolism inherent in our Catholic cultural milieu lends itself wonderfully to poetic expression; and a mere textual nod here and there in its direction is enough for most Catholics to accept unquestioningly the faulty text's real meaning.

Partly because of its upbeat, engaging melody and poetic text, *GATHER US IN*¹⁸ has become immensely popular in some areas of the country. Nearly every other phrase of the text contain some kind of mumbo-jumbo; and not only is the melody exuberant, but the text positively exudes fresh triumph, well-being and glory.

Here in this place, new light is streaming,
Now is the darkness vanished away.

See, in this space, our fears and our dreamings
Brought here to you in the light of this day.

Gather us in, etc....

Call to us now, and we shall awaken,

We shall arise at the sound of our (sic) name.

The second verse proclaims:

We have been sung throughout all of history,

Called to be light to the whole human race...

Give us the courage to enter the song.

The third verse blithely continues

Here we will take the wine and the water,

Here we will take the bread of new birth...

to drink the wine of compassion....

Fourth:

Not in the dark of buildings confining (?!)

Not in some heaven (!), light years away (?) but

Here in this place, the new light is shining,

Now is the Kingdom, now is the day...

Gather us in all peoples together,

Fire of love in our flesh and our bone. (Emp. M.O.H.)

This pastiche of New Age mysticism, nods and curtsies to Christianity and breezy Gnosticism is the stone given to our Catholic faithful where they have a right to expect bread. Actually it is also a pretty good example of the vaguely pentecostalist utopianism which Christopher Derrick, in an address entitled "Brave New Church" (given last year to the Ronald Knox Society at Oxford) referred to as "revolutionary euphoria":

"... I am suggesting that the last 24 years or so have been characterized by a spectacular outbreak of Revolutionary Euphoria within the Catholic Church...

At any period, certain states of mind — more or less Gnostic in tendency — can generate compulsive need to see all history as divided into three epochs or *aetates*, of which the third and last and most perfect is now gloriously beginning. Among Christians, this becomes a conviction that the Dispensation of the Son — with all those dogmas and restrictions and regulations — is now giving place to the third and final Dispensation, that of freedom in the pure spirit.

...A great many of us behave exactly as though they believed it (that "the Second Vatican Council actually did usher in a new Dispensation in that full theological sense"), and always with much emphasis upon "the Council" as constituting the charter and liberation of their Brave New Catholicism".¹⁹

Examples of "new" and dangerous music which is flooding our liturgies and churches are abounding. GATHER US IN was found in the Oregon Catholic Press (published with Ecclesiastical Approbation) Music Issue 1990; and the very next song enjoins us that

If you will follow me, follow where life will lead;
do not look for me among the dead, for
I am hidden in pain, risen in love. (Verse 1)

Or, how about this?

"... if you would rise with me,
rise through your destiny..."²⁰

To all falsity there is an element of truth, or else it would not be appealing. The ignorance and confusion of many of our Catholic faithful provides fertile ground for the pseudomysticism and Gnosticism exemplified in many of the "contemporary" songs. References to religious belief are vague and there seems to be a curious reluctance to mention God, Christ or the Church. There are also veiled slaps at the Church, and also at Tradition, upon which, coupled with Scripture, the magnificent edifice of our Faith is built.

Where the Gnostic is concerned, there is no continuity, no tradition. History, including that of the Church, moves in stages, so to say, discontinuously. In Gnostic eyes, the destruction of what they see as the trappings of the past, serves not infrequently for what you might call a kind of bastard-sacrament; an outward sign of the inward light that will flood their minds, then shine out on a brave New Church of their own making, when the rubble of the ages is cleared away from its past.²¹

The inchoate beginnings of this corruption may have been observable in the near bacchanalian frenzy of twenty-five years ago; although no one at first noticed the absence of specifically Catholic themes—those central to our Catholic identity—in the

new music. Our liturgies were shorn of musical hymns and songs to Mary, the Mother of God; to the angels, the saints, the Sacred Heart. It is as though the hastily assembled hack songs, borrowed Protestant music, spirituals and the like, produced a leveling effect upon our Catholic consciousness. Rather, generic texts without reference to the liturgical year or specific feasts became common, and the liturgical year was in fact demolished for our people as a result of the catastrophic pseudo—"reform" of the ecclesiastical calendar. Often now, Pentecost is indistinguishable from Easter, and even Easter from Christmas. Advent and Lent as penitential seasons have been destroyed.

3.) Music is made sacred by its association with that which is set apart, or separate, from the worldly or profane.

Were a priest/homilist to liberally pepper his presentation with "ain't"s he would insure not only an alert congregation, straining to determine if it heard correctly; but, without doubt, a gradually angered congregation. The people would consider his imposed grammatical lapse "in poor taste". They would slightly deem it a barbarism wholly inappropriate, and responsible for lowering the level of the priest's discourse, no matter how edifying the homily might otherwise be. Many people would be disturbed, and many even irate, at the common vulgarism which had crept into their consciousness under the guise of the priest's homily.

Much of the music produced since the early sixties, and at use in our churches today, convicts us of using "Musical ain'ts" liberally. We ought to be disturbed, and irate, at the common secularism and worldliness which have crept into our churches under the guise of church music. It is because of the secular nature of much of this "new music" that, in similarity to the strategy of the Trojan Horse, the worldly was allowed to invade our churches and, of course, the prayers and spiritual lives of our Catholic faithful. The celebration of our sacred liturgical rites was cheapened.

As defined earlier, music can roughly be divided into the sacred and the non-sacred, or profane; better yet, between the

sacred and the secular. (‘The Latin root *saecularis* means “worldly”.)

Of secular music, that which is commonly called popular (from the Latin *populus*, people) is that music flooding the mass, commercial media: television, radio, film and advertising music. This massive outpouring of media music has two ends: that of selling, and that of entertaining. Because it “costs little trouble or effort to obtain”, it consequently is “worthless or not worth much”: hence, not prized or esteemed. It is literally, “cheap”.²²

Right around twenty-five years ago, a collective decision was made to borrow from the things of the world for the purpose of getting young people into church. By using the enticing things of the world — “by hook or by crook”, so to speak — the church would be made to look better and be more appealing; it would be more relevant to the worldly-wise youth.

The massive failure of strong Catholic witness at that time, briefly alluded to earlier, is a topic well worth attention in some other study. Certainly it is important to seek understanding of that which amounted to actual revolution in the music of the church; understanding would be indispensable so that the breach in our Catholic tradition of sacred music be acknowledged and repaired.

One of the most identifiable characteristics of popular, media music is its emotional, sensual quality. It does not seek to appeal to people in the context of their higher, more worthy selves — engaging the mind and spiritual nature of the person — but deliberately intends to provoke an immediate emotional response from the listener. Rather than appealing to the noble, disinterested part of the person, popular music appeals to the lower, immediately gratified part. Unaware of their vulnerability, all too often people are ready and willing to be “worked over” and manipulated; to “go with the flow” without exercising any discretion or exertion whatsoever.

For well over two thousand years, the eminent power of music in the ethical lives of men was carefully observed and commented upon. Its emotional power was so suspect that Plato (one of the first in the known line of commentators) insisted in “The Republic” that

“Music must be of the right sort; the serious qualities of certain modes are dangerous, and a strong censorship must be imposed. He went so far as to seek regulation of particular modes because of their supposed effect on people.”²³

It is well to be reminded that just because a piece of music exists (and might be found in church), it does not follow that it is therefore good, or good for the occasion. Similarly, just because something is found in the newspaper, or in print, it does not follow that it is true.

Besides the 1.) emotional quality of popular music other characteristics are 2.) lack of originality, 3.) use of cliché. 4.) imitation of “what’s out there,” 5.) impermanency, 6,) predictability and 7.) datedness.

With few exceptions, the music contained in the ubiquitous GLORY AND PRAISE,²⁴ (Volume I, II and III) exemplifies the above characteristics. (Many of the *Glory and Praise* songs do double duty in the pages of various missalettes, also.)

Although occasionally *text* in *Glory and Praise* songs may be above criticism (many are not) the *music*, by its association with or reminder of media pop music, pronounces it to be secular. It is related to the world, but not to God who created the world. It quite well expresses our human and societal milieu, but not the divine and heavenly. It is not set apart from the world; it actually represents it. A lot of songs, especially from Volume I and II, are dated; people are tired of them. Their music does not direct our people to the spiritual, transcendent “Other” which is the bread their souls crave. Instead, it proffers an anti-spiritual, anti-transcendent stone which leaves the spirit impoverished though the outer self is suffused with contentment.

ONLY A SHADOW²⁵ is a well-known and popular song. Its emotional quality evokes a sentimental, warm and fuzzy, “care-bear” feeling. It represents a musical immaturity commensurate to its juvenile shallowness. It possesses no depth of music (i.e., melody, harmony) to match what ought to be an awesome and profound reflection, since it is of the very essence and attributes of God.

Another song, ONE BREAD, ONE BODY²⁶ is reminiscent of ONLY A SHADOW due to its power to wrap the singers in

big, warm, soft communal blankets of comfortable well-being. It lulls the mind to sleep, and consequently the person's moral accountability. It is musically trite and predictable: we know "where it is going" and, as with trite things, "what is going to happen". There is no development of melody, for it is akin to trite novels or stories which have no development of characters or plot. Its melodic patterns are used at the expense of the text; and even if the lyrics had some dignity, as befitting the texts which it paraphrases, it lacks a proper musical setting. Like Muzak in countless stores and offices, it makes no demands on one's intelligence.

ON EAGLE'S WINGS²⁷ has taken some of our Catholic faithful by storm because of its delightful and attractive tune. The melody is, in fact, so appealing in its sentimental and romantic expansiveness that the person's response to it is not only immediate and expansive, but actually cathartic. The people experience such an enthusiastic response to this music that they do not have to "go any further", such as reaching out further to God. The music really impedes this "reaching out to God", which is an act of the will, since the person is so spent emotionally because of the music.

This kind of song, though beautiful in itself as are a number of *Glory and Praise* songs, is wholly inappropriate for use in our Catholic liturgies. It creates a very dangerous and fraudulent effect: in the Catholic church, led by the priest, in the context of the sacred liturgy, such music leads the person to believe that a religious experience has been had when, in response to the powerful music merely an emotional experience has been enjoyed. What was apprehended was not God, but one's emotions. It is not worship "in spirit and in truth", but sensual enjoyment under the guise of worship: entertainment in the House of God.

ON EAGLE'S WINGS is a parish version of that dated hit CLIMB EVERY MOUNTAIN from *The Sound of Music*. It would be appropriate and well-received in a Rodgers and Hammerstein or Broadway musical; it could easily vie with CHARIOTS OF FIRE as fine film music; it would be a big hit on the Christian "rock" radio stations, where it belongs. However, Jesus Christ angrily whipped the moneychangers out of the temple; would He be less angry at entertainment in His Father's House?

4.) Music is made sacred by association with that which is truly art.

The term “art” comes to us from the Latin *ars*, or skill. In its general meaning within Western thought, art is a work of excellence produced by an intellectual, creative act.

Just as the recognition of the sacred has receded in people’s consciousness, so also has the recognition of the excellence of true, valid art. It is tempting to ascribe this phenomenon to the emergence of the mass communication/entertainment media, especially from the 1950’s on. However, perhaps as strong a case could be made for the wrenching effect of the two World Wars upon the psyche of the Western world.

What is known with surety is the fact that art has always, from the beginnings of history, been closely associated with religion. Two factors which explain this ubiquitous linkage are 1.) the creative element of art and 2.) the use of art in ritual.

Longfellow alluded to the former when stating than:

Nature is a revelation of God

Art is a revelation of man.²⁸

God, in His bringing forth of creation is not only a model for mankind, but in His infinite generosity He created a being with powers to himself “create” through the work of his hands and his mind. In applying his intellect to the arts, man truly shares in the creative powers of the Almighty.

(Parenthetically, it is important to extend the paradigm to that of Mary, who through the activity of the Holy Spirit brought forth her Son, Jesus — the Logos.) Art through the centuries, whether it be visual or musical, found profound inspiration in its contemplation of Mary, the primal Chantress of the New Testament.

Art, as a creative essence, is *good* because God made us to be creative and because we ourselves are created beings. And art is valid, or *true*, if it implies the essence of goodness.

The Sacred Constitution on the Liturgy laid down basic directions for the purpose of sacred art and music:

The fine arts are rightly classed among the noblest activities of man's genius; this is especially true of religious art and of its highest manifestation, sacred art. Of their nature the arts are directed toward expressing in some way the infinite beauty of God in works made by human hands. Their dedication to the increase of God's praise and of His glory is more complete, the more exclusively they are devoted to turning men's minds devoutly toward God.²⁹ (emphasis M.O.H.)

A particular function of art is its use in ritual. The more singularly music turns the faithful's minds devoutly toward God, then, the more it can be said to represent true art. Article 112 of Chapter VI (Sacred Music) even goes so far as to emphasize the pride of place music holds before all other arts:

The musical tradition of the universal Church is a treasure of immeasurable value, greater even than that of any other art. The main reason for this pre-eminence is that, as sacred melody united to words, it forms a necessary or integral part of the solemn liturgy.³⁰

The role of music in ritual is indispensable. It gives focus and tangible concreteness to the rite, and clothes it in drama.

It also gives an oftentimes conscious memory in the melody, the lasting power of which represents to the faithful the experience of the ritual to which it had been inextricably linked. Music, finally, will abstract the otherwise ephemeral religious notions such as feelings and the transcendent and transmission.

Therefore sacred music increases in holiness to the degree that it is intimately linked with liturgical action, winningly expresses prayerfulness, promotes solidarity, and enriches sacred rites with heightened solemnity.³¹

Much of the music of Lucien Deiss provides fine examples of serious attempts at modern sacred hymnody. Most well known of them are **PRIESTLY PEOPLE, KEEP IN MIND, THIS IS THE DAY THE LORD HAS MADE**, as well as many of his compositions as yet untried. Their advantages are obvious: musical maturity, Scriptural and doctrinal richness, objectivity in focusing and directing the hearts of the faithful toward the service of God and the liturgy. A few of these hymns are

standing the test of time twenty years after their first use in our churches, each provides new insights, new depths of understanding to the faithful. There is an almost timeless quality to some of these hymns; they may well be just as fresh and unique fifty years from now as twenty years ago. There is little alloy of worldliness about this music: it is “set apart” from the secular. It truly seems to serve God, not mammon.

The Church indeed approves of all forms of true art, and admits them into divine worship when they show appropriate qualities.³²

The issue of glaring importance regarding music in our Catholic Churches is this: How can the good, true art (sacred music) be distinguished from the bad, false art (or non-sacred, unworthy music)? Or, in the words of the elderly Leo Tolstói a couple years before the turn of the century:

. . . I think it would be useful, first, to separate what really is art from what has no right to that name; and, secondly, taking what really is art, to distinguish what is important and good from what is insignificant and bad.

The question of how and where to draw the line separating Art from Non-Art, and the good and important in art from the insignificant and evil, is one of enormous importance in life.³³

The absolutes which governed recognition of art (such as goodness, truth, beauty and significance) are now rejected, much as the reality of the sacred has been rejected. Instead, a merely subjective definition of art (also, worthiness) has arrogantly re-defined sacred music according to its own worldly, popular terms. The absolutes have given way to relativism.

Nowadays, subjective opinions and tastes represent the guiding principles in choice of church music; not objective judgment. Church music is valued by “how it affects me. If it means something to me, then it must be good”. Inversely, “If I cannot relate to it, then *it has no meaning*.” There is no differentiation between “liking”, which is an immediate sensory response (emotion), and approbation or “judgement” (intellect) which is rational and reflective.

The function of art in our sacred liturgies demands its excellence. Rather than upholding a standard which conforms to

worship of the living God in our churches, graced by the sublime Eucharistic Presence, the popular entertainment music of the "world" masquerades as sacred music. The denigration and ignorance of true art in sacred music is an obvious sign of our hedonistic times.

5.) Music is made sacred by its association with the Roman Catholic tradition.

Adherence to this eminent principle undergirds the very presence of musical integrity and unity within our liturgies, but for a large number of Catholics, especially those of the last two generations, it is nearly meaningless.

With the modern West looking on, millions upon millions of ethnic people are now repudiating the monotonous tyrannies of their despotic rulers. Long suppressed manifestations of nationalistic ethnic traditions in dance, dress, song, language and literature are being tearfully and hungrily embraced. Children, young people, and all those denied their cultural patrimony from forty to as many as seventy years now eagerly absorb the long-denied right to their cultural heritage. So essential were these traditions to the very soul of these peoples that, bereft of them, their spirits were impoverished; they despaired of their identity as a people: they did not know who they were. Such is the preciousness of tradition!

It is good for us — denizens of modernity—to learn the lesson that history is teaching us through the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe. As we approach the second millennium of our Roman Catholic faith, we are witness to the enshrinement of the New and Now in our parishes and churches. Our spirits have been impoverished because of the general lack of musical tradition in our rites; we (especially those growing up in the wake of Vatican II) have been largely bereft of our Catholic identity. We have had a difficult time knowing who we were as Roman Catholics, the majority of us (those still remaining) distinguishing little difference between music in our liturgies and that of non-Catholic services.

Although little heeded, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, especially the sixth chapter dealing with sacred music, lays down in explicit and uncompromising terms that:

The treasure of sacred music is to be preserved and fostered with very great care.³⁴

We were charged with the glad duty to preserve (and be enriched by!) the Church's imposing patrimony of sacred music. And yet, now, surveying the near triumph of modernity in our churches and the consequent rejection of our musical heritage, one is at first overwhelmed. Great is the difference between what, in fidelity to the Council, ought to be versus what, instead, exists. It is, in fact, a commonplace that the last two generations of our Catholics have no idea what makes up their musical tradition. Truly, a musical "ground zero" began twenty-five years ago. However may we go about repairing the breach?

First it is comforting to realize that the apparent unanimity of assent in departure from our musical roots was not that at all. For rather than being met with a surge of enthusiasm, the "new music" was imposed upon a confused and resisting laity by a small, powerful and well-orchestrated bureaucracy.³⁵ Still amongst us, but immeasurably more powerful, well-financed, and virtually unchallenged, this "pastoral" music bureaucracy plays the Goliath to the David of honest adherence to Vatican II. Its predominance is evident to anyone attending any of the numerous pastoral music conferences and conventions on diocesan, regional and national levels.

"Music is made sacred by its association with the Roman Catholic tradition". Since this tradition is usually not in evidence in our churches, then, it is essential to turn to the uncompromising principles of Chapter VI on *Sacred Music*. A thorough reading of this document is not only a pleasure but a necessity. Among other tenets, it stipulates that:

- ...choirs must be diligently promoted; (114)
- ...teachers are to be carefully trained and put in charge of the teaching of Sacred music; (115)
- ...The Church acknowledges Gregorian chant as proper to the Roman Liturgy; therefore, other things being equal, it should be given pride of place in liturgical services; (116)
- ...other kinds of sacred music especially polyphony, are by no means excluded from liturgical celebrations; (116)

...It is desirable, also, that an edition (of Gregorian chant) be prepared containing simpler melodies, for use in small churches; (117)

...the voices of the faithful may ring out according to the norms and requirements of the rubrics; (118)

...the pipe organ is to be held in high esteem, for it is the traditional musical instrument, and one that adds a wonderful splendor to the Church’s ceremonies and powerfully lifts up man’s mind to God and to heavenly things; (120)

...Composers. . . should feel that their vocation is to cultivate sacred music and increase its store of treasures. (121)³⁶

Also, from Chapter Two of the same Constitution, specifically, Article 54:

...In Masses which are celebrated with the people, a suitable place may be allotted to their mother tongue. . . Nevertheless, steps should be taken so that the faithful may also be able to say or sing together in Latin those parts of the Ordinary of the Mass which pertain to them.³⁷

The task of recovering our musical traditions, due to the range of our departure from it, is immense and discouraging. For far too many Catholics, the Mass represents very little more than a commonplace ritual for “gathering the assembly” (typical liturgical jargon), much as a picnic is the focus for a family reunion. Their sense of the sacred has been dulled; and even for our older people, the anti-spiritual entertainment music to which they have grown accustomed wrongfully represents “church music”.

One of the most profound fundamentals of our liturgical tradition is the ancient practice of listening with “the heart” *even without* understanding of the mind. To this day our Eastern Rite Catholics firmly maintain the importance of the “wisdom of the heart”; it flourishes untrammelled in their rites.

Because of the rationalistic arrogance of our age, many of the Roman rite have “bought into” the notion that the only way to understand is through the mind. As with a diptych, however, a balance of two fulfills the whole. Faith comes

through understanding: not merely intellectual understanding, but especially understanding of the heart. The apparent dichotomy between mind/heart, active/passive or active/contemplative is also a unity: each side of the diptych needs the other for the sake of the integrity of the whole.

The Catholic faithful, through century after century of widespread illiteracy, *knew* what the Mass was, *knew* the Mysteries unfolding before them, *knew* the grandeur, solace and presence of the Church in their lives. Sacred chant, polyphony and the entire treasury of sacred music enriched and *informed* their hearts and their souls. Though the Latin words were often inexplicable to them, when the words were wedded to sacred music, their hearts understood.

There is an easily and generally propagated error in the minds of many that active participation, to which the Constitution is inviting people, is of a purely physical kind. Even listening is a form of intense activity. The modern human being, wearied by the noisy and hectic life, through an attentive listening can find in church a restful peace which is the springboard for true prayer. “Music to be listened to” (the greater part of the Gregorian repertoire, the multi-voiced singing of the choir, and organ music) is of great pastoral significance for the education of the people.³⁸

The rejection of our musical tradition has been a worldwide, soul-felt scandal. Were our priests and pastors to prayerfully re-introduce the eminence of this profound truth — that faith comes through listening not just with the mind, but also with the heart — they could go a long way towards recovery and use of our musical and spiritual riches so recently lost.

Had there been honest adherence to the mandates of Vatican II, it is doubtful that lower level Church authorities would have needed to “sell their birthright for a mess of pottage.” There would not have been the mad rush to fill the gaping void occasioned by their non-canonical (therefore, illicit) abolition of Latin.³⁹

There must be no innovations unless the good of the Church genuinely and certainly requires them; and care must be taken that any new forms adopted should in some way grow organically from forms already existing.⁴⁰

The natural and organic development and renewal of sacred song would have been assured, where instead an artificial and manufactured imposition of the rootless “new” resulted. We have been “spinning our wheels” ever since; for an error to be maintained, others must follow it to shore up the consequent weakness.

Article 36 of the Sacred Constitution states:

- (1) Particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rite.
- (2) But since the use of the mother tongue. . . may frequently be of great advantage to the people. . . the limits of its employment may be extended.
- (3) It is for the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority. . . to decide whether, and to what extent, the vernacular language is to be used according to these norms.⁴¹

Ten years following the initial scramble for finding English text music for use in the Mass, a music publisher, surveying the continuing fray, announced:

The Roman Catholic Church has its own sacred music tradition, but that tradition does not include a long history of singing in the English language. Unlike their *fellow Americans of the same “melting pot” culture*, Catholic parishes for the most part have yet to experience the same vitality of song that echoes from their neighboring Christian churches. Musicians and liturgists have long expressed a need for a Roman Catholic hymnal that is theologically sound. . . and respects the *hymnological traditions of those commonly referred to as “protestant”* (sic) *hymnals*.⁴²

The above lobbying for “melting pot” homogeneity aside, it is fair to ask if the goal of “vitality of song” has indeed been achieved in our parishes and places of worship, given the hybrid nature of much of the song.

To repeat, *music is made sacred by its association with the Roman Catholic Tradition*. That music which flows out of a separate, non-Catholic tradition is inimical to our own; hence, it is not sacred music and its use in our liturgies is contrary to the expressed mind of the Church.

Examples of non-Catholic music are:

1. Spirituals
2. Ethnic folk music
3. Protestant songs and chorales

1. Although spirituals are religious songs, they derive from a faith alien to that which the Catholic Church recognizes and thus are inappropriate for use in our sacred liturgies.

The spiritual was developed from North American rural Negro and white folk melodies and themes. It was popularized at Protestant evangelical camp and revival meetings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Clearly, it is unsuitable for Catholic liturgical use.

2. Folk music, whether of American vintage or that of other national or religious groups, is so heavily laden with the respective cultures that its Catholic use occasions multiple confusions to the faithful. The folk song will be used with both the melody and folk text; or a contemporary "Catholic" text is grafted onto the melody. Whatever the case, such is the power of a good melody that uppermost in the people's minds are not the prayer of the text (which ought to be merely *served* by the music), but the heavy associations of that particular folk culture. The intended prayer is obfuscated. Also, an injury could be done to that tradition and its peoples: the integrity of their song, which is their exclusive possession and represents their own identity, is compromised. It is stolen, which to sensitive peoples might constitute an injury.

Borrowing from other national and ethnic cultures abounds, becoming almost a virtue in itself. Examples include the Quaker "How Can I Keep From Singing," Shaker "'Tis a Gift to be Simple," from the Israeli tradition, "The King of Glory," American rural "Amazing Grace," and Shaker "The Lord of the Dance." Incidentally, the texts are simplistic (a typical trait of "gospel songs") and on that account alone undeserving of a place in our sacred liturgies.

3. It is now common for songs from the Protestant tradition to be introduced into and maintained in our Catholic churches. Twenty five years ago, this practice devolved from the sore, but manufactured need for English language congregational hymns. Their use was sanctioned by a genial and

euphoric “spirit” of ecumenism, wafting undisciplined throughout Catholicism.

Our current ignorance of history notwithstanding, Protestant hymnody emerged in the seventeenth century as a direct result of widespread rejection of the Mass, the Sacraments, and a thousand years of developed Christian doctrine. Thousands of courageous Catholics, among them the Forty Martyrs of England and Wales (St. Thomas More, St. John Fisher, St. Margaret Clitherow, etc.) submitted themselves to barbarous tortures and death in their refusal to renounce the Church and the papacy. One of them, St. Philip Howard, lingered years in prison when

Finally, feeling that death was near, he appealed to the queen to be allowed to meet his wife and his little son, whom he had never seen. The answer was that, if he would but once attend the Protestant church services, not only would his request be granted but all his honors would be restored to him. He refused, and died soon afterwards on October 19, 1595.⁴³

Although it is a fact that distant sources for the melodies and texts of Protestant hymnody are found in plainsong and early Christian texts, such is the case with practically all song found in our Western culture: it could not be helped.

Much of Protestant hymnody, which represents the antithesis of our Catholic doctrine and tradition, is consequently alien to Catholicism. Many of these Protestant songs — including those of the Lutheran, Presbyterian, Methodist sects — are eminently singable, but they are not Roman Catholic.

Protestant hymns, thus, are not sacred music. The word “sacred” is, at root, synonymous with “sacrament”: and *only in the Catholic tradition* is not only the existence, but also the validity of all the Christ-given sacraments maintained. Only in the Catholic Church is the very Eucharistic Presence of Christ Himself proclaimed.

A serious argument can be made that those confused and doctrinally illiterate Catholics who have taken themselves, their families, and their support to non-Catholic churches are only acting out a premise first learned in their Catholic parish. For, participating in the frequent and unquestioned singing

of Protestant songs in their Catholic liturgies, they opine: what difference is there between one church and another, as long as you go to some church?

Among the many acute scandals afflicting American Catholicism in the last twenty-five years, one of the most noticeable has been the emptying of our churches to the advantage of those of our Protestant brethren.

Interest in the use of Protestant hymnody reflects a telling symptom of not only ignorance regarding our Catholic musical and historical background, but also a misunderstanding of the basic premise of Catholic evangelization.

Protestant hymns confuse and often-times antagonize our Catholic faithful. Truly their use contributes in large measure to the phenomenon that our people, especially young people, are not only unaware of their Catholic roots and identity, but see no compelling reason for being so. Singability? At what price!

It is important to make clear that music presented by means of mechanical reproduction, such as that on tapes, records, or through manipulation of the synthesizer and its derivatives, is not appropriate for use in our churches and ought not to be admitted. For our Catholic liturgies are living and immediate prayer to the living God; for any aspect of them to lack genuineness and authenticity is a mockery of God the Creator, as well as of His creatures and of their sacred rites. This principle is especially urgent due to the Lord's inestimable Gift to us in our churches; His Real Presence in the Eucharist.

Article 120 of *Sacred Music* states that although instruments other than the pipe organ "may be admitted for use in divine worship," this may be "only on condition that the instruments are *suitable for sacred use*." The increasing use of piano music is another and serious divergence from our Catholic tradition. As the child is father to the man, the particular style of a piece of music is largely determined by the instrument upon which it is performed. And since the pipe organ, after its introduction over a thousand years ago has without exception been considered the church instrument *par excellence*, it goes without saying that it is appropriate for sacred use.

The piano, however, has been an exclusively secular instrument from its completion in the late eighteenth century. Its initial function was that of a recital instrument; the son of Bach, Johann Christian, gave the first public piano recital in 1768. Because of its relative portability compared to the organ, it immediately enjoyed popularity not only in the concert halls but also in private homes, which is its most common focus to this day. The piano also enjoys the dubious distinction, for well over the last one hundred years, of presiding over entertainment proffered in public houses such as pubs, bars, saloons and cocktail lounges.

The use of the piano in our churches, with its heavy associations of entertainment — from the most refined, to the most common, to the most bawdy — reflects not only bad taste but, also, a most irreligious blurring of moral distinctions. It overwhelmingly detracts from the sacred character of our churches and liturgies; and it does a disservice to the faithful, who, again, are given a stone when they *hunger for bread*.

Now, twenty-five years after those heady days during and following Vatican II, the musical dust has settled in our parishes, convents, seminaries and other places of worship. The time is past due for a prayerful and honest re-assessment of the music dominating our churches and chapels.

Much of that music — in style, textual content, instrumentation and by association — is not proper to Roman Catholic worship and conducive to the sense of the sacred. Due in large part to this music, large numbers of our Catholic people (those who have not yet left) have been lulled into a soporific non-accountability before God and His Church.

“By their fruits you shall know them. . . ” Are our people more disposed to personal, individual prayer following their communal prayer, or to less? Are they persuaded through their music to a greater acknowledgment of personal accountability? Are our people persuaded to a greater contrition? To a greater sense of that *sine qua non*, unworthiness before God?

As a result of the passing of the Marian Year, are our people more musically enriched in regard to hymns and texts reflective of Mary and her eminent place in the Church? Or do we still notice the absence of specifically Catholic themes,

such as those regarding Mary, the angels, the saints, the Sacred Heart: those devotions which, rather than diminishing our focus on the Mass, heighten and encourage it?

Does much of our music reflect a spiritual maturity and depth? Does it show a *musical* depth, or does it fall into the “Peter, Paul and Mary” style so prominent over the airwaves in the 1960’s and 1970’s? Does this superficiality produce in our people a concomitant superficiality? A warm, fuzzy benignness and tolerance? Do we sometimes sense a vague, congregational narcissism?

Paramount to our re-assessment is the question that will not be stilled: What has happened to our tradition, both musical and textual? Where is the Gregorian chant, that universal song of the Universal Church? Where is our Latin, guaranteed by the Council Fathers in the documents of Vatican II?

Our musical patrimony is an unparalleled and glorious one.

If the Church of Rome had done no more than preserve a part of the treasures of ancient culture, a part of musical antiquity, this would be a great honor. . . . But Roman Catholicism has in fact created a great part of that musical inheritance of the human race, and in sacred music brought into existence the greatest treasury which exists today for singing the praise of God.⁴⁴

The fact is that most, usually all, of what is used today in missalettes, hymnbooks or sheet music is a great departure from our Catholic musical inheritance and, it follows, from our Catholic identity as well.

Christian hymnody derived from the singing of psalms in the Jewish synagogues. After the legalization of Christianity by Constantine in 313, it began a systematic development, flourishing earliest in Syria. The Byzantine Church adopted the practice and, in an unbroken continuity, hymns have occupied a prominent place in its liturgy.

In the West, the first book of hymn texts was composed by St. Hilary of Poitiers in 360 A.D. Soon after, St. Ambrose instituted congregational singing of hymns.

In poetic form, these early hymns derived from Christian Latin poetry of the period; combined with early plainsong (chant) one syllable of text to each musical note was usual.

However, by the late Middle Ages trained choirs supplanted the congregation in the singing of these hymns with the rise of polyphony, acknowledged to be the jewel in the crown of sacred music.

The Counter-Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century stimulated the writing, again, of many fine Catholic hymns. A further revival of interest in the late nineteenth century eventually led to the English language Westminster Hymnal of 1940.

As at several times through our long history, we now again need faith-expressing tests set to strong, well-structured and truly musical melodies for use by our congregations. At the same time we need other compositions, both in Latin and in the vernacular, intended for choirs in their proper and essential role in the liturgy.

The repetition of Catholic teachings in our worship is essential to their acceptance and perseverance in Catholic life. When sacred texts are set to fine, appropriate music, they then penetrate the soul and nourish the holiness that all people are called upon to develop. Our Catholic people are starving for this means of holiness which it is their right to have.

The Second Vatican Council called upon composers to produce just this. Little by little such efforts will be forthcoming. We should be alert to find them and support their endeavors, always bearing in mind the charge to "bring out of your storeroom the old and the new."

Equally important, we should seek and employ in our parishes and schools those musicians not only conversant with but also gladly submissive to the principles enunciated in the Sacred Constitution on the Liturgy. With the proper tools and support, the Director of Music can be a means of holiness,

... having regard for the purpose of sacred music, which is the glory of God and the sanctification of the faithful.⁴⁵

Endnotes

1. David Ewen, *All the Years of American Popular Music* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977), p. 642.

2. As described by Monsignor Johannes Overath in the preface to the Congress proceedings: "On November 22, 1963, with the chirograph

Nobile subsidium liturgiae, Pope Paul VI established the Consociato Internationalis Musicae Sacrae. One of the tasks entrusted to the newly organized society was that of arranging for international meetings of church musicians, continuing the series of congresses begun in Rome in the Holy Year, 1950, with subsequent assemblies in Vienna in 1954, Paris in 1957, and Cologne in 1961. The Holy Father named the first officers of CIMS in 1964 (Monsignor Johannes Overath of Cologne was appointed President — M.O.H.)

In 1965, many conferences and discussions took place between the officers of CIMS and leading church musicians of the United States, especially Rt. Rev. Coadjutor Archabbot Rembert G. Weakland, OSB, president of the newly organized Church Music Association of America and his colleagues in that society.

The 1966 Fifth International Church Music Congress opened with Catholic musicologists from the universities of Europe, America and the Orient present, along with many well-known Catholic composers and performers. As members of CIMS, they demonstrated a vital interest in sacred music and a sincere concern for preserving its precious heritage and solving its new problems. Several non-Catholic musicologists and artists also cooperated in the work.

3. Johannes Overath, ed. *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform After Vatican II*. Proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress, Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21-28, 1966 (Rome, Italy: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae (CIMS) 1969 (Printed by North Central Publishing Company, Saint Paul, Minnesota) p. 246.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

5. World Library of Sacred Music, *People's Mass Book*, Edition B (Cincinnati, Ohio: World Library Publications, Inc., 1971) p. 322.

6. Walter M. Abbott, SJ, Gen. Ed., *The Documents of Vatican II* (The America Press/Association Press, 1966) Articles 121 and 120, p. 173.

7. Overath, *Ibid.*, p. 187. Resolution submitted by Rt. Rev. Guilherme Schubert (Representative of Jaime Cardinal Barros de Camara, Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro).

8. North American Liturgy Resources, *Glory and Praise* (Phoenix, Arizona: 1977) p. 55 by (former Rev.) Carey Landry.

9. Verse 1 Peace is flowing like a river,
 flowing out of you and me.
 Flowing out into the desert,
 setting all the captives free.

Verse 2. His love is flowing like a river, etc. *ibid.*

Verse 3. His healing's flowing like a river, etc. *ibid.*

Verse 4. Alleluia, etc.

Verse 5. His peace is flowing like a river, etc.

10. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, p. 7, by Gary Ault.
11. John 1:1.
12. Dated December 4, 1988 and released on Pentecost Sunday, May 13, 1989. (Under "The Practical Applications of Reform; C. Erroneous applications").
13. Oregon Catholic Press, *Today's Missal* (Portland, Oregon, 1990) *Music Issue* 1990) by Bob Hurd, n. 442.
14. See Canon 217: The Christian faithful, since they are called by baptism to lead a life in conformity with the teaching of the gospel, have the *right to a Christian education* by which they will be properly instructed so as to develop the maturity of a human person and at the same time come to know and live the mystery of salvation. (tr. by Canon Law Society of America: *Code of Canon Law*: Washington, D.C., 1983, p. 73).
15. "Peace is Flowing like a River", "All that We Have", "Come Unto Me", "Happy the Man."
16. Abbott, SJ., *Ibid.*, p. 173, art. 121.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 173, n. 60.
18. Oregon Catholic Press, *Ibid.*, by Marty Haugen, n. 320.
19. Christopher Derrick, "Brave New Church" *Fidelity*, Vol. 8, N. 8, July 1989 (Address given on May 8, 1989.)
20. Oregon Catholic Press, *Ibid.*, by Bernadette Farrell. Published in England by St. Thomas More Centre, London. The text was "based on Luke 12:2-3."
21. Paul Crane, SJ., "The Mass: Old and New: 4", *Christian Order*, Vol. 31, n. 1; January 1990. p. 25.
22. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1958 Second Edition, Springfield, Mass., G & C. Merriam Co., p. 141 under "cheap."
23. Encyclopedia Britannica; Macropaedia, Fifteen edition, 1976. "Music, Art of," G.E., pg. 663.
24. North American Liturgy Resources, Glory & Praise — Songs for Christian Assembly — (Phoenix, Arizona: 1977), etc.
25. *Ibid.*, Volume 1, p. 54; by (former Rev.) Carey Landry.
26. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, p. 47; by John Foley, SJ.
27. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, p. 46; by Michael Joncas.
28. Hyperion, 1839.
29. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Chapter seven, Article 122. Quoted in Karol Wojtyla, *Sources of Renewal: The Implementation of Vatican II*. (New York, New York) Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., Translation by Harry J. Costello and Austin Flannery, O.P., p. 243.
30. Abbott, *Ibid.*, p. 171, par. 1.

31. Abbott, *Ibid.*, p. 171, par. 3.

32. Abbott, *Ibid.*, p. 171, par. 3.

33. Albert William Levi, *Varieties of Experience* (New York, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1957) p. 377.

34. Abbott, *Ibid.*, p. 171, art. 114.

35. For a review of the liturgical “reform” — both from the point of view of the facts and from the viewpoint of canon law — see the indispensable testimony as mentioned in the proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress (*Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform, ibid.*) See especially the Introduction by Monsignor Overath, pp. 5-27. Of interest, also, is Appendix II (Statement on the Criticisms of the Fifth International Church Music Congress in the American Press), pp. 284-288, including the following:

Those who organized the Congress are grateful to those reviewers who by their presence were in a position to give their immediate impressions of what they saw and heard. The fact is, however, that some who were not present in Chicago, for example, Rev. C.J. McNaspy, SJ, Robert J. Snow and Rev. Robert Brom, among others, also published accounts of the Congress. A number of such reports appeared in the American press in which inaccuracies of reporting were coupled with a prejudice against the Congress. In each case falsifications were necessary to substantiate the preconceived view point with which the author began. One can detect from the ideas that recur and from the phrases used a common source for most of these adverse criticisms. . .

It was hardly a warm welcome that the foreign visitors received in the Jesuit journal, *America*, for August 13, 1966, when Rev. C.J. McNaspy, SJ, referred to the congress which was meeting with the approbation of the Holy See in these words: ‘A cabalistic air surrounds the whispers of secret attitudes in liturgical-music thinking. One hears about the planned exclusion. . . and the invitation of a closed circle to a ‘super-secret’ session.’

The most amazing thing is that Fr. McNaspy was not present for any part of the Congress, and yet he presumed to report on it in a nationwide journal. . .

Archabbot Weakland pointed out that the American delegates were distressed and shocked at the narrow, restrictive tone of everything being pushed. . . Perhaps the most dismal and self-defeating note of the whole proceedings, however, was what the archabbot called its negative and restrictive character. (*America*, September 24, 1966).

But even before that the attitude of the archabbot was to be regretted, since he arrived in Chicago for the study sessions

only on the last day, even though he was the president of the Church Music Association of America. Despite his absence from most of the meetings, he still voiced open criticism of the themes, procedures and even the intentions of the speakers. . . The subject matter was approved by the Holy See, and several letters from the Vatican Secretariate of State provided direction during the preparations for the meetings. . . Perhaps if the critics had been present they would have grasped the content of the studies and the methods of the procedure." Etc. (Overath, *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 285).

36. Abbott, *Ibid.*, pp. 171-173.

37. Abbott, *Ibid.*, p. 156.

38. Overath, *Ibid.*, p. 151. (Study paper by Joseph Lennards, Roermond, Netherlands: Possibilities and Limitations of Congregational Singing.)

39. Overath, *Ibid.*, pp. 11-24. "An extreme solution to the question of the use of vernacular, which in the days since the Council has to be the rule in many places, . . . contradicts the will of the Council. Such a practice which we now see would have been unacceptable to the majority of the Fathers of the Council."

40. Abbott, *Ibid.*, Art. 23, p. 146 ff.

41. Abbott, *Ibid.*, p. 150.

42. *Worship II*, A Hymnal for Roman Catholic Parishes. (Chicago, Illinois: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1975), Preface, par. 2.

43. Father James Walsh, SJ, *Forty Martyrs of England and Wales*, London, England: Catholic Truth Society, p. 12.

44. Overath, *Ibid.*, p. 255. Letter from Rector of Pontifical College of Sacred Music in Rome, Mons. Higinio Angles.

45. Abbott, *Ibid.*, Chapter 6, Art. 112.

Wanted: Reverence in Worship

Robert A. Skeris

By way of preparing the faithful for the worthy celebration, in the year 2000, of the bimillennium of Christ's birth and the commencement of the third millenium of the Christian era, the Supreme Pontiff John Paul II proclaimed a Marian Year, which lasted from Pentecost Sunday 1987 until the feast of the Assumption 1988. Because of the Holy Father's desire to honour the Mother of God according to the rite of the Eastern Churches, not a few celebrations of the Divine Mysteries were held at Rome. These included, in addition to several complete Eastern Rite liturgies, a number of celebrations in the Roman rite enriched by peculiar eucological and ritual elements proper to the Christian East.

These celebrations provide a concrete and appropriate point of departure for the following reflections on the topic of reverence in worship. For the Oriental Churches, the Divine Liturgy is the very heartbeat of their religion, indeed it is religion **in actu**. This is one important reason why they regard the liturgy as an organism, an organic whole, a symphony and not a mere amalgamation of disparate and hence arbitrarily interchangeable elements.¹ Thus it is understandable that even the different kinds of musical forms used are all integrated into the totality of the celebration. As an integral part of the liturgy, the music can never be considered adequately without knowledge of the basic elements of Oriental religious thinking and of the Divine Liturgy itself.² Characteristic here is the close relationship of verbal and melodic or rhythmic accent which obtains regardless of the musical or textual forms being used.

1.

In view of the richness and diversity of the Oriental liturgies, it might be asked whether our own Western rite can perhaps profit in some way from the musico-liturgical patrimony of the sister churches. Any reply, even a tentative one, must distinguish between possible musical influences, and liturgico-theological inspiration.

The limits placed upon any potential direct borrowing of chants or melodies from the Oriental liturgies are very narrow indeed, chiefly because authentic cultural and ethnic barriers cannot be passed over lightly.³ Here, it would seem that for the Roman rite, Gregorian chant might perhaps be more suited “to strengthen and express the consciousness of all-embracing unity in the liturgy as the very heart of the Church’s life,” because without such a sense of unity, mere unrelated juxtaposition might be the result.⁴ The era of fruitful large-scale Eastern influence upon the development of Western music seems to have passed.⁵

The situation changes dramatically, however, when we consider the liturgico-theological inspiration which the Latin church can derive from the Oriental liturgies. Careful examination of the celebrations held by the Holy Father at Rome during the Marian Year 1987/1988 reveals

a profound respect for the liturgical texts
 based upon a deep faith in Revelation
 which perceives the divine order of the cosmos realized in
 the Divine Liturgy and hence also in its music.

Let us consider some concrete examples.

During the Liturgy of the Catechumens in the Ukrainian Byzantine Rite, at the Prayer of the Antiphon during the Little Entrance, the Church prays Psalm 94, which recalls our own nothingness before God’s majesty and the fact that we depend upon Him entirely. And in praying the Divine Liturgy, the participants *live* this truth.

For the Lord is a great God,
 and a great King above all gods. . . .
 O come, let us worship and bow down :
 let us kneel before the Lord our maker,
 For he is our God;

Oriental liturgical celebrations in general are pervaded by a great reverence before the *Majestas Dei*, by a clear consciousness of His absolute dominion, and by the acknowledgment that we receive everything from Him. This fundamental orientation is also evident in the musical vesture of the Eastern liturgies, as a few examples will show.

a) After the Rite of Peace with which the Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles commenced on 2 February 1988 in St. Peter's Basilica during the Divine Liturgy in the Syro-Maronite Rite, the Patriarch of Antioch of the Maronites, H. B. Mar Nasrallah Pierre Sfeir prayed as follows by way of introducing the Preface dialogue :

We adore Thee, O King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and we beseech Thee to look upon us in mercy, and to render us worthy of approaching Thy sacred altar with a pure heart and a holy mind, to glorify Thee and give Thee thanks, now and forever.

b) During the Divine Liturgy in the Armenian Rite celebrated on 21 November 1987 in the Basilica of S. Mary in Trastevere, at the Kiss of Peace the choir sang this text introducing the Preface :

Christ hath been manifested amongst us : God, Which is, hath seated Himself here : the peace hath been proclaimed, this holy greeting hath been enjoined : the church hath become one soul, the kiss hath been given to be a bond of perfectness : enmity hath been removed and love been spread abroad. Now, o ye ministers, raise your voice and bless with one accord the united Godhead unto whom seraphim sing the hallowing song.⁶

c) The classic expression of this attitude, and the clearest statement of its implications for the concrete celebration of a truly divine Liturgy in East and West, is the famous *Cheroubikós hymnos* which is sung at the Great Entrance, before the offertory rite. At the Divine Liturgy in the Ukrainian Byzantine Rite celebrated on 10 July 1988 in the Vatican Basilica to mark the Millenium of the Baptism of the Kievan Rus', the mixed choir sang the canonic "Stréléckaya" melody in a harmonised version characterised by successive appearances of the **cantus firmus** in various voices, as is typical for liturgical compositions of the so-called Moscow school.⁷

Let us, who mystically represent the Cherubim (**hoi ta Cheroubim mystikós eikonizontes**) and sing the thrice holy hymn to the quickening Trinity, lay by at this time all earthly cares (**pasan tén biotikén apothómetha merimnan**); that we may receive the King of Glory, invisibly attended by the angelic choirs. Alleluia.⁸

With these most expressive and significant words the Eastern liturgy makes an important theological statement about the liturgical choir and its musical ministry : in the celebration of the earthly liturgy, each singer mystically *represents one of the Cherubim*. Taken at its obvious meaning, the text stresses that the singer (or the choir) represents the song of the angels in the heavenly liturgy, and not merely that the choir makes a contribution to the “worthy elaboration” of the celebration. According to the traditional description of the angelic hierarchy, the Cherubim hold a particularly prominent place, very near to the throne of God Himself. The very name suggests the ability to receive the highest illuminations, and to reflect directly and immediately the power of the primal divine Beauty.⁹ Reflection upon the position and function of the Cherubim in comparison with the role of the choir in the Eastern liturgies, which breathe such a spirit of profound reverence for God’s presence, reveals the high place allotted the choir in the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Is it really inconceivable that Western Christians might be able to take a lesson from the Eastern Liturgy in this regard? Of the previous Roman Rite Prefaces, only those for Pentecost and the Trinity spoke of the **epinikios hymnos** as being chanted by the heavenly choirs alone, without mentioning the community of the earthly liturgy, thus making the choir the representative of the angels in the Western Liturgy as well. In all the other Prefaces we find instead the words “We pray you that our voices, too, may be joined with theirs,” In the new Roman Missal, the Prefaces for the more important feasts of the liturgical year still speak of the choir of angels singing the **Sanctus**.¹⁰ Indeed, the second preface **De Spiritu Sancto** concludes with these words :

per Christum Dominum nostrum. Quem caeli et terra,
quem Angeli et Archangeli confitentur et proclamant,
incessabili voce dicentes. . . .

Scientific investigation has made it clear that the ancient expression **una voce** (**hós ex henos stomatos, en phóné mia** and equivalents) does not refer to performance practise.¹¹ The theological view of the liturgical choir as representing the singing angels has served to inspire both Gregorian chants and polyphonic music of the highest value.

What more noble mandate could a gifted composer have, than to depict for us through the artistic resources of music the heavenly hymn of God's glory which was vouchsafed to us in the vision of Isaias the prophet!¹²

An important and instructive corollary to this sense of deep reverence is the objective and hence basically unchanging nature of the Divine Liturgy in the Oriental rites, which in general celebrate the Eucharistic liturgy with very little variation throughout the course of the church year, except of course for the lections. The Roman Rite, on the other hand, takes note of special feasts and events by inserting into the Canon of the Mass a proper **Communicantes**, for example, or by prescribing a proper Preface. Such practises are much more seldom in the Churches of the East, which are so keenly aware of the *theocentric* nature of the Divine Liturgy.

Is this not perhaps another area in which the Western Church can once again learn from the sister Churches of the East? Even in the Church, many persons today are strongly affected by the *anthropocentrism* of the modern world, which replaces the divine Idea governing the world by the idea of man governing himself, in complete autonomy. The problem here is of course metaphysical and not religious. Every finite being is by definition dependent, and not autonomous or independent. Its existence is proper to itself, and in no way liable to confusion with the existence of the Creator Who indeed bestows existence upon the creature. Similarly, the action of a finite being is proper to itself and hence cannot be confused with the action of God Who bestows upon the creature the very ability to act.

Nonetheless, today it is often said that the Mass formulary is "created on the spot." The Missal no longer prescribes definitive texts for the *Proprium Missae*, for example, and apart from Missal and Lectionary there is no binding order of the

texts, which must be chosen by those responsible for the particular service, on the basis of their ability to permit the particular concrete assembly to express its faith in this place, in this age, in this culture.¹³ Thus “the entrance song of the Mass on Christmas Day is no longer ‘Puer natus est nobis.’ Regardless of how meaningful it might be, this song is just one possibility among many.”¹⁴

Reflection upon such statements in the spirit and attitude of the Oriental liturgies discussed here, leads to the conclusion that it is a grievous mistake to suppose that the liturgy must needs express the sentiments of the faithful, and that it is “produced” by them. In fact, the liturgy must express the reality of the *mysterium*, for it is an *actio praeclenter sacra*, an action of Christ (*Sacros. Conc.* 7). Implicit here is the transition from liturgy to poetry. A perceptive observer has correctly pointed out that in general, Pseudo-Denis the Areopagite describes the angels as hymnic choirs. Instead of words meaning “to speak” or “to say,” the author most often uses the word *hymnein*, which is very difficult to translate, since it denotes an ecstatic state of being deeply moved, and of overflowing in exultation. This is surely one of the wellsprings of liturgical song.¹⁵

It is not the purpose of the liturgy to “express the sentiments of contemporary man,” but to express the supratemporal sense of the Church, which as the very word indicates, also includes contemporary sentiments without being limited to them. This is not an historical but a suprahistorical sense which embraces all Christian generations. Thus the Supreme Pontiff Pope John Paul II reminded the bishops of the United States at Chicago in 1979 that it is always necessary to

recall that the validity of all liturgical development and the effectiveness of every liturgical sign presupposes the great principle that the Catholic liturgy is theocentric, and that it is above all ‘the worship of divine majesty’ (see SC art. 33) in union with Jesus Christ. Our people have a supernatural sense whereby they look for reverence in all liturgy, especially in what touches the mystery of the Eucharist. With deep faith our people understand that the Eucharist — in the Mass and outside the Mass — is the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and therefore deserves the worship that is given to the living God and to Him alone.¹⁶

2.

H. E. Agostino Cardinal Casaroli recently recalled attention to the fact that the music of the Oriental liturgies forms a grand patrimony of spiritual and artistic treasures.

The study of artistic creations always reveals an organic development. Decisive here is the spirit of the works, and not their style. Those who perceive the divine order of the cosmos realised in music, understand it as an imitation of God's own creative thought and hence as a religious action which therefore incites to worship. The realisation in faith that the **doxa theou**, the glory of the Lord is rendered present in the liturgy of the "Opus Dei inter nos," has enriched the great musical tradition of the Oriental churches as well as the West with works of unsurpassed value, which through their beauty wish to guide the participants in the liturgy to an encounter with God and with His glory. This is not a matter of merely aesthetic sentiments, but of experiencing the nearness of God.

It is the piety of a world transfigured by faith which seeks expression in the musical forms with which the Church clothes the sacred action. There is no room here for banality and triviality : the place where the liturgy is celebrated is sacred and demands reverence because here, there is made present the saving work of Christ which unites the earthly liturgy with that of Heaven.¹⁷

It is Christ the Lord, the *primus cantor Novae Legis* who also through the mediation of the choir and its song, continues to announce to the world the truth about God and man. This truth includes the fact that the God-Man, Who is an *ontological* individual, becomes a *social* individual in the Church.

She is, according to the famous teaching of St. Paul, Christ's Mystical Body, wherefore dependence upon Christ the Head is reflected in dependence upon the Church. This is the principle of *authority* which rules the entire theological organism. The principle was damaged by the Lutheran revolution which in matters of religion substituted private judgement for the rule of authority. The correlative of authority is obedience, and one can say that the first principle of Catholicism is *authority* or (which is the same thing) that it is obedi-

ence, as we recall from the celebrated Pauline texts which say that the God-Man was become obedient, obedient even unto death, that is, obedient with the totality of His life. And this not chiefly (as one can say) to save men, but in order that the creature submit to the Creator and offer Him the complete and absolute homage which is the proper end and purpose of Creation. Hence the Church of Christ always draws persons to “corelate” themselves in virtue of obedience and of self-denial, and to amalgamate themselves with the social body which is the Mystical Body of Christ, removing the isolation of the individual and his deeds, and abolishing all dependence which is not subordinate to dependence upon God.

3.

Thus far, most readers surely agree in principle with the facts and interpretations presented. But they also surely agree on another point: namely, that in all too many places this grand and necessary principle of reverence in worship is, sadly, more honoured in the breach than in the observance. What to do? Resign oneself? Make peace with the Mammon of Iniquity? Move away into interior emigration? Or is it better to fight on, that the Good and the True may once again prevail? And if so, how? How to proceed concretely in the face of such an apparently superior adversary? The legitimate liturgist may be permitted to suggest a possible answer by posing a question: does the Christian apostolate, indeed does Christian life itself have anything to do with warfare?

Let us begin our consideration of this *practical* question from the theological sources : from the Sacred Scriptures. Saint Paul and many saints after him — indeed, the tradition of all the Churches — is convinced that there is in fact a connection. Thus it may be helpful to reflect upon that puzzling verse from St. Matthew’s Gospel (11/12). “And from the days of John the Baptist until now the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.” According to the commentary in the edition published by the Italian Episcopal Conference, this “force” or “violence” can be “the enthusiasm of the good or the opposition of the wicked.” In any case, the point of reference seems to be a battle.

—This point of reference becomes very clear in St. Paul, who surely had a “warlike” temperament. In his Second Letter to the Corinthians (10/3-6) he does not hesitate to use military vocabulary:

For though we walk in the flesh we do not war after the flesh, for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of, God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ, . . .

—To Timothy, “my own son in the faith,” St. Paul imparts a few genuine strategic directives, “that thou by them mightest war a good warfare” (1 Tim 1/18). The Apostle goes on to say “Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier” (2 Tim 2/3-4). In other words, the explicit example presented to the new bishop Timothy is that of a soldier, and his apostolate is looked upon as a military campaign.

The points of contact between a soldier’s life and the life of a Christian are to be found repeatedly stressed in the writings of the Church Fathers and spiritual writers right up to our own day, so much so in fact that the life of a believer is defined as military service in the very best sense of the word.

It is not mere accident that the lives of the saints are so rich in examples of the passage from a military career to the religious life. And it is especially noteworthy that those who take this step do not deny their past, and do not regard as somehow “sinful” their old state in life as a combatant with weapons.

Actually, it is only right that this be so, when we recall the reply of John the Baptist to the soldiers who asked him “And what shall we do?” (Lk 3/14). He did not give them a pacifist harangue, order them to demonstrate in favour of arms control agreements, or tell them to throw away their weapons. No, the Baptist gave them a brief rule of military life : “And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely;

and be content with your wages.” And of course we cannot forget the captain of Capharnaum who asked the Saviour to heal his servant, saying “For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me : and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it” (Mt 8/9 ff). Hearing this, Jesus did not reject the type of hierarchical relationship which is so typical of the soldier’s disciplined life. On the contrary, “When Jesus heard it, he marvelled, and said to them that followed, Verily, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.”

And so it seems clear that Holy Writ and its authentic interpreters, namely the saints, justified a clear and direct connexion between the “militia” in the army and the “militia” in the Church Militant. Ignatius of Loyola is one of the outstanding but by no means solitary examples : it is not by chance that he uses a technical term from the military vocabulary to refer to the training which his “volunteers” will have to complete before they can gather under the “banner” of his “companies and platoons.”

The reference is, of course, to the Ignatian “Spiritual Exercises.” Here, everything is naturally understood in a spiritual sense, just as for St. Paul the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, i.e. not purely human and natural. But the structure, the patterns of behaviour, the organisation and indeed the attitude remain the same. Plainly, in spite of the analogies in both activities, the goals are completely different: military strategy is aimed at the destruction of those whom we call the foe, while the goal of pastoral strategy is the salvation of those we regard as our brethren. The similarity is limited to ways and means, the goals remain quite contrary.

And as far as ways and means are concerned, St. Ignatius and St. Camillus and even St. Paul would have read attentively, studied carefully and perhaps even tried to imitate the principles enunciated in the classic work “On Warfare” by Carl von Clausewitz. This author, a Prussian general trained in the Napoleonic wars and later director of the famous War College in Berlin, wrote, during the Thirties of the 19th century, a handbook which inspired not only his colleagues but also the

apostles of that new world religion which we know as Marxism. Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung and the other leaders of that faith used Clausewitz often, and recommended that their party functionaries study this book thoroughly. Nowadays, it is being studied in Japanese and American training centres for top level business executives. It therefore seems possible that even contemporary Catholics might study the volume with profit, so that it does not come to pass yet another time that the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light (Lk 16/8).

Clausewitz teaches that reflection and experience can clarify the fundamental “strategic laws” which, if they be ignored or transgressed by those who bear military, political, economic and perhaps even religious authority, necessarily lead to catastrophe. Let us try to examine briefly the most important of these “laws,” keeping constantly in mind that unique type of “army” to which (according to her authentic tradition) the Church can rightly be compared.

According to the famous theoretician, the *first rule* to be observed always and everywhere, is that the supreme commander must always be alone — one and *only* one source of authority (i.e. of general decisions and responsibility for them) must be maintained at all costs. *Secondly*, the strategic plan must be absolutely clear in regard to the goals to be achieved : in fact, it is best if there is only one goal to be achieved, and if all efforts and activities can be concentrated upon achieving this one goal. Once the goal has been stated clearly, all available forces must be directed with the greatest possible energy, without delay or distraction, to the complete achievement of that goal. “The direction of attack must be an arrow pointed toward the goal, and not a soap bubble which spreads out in all directions simultaneously.” In determining this primary goal, the general must be conscious of the necessity to strike at the “centre of the enemy position,” e.g. his capital or the most economically important area whose conquest will bring about the collapse of all enemy forces. In this striving for the essential, all of the orders issued by the supreme commander must be few, simple, brief, clear and limited to the essentials. They may not be encumbered with secondary matters which are the concern of subaltern officers,

i.e. the tactics. The strategist may never lose his comprehensive view of the total situation.

Clausewitz stresses that every commander must know that “all military operations have been won by those generals who drove the activities of their armies to the highest degree of effort.” It is only generals of this type who make the individual soldier conscious of the full extent of his powers. The more a commander normally demands from his troops, the more he can be certain of receiving from them. Commanders who demand little, will receive little. But in order to achieve the victory, other elements are also necessary: bravery, courage and moral strength. Nonetheless, the learned author adds that “One must always remember that in any war, the most important thing is obedience.” An entire army, he says, might be composed of great individual heroes, but without complete and willing obedience, even a series of individual heroic acts will still result in general defeat.

Now, if we look at the history of the Church from this perspective, it is very interesting to note that practically all the founders of the great religious orders, as though following a “strategic” instinct, knew how to profit from the ideas just mentioned. It is no coincidence that they considered themselves and indeed called themselves and their successors “generals,” and they referred to the houses in which their supreme headquarters were located, as “generalates.” On the whole, the Church followed the same paths and observed the same rules whenever it was a matter of reacting to a crisis which posed a threat to her own survival : for example in the great reform of the Council of Trent, which with the greatest energy faced the mortal danger of the Protestant arson, or in the rebuilding of the Church after the Napoleonic storms, or in the conflicts of the 19th/20th centuries, first with the various forms of liberalism, then of socialism, and finally with Fascist and Bolshevist totalitarianisms. The strengthening of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Hierarchy in general, the stiffening of doctrine and the promotion of discipline and absolute obedience, the appeal directed to each supporter of the Church according to the depth of his religious commitment—all these “defensive” measures, which were applied with a view to a new “offensive,” correspond to the prescriptions of that strategy whose undisputed master was named Carl von Clausewitz.

If we admit that the apostolate is in fact a “good fight,” which is worth the effort, then it is perhaps time for us to ask ourselves about the present state of the Church, and of our knowledge of the “laws” of pastoral strategy, of whose non-observance the famous Prussian general said “The result can only be the futility of all effort, the dispersal of all energy, and ultimately — defeat.”

But our faith assures us that ultimate defeat is impossible for us. An unequivocal sign of this victorious *faith* is the *reverence* with which we perform our public acts of cultic worship in the Divine Liturgy. Firm faith and reverential worship are, as John Henry Newman very accurately pointed out, naturally correlative terms.

Indeed so natural is the connexion between a reverential spirit in worshipping God, and faith in God, that the wonder only is how anyone can for a moment imagine he has faith in God, and yet allow himself to be irreverent towards Him. To believe in God, is to believe the being and presence of One Who is All-holy, and All-powerful, and All-gracious; how can a man really believe this of Him, and yet make free with Him? It is almost a contradiction in terms. Hence even heathen religions have ever considered faith and reverence identical. To believe, and not to revere, to worship familiarly, and at one's ease, is an anomaly and a prodigy unknown even to false religions, to say nothing of the true one. Not only the Jewish and Christian religions, which are directly from God, inculcate the spirit of “reverence and godly fear,” but those other religions which have existed, or exist, whether in the East or in the South, inculcate the same. Worship, forms of worship — such as bowing the knee, taking off the shoes, keeping silence, a prescribed dress, and the like — are considered as necessary for a due approach to God. The whole world, differing about so many things, differing in creed and rule of life, yet agree in this that God being our Creator, a certain self-abasement of the whole man is the duty of the creature; that He is in Heaven, we upon earth; that He is All-glorious, and we worms of the earth and insects of a day.¹⁸

Endnotes

1. C. ANDRONIKOFF, *L'art pour la liturgie : La Maison Dieu* 169 (1987) 49/60, here 50.

2. Hch. HUSMANN, *Die ostkirchlichen Liturgien und ihre Kultmusik* : K. G. FELLERER (ed.), *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik I* (Kassel 1972) 57/68; K. LEVY, *Byzantine rite, music of the* : *New Grove* 3 (London 1980) 553/66.

3. R. SKERIS, *Zum Problem der geistlichen Liedkontrafaktur. Überlegungen aus theologisch-hymnologischer Sicht* : *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 67 (1983) 25/33, here 31.

4. The observation has been made from an ethnomusicologist's point of view by J. KUCKERTZ, *Fragen zur Übertragung einheimischer Musik in den Gottesdienst* : J. OVERATH (ed.), *Musica Indigena. Symposium Musico-Ethnologicum Romae 1975* (Roma 1976) 26/35, here 35. Note also the apposite remarks of P. JEFFERY, *Il canto in Oriente e in Occidente. Verso un rinnovamento della tradizione* : *Concilium* 25 (1989) 216/29, here 224/9. On the relationship between the Church and musical culture in general, see now J. OVERATH, *Kirche und Musikkultur* : H. SCHAMBECK (ed.), *Pro Fide et Justitia = FS Casaroli* (Berlin 1984) 701/20.

5. Some of the results achieved in the past have been examined by E. WELLESZ, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant = MMS 2.2/1* (Oxford 1947). For more recent literature, see the excellent study of Ch. M. ATKINSON, *The Doxa, the Pisteuo, and the ellinici fratres : Some Anomalies in the Transmission of the Chants of the "Missa Greca"* : *Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989) 81/106, above all note 1.

6. F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western I* (Oxford 1896) 434 11. 10/17.

7. In contrast to the free melodies of unaccompanied modal chants typical of the earliest Christian music in East and West, the tunes of subsequent harmonised choral chants, hymns and responses often appear to our musical consciousness as the mere external delineation of an harmonic movement, stressing what this movement by itself signifies, in order to express the inner motion through an external form. This is quite true, for example, of the German Protestant congregational hymn settings, which are the musical expression of the religious sentiment of a new age, as is correctly pointed out by E. ANSERMET (tr. H. LEUCHTMANN), *Die Grundlagen der Musik im menschlichen Bewußtsein = Serie Piper 388* (München 1985³) 242, 696.

8. J. M. NEALE, *Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church I* (London 1850) 430.

9. Pseudo-Denis the Areopagite, *Peri tés Ouranias Hierarchias 7 = MPG 4/205 C.*

10. non cessant clamare quotidie...., hymnum gloriae tuae concinunt... on the Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday and throughout Paschaltide.

11. See the summary in R. SKERIS, **Chróma theou** = Musicae Sacrae Meletemata 1 (Altötting 1976) 122, 176/7.

12. J. OVERATH, The Meaning of Musica Sacra and its Nobility. Reflections upon the Theology of Church Music : R. SKERIS (ed.), *Crux et Cithara* = Musicae sacrae meletemata 2 (Altötting 1983) 73/84, here 74.

13. Thus W. J. SCHMITZ, *Queries* : Pastoral Life 32 (June 1983) 47.

14. J. SEUFFERT, Die Grundkonzeption des EGB : P. NORDHUES—A. WAGNER (edd.), *Redaktionsbericht zum Einheitsgesangbuch "Gotteslob"* (Paderborn 1988) 26/35, here 30.

15. H. BALL, *Byzantinisches Christentum* (Einsiedeln 1958²) 204.

16. AAS 71 (1979) 1218/29; DOL 75.

17. Address delivered on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music at Rome, 08 November 1986: *Musicae Sacrae Ministerium* 23 (1986) 10/15, here 14.

18. J. H. NEWMAN, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, "Reverence in Worship" on 1 Sam 2/18, Rivingtons Edition (London 1888) vol 8, p. 1/16, here 4/5.

The Gregorian Language: Servus Dei

Clement Morin, p.s.s. & Robert M. Fowells

Gregorian chant circles have spent the last 150 years in the effort to return the chant to its original medieval state. Both the church and the musicologists have accepted the Solesmes restoration of the melodies as the best possible composite version, but the rhythm has always been a source of contention. Dom Mocquereau gave the church a rhythmic system which prevailed through the first half of this century even though the abbey, itself, tended to cling to the oratorical rhythm originally proposed by Dom Pothier. One of Mocquereau's students, Dom Eugene Cardine, was finally able to amalgamate enough principles from the mountainous collection of research that he could identify interpretive implications inherent in unheightened neumes and codify the art of Gregorian semiology. Given his discoveries, the chant has a more relaxed and expressive motion based on a conversational movement and, despite the constant statement by music historians that there are almost no descriptive elements in the chant, semiology brings them into view constantly. Even before the principles of semiology have had a chance to become universal knowledge, it now becomes apparent that there are veritable leitmotifs within the chant — little “musical words” which, pre-dating the famous examples in Bach and Wagner, conjure up reminders of basic Christian beliefs behind the actual text being sung. In order to penetrate the complete significance of any piece of sacred music, it is absolutely essential that we understand “the liturgical texts, love them and live them. They are the main factor in Gregorian art and we must never forget

this.” These are the very words of Dom Mocquereau, who, at the turn of the century, made it his duty to repeat them and to write about them. This first principle became his adage. These liturgical texts have a counterpoint in another language, a musical language made up of melodic “words” which can be made into a glossary and which have worked out a syntax to present their message. They have been organized into phrases, thanks to some pre-established progressions, to some passing or final cadences, to some standard formulas which function like adverbs and prepositions, and to a few quotations which seem to emerge on the surface. In a way they are both simple and complex. With the help of semiology in determining their rhythmic values, the ability to recognize them gives one a great advantage in determining their proper interpretation.

Justitiae Domini

Before we see how these “words” live and operate in a very elaborate composition, the Alleluia *Pascha nostrum* for Easter, let us see how they function in the simpler surroundings of the Offertory *Justitiae Domini* for the third Sunday in Lent. (GT 309) The Biblical reading for the Office in the third week of Lent, Genesis 37-50, covers the story of Joseph and his brothers. The complete Proper of this Mass makes up an embryonic oratorio, a Biblical drama in which the main character is Joseph, the son of Jacob, who is at the summit of his career and is reminiscing about its various stages.

First he recalls the cistern where his brothers had bound him and left him to die, only to take him out later and sell him to merchants who were on their way to Egypt. Putiphar, the captain of the Pharaoh’s guard, bought him but, when he discovered Joseph’s savoir faire, he made him his steward. Thinking he would be an easy prey, Putiphar’s wife made eyes at him, but when she was unsuccessful she slandered him and he was thrown into jail. When the Pharaoh was disturbed by his dreams and was unable to find anyone to interpret them, Joseph was brought to him because he had been able to explain the dreams of two comrades while they were in prison. Amazed by Joseph’s warnings about the next fourteen years, the Pharaoh accepted his ideas and raised him to the highest rank among his ministers in order to put them into practice. Now that he has become the

viceroy, Joseph reviews all of these adventures in his imagination and contemplates on the mysterious ways of the Wisdom of God.

OF. IV
RBCKS
Ps. 18, 9, 10
Ustí-ti aē Dómi-ni • re-ctae, lae-ti: fí-cantes cōr-da,

The Gregorian composer sets the scene. In the long text which he chose and even elaborated and abridged, he makes Joseph sing: *Justitiae Domini*: The ways of the Lord are straight and His wishes inevitably lead to a predestined end; *laetificantes corda*: They lead from despair to abundant joy and from shadows into bright light.

This chant is a recitative which begins with the archaic intonation RE FA, the pitch which will be the basis for its ornamentation and melodic development. On the last syllable of *Justitiae* comes a musical motive, an announcement of joy, which is the same as the very first notes of the Offertory *Ave Maria* for the fourth Sunday of Advent: (GT 36)

OF. VIII
RBCKS
Luc. 1, 28
A ve • Ma-ri-a,

The archangel reveals the Virgin’s vocation to her and, according to the Greek Gospel of St. Luke (Luke: 28) says, “Kaire,” means “rejoice” rather than the usual, milder “hail.” In the long vocalise that carries the word “Ave”, the first five notes lie at the top of the hexachord — FA SOL LA SOL LA — and they are a motive of joy which appears throughout the chant and which we also hear sung here at the beginning of *Justitiae Domini*. The melody appears three times — at *iustitiae*, *rectae*, and at *corda* — and its “translation,” the thought that it insinuates, is evident in the expression *laetificantes corda*, proof that God made the heart burst with joy.

et dulci-ora su-per mel et fa-vum:

Beginning at *et dulciora* the composer skips the next Biblical verses, simply parallels of the first sentence, in order to connect the opening words with the Bible’s comparison with the taste of honey: *dulciora super mel et favum*. For the first word he twice uses the same musical motive that appears in the Introit for the Requiem Mass: first a slightly expanded version

and then the exact version of the “Kaire” motive which sets the two cadential phrases at *Domine* and *eis*, both of which sing of the final and eternal blessing.

VI
R

IV Esdr. 2, 34, 35; Ps. 64, 2. 3. 4. 5

E-qui-ém • ae-tér-nam dó-na e-is • Dómi-né: et lux perpé-tu-a lá-ce-at e-is.

At the third phrase of *Justitiae Domini*, the first word, *nam*, is a solemn intonation which holds the chant immobile before the servant of God, *et servus tuus*. Two people meet and are joined together in this “dramatis persona” — Joseph, the prophetic prototype and the announced Servant. The prophet Isaiah sang his sovereign exaltation (Is. 52, 13) in order to describe, immediately afterwards, his passion and sacrifice (Is. 53), thus completing the spectacle which was described three chapters earlier (Is. 50, 5-7).

nám et servus tu- us cu stó- di- et e- a.

Beginning with the text *nam et servus*, in order to contrive a symbolic motive for the Servant of God, the composer, or one of his predecessors, used two signs. The first is a descending half-step, FA MI, symbolizing humiliation, suffering and the cross. The second turns towards the top of the hexachord, SOL LA, towards the beatitude, the light and the glory. We know from the moving chapters of Genesis how appropriate this symbol was for Joseph who, despite his painful journeys through inextricable torments, always came out into the light. Arriving at the summit, he suddenly thinks of some unforeseen recurrence of the ordeals and we hear a second FA MI. With this addition, this symbol has taken on a pure, balanced form: cross glory cross. This addition expresses his desire to remain attached to his supernatural wisdom; he will guard it faithfully: *custodiet eam*.

To conclude the Offertory, the composer has two motives of joy sung on *custodiet eam*. The first is the motive for “Kaire” but he writes it in reverse, a kind of contrapuntal technique. FA SOL LA SOL FA now becomes LA SOL LA SOL FA. The other motive is taken from the Introit *Laetare Jerusalem*, “Be joyful, Jerusalem,” for the fourth Sunday of Lent. (GT 108)

IN. V
RECKS

Cf. Is. 66, 10, 11; Ps. 121

L Ae-tá- re • Ie-rú-sa-lem : et convén-tum fá- ci- te

In the hard hexachord, which begins on G, we hear FA LA SOL FA twice. The first time, at *conventum facite*, it celebrates the re-union of the family. Later a somewhat enlarged statement expresses the abundant joy of the Mother-Church and all her children.

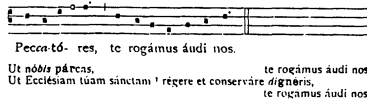
After *custodiet* and its motive of joy, “Kaire” sung in reverse, the recitative returns to the pitch FA, which it punctuates with a large leap to and from the fourth just before the last word, *eam*, a pronoun which sums up everything that had been proclaimed in the beginning, *Justitiae Domini*. Now the second motive of joy appears again, repercussing its first note, FA FA FA LA FOL FA. Normally it would be followed by SOL FA FA in conformity with the modality, which has not changed since the beginning of the offertory. However, something quite unexpected happens. Instead of the two FA which we expected the last one falls to MI — even a double MI. This semi-tone of pain and humiliation, a figure used throughout music history to express sadness, is used to recall the trials which were surmounted according to the principles of eternal Wisdom, a springboard of exaltation, of dignity and of glory.

Alleluia: Pascha Nostrum

Turning from the rather simple examples in *Justitiae Domini*, let us now examine the glorious Alleluia from the Easter Mass, *Pascha nostrum* (GT 197). This Alleluia is unique, the most striking and beautiful creation of the annual repertory. Just as the composer did centuries ago, today’s interpreter is invited to contemplate the Lamb of God lifted up crucified, drinking the chalice of the second agony to the last drop. The melodies outline a musical painting, a veritable triumph of symbolism. Their poetic suggestions bring on the experience of an ineffable reality. The words of St. Paul, repeated four times at the Mass, are the “principal part.” They demand that we keep them in our minds and hearts as we try to fully understand the mystery of the musical words: *Pascha nostrum* our paschal victim, the Lamb of God, *immolatus est*, has been offered in sacrifice, *Christus*. (I Corinth. 5,7)

The image shows musical notation for the Alleluia 'Pascha nostrum'. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows the vocal line with the lyrics 'Alle-lu-jah' and 'im-mo-latus'. The second system shows the vocal line with the lyrics 'tus est Christus' and 'sus'. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests and dynamic markings.

If we could hear this chant with the ears of the musicians of the middle ages and if we examined its square notation, we would realize that it lies between SOL and MI of the hard hexachord — the six notes of the “hexachord per B quadratum” (b-natural). Beginning on G in the notation, the hexachord is sung from UT to LA, just like the other two hexachords. Therefore, we sing *Pascha*, FA MI, starting at whatever pitch level suits us best, followed by *nostrum* with six repetitions of SOL LA, etc. (For a medieval diagram of the hexachord system, see Fig. 42, Hereford Cathedral, XIV century. *La notation musicale des chants liturgiques latins*. J. Hourlier, Solesmes.) After the Alleluia, which is an invitation to praise the Lord, there appears the double musical motive, the perfect symbol of the Cross and Glory, which we just pointed out in *Justitiae Domini*. The stage was set at the end of the Easter Vigil, during the last part of the Litanies of the Saints, when the four notes, FA MI SOL LA, resounded like chimes for each invocation, *Peccatores...ut nobis parcas*, etc. (LU 758)



What are those notes saying now in *Pascha nostrum*? The descending half-step on *Pascha* signifies humiliation and pain, as it will remain in later centuries in musical description. The rising whole-step on *nostrum* flies up above FA, the fundamental pitch of recitation, as a sign of victory, triumph and glory. The two motives are joined to make a greater one, the symbol of supernatural wisdom: by the Cross to Glory.

Semiology adds even more emphasis to our musical picture. In the Laon notation there is an *a* (*augete*) between the two, simple virgas above *Pascha*. The reminder of the sacrifice which is already inherent in the falling half-step is emphasized by the warning to enlarge the notes a bit beyond casual pronunciation and to take care to pronounce the three consonants carefully enough for the cathedral's acoustics. The exuberance created by the six repetitions of SOL FA on *nostrum* appears in a balanced form which reminds us of the Glory and the Trinity, like the three great doors of a cathedral, flanked by smaller ones on each side.

Let us examine these three melismas for the central great doors of glory. For the first, SOL LA SOL LA on *no* (*no-strum*),

the notation uses light signs joined together in one figure. The warning letter *c* (*celeriter*) tells us to move through quickly. The final LA marks a slight cadential point before the following syllable. The second motive has five notes. The first four are the same as the first motive, but this time both Laon and St. Gall use signs which suggest a more deliberate motion, partly because of the diction factors inherent in *-strum*. Between the fourth and fifth notes, LA MI, is another a (*augete*) which pleads for a *ritenuto* and delicate phrasing of the interval of a fourth. The final MI also says, “Remember the Cross.” The third motive repeats the second but with signs for an even more deliberate movement and with an added opening passing tone, FA, connecting the two. But by adding the FA we are reminded of another motive, FA SOL LA SOL LA, the “Kaire”—Rejoice, the Savior is coming! The final MI of the third motive is also the beginning of a cadential figure on MI which again reminds us of the Cross and the universal King lifted on the Wood. We also hear the final cadence of the above offertory, *Justitiae Domini*. Following this comes *immolatus est Christus*, Christ is immolated. Now in the next higher hexachord, the melody flies up in two movements, UT RE RE SOL. The cross is fixed in the rock and the melody, which descends twice from LA to FA RE, gives a vision of the Savior, arms and hands extended, saying to Jerusalem, “How often have I been willing to gather your children as a mother bird gathers her brood under her wings. But you refused it.” (Mat. 23,37) The composer witnesses the last moments of the Crucified. Just before the final syllable of *immolatus* he repeats MI SOL four times with the obvious intention of describing Christ’s effort, painfully lifting himself up with his nailed hands to breathe a little. After doing it once more, at *-tus*, “he bowed his head and surrendered his spirit:” MI RE UT — MI RE UT — RE UT — UT.

The musical picture continues with *Christus, Alleluia*. The Savior died on the Cross, was buried, and on the third day he rose again from the dead. The Gregorian melody of *Christus* sings the beginning of his new life. Like the first Alleluia before the words of St. Paul, it breathes the joy of the Resurrection. Notice the comparison of the music of these two words:

• Chri- -stus.

Al-le-lu- ja. • ji.

For an image of this new stage of life, both begin with a psalmodic intonation, UT RE FA (8th psalmodic tone), followed by RE and MI moving up to SOL, RE SOL MI SOL SOL. SOL is the pascal pitch of recitation, or tenor, which dominates the four incises of this Alleluia. Each will end on UT (g of the notation). When the second syllable of *Christus* and the fourth of Alleluia are first sung, they will remain hanging on SOL, in the high hexachord, a point of suspension. At the second incise we hear a repetition of the MI SOL followed by SOL LA, the motive of glory, sung three times before falling into the cadential FA RE UT, the retrograde of the intonation UT RE FA. The third incise sings SOL LA three times again before falling into an enlarged cadence figure with two FA SOL before FA RE UT. The fourth incise begins on a held SOL which then falls a fifth into the natural hexachord and immediately sings the glory at that lower pitch: SOL LA SOL LA FA. The last incise of the verse ends with an echo of the Alleluia sung after the prophecies, Alleluia repeated three times on higher and higher pitches at the Vigil of Easter, now heard on the last notes of *Christus* and Alleluia. Noting that, out of the four incises of the Alleluia, only the first, second and fourth are present in *Christus*, may we not infer that one was composed first? Which one? According to the principles of text criticism, “textus brevior preferendus,” the shorter version came first and later developed into the Alleluia. Before the introduction of sequences, like *Victimae paschali laudes*, the Alleluia followed the *Christus* as it now does, developing its own expressive melody with new and well-balanced themes and designs. This Alleluia-postlude was later chosed to substitute for an older Alleluia-prelude. In these two examples we have shown that, up to its very last words, a liturgical text, “qui est le principal,” is accompanied with a musical counterpoint which, not unlike the works of Bach, uses its melodies to invoke comments upon the text. Recent study has found over 150 examples of the “Kaire” motive being used to infer a scriptural concept. We must seek out these “musical words” in order to recognize them, to hear them and to understand them. Then our interpretations will correspond to their intentions and to their artistic and spiritual value.

The Printed Editions of the Chant Books and their Effect on the Gregorian Tradition

Robert F. Hayburn †

Gregorian Chant is truly one of the great musical treasures of the world. It re-echoes the melodies of the ancients while at the same time it charms the modern listener and graces the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. It is truly one of the most perfect expressions of religious feeling in its time but also one of the greatest achievements in music. Nothing in contemporary European literature, philosophy, painting or sculpture can compare with it. Only Romanesque architecture from about 900 to 1200 is equal to it as a monument of ecclesiastical art. It has been subjected to many vicissitudes, which at times have disfigured and altered it. Yet it has survived these countless emendations and trials, some of which were inflicted upon it by persons who sought to "improve" it.

This article seeks to show briefly these periods of origin, development, decline and renewal. From time to time various scholars have returned to the ancient neumes, seeking the authentic melodies and the true interpretation. Most notable among these were the Benedictine Monks of the Abbey of St. Pierre de Solesmes, Solesmes-sur-Sarthe, France. They reestablished monastic life in France after the French Revolution. It was necessary to find appropriate music to accompany their monastic offices. They sought it in the history of monasticism and in Gregorian Chant. The first-fruits of their researches

were the Solesmes *Graduale* of 1883 and the chant books which followed it. Pope Pius X made use of their scholarship in the preparation of the Vatican Edition when their books were taken as its source. The culmination of these researches was reached in 1979 with the appearance of the *Graduale Triplex*. The earlier Solesmes editions had obtained a faithful melodic restoration. The *Graduale Triplex* made possible a new dimension, the expressive part, the musicality of the chants, both melodic and interpretative.

The early Christians had no magnificent cathedrals as places of worship. Their deep faith and devout attitude transformed the humblest abode into a temple of worship. From the beginning music was an indispensable part of their worship. Since the first Christians were Jews they brought into the Christian service what they had known from the synagogue and temple services. This musical material was both melodic and rhythmical and originated from both Jewish-Oriental and Greco-Roman sources.

The singing of the Psalms of David formed a great part of the Hebrew temple music. In like manner the early Christians brought the chanting of the psalms into their worship. The Jewish philosopher Philo states that their chanting was the same as that of the many Jewish sects. They sang the psalms in both responsorial and antiphonal style. These same practices are retained in the present-day Christian church.

When the Christians moved to Rome they brought with them the Psalms and the same manner of execution. The Roman Catholic Church has retained them and they are known in their various liturgical uses as Gregorian Chant.

A. Z. Idelsohn collected the traditional melodies of the Jews in Palestine, Syria, the Yemenite countries, Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, Arabia and Persia, and the melodies of the Sephardic Jews in southern Europe. These traditional melodies originate in Antiquity. Numerous melodic formulae of Gregorian chant and sometimes entire melodies are similar and often identical with Jewish tunes. Thus a great portion of what we now call Gregorian chant represents portions of ancient Hebrew temple music. Moreover it has been preserved under the name of Catholic music.

In addition, Jewish temple music relates to Gregorian chant by a similarity between the small signs, hooks of various types and twists, and composite figures printed in Hebrew Bibles along with the Hebrew texts. These represent a system of melodic recitation formulae.

Their origin was in the first centuries of the Christian era, probably in Syria or Alexandria. Their purpose was to assist the exiled Jews in preserving and performing the traditional Jewish manner of chanting and reciting the Bible. Jewish national life was destroyed with the destruction of the Temple and the resulting Diaspora. Thus there arose the necessity of devising some system of musical notation to preserve the ancient chants.

The anonymous inventors of these cantillation accents probably took their inspiration from Greek musical notation, even though the two systems were not identical. These signs fulfilled the need for 1500 years and thus the Jewish tradition was safeguarded. The ancient custom of retaining long musical formulae in memory has been preserved in Jewish worship by means of these cantillation accents.

A considerable similarity exists between Jewish cantillation accents and the neumes, which are the original musical notation of medieval Christian music. Moreover, there is little doubt that many old Jewish melodies are retained in Gregorian chant. Thus it seems almost certain that the Christian neumes are an adaption of the Jewish accents. Hebrew music uses vowel accents. From vowel accents to musical accents is but a short step.

The strange hooks, twists and curves of the neumes have of late lost much of their mysterious aspect. Formerly they had been compared with hieroglyphics. The solution to deciphering them with great accuracy was discovered in modern times. This has made evident the similarity between the ideas governing these two forms of notation.

Scholars now agree that the Greek accents also gave birth to the Latin neumes in their primitive form. Relics of ancient Greek music are also to be found in Gregorian chant. The exact extent of Greek melodies in the Christian chant is not certain. However, it is certain that Greek musical theory was a

prime factor in shaping the melodies of the Christian Church. The ancient Greek modes were incorporated into medieval Catholic music. The Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian and Aeolian modes are the basis for Gregorian tonality.

Neumatic manuscripts of the ancient chants have been preserved in great numbers. When one compares their numbers with those of the lyrical monody of the troubadours and with those of ancient polyphony we find the richest collection of medieval music in the chant of the Roman Catholic Church.

The spread of the neumes over the different areas of Europe did not influence the essential nature of sacred music. The variations are found only in exterior details. These are modifications of orthography and musical spelling. The neumes do not provide national versions of chant. Rather they have handed on the primitive music with a melodic and rhythmic uniformity which is startling.

Almost up to the present day most scholars assumed that the oldest manuscripts of the chants did not precede the end of the eighth century and that the old manuscripts contained only the liturgical text. It was thought that there was no musical notation in Europe prior to that period. They had assumed, therefore, that the singers were obliged to learn the Gregorian chants by memory.

This mistaken notion arose from the fact that the earlier musical manuscripts were hidden until modern times and the researches of the monks of Solesmes. Their monumental work *Paleographie Musicale* made available a vast group of chants hitherto almost unknown. However, it is now certain that the main body of the Gregorian chants was formed in the fifth and sixth centuries. Moreover, this group of chants consists largely of music from an earlier repertory.

Musical signs are known in the Latin Liturgy at least from the time of Quodvultdeus, a disciple of St. Augustine. His work *Liber de Promissionibus*, written about 437, when he was Bishop of Carthage states: "You have the organ with its different pipes of the holy apostles and doctors of all the church, adapted for certain accents, grave, acute and circumflex, which that musician the Spirit of God plays on, fills and causes

to sound through the Word." The text of *Quodvultdeus* and of the *De Musica* of St. Augustine, finished in 388 at Carthage, together with additional passages about the sacred music at Carthage, indicate the existence of musical notation in the Church of Africa. These date from the middle of the fifth century.

During the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great (590-604) the chant took its definite and typical form. In his time the pre-existing melodies were collected and chosen. Moreover, they received a particular mark of unity when they were codified and fixed in his *Antiphonarium Cento*.

Gregory the Great could hardly have assembled this group of chants and reformed its use if there had not been a musical notation already in use. Recall that the Eastern Church used musical notation and thus it is wise to conjecture that there was also such a notation in Rome.

The *Ordo Romanus I*, used at the Papal Masses in Rome, speaks of the Cantor who uses the *Cantatorium* or Song Book when he sang the Responsorial Psalm. This *Ordo* distinguishes the *Codex* with which the Deacon chants the Gospel from the *Cantatorium*.

St. Gregory missioned skilled singers to many countries of Europe for the dispersal of the liturgical melodies. St. Augustine was sent by Gregory the Great to England in 596 for the purpose of bringing the Roman liturgy and chant. In 630 Canterbury had a famous school of chant. John the Precentor assisted at a national council and taught the chant at different parts of the country. Monks came from all over England to listen to his chant. Bede speaks of two English singers, taught by pupils of St. Gregory; James the Deacon is dated at 625. The Council of Cloveshoe, 747, legislated that chant must be sung in the method of an Antiphonary received from Rome. Egbert, Archbishop of York (732-766) speaks of the Antiphonary and Missal of St. Gregory, which was received from St. Augustine and his missionaries. St. Boniface brought the chant to Germany. France received the chant from Pope Stephen at the request of Pepin (d. 768).

The Antiphonary of St. Gregory was probably a "neumed" manuscript. The existing neumes indicate that the "chie-

ronomic" or oratorical notation, written without lines is of ancient origin. This style of notation gives only the number of notes and their relative height. It does not indicate their pitch or the intervals between them. It is necessary to compare these with manuscripts of a later date on a staff. A variety of methods is used. Some manuscripts follow the Gregorian usage and show neumes with fixed intervals. Others make use of the "Romanian" letters which give general indications of direction, such as higher, lower and rhythmical information, such as fast, slow, etc. Others present musical selections with common melodic patterns.

There are four classes of chant in the Latin Church. These are the Ambrosian, the Gallican, the Mozarabic and the Roman. The Ambrosian chant was associated with the city of Milan, which was at one time the residence of the Emperors and which had several Greek Bishops. Bishop Ambrose (374-397) reformed the Milanese chant and liturgy. He established the singing of hymns and antiphonal psalmody. He also wrote Latin hymns which were sung at the nocturnal Vigils.

The liturgiologist Duchesne states that the Ambrosian rite and the Gallican rites have many similarities with both the Syrian and Greek Eastern rites. These are the same Christian rites, but with modifications due to the passage of time and variation of location. Sunol states that a large number of the Latin chants are of Eastern origin, especially those of the Ambrosian chant. Dom Gajard has found many chants of the same melody in both Gregorian and Ambrosian chants. But Peter Wagner in comparing the Ambrosian and Gregorian chants which used the same melody, states that the Ambrosian have a more ancient style. The Ambrosian is closer, he says, to the pre-Gregorian period. Moreover he states that the Ambrosian melodies represent the oldest specimens of plainsong, especially in the formulae and cadences which are closely related and seem to derive from a common source.

The Gallican chants used in France from the beginning of the fifth century and in continuing use for about 400 years are of historical importance. There is a particular notation called Aquitanian. This is a neumatic form found as far back as the

ninth century. It was used in the south of France, in Catalonia in the tenth century and in Castile and other parts of Spain after the abolition of the Mozarabic chant in the eleventh century. There is also the literary and musical school of St. Martial of Limoges. In addition there are the sequences from St. Peter's of Moissac and the *trouvere* and *troubadour* music.

St. Caesarius of Arles, Bishop from 502 or 503 until 542, directed that the congregation of lay persons should learn hymns and psalms, both in Greek and in Latin. He arranged that chants should be set to Latin and Greek words for the Gallo-Roman sections of the people and in Greek for those who spoke that language.

The chant of the Spanish church is named Mozarabic. It has its roots in the Visigothic period. The liturgy of the sixth and seventh centuries contains elements of great antiquity. The oldest Latin version of the Scriptures preserved comes from Spain. The oldest Latin secular songs come from the seventh century, as does the oldest liturgical Latin hymn with a refrain. Peter Wagner opines that the Mozarabic *Pater Noster* may well date from the fourth century.

The music of the Visigothic Church was well-ordered by 711. Its order was arranged during the fifth to the seventh centuries. A great portion of Mozarabic music has been preserved in manuscripts which date from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. These contain the melodies in use during the sixth and seventh centuries. In addition there are pre-Visigothic chants. Moreover, many of the manuscripts from the south of France contain Mozarabic chants. The notation of the Mozarabic chants in the early manuscripts is neumatic. It contains Eastern and Byzantine elements.

The golden age of composition of chant was from the fifth and sixth to the eighth century. The classical period of the manuscripts preserved with neumes was from the ninth to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. The melodies for the Ordinary of the Mass were also composed during the ninth to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Neumatic manuscripts of chant have been preserved in great numbers. The researches of the monks of Solesmes have unearthed a vast collection of sources. These are the most important:

1. Manuscripts from the Swiss abbey of St. Gall. These are the richest in differentiated neumatic signs. They comprise the following:

St. Gall 350, from the beginning of the tenth century. It contains only music for cantors: Graduals, Alleluias and Tracts.

Einsiedeln 12, eleventh century. It contains the antiphons for the Introit, Offertory and Communion. In addition are found many symbolic letters.

Bamberg, the Gradual of St. Emmeram of Ratisbon, written about the year 1000. It makes use of the episema in many examples.

St. Gall 399, a Gradual from the eleventh century.

St. Gall 390-391, the Antiphonary of B. Hartker, who wrote about the year 1000. This contains most of the chants for the Divine Office.

2. Laon 239, a Gradual written about the year 930, near the city of Laon in France. It is valuable for a study of the rhythm of the melodies.

3. Additional sources are the following:

Chartres 47, tenth century, written in Breton notation. It presents many rhythmical signs.

Montpellier, H. 159, from the Library of the Faculty of Medicine, from the eleventh century. It was used for musical instruction in Dijon. It is unique in that it contains double notation, both neumatic and alphabetic.

Benevento, Bibl. Cap. VI, 34. This Gradual is from the eleventh or twelfth century, written on lines with a stylus. It is useful for melodic reduction.

Paris B.N. lat 903. This Gradual is from St. Yrieix and dates from the eleventh century. It is a rich source of Aquitaine tradition from both France and Spain.

The monumental *Paleographie Musicale*, prepared by the Monks of Solesmes, presents a vast collection of chant sources. Additional material is to be found in *Les Origines du chant romain: L'Antiphonaire*, by Amedee Gastoue (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1907). Also in *Einführung in die Gregorianische Melodien*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1895) by Peter

Wagner, and in *Introduction a la paléographie musicale gregorienne*, by Dom Gregory Sunol, O.S.B. (Tournai: Desclee, 1935)

With the invention of printing around the year 1450 a great change was to take place in the purity of the Gregorian tradition. A proliferation of various editions brought about an emendation of the melodies and the lowest point of decadence in the history of chant. This was particularly true with the editions of Guidetti and the Medici Press. Unfortunately these editions were copied and reproduced for almost three centuries.

The problem commenced with the adoption of the late fifteenth century ideas on mensural notation. This practice concerning the treatment of long and short syllables is found as early as the late fourteenth century in a Franciscan Gradual. In the sixteenth century this theory was adopted for the printing of the various editions of chant books. It became the center of attention and the beginning of far-reaching reforms.

In 1529 Blasius Rossetti published his *Libellus de rudimentibus musicae* in which he treats the problem at length. He states that very frequently a syllable that should be short is made long in contrast to the basic rules of grammar. He advocates the elimination of this practice. It is interesting that in treating the chants of the Responsories, Graduals and Introits he exempts them from this basic rule. His allowance is made because in these instances grammar is a "servant-maid of the music." He distinguishes between the simple chants of the Antiphons, Sequences and Hymns and those of the ornate chants such as the Introits, Graduals, Responsories and Alleluias. In the first group he insists on the correct treatment of syllables according to their length. However, he exempts the second group because of purely musical considerations.

Unfortunately this sensible attitude did not continue. Musicians of a later period were imbued with the humanistic tradition of classical Latin. They were appalled by the disregard of quantity in the length and brevity of syllables. These Gregorian practices were viewed as barbarism and their use was considered a violation of the basic laws of grammar. The definite change in the history of chant began with the reform

editions of Guidetti, the *Directorium chori*, in 1582. This version was imitated in the *Editio Medicea* of 1614.

In many cases the “reformed” version displayed two aspects: the reduction of the Gregorian melismas and the addition of even longer groups of notes on an accented syllable. These were in contrast to the longer groups of notes on unaccented syllables of the medieval sources, which were classified as “unnatural melismas.”

From 1476 various books contained the chants used in the different liturgical functions of the Church. There are four categories of chants, according to the Gelasian Sacramentary: *Temporal*, e.g. Christmas, Easter, etc.; *Sanctoral*, e.g. associated with particular saints; *Common of Saints*, e.g. for saints who did not have a particular series of chants associated with their celebrations; *Votive Masses*, e.g. Masses of choice for particular intentions. Special local offices for a particular diocese were contained in an Appendix, for the particular use of that diocese; e.g. the U.S.A. has feasts associated with Isaac Jogues, Elizabeth Seton, etc.

These chants were found in *Missals*, for the use of the celebrant at Mass; in *Antiphonaries* and *Directorium Chori*, for canonical choirs who recite the Divine Office; in *Graduals*, for the Proper of the Mass; in *Kyriales* for the Ordinary of the Mass.

In addition, individual dioceses and religious orders added books for tropes, sequences, *prosaes* and other chants. Moreover, cathedral chapters, collegiate churches and abbeys issued particular editions for personal use. All of these had basic Gregorian chants as well as other texts and melodies.

The editions up to 1615 were the following:

- 1476 Missale, Rome: Ulrich Han of Ingolstadt
- 1481 Missale, Wurzburg: Georg Reyser
- 1482 Missale, Mainz: Georg Reyser
- 1495 Antiphonarium, Augsburg: Georg Reyser
- 1498 Graduale, Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt
- 1499 Graduale, of Minorite Francis of Bruges, Rome:
Junta

- 1499 Antiphonarium, Wurzburg: Georg Reyer
- 1511 Augustinian Graduale, Basel: Jacob Wolf von Pforzheim
- 1582 Directorium Chori, Rome: Peter Lichenstein.
This retained the melodies in conformity with the Gregorian tradition.
- 1582 Antiphonary, Venice. Rome: Guidetti (2nd ed. 1589).
Guidetti began to print great square notes and emphatic holds. The ligatures on the neumes began to disappear and the vocalises became heavier. Guidetti's editions mark a violent rupture with the past and the beginning of a new age. It was the source of many later editions.
- 1585 Antiphonary, Venice: Angelus Gardanus
- 1603 Antiphonary, Venice: Junta
- 1606 Gradual, Venice: Junta
- 1611 Gradual, Venice: Junta
- 1611 Malines Antiphonary, Antwerp: Joachim Troгнаesius
- 1614 Graduale, Rome: Medicean Press, Anerio and
1615 Soriano

The Council of Trent, 1545-1563, in session 25, Nov. 3 and 6, 1563, left to the Pope the task of making changes and printing the Missal and Breviary. The Breviary was printed in 1568 and the Missal in 1570. Pope Pius V made them obligatory for all churches which could not claim a liturgical privilege of two hundred years. Pope Pius V promulgated the Missal and Breviary without giving attention to the chants contained therein. There was no thought given to the alterations in the melodies of the chant as a whole. The minor changes required involved the adaptation of corrected texts to the melodic line. Editions after 1570 stated in the title page that the chants were the traditional chants as found in the older editions.

Pope Gregory XIII adopted a change of policy. On October 25, 1577 he engaged G.P. Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo to prepare a new edition which would conform to the changes in

the texts of the Pius V books. The purpose of this minor work was to adapt the text to the melodies, but not to change the melody. However, these two composers altered the melodies according to humanistic reforms. They eliminated the long vocalises of the Gradual and the Alleluia verses. Moreover, changes were made to place the melodies in agreement with the accentuation and quantity of the syllables. After an investigation, originated by Fernando de las Infantas and Canon Boccapadule, the Pope terminated the work. Palestrina had done only the Sunday Masses of the Gradual.

Giovanni Battista Raimondi, owner of the Medicean Printing Company of Rome, sought permission in 1592 to print and sell chant books, with a privilege of fifteen years. Clement VIII granted this on September 16, 1593. Raimondi sought the help of G.P. Palestrina, who agreed to correct the Masses of the Sanctoral cycle. Moreover, he agreed to reform all the books necessary for choral use, that is, the Gradual, Antiphonary and the Psalter. Palestrina died on February 2, 1594, and the work was suspended. His son Iginio sought to complete them, but his work was unacceptable and the project abandoned.

On May 3, 1608, Pope Paul V gave Raimondi the privilege of being the sole printer of chant books for fifteen years. Six musicians were chosen to supervise the work: G.B. Nanino, Mancini, Francesco Soriano, Giovanelli, Felini and Felice Anerio. In 1611 Anerio and Soriano offered to finish the work alone. Their efforts resulted in the famous Medicean gradual being completed in 1614 and 1615.

The completion of the Medicean edition marked a decisive step in the disintegration of the chant tradition of the Church. These musicians modified almost every phrase of the melodies, perpetrating a chant which was disfigured and not in accordance with the ancient melodies of the Church.

In the nineteenth century the Medicean edition was to be taken up as a source of an edition which was to become official in the Catholic world. The following five examples show the Introit for the Mass of Holy Thursday, *Nos Autem*:

1. A reprint of the Medicean, published by the firm of Alexis Laurent, edited by A. Toul, 1718.

2. The Pustet edition of Regensburg, 1884, which is based on the Medicean, for the Diocese of Cologne, Germany.
3. The Solesmes edition, first edited by Dom Joseph Pothier.
4. The *Gradual neumé* of Dom Eugene Cardine.
5. The *Graduale triplex*, 1979.

Os au tem gló ri á

ri o pór tet in cruce Dó mi ni

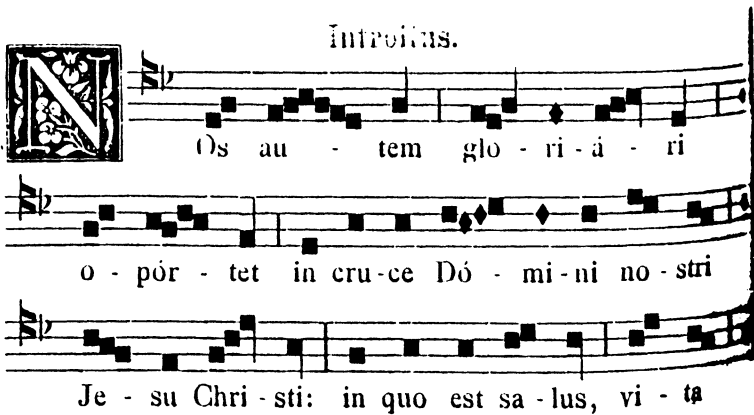
no stri Je su Chri sti : in quo est

fa lus , vi ta , & re sur ré cti o

no stra : per quem sal vá ti , &

N iij

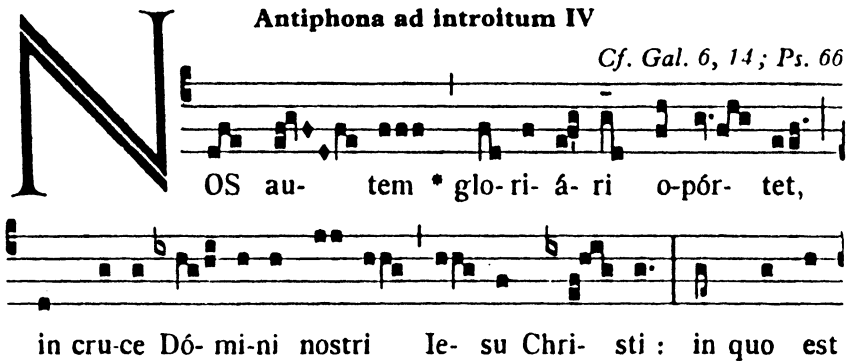
Introitus.



N Os au - tem glo - ri - á - ri
 o - pór - tet in cru - ce Dó - mi - ni no - stri
 Je - su Chri - sti: in quo est sa - lus, vi - ta

Antiphona ad introitum IV

Cf. Gal. 6, 14; Ps. 66



N OS au - tem * glo - ri - á - ri o - pór - tet,
 in cru - ce Dó - mi - ni nostri Ie - su Chri - sti: in quo est

Introitus. 4.

N OS au- tem * glo- ri- á- ri opór- tet
 in cru- ce Dó- mi- ni nostri Je- su Chri- sti : in quo est
 sa- lus, vi- ta, et re- surre- cti- o no- stra : per quem
 salvá- ti, et li- be- rá- ti su- mus. Ps. De- us mi- se-

RBCKS Antiphona ad introitum IV

Cf. Gal. 6, 14; Ps. 66

N OS au- tem * glo- ri- á- ri o- pór- tet,
 in cru- ce Dó- mi- ni nostri Je- su Chri- sti : in quo est
 sa- lus, vi- ta, et re- surre- cti- o no- stra : per quem

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a revival in chant books took place in Belgium, France, Germany and Italy. There was a desire to restore chant to the services participated in by the laity, whereas during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the chant was sung by religious orders and chapters of cathedrals and collegiate churches.

The principal editions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which were printed after the Medicean edition were:

- 1624 Antiphonale, Toul: Francois and Simon les Belgrands
- 1647 Roman Gradual, Paris: Christopher Ballard
- 1674 Gradual, Lyon: Carthusians
- 1696 Graduale Monasticum, Paris: Nivers
- 1716 Antiphonarium Romanum, Ingolstadt: Elizabeth Angermaier
- 1726 Musica Choralis Franciscana, Cologne: Caspar Drimborn
- 1729 Gradual, Limoges
- 1774 Processionale, Antwerp: Plantinus
- 1782 Theatrum Musicae Choralis, Cologne: R. Kirchrath. (Its appendix contains an explanation of the contemporary manner of singing Ambrosian Chant.)

The nineteenth century witnessed the appearance of many versions of the chant books. In the first half of the century, the mutilated seventeenth and eighteenth century chant versions of Venice and Paris were reprinted for both the Roman Rite and special rites. By 1850 many editions had appeared, each slightly different and none faithful to the original editions. They were:

- 1813 Graduale, Charleville
- 1815 Graduale, Lyon
- 1828 Graduale, Dijon: Fouillier-Bibliopolam
- 1828 Antiphonale, Dijon: Fouillier-Bibliopolam
- 1841 Graduale, Dijon: Fouillier-Bibliopolam
- 1843 Graduale, Malines: Hanicy (Duval) (Partial reprint of Medicean)

- 1847 Graduale, Turin
- 1848 Graduale, Rennes: Theodore Nisard (An edition of 1682 Nivers work)
- 1851 Graduale, Paris: J. Lecoffre (Rheims-Cambrai)
- 1854 Graduale, Rome: Alfieri
- 1855 Choralwerke, Vilsecher
- 1858 Graduale, Paris: A Le Clere et Soc (Lambillotte)
- 1858 Graduale, Paris: E. RePos (Digne reprint of the 1680 Nivers work)
- 1859 Graduale, Malines: H. Dessain
- 1860 Graduale, Trier: J.B. Grach (Hermesdorff)
- 1864 Directorium Chori, Rennes: Vatar (Janssens, Pothier)
- 1864 Antiphonale, Trier: J.B. Grach (Hermesdorff)
- 1865 Graduale, Cologne: (Geissel)
- 1869 Graduale, Regensburg: F. Pustet (Haberl)
- 1874 Graduale, Valfray (Reprint of 1669 Valfray and parts of 1682 Nivers)
- 1876 Graduale, Trier: J.B. Grach (Hermesdorff)
-1882
- 1877 Graduale, Langres (Reprint of 1858 Dijon edition)
- 1883 Liber Gradualis, Tournai: Desclee (Pothier) Solesmes
- 1883 Graduale, Marseille
- 1891 Liber Antiphonarius, Tournai: Desclee (Pothier) Solesmes
- 1895 Graduale, Marseille
- 1895 Liber Gradualis, Tournai: Desclee (Pothier) Solesmes

The 1843 edition edited by Edmond Duval was a partial reprint of the Medicean edition of 1614. Since the Medicean edition included only the Gradual, Duval took his Antiphonary from that of Lichenstein of Venice, 1582. The Ordinary was taken from the Plantin edition, of Antwerp, 1599. Duval made changes and corrections in the Medicean.

These were made as a matter of personal opinion and were not in concordance with the earlier chant manuscripts. Only the diocese of Cahors adopted this edition.

The Italian edition was that of Msgr. Alfieri in 1854 and was prepared as "Italian" in source. It had little success or use. Marquis Compana had projected a work. Pius IX granted a permission and monopoly for fifty years. However, it was never published because of a lack of subscribers.

The French editions were in many cases either reprints or modified editions of the 1682 and 1696 *Graduale Monasticum* of Guillaume Nivers. This influenced that of Rennes, 1848, edited by Theodore Nisard, and Digne, 1858, and Dijon of 1858. The Langres reprint of 1877 followed Dijon. The edition of M. Valfray of 1669 was reprinted many times. The last was in 1874 and resembled that of Nivers.

French editions independent of Nivers were those of Rheims-Cambrai 1851 and that of Fr. Lambillotte 1858. That of Rheims-Cambrai was of great importance since it made use of an eleventh century manuscript, *Antiphonarium Tonale Missarum*, found December 18, 1847, in the library of the school of Medicine, at Montpellier, France. The manuscript made use of both neumatic and alphabetical notation. This 1847 edition reproduced almost integrally all the notes of the eleventh century edition. In some cases it was identical with the Solesmes edition. However, it had two faults: the author adopted the humanists' theory regarding dactylic penultimates and modified the original melodic phrases in accord with these principles. They also confused the liturgical with the proportional notation of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This resulted in a radical alteration of the rhythm of the chant. Twenty French dioceses adopted this edition as did many Congregations of Religious.

The edition prepared by Father Louis Lambillotte, S.J., in 1858 was a lithographed reproduction of a manuscript of St. Gall. However, he made certain changes: abbreviated the melismas and "what there is of the chant he put in measure, suggesting a march or a modern dance." (The quote is from Amedee Gastoue, *Le Graduel et l'antiphonaire romain*, Lyon: Janin Freres, 1913, Pg. 207.)

The editions of Michael Hermesdorff of Trier, 1878 and 1882, compared contemporary editions with ancient sources. He prepared an edition in double notation — notes on the staff with the original neumatic characters above the notes, with a description of the manuscripts. He published eleven fascicles of Mass chants — First Sunday of Advent to the middle of Paschal time.

The edition of chant books issued at Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1868 was of far greater importance than the earlier editions of the nineteenth century. It was widely used in Germany as well as in the United States of America among German-speaking Catholics. In France it was used only in the diocese of Cahors.

The editor of the Regensburg edition was an eminent musicologist, Franz Xaver Haberl, well versed in polyphonic music but not in the chant of the Church. He is well known for his excellent editions of the works of Palestrina and Lassus. He is best known as the discoverer of the Trent Codices, a magnificent collection of polyphonic music.

Haberl's interest in the publication of chant editions was aroused by a circular letter issued by Fr. Loreto Jacovacci, rector of the Propaganda College in Rome. Fr. Jacovacci advocated the reformation of Gregorian chant, issued in a uniform edition, with approval of the Holy See. This necessitated a new and corrected edition of all the books of chant. He suggested that this new edition should follow the Medicean edition of Rome, of 1614-1615.

Haberl completed the edition of the polyphonic works of Palestrina at the library of the seminary in Freising. During his researches there he found the only copy of the Medicean gradual in Germany. He became convinced that that Gradual was the same as that ordered by Pope Gregory XIII which had been entrusted to Palestrina and Zoilo.

The Bavarian publisher Frederick Pustet accepted Haberl's opinion and wished to publish Haberl's work of revision. He saw an advantage in inscribing the name of Palestrina, instead of that of Giovanelli, to whom some attributed the work of the Medicean edition as completed. Pustet suggested the publication of the Palestrina polyphonic works at the same time as that of the chant edition.

The Congregation of Sacred Rites was interested in procuring an official edition of the chant books. When Haberl's work was undertaken the Congregation promised and finally issued a thirty year privilege as publisher of the official edition.

Haberl took as his model the Gradual of 1614 and the Venetian Antiphony of 1582. These had been a source of the Mechlin edition and the Campana project. Haberl was engaged by Pustet to complete those items which were missing. These were the Ordinary chants of the Mass. Haberl composed chants for these Ordinaries but his compositions were lacking in both authenticity and inspiration.

Pius IX had set up a commission with the Congregation of Sacred Rites in 1867. Pustet received approbation for his edition on May 30, 1873. Leo XIII issued a Papal Brief on November 15, 1878, in which he confirmed the approbation granted by Pius IX.

Haberl sought for years to prove that the Medicean edition was used as the main source of his edition. He wished to show that Anerio and Soriano based their revision on the Palestrina manuscript. The following works of Haberl were written on this matter:

Magister Choralis. Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1877.

Offener Brief, in Betreff der neuen Edition des Graduale Romanum Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1870.

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina e il Graduale Romanum Officiale dell' editio Medicea. Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1894.

Riposta ad antiche e nuove accuse contro l'edizione tipica dei libri corali. Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1894.

L'Archeologia e il breve pontificio "Quod S. Augustinus." Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1896

Dom Raphael Molitor, O.S.B., disproved definitively Haberl's thesis in his work *Die Nach-Tridentinische Reform zu Rom*, (2 vols. Leipzig: Leuckart, 1901-1902).

In addition to the many editions of the nineteenth century, an important chant revival took place. It was based on the return to ancient and authentic sources. In 1833 Dom Prosper Gueranger, O.S.B., reestablished monastic life in France at the ancient, abandoned monastery of Solesmes-sur-

Sarthe. His Benedictine monks sought to revive the Roman liturgy and in order to do so produced chant books based on ancient sources.

In 1860 Canon Gontier organized at Paris a Congress for the restoration of chant and sacred music. His work *Method raisonnée de plainchant* set forth fundamental principles for chant research.

In 1883 Dom Joseph Pothier, O.S.B., of Solesmes produced a *Liber Gradualis* which was based on codices from many European sources. This showed great variation from the editions of Pustet, at Regensburg. Moreover, the intense feeling in France following the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 added greatly to the strong resentment towards the faulty Pustet editions. A Congress on Chant held at Arezzo in 1882 made known the principles fostered by Dom Pothier and spoke of the forthcoming Gradual of 1883. Scholars such as Dom Guerrino Amelli, O.S.B., Msgr. Carlo Respighi and Dom Raphael Molitor, O.S.B., added greatly to the furtherance of the Solesmes editions.

The researches of the Solesmes monks were made known at the Congress. The first volume of the *Paléographie Musicale* issued in 1889 presented a Gradual of the tenth century from the library of the Abbey of St. Gall. A comparison of this manuscript with the Solesmes *Liber Gradualis* proved that they had reprinted note for note and group for group the ancient melodies.

The advocates of the Regensburg edition contended that a single manuscript was not sufficient proof. To refute them the monks of Solesmes chose the melody of the Response-Gradual *Justus ut Palma*. It was reproduced from 219 Antiphonaries, dated from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries. It was the same melody as found in the Solesmes Gradual.

Private editions of the monks of Solesmes:

1883 *Liber Gradualis*.

1895 *Editio altera*.

1891 *Liber Antiphonarius pro Vesperis & Completorio Officii Romani cum Supplemento pro aliquibus locis*.

1897 *Editio altera*.

- 1891 Libri Antiphonarii Complementum pro Laudibus & Horis Officii Romani cum Supplemento pro aliquibus locis.
- 1891 Liber Antiphonarius pro diurnis horis juxta ritum monasticum Kalendario generali Ordinis S. Benedicti accommodatus cum supplemento pro aliquibus locis.
- 1897 Editio altera.
- 1894 Compendium Antiphonarii Monastici Kalendario generali Ordinis S. Benedicti accommodatum.
- 1891 Liber Antiphonarius pro diurnis horis juxta ritum monasticum Kalendario proprio Congregationis Gallicae Ordinis S. Benedicti accommodatus.
- 1897 Liber Antiphonarius pro diurnis horis juxta ritum Romanum cum Supplemento pro aliquibus locis.
- 1896 Paroissien Roman containing the Office of the Mass and Vespers for all the Sundays and Feast Days (doubles).
- 1896 Liber Usualis Missae & Officii pro Dominicis & Festis Duplicibus.
- 1886 Officium & Missa ultimi Tridui Majoris Hebdomadae juxta ritum Romanum.
- 1892 Editio altera.
- 1886 Officium & Missa ultimi Tridui Majoris Hebdomadae juxta ritum monasticum.
- 1892 Editio altera.
- 1901 Tertia editio.
- 1891 Kyriale, or the Chants of the Ordinary of the Mass. The Kyriale is in its seventh edition at the present date.
- 1898 Psalms Noted. For Vespers and the Office of all the Sundays and Double Feasts.

On February 14, 1904, Pope St. Pius X established a Papal Commission for the preparation of official editions of chant books. Two sources were available: the 1883 editions of

Pothier (reprinted in 1885) or the Solesmes edition of 1903, prepared by Dom Andre Mocquereau. The latter included "rhythmical signs," such as the horizontal and vertical episema as well as dots, which indicated length. This private edition of Solesmes still presents these "rhythmical signs." The editions prepared by the Vatican Commission between 1904 and 1912 omitted the horizontal and vertical episemas. During that period the monks of Solesmes withdrew from participation in the preparation of the Vatican Edition of the chant books. These were the following:

Kyriale, August 14, 1905

Cantus Missae June 8, 1907

Graduale Vaticanum, August 7, 1907

Officium Defunctorum, May 12, 1909

Cantorinus, April 3, 1911

Antiphonale diurnum Romanum, December 8, 1912.

Since 1913 the monks of Solesmes have been entrusted with the preparation of the official chant books of the Catholic Church. The liturgical changes resulting from Vatican II have necessitated revisions in chant editions. The new editions are edited under the control of the Congregation for Divine Worship and since 1966 have been prepared by the monks of Solesmes.

OFFICIAL EDITIONS OF CHANT BOOKS

For the Universal Church

Kyriale Simplex, Vatican Press, Rome, 1965.

Graduale Simplex (For the use of small churches, prepared at Solesmes and taken from the ancient antiphons.)
Vatican Press, Rome, 1967.

Ordo Cantus Missae, Vatican Press, 1974. (It lists officially the selections of Gregorian Chant for Mass.)

Graduale Romanum, Solesmes Press, 1974.

Ordo Missae in Cantu (Prefaces and chants for Concelebration.) Solesmes Press, 1975.

Antiphonale Romanum, Book Two. (Liber Hymnarius with chants for the Invitatories and other Responses.)

Solesmes Press, 1983. The First Book (all the chants of the Office) will follow soon.

Missel Grégorien, Solesmes Press, 1984 (For Sundays and Solemnities.) (This will appear in English as well as French.) Three year cycle, A, B, and C. (Includes also years I and II for weekdays.)

Kyriale, Solesmes Press, 1985. (Extracts from the *Graduale Romanum*.)

Private Editions of the monks of Solesmes are the following:

Liber Cantualis, Solesmes Press, 1987, (Gregorian anthology for the Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae.)

Graduale Triplex, 1979. Solesmes Press.

Graduale Romanum Organ accompaniment, Solesmes Press, Vol. 1, 1984; Vol 11, 1985; Vol. III, 1987.

Processionale Monasticum (Neumé), Solesmes Press, 1985.

Offertoriale Triplex. (The ancient verses of the Offertory.) Solesmes Press, 1985.

Cantus Selecti, (s.d.) Solesmes Press.

The purpose of this work has been to trace the path of the sacred chant of the Catholic Church. We have seen its origin, development, disfiguration and renaissance. The rebirth has been followed by a revival and expansion. Unfortunately the changes in the liturgy of the Catholic Church have not been conducive to its incorporation into the Mass of Vatican Council II. Fortunately scholars and musicologists have appreciated its worth and have focused much attention on the treasure that it is. It is to be hoped that an even greater appreciation will arise and an expanded use will result.

The sections of this work on the printed editions of chant were prepared for a seminar on Semiology presented in 1988 by Los Angeles State University, at both the University campus and at the Huntington Museum, in San Marino, California. This seminar was made possible in part by a grant from the California Council for the Humanities, a state program of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Doctor Robert Fowell of Los Angeles State University has graciously consented to the use of these sections in this expanded work.

Word-Painting and Formulaic Chant

by *William Peter Mahrt*

Singers of Gregorian chant have often delighted in those exceptional melodies which seem to represent their texts in particularly vivid ways. We who have been schooled in the music of the Renaissance and later are quick to notice such evident word-painting as in the Alleluia verse *Angelus Domini* for Easter Monday,¹ where we see a melodic descent on *descendit*, a rolling motion on *revolvit*, and notes of an even pitch on *sedebat super eum*. We have often taken care to sing the communion antiphon *Passer invenit*² so that the liquescence on *et turtur* imitates the cooing of a turtle dove. We have understood our singing of the offertory *Jubilate Deo, universa terra*³ to be a literal representation of the Psalmist's injunction to sing joyfully by singing a *jubilus*, a nearly wordless melisma.

This view of chant has recently come into question, and at that, the question is not entirely new. John Stevens, in a compendious treatise, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350*, devotes an extended discussion to text setting in Gregorian chant;⁴ in summarizing his results, he says that he has rejected

relations between text and melody which seemed to rest upon a direct apprehension, a direct representation or expression, of *ideas* in musical terms On the rare occasions when it (the music) responds at all to the detailed meaning, it responds to the *sound* of that meaning as realized in the *sound* of the words, whether the words are onomatopoeic or expressive of human emotion.⁵

He views the relation of word to music in all chant as indifferent, neutral, essentially no more engaged than in a psalm tone, and believes that

although certain aspects of the chant may properly be, and were, talked about in rhetorical terms, this central function of rhetoric (human persuasion), is . . . irrelevant to its understanding.⁶

Moreover, he is convinced that in the case of formulaic chants, particularly graduals, tracts, and responsories, “there seems to be little point in attempting a detailed analysis,” since the formulaic system precludes attention to individual words. For him the better place to seek interesting text-music relations is in the freely-composed chants.⁷

Stevens is actually somewhat moderate in his views; he accepts, for example, the liquescent neumes of *Passer invenit* as setting the sound of the text, the onomatopoeic element being already present in the word *turtur* itself. He also accepts the *jubilus* of *Jubilate Deo* as an “expression of human emotion.”⁸ Moreover, one must readily concede his objection to overly fanciful descriptions, such as Dom Gajard’s of the “jubilate” melisma, the phrase climbs by a succession of leaps, in the manner of a mighty wave hurling itself into an attack on some cliff,⁹

since God is not properly approached as “some cliff,” nor is singing joyfully easily compared to an attack.

In all of this Stevens is actually refining the position of Willi Apel,¹⁰ whose view of the whole question is much less qualified and more negative. Although Apel’s comprehensive and fundamental work is solidly founded upon the mainstream of European scholarship, he distances himself on this point from the views of Gevaert, Frere, Gerold, Johnner, Wagner, and Ferretti:

I can only register my opposition against attempts to explain Gregorian chant as the result of mental processes so obviously indicative of nineteenth-century emotionalism, so obviously derived from an acquaintance with the art of Wagner and Brahms.¹¹

Apel provides reasoned refutations of several traditionally interpreted passages, and points out some fairly ambiguous places usually taken to be word-painting. One of his argu-

ments is at first glance most convincing. It is a comparative argument for chants based upon melodic formulae: When the same melody sets a number of diverse texts, then the very adaptability of the melody precludes its being able to represent the text individually enough to be word-painting. His final example epitomizes his method, using the antiphon *Ascendo ad Patrem*.¹² This is one of the forty-nine antiphons classified by Gevaert as belonging to a formulaic melody type (Thème 19).¹³ In it the normal formula G b c d e d¹⁴ is altered to include the high g: G b c d e g d; it is supposed that this alteration represents the idea of ascent in the text. In refutation Apel shows that another antiphon of the same type (one not included by Gevaert) has the same figure but speaks of descent.¹⁵

Both Stevens and Apel deny, in one way or another, the unambiguous existence of word-painting in chant.¹⁶ Their denial is based upon empirical argumentation: objective proof cannot be established for particular instances of putative word-painting, since in other instances the same word is set otherwise. Moreover, they both seem to assume that if word-painting is to be applicable to chant at all, it ought to be generally applicable—texts which mention ascent as a rule ought to be set to an ascending melody; for Stevens, the neutral quality of the melody on the word “Resurrexi” in the introit for Easter Sunday raises doubts about any theory of word-painting.¹⁷

The solution depends upon having a clear definition of “word-painting” and placing it in the context of the relation of text and melody. Word-painting is akin to rhetorical figures, embellishments used at certain points in a speech for certain effects, particularly those rhetorical figures of thought usually translated as “vivid description.” Quintilian, for example, describes *enargeia* (and similarly *evidentia*, *representatio*, *hypotyposis*, *diatyposis*) as a figure “by which a complete image of a thing is somehow painted in words.”¹⁸ Now if the rhetorical figure is the use of words to “paint” a vivid picture, then in music its analogue is the use of tones to depict a vivid, concrete image, an image arising almost of necessity from the text, and this is what is generally meant by word-painting.¹⁹

The analogy to oratory thus provides the critical distinction. The rules of grammar, which are structural and obligatory, apply to all of speech, while the rhetorical figures, which are

embellishments and voluntary, to be chosen for the places where they are most effective, might occur only at a few particular points in a speech. Likewise for chant: Stevens is quite right to insist that the basic construction of Gregorian melodies is grammatical, that is, the smaller and larger grammatical elements of the texts are the basis for corresponding smaller and larger musical phrases.²⁰ Analysis of this kind of structure is valid for any piece. Word-painting as a particular figure, occurs only exceptionally, and may be analyzed as something over and above the structure of the melody, an embellishment, an additional coloration that adds a vividness of expression at a few apt points in the repertory.

The problem posed by Apel and Stevens, however, remains: how is this word painting to be identified? They deny an objective basis for the understanding of word-painting, and Apel appeals to the formulaic character of the chants in refutation. What they deny is what the present study proposes to demonstrate; moreover, the basis is precisely the melodic formulae. Considering a piece in the context of its formulae illuminates what is unique; considering what is unique suggests apparent reasons for the departure from the formula. Sometimes there is apparent and explicit representation of something particular in the text; sometimes this is evidently word-painting.

The method of the present study is to explore different ways in which melodies relate to formulae in order to clarify and distinguish potential instances of word-painting. Each of the following examples falls into a context of melodic formulae, that is, it relates to a melody or melodic system which pertains to several texts; each example also bears an unusual relationship to the formula; and upon close examination, each illustrates an interesting kind of text-representation, often explicit and literal enough to be called word-painting. Willi Apel's analytic tables of the formulaic chants, particularly the graduals²¹ and tracts,²² and Gevaert's classifications of antiphons for the Divine Office²³ have been the basis for ready comparison of the formulae.

The highly formulaic tracts of mode eight provide a clear context for examining an exceptional passage closely. The tract *Commovisti*²⁴ has such a passage, the intonation of the

initial word; moreover, it is a passage in contention. Apel disapprovingly cites Gerold, who sees in it “the tendency to express in music the action of the Eternal shaking the earth.”²⁵ The context of the eighteen medieval tracts in mode eight²⁶ sets this initial melisma in very clear relief. Of the eighteen tracts, all but the present one use an intonation formula that is found in at least one other tract, i.e., this is the only one with a unique intonation. This intonation, in addition, is substantially longer than any of the others.²⁷

Example 1:

Intonations of Tracts in Mode Eight

D e-si- dé- ri- um

S aepe

A d te le- vá- vi

C anté- mus

Tract. VIII.
C ommo- ví- sti

In addition its melody has an interesting shape: it moves through the G-c fourth in mainly stepwise motion, adding a note above and below once, and making three complete cycles of ascent and descent. While it has a certain distinctive contour, this exceptionally long intonation is mainly a multiple reiteration of the same motion, suggesting motion for its own sake. Even though Gerold’s characterization of it might be overly imaginative, he is not far from the mark, since all of the features mentioned point out the fact that this melody serves as a vivid representation of motion itself, thus setting its text “commovisti.”

The graduals of mode seven, being less highly formulaic, form a context for judging passages which are exceptional within their mode in that they stand outside the system of melodic formulae entirely.²⁸ Of the twelve which Apel analyses, two

have responds which do not show any motives in common with the others.²⁹ *Qui sedes, Domine*³⁰ and *Miserere mihi, Domine*³¹. Each has an unusually wide range (D-aa and D-g respectively)³² and significant portions of melody in both extremes of range. In at least one of these, this seems to be for the purpose of an exceptional representation of the text.

Example 2:

Gradual Responsory: *Qui sedes, Domine*

Q ui se-des, Dó-mi-ne, *su-per Ché-ru-
 bim, éxci-ta po-ténti-amtu-am, et
 ve-ni.

Qui sedes, Domine, very near its beginning, on the word “super,” approaches a high g by skip and follows it with two successive descending skips; it then soon descends to a low D, repeating it through the phrase “excita potentiam tuam, et veni.” Peter Wagner describes the first of these events as “a powerful emphasis upon a pictorial image at the expense of logical coherence.”³³ Wagner is addressing a phenomenon known to rhetoricians; some even give it the status of a figure of speech. They call it a *solecism*, a relation of words that does not make complete grammatical sense;³⁴ at least one medieval theorist as well made direct application of *solecism* to melodic analysis.³⁵ At the beginning of the piece, “super” sounds like a part that is distinctly out of range, particularly since it is rather abruptly approached and left by skip, and thus the passage which follows, a much more stable melody, gives the temporary impression of being in the proper range of the piece. The verse, however, proceeds to develop the upper part of the range

coherently, so that in retrospect the listener understands that it was the lower passage “excita . . .” which was out of range. The normative character of the upper part of the range is confirmed by the fact that the verse begins with a long melisma common to several mode-seven graduals (Apel’s formula D10).

The initial use of the high extreme of range, even to the point of threatening the coherence of the melody on a word meaning “above”, and above something that is normally conceived to be on high (Cherubim), expresses extreme height extremely and is word-painting of the most evident sort. But what of the passage on “excita . . .”? If, in retrospect, this appears to be the part more fundamentally out of range, and on the low side, is there not something “low” in the text which might be the reason for its extreme range? The phrase is an imperative, “Stir up thy might, O Lord, and come.” This addresses the power of the Lord as dormant, waiting to be invoked; the low pitch represents the point of departure, His present position, that state of repose from which the Lord will come, having stirred up His might. Thus both extremes of range in this piece depict aspects of God—above the Seraphim and in a state of waiting.

The other mode-seven gradual respond without common formulaic material, *Miserere mihi, Domine*, uses similar contrasts of range, but for a different purpose. The respond asks for mercy and healing, and is set in the lower part of the range (the plagal part, D-d). The verse begins with the word “conturbata” set to a striking figure which rises by a fifth and then a third and proceeds through several pressus and strophicus, touching upon a high aa at one point. At the least, the pronounced contrasts of range in this piece must represent a contrasting expression of the emotion of the text, the lower of humility in asking for mercy, and the higher of distress. The higher melody on “conturbata” uses a formula common to three mode-seven gradual verses, but the initial direct ascent of a fifth plus a third followed by a descending sequence of pressus and strophicus is unique to this piece. This exceptional ascent, contrasting so strongly with the low range of the respond, together with the intense singing of the pressus is surely a more vivid and direct expression of the state

of mind of the speaker. Both of these non-formulaic mode-seven gradual responds, therefore, in place of using the formulae of the mode, exploit unexpected ranges for explicit representation of their texts, in one case by literal or metaphorical spatial analogies, in the other, by contrasting human emotions.

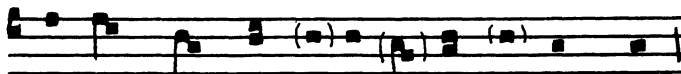
The antiphons to the psalms of the divine office are among the most formulaic chants. If the argument against text-representation from the formulaic nature of chants has any validity, it should apply particularly well to these pieces. Apel's first example of chants to which a pictorial or specific expressive interpretation has been given (and against which he argues) is the antiphon *Ecce ancilla Domini*.³⁶ He cites Gevaert's description: "the melodic line, sweetly bowing until the end of the chant, renders with a charming naivety the profound reverence of the Virgin before the messenger of God."³⁷ The implication of his argument (which he makes explicit in the case of *Ascendo ad Patrem*)³⁸ is that since other chants with other texts use the same melody, the melody itself cannot thus be an expression of some unique aspect of this text. Is this true for *Ecce ancilla Domini*?

At first glance, the formulaic context seems to rule out an intrinsic representation of text, for the melody type to which it belongs (Gevaert's Thème 18) comprises no less than 50 antiphons on such diverse texts as "De profundis," "Elevamini, portae aeternales," "Ego dormivi," "Terra tremuit," and others,³⁹ texts which might have inspired pictorial settings, though quite different ones.

Closer inspection, however, shows *Ecce ancilla* to be one of nine antiphons classed as a sub-group, a fixed melody identified by the title of the psalmodic antiphon *Collocet eum Dominus*.⁴⁰ The texts of these nine antiphons have, in fact, nothing in common which could suggest so concrete an image as Gevaert's "profound reverence of the Virgin before the messenger of God." Yet, surprisingly, they do have things in common which relate to the shape of their melody and which set them off from the general repertory of antiphons.

The initial melodic figure begins on the reciting tone and makes a direct, stepwise descent to the final.

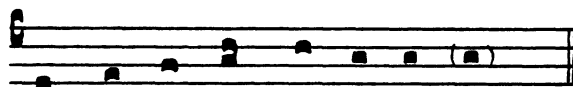
Example 3:
Antiphons on the Fixed Melody
Collocet eum Dominus



1. Col-lo- cet e- um Do- mi- nus
2. Hoc est prae cep- tum [] me- um
3. Ec- ce an- cil- la Do- mi- ni
4. Ec- ce com- ple- ta [] sunt
5. A- quam quam e- go de- de- ro
6. Be- ne fun- da- ta [] est
7. Tol-le quod [] tu-[] um est et val- de



- cum--- prin-[] ci-pi- bus
 ut di- li- ga- tis in- vi- cem
 fi- at [] mi- hi
 omnia quae dic- ta sunt per an- ge- lum
 qui bi- be- rit ex e- a
 Do mus[] [] Do- mi- []
 qui- a e- go bo- nus []



- po- [] pu- li [] su- i.
 si- cut di- le- xi vos.[]
 se- cun- dum ver- bum tu- um.
 de vir- gi- ne Ma- ri- a.
 non si- ti et un- quam.
 ni su- pra fir- mam pe- tri.
 sum [] di- cit [] Do- mi- (nus).

The texts either speak of the action of God from on high⁴¹ or are an imperative (grammatically or in content);⁴² one could be construed to be both,⁴³ only one does not represent either kind of text,⁴⁴ and it uses the fixed melody only for its first half, so it is already distinct from the rest of the group.

Those antiphons whose texts represent the action of God from on high depend on a spatial analogy: the melody descends from an initial high point to a point of repose below it. Those which set an imperative represent the text by an extension of the basic grammatical analogue: they capture something of the tone of voice of that sentence type.⁴⁵ While a declarative sentence generally begins low, rises high, and descends again, an imperative expresses its command from a firm high-pitched beginning and descends to its conclusion. (A question, in contrast, expresses its open-ended character by ending on a high pitch.)⁴⁶ There may be, then, more of the grammatical than just the articulation of phrases; the phrases themselves may have melodic contours which derive from the characteristic inflection of their particular sentence-type.

As with so many rather general statements about the relationship of text to melody, the question remains, is such a melodic shape really a typical part of the wider Gregorian vocabulary? Can the witness of this one small group of antiphons suggest a more general correlation of initial melodic shape with grammatical function? A simple test can be made. The alphabetic index of Gregorian incipits⁴⁷ allows a survey of a large number of chant beginnings. When all of the chants beginning with the word “Ecce” are examined for their initial melodic contour⁴⁸ and compared with a sampling of chants not beginning with that word,⁴⁹ the following percentages are obtained for chants whose melodies begin with the descending formula:

Chants beginning “Ecce”: 21.8% (31 out of 142)

Chants not beginning “Ecce”: 13.9% (146 out of 1048)

These percentages show that such a descending beginning is far from normative; nevertheless, the difference is statistically significant enough to be able to say that in the wide repertory of Gregorian melodies, “Ecce” is more often set to the descending melody; in other words, the imperative character of the phrase may be a factor in the shape of the melodies. These antiphons suggest an important conclusion: what can be found in a demonstrable and objective way in the representation of text by music may be a much more general relation than most authors have sought, and may not be only a single

one. The same initial descending figure can represent sometimes a spatial analogy, and sometimes the tone of voice of a sentence inflection, depending upon the text which is set.

That an unusual initial descending melody may set the imperative is corroborated by the well-known *Ite, missa est ad libitum* given with Mass II in the modern *Kyriale*.⁵⁰ The possible origin, late and secular, of this melody⁵¹ does not detract from the fact that as the only one of the melismatic *Ite* melodies which does not depend upon its corresponding *Kyrie* melody, it expresses an extravagant melodic descent of a whole octave, which is then repeated and followed by a modest arch-shaped cadential clause.

A fixed formula, a single figure setting only a word or two, may find employment in several chants whose texts and melodies otherwise differ, and the changing context can make it clear that exactly the same notes can bear several different meanings as that context changes. This occurs in a most interesting way in a group of mode-one offertories which provides an opportunity for a close comparison of text-representation in a formulaic context.⁵² This group includes the offertories *Viri Galilaei*,⁵³ *Stetit Angelus*,⁵⁴ *Iustorum animae*,⁵⁵ *Erue, Domine*,⁵⁶ and *Tu es Petrus*.⁵⁷ *Viri Galilaei* seems to be the oldest chant, though not a part of the original Roman repertory before its transmission to the North. *Stetit Angelus* is of later composition, but still from a time when the melodic formulations were used freely and flexibly, so that the piece is essentially a new composition. *Iustorum animae* and *Erue, Domine* are contrafacta of *Stetit Angelus*, and derive all of their musical shape and sequence of material from that piece. *Tu es Petrus* is a contrafactum of *Stetit Angelus* for its first half, but the second half is composed of other material.

The genesis of *Viri Galilaei* and its liturgical relation to another mode-one offertory, *Ascendit Deus*,⁵⁸ is of considerable interest. *Ascendit* is most likely the original offertory for Ascension Thursday, witness its psalmodic text and its presence in the Old Roman repertory.⁵⁹ Its Old Roman version suggests an interesting point about word-painting in its Gregorian version.⁶⁰

Example 4:***Ascendit Deus*, Beginning of Gregorian and Old Roman Versions**

The image displays three staves of musical notation. The top staff is the Gregorian version, starting with a large 'A' and the text '- scéndit * De- us in ju- bi-'. The second staff continues the text 'la- ti- ó- ne,'. The third staff is the Old Roman version, starting with a large 'E' and the text 'A - Scen - dit de - uf'. The bottom staff continues the text 'in iu - bi - la - ti - o - ne'.

The Gregorian version begins with a soaring upward ascent upon the text “Ascendit Deus.” This is an example of direct word-painting, setting the idea of ascent by a rising melody and emphasizing the very word which most typifies the whole feast. Each of the next two phrases begins with an upward leap of a fifth. Since the rest of the text includes mention of “in voce tubae,” the ascent of the fifth may well represent the voice of a trumpet, singing the characteristic interval which an open trumpet plays.⁶¹

The Old Roman version, though its final is E, is clearly a version of the same text and melody. It includes, however, neither of the potential features of word-painting seen in the Gregorian version. That the ascending fifth is word-painting is not unassailable; it could be only a matter of clearly establishing the D mode in the Gregorian version.⁶² In any case, the ascent on “Ascendit” remains, and this situation suggests that sometimes aspects of clear word-painting in Gregorian melodies may have been developed in the Frankish North after their reception from Rome.⁶³ Remarkably, the offertory *Viri Galilaei* also sets the idea of ascent with an exceptional rising melisma.

Viri Galilaei is not documented in Roman, Milanese, or Mozarabic sources,⁶⁴ and thus it could be a new composition of the Frankish North. Its entry into the Gregorian corpus is interesting. According to Hesbert's learned and well-founded speculations, it may have been composed for the new observance of the Vigil of the Ascension.⁶⁵ Of the text-sources collated in the *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, it is among the offertories assigned to the following Ascension observances (the asterisk indicates a reference only:⁶⁶

Source	Vigil of Ascension	Ascension Thursday	Sunday after Ascension
Rheinau	Deus Deus meus	<i>Viri Galilaei</i>	Ascendit Deus
Mont- Blandin		Ascendit Deus Item aliud Off. <i>Viri Galilaei</i>	
Compiègne	* <i>Viri</i>	Ascendit Deus	<i>Viri Galilaei</i> Item Off. *Lauda anima
Corbie		Ascendit	*Lauda anima
Senlis	<i>Viri Galilaei</i>	Ascendit	Lauda anima

Of all of the offertories in the entire *Sextuplex*, *Viri Galilaei* has the most variable assignment. It would seem that *Viri Galilaei* could not have replaced *Ascendit Deus* as the more ancient chant unless another day could be found for the latter (the following Sunday in Rheinau). Where there was no other day for it, it could have been given as an alternative on the feast itself (Mont-Blandin). This is not entirely consistent with the theory of its being a new composition; rather, it looks more like a situation which accommodates two venerable chants from different traditions, one more ancient, generally assigned to the feast, and yet another one, also desirable in relation to the feast, assigned to an ancillary day, the situation described by Kenneth Levy.⁶⁷ Thus *Viri Galilaei*, although it is not documented in Roman, Milanese, or Mozarabic traditions, could have Gallican origins, a venerable melody preserved by a long memory. Moreover, such Gallican survivals are characterized by non-psalmodic texts and prominent word-painting.

Its occurrence in later notated sources looks somewhat different, however; the following tabulation is drawn from readily available published facsimiles and arranged in approximately chronological order (the asterisk indicates only a reference):⁶⁸

Source	Vigil of Ascension	Ascension Thursday	Sunday after Ascension
Laon (ca. 930)	Viri Galilaei *Ascendit Deus	Ascendit Deus *Viri	*Lauda anima
Chartres (end 10 c.)		Ascendit Deus Viri Galilaei	*Lauda anima
Einsiedeln (10-11 c.)		Viri Galilaei Ascendit	*Lauda anima
Mont-Renaud (10-11 c.?)	*Viri Galilaei	Ascendit Deus Viri Galilaei	*Lauda anima
Benevento VI-33 (beg. 11 c.)	Ascendit Deus	Viri Galilaei	*Lauda anima
Bamberg 6 (ca. 1000)		Viri Galilaei Ascendit Deus	*Viri *Ascendit
St. Gall 339 (1st half, 11 c.)		Viri Galilaei	Lauda anima
Bologna (1st half, 11 c.)	*Lauda anima	Viri Galilaei	Ascendit Deus
St. Yrieix (2nd half, 11 c.)	Ascendit Deus	Viri Galilaei	*Lauda anima
Benevento VI-34 (11-12 c.)	Ascendit Deus	Viri Galilaei	*Ascendit
Graz (ca. 1150)	Viri Galilaei	Ascendit Deus	*Viri

The earlier sources show *Ascendit Deus* still as the principal offertory for Ascension, with *Viri Galilaei* as an alternate, but the later ones show that *Viri Galilaei* frequently replaced it, relegating it to the place of the vigil, the following Sunday, or as the alternative on the feast. Hesbert speculates that the text *Viri Galilaei*, already used for the Ascension introit, was a preferable text for the feast, being drawn from the account of the Ascension in the *Acts of the Apostles*; this could justify the gradual replacement of the psalmodic text *Ascendit Deus*.⁶⁹ This preference was perhaps stronger, because it did not sacrifice the extraordinary representation of the text so suitable to the day.

These five offertories, of which *Viri Galilaei* seems to be the oldest, share a great deal of melodic material in common; they thus provide several opportunities to examine questions of word-painting in the context of formulaic chants. Perhaps the most interesting question relates to the role of formula within a single piece.

Viri Galilaei is based upon a text from the *Acts of the Apostles*:⁷⁰

Et cum haec dixisset,
videntibus illis, elevatus
est: et nubes suscepit eum
ab oculis eorum. Cumque
intuerentur in caelum
euntem illum, ecce duo
viri astiterunt juxta
illos in vestibus albis,
qui et dixerunt: Viri
Galilaei, quid statis
aspicientes in caelum? hic
Jesus, qui assumptus est a
vobis in caelum, sic veni
et quemadmodum vidistis
eum euntem in caelum.

And when he had said these
things, while they looked on,
he was raised up and a cloud
received him out of their
sight. And while they were
beholding him going up to
heaven, behold two men stood
by them in white garments.
Who also said: Ye men of
Galilee, why stand you look-
ing up to heaven? This Jesus
who is taken up from you into
heaven, shall so come, as you
have seen him going into
heaven.

The liturgical text varies significantly from the Vulgate: in place of “quid statis aspicientes” it has “quid admiramini aspicientes,” and in place of “euntem” it has “ascendentem.” While both of these variants have precedents in ancient texts⁷¹ and in the venerable introit for the Ascension, they are important here because they stand out in the musical setting of the offertory.

Example 5:***Viri Galilaei* with Motivic Analysis**

Viri Galilaei, quid admirati-mi-ni aspi-ci-én-tes in cae-lum? Hic Ie-sus, qui assúmptus est a vo-bis in cae-lum, * Sic vé-ni-et, quemádmodum vi-distis e-um ascen-dén-tem in cae-lum, al-le-lú-ia.

Viri Galilaei is a piece whose melodic structure is generally based upon an intricate weaving together of a very few short motives. The initial intonation contains three of these; the fourth follows shortly upon it:

- a: F-F-D, a reiteration of F followed by a minor third below;
- b: C-D-F, an ascent of a whole step plus a minor third, reversing the direction of a; it resembles the intonation figure of mode-two psalmody, and generally carries an

intoning function as the beginning of a phrase segment; the minor third is often filled in with a quilisma; a variant of it, b', adds the beginning figure D-A touching on the fourth below the final.

c: a-G-a-F, the reciting tone of mode one with a lower neighboring tone figure and then a third below it.

d: a cadential motive comprising two successive descending thirds,⁷² always beginning with G; it may be followed by a C-D movement or may cadence upon C;

d: includes the thirds G-E-F-D.

d': includes the thirds F-D-E-C.

It is evident from Example 5 that the chant has its own kind of internal formulae: most of the chant consists of a flexible application of these four motives, sometimes with amplification. Such amplification can be seen, for example, in the phrase "in caelum" immediately before the final alleluia; it consists of motive d (G-E-F-D), prepared by a stepwise ascent of a third, and amplified by reiterations and neighboring tone embellishments of the F-D third, completed by a cadence to C. Likewise, the concluding "alleluia" incorporates b, c, and the two forms of d, but with some amplification between them.

The most striking part of the chant is not based upon these motives at all: the long, word-painting melisma on "ascendentem." At its very beginning it moves out of the range of the motives with its abrupt ascent of C-D-A-c; its structure consists of a gradual stepwise descent by thirds (a-c, G-b flat, F-a, E-g, F), but this is interrupted several times by skipwise ascents. The skeptic would say, "how can this be word-painting, since you have admitted that there is also descent?" appealing to the principle, what goes up must also come down.⁷³ The answer is evident: It is in the initial, more prominent, skipwise movements that the idea of ascent is depicted; skipwise movement attracts the attention more than stepwise. The gradual stepwise descent complements this with a logical progression and prepares for the cadence. This melisma is totally outside the context of the intricate working of motives upon which the rest of the chant is constructed; moreover, its abrupt ascent forms a vivid contrast with the low-ranging material immediately preceding it. Both of these features draw

particular attention to the melisma and highlight its exceptional role in the melody.

If a departure from the motivic structure alerts the listener to a special emphasis upon the meaning of the text, then perhaps an unusual permutation of the basic motives might do this as well. The first occurrence of the words "in caelum," is upon a melisma whose length is exceeded only by that on "ascendentem." Does this melisma draw attention to the setting of the word for heaven? While it does reiterate the highest note thus reached so far, that would hardly be sufficient. Rather it is a very different kind of depiction; its text, setting heaven as the object, depicts an action, "admiramini aspicientes," looking up into the heavens in a state of bewildered wonder. The permutation of the motives suggests this: motive c is repeated twice, each time with additional reiteration of notes, suggesting progressive hesitation; then motive d is altered to include two descents of a fourth and a preponderance of skips. This is a slightly illogical version of the cadence (motive d) that could be described as a solecism.⁷⁴ The more logical form of the same cadence comes immediately following on "Hic Jesus," providing the implicit answer to the question expressed by a more normal form of the cadence. The sense of incompleteness in this unusual cadence might simply be the expression of the question; yet together with the extended reiterations of the previous motive, the total effect is a slight suspension of the cogency of the passage, as if to depict bewilderment.

Example 6:
Stetit Angelus

S Te- tit Ange- lus juxta
a- ram tem- pli, ha- bens thu-ri-bu-
lum áu- re- um in manu su- a : et da- ta
sunt e- i incénsa mul- ta : * Et ascén-
dit fu- mus a- ró- ma-
tum in conspéctu De- i, al-le-
lú- ia.

Stetit Angelus is a text found in older repertories, Milanese and Mozarabic, though in a version closer to the Vulgate and on different liturgical occasions; its melody, however, seems to be unique to the Gregorian (Frankish) repertory.⁷⁵ It begins with the same intonation as *Viri Galilaei*; it uses exactly the same word-painting melisma on “Et ascendit,” and the same melody for the concluding “alleluia;” overall, its motivic material is similar, yet its construction is quite different. Rather than being a series of statements using a finely varied sequence of

motives, its phrases are more differentiated one from the other, and fall into longer phrase units. The following summarizes some of these differences:

“Angelus”: the b flat gives this word a higher range than “Galilaei” had, differentiating it from the preceding material.

“juxta”: the repeated leap up to G gives a prominent upper turning point, strong enough to establish an overall stepwise descent between the prominent pitches on “Angelus” (a) and “templi (F).”

“templi”: the rise to a bridges motives b and d, forming together a larger arch-shaped phrase.

“habens” anticipates the range and important pitches of the “et ascendit” melisma.

“thuribulum” has a range which mediates between “habens” and “aureum,” its prominent a-G helps to form an overall stepwise descent between the b-flat of “habens” and the F of “aureum.”

“in manu sua” uses b’, with its touching upon the fourth below the final; the sequence of the previous three phrases (beginning “habens”) and this one forms a single melodic trajectory, each playing a differentiated and functional role in the overall shape. b’ is preceded by some version of b each time it occurs, so that this motive, as well, contributes to broaden a melodic contour.

The overall construction of phrases is thus more organic than in *Viri Galilaei*, its underpinning being a clearer sequence of stepwise descent in prominent main notes; the sweep of the melody is thus broader and the total effect more dramatic.

What of the material which is common to both chants (the melodies on “et ascendit” and “alleluia”)? In view of the stylistic difference just identified, it is apparent that the common material has a much greater affinity with the stylistic process of *Stetit* than that of *Viri*. Particularly the “et ascendit” melisma shows a stepwise coherence not seen elsewhere in *Viri* but characteristic of *Stetit*.

The identity of the word-painting melisma in both chants suggests that it might have been the reason the melody was cho-

sen for this text, since the melisma could set essentially the same idea. Yet once the two pieces are compared, there is another aspect of *Stetit Angelus* that suggests that the melisma might be more suitable to it. The difference between the setting of the idea of ascent in *Ascendit Deus* and *Viri Galilaei* is that in the former the ascent is direct and immediate, while in the latter it is intermittent. This very quality may depict better the ascent of incense than that of the Lord, reflecting as it does the unpredictable billowing of clouds of smoke. Yet there is a counterargument: the context in the *Acts of the Apostles* for *Viri Galilaei* is “he was raised up and a cloud received him out of their sight.”⁷⁶ A cloud hiding the Lord could be as billowing as one of smoke. It is thus inconclusive which text this melisma suits better, and the relation of the two pieces must be addressed on other grounds.⁷⁷

Iustorum animae is in most respects a *contrafactum* of *Stetit Angelus*; that is, it is a note-for-note setting of the new text to the already-existing melody. The sole point of interest in this piece is the treatment of the melisma together with what comes immediately before it.

Example 7:

Iustorum animae, “Visi sunt”

vi-si sunt ó-cu-lis insi-pi-énti-um mo-ri:
ii-ii au-tem

The text reads “they seem to the eyes of the unknowing to be dead; they are, however, in peace.”⁷⁸ The crux of the text is the juxtaposition of appearances contrary to fact, which are negative—they seem to be dead—with the fundamental reality

which is positive—they are in peace. The word “autem” (however) expresses this paradox, and moreover expresses the fact that it is cause for rejoicing by being set to the melisma which formerly set “et ascendit.” Thus the melisma, which in the previous examples served the purpose of word-painting, is now applied to a more general kind of expression—both the contrast in the text and a human state of mind in response to it. There is, however, another detail which comes closer to word-painting, in the phrase previous to “autem” on the words “insipientium mori.” The corresponding phrase in *Stetit Angelus* used the motive b', which touched upon the fourth below the final, but here this very purposeful descent has been avoided, the word “insipientium” itself comprising only a second. This highlights the contrast inherent in the text, but it is also a kind of word-painting: this melodic passage has lost all its contour and interest, and by this fact eloquently expresses “unknowing.” Though the piece is a contrafactum, and though the principal expressive melisma remains unaltered, a simple restriction has been placed upon the melody, creating an even greater contrast; because of this contrast the melisma on “autem” more effectively expresses the positive actual state of the souls. Thus slight aberrations in the setting of this melody aptly express the text, even though the rest of the melody is kept quite literally.

Erue, Domine is another contrafactum of *Stetit Angelus*, altered only to accommodate slightly different configurations of syllables. Even here, the melody may have been selected for this text because of the fundamental contrast between the melisma and what comes before it. The text is on a subject similar to that of *Justorum animae*, the dead who will not give praise, contrasted with those whose sins are forgiven them, and this recall may have suggested the adaptation of this melody. It is divided in content into two parts; the first part consists of prayers for the dead in the form of imperatives, “Rescue, O Lord, their souls from death, and cast out from your glance their sins.” The second part gives a complementary argument, “for the underworld will not confess thee, nor will the dead praise thee.” The melody at this phrase follows a convention often seen in Renaissance and Baroque word-painting: a negative statement is set to the idea which is its

opposite, here something like the heavens will confess thee and the living will give thee praise. The setting of “non infernus” then, could be an expression of joy in that fashion. Two parts of the text in fundamental contrast are clearly set as opposites, and the familiar juxtaposition of motive b’ with the rising melisma is the crux of that contrast. It must be admitted that this manner of text expression is not even as specific as that of *Justorum animae*, and it could not in any event be called word-painting.

The final piece of the set is *Tu es Petrus*. Its text is the famous Petrine commission:

Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesi- am meam; et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversus eam: et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum.	Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys to the kingdom of heaven. ⁷⁹
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The piece begins as a contrafactum of *Stetit Angelus*; but from “et porta inferi” it ceases to be a contrafactum picking up some motives from *Viri Galilaei* and completely avoiding the word-painting melisma. It could well have used the melisma as in *Erue*, setting the ideas of the gates of hell to the low-ranging material and the keys of heaven to the melisma. This would have represented a significant contrast in the text, and even might have seemed an application of a spatial analogy to that contrast albeit a rather mechanical one. Instead, the total absence of the word-painting melisma in a piece which began as a contrafactum strongly suggests a negative choice—the absence of the word-painting melisma represents an absence of any real word-painting potential in the text for the redactor of the piece. The second half of the piece reverts to a style much closer to *Viri Galilaei* than to *Stetit Angelus*, ending with a strange long melisma on the last word.

Each of the five pieces has a particular relationship to the characteristic melisma, allowing it to present the most evident kind of word-painting, a more general expression of elation, or a generalized kind of contrast, or even avoiding it in the absence of a clear opportunity for representing the text literally.

Finally, to stretch the concept of formula to its limit, the context of a whole genre can be used to set exceptional passages in relief. The long melisma of the offertory *Jubilate Deo universa terra*,⁸⁰ which has been the subject of some previous discussion,⁸¹ may be compared to the melismata of other offertories to see just how exceptional it is. An examination of the offertory responsories in Ott's collection⁸² shows that while a long melisma occasionally occurs on a final word or phrase of a piece, such an occurrence elsewhere in the responsory is rare. Specifically, of the 110 offertories, only seven have a melisma of more than 30 notes that is not on the terminal word or phrase. Five of these belong to the *Viri Galilaei* group discussed above (each has the same melisma of 38 notes). Another is the present *Jubilate Deo Universa Terra* (for the Second Sunday after Epiphany), with a melisma of 48 notes on the unusual textual repetition of the word "jubilate." Finally, the longest melisma, 68 notes, occurs remarkably on yet another "jubilate," on a similar textual repetition in the offertory for the First Sunday after Epiphany, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*.⁸³ The occurrence of the two longest non-terminal melismata in the whole offertory repertory is witness to the exceptional character of these two pieces. That these melismata occur on the same word in an identical position is strong grounds for inferring that the melismata are expressions of the text. Moreover, what they represent can be seen as something quite literal; the word "jubilate" means sing joyfully, sing with nearly wordless "jubilation,"⁸⁴ perfectly and literally expressed by a long melisma.

This set of pieces confirms another observation made above; these two pieces show remarkable melismata in the Gregorian repertory; the same pieces in the Old Roman repertory, on the other hand, have very much less melisma on this word.⁸⁵ As in the case of *Ascendit Deus*, the absence of the word-painting element in the Old Roman version suggests the distinct possibility that it was developed after the transmission of the repertory to the North, and is a characteristic of the Gregorian, as opposed to the Roman, style.

If the forgoing study has identified one convincing instance of word-painting, then the demonstration has been accomplished—word-painting—is possible in chant. The nature of

the demonstration may seem somewhat circumstantial: it relies upon permutations in a context of formulaic practice for indications of what may be significant passages, and upon simple analysis of those passages for musical analogues to textual phenomena. The demonstration must be so because of the limited role such expressions of text played in chant; word-painting is far from normative.

The role of word-painting in this repertory should not be confused with its role in such a repertory as the Italian madrigal. Stevens points to a significant reason for the difference. In Gregorian chant, text and music “are not to be seen as concerned with each other in a mutual self-regard but as combining together for external purposes: here the purpose of worship.”⁸⁶ Thus the very self-conscious character of the Italian madrigal provides a context in which explicit text expression can play a much more central part than in chant. The greater importance of the grammatical aspects of chant structure is a direct corollary of this difference—the setting forth of a text in distinct, highly differentiated styles dependent upon liturgical function is served well by this grammatical construction. Yet it is not contradicted by the exceptional instances in which word-painting embellishes the basic process.

One might have hoped to find in the writings of medieval theorists some acknowledgement of this aspect of text-setting, but the typical medieval writer’s penchant for pursuing the well-established conventional topics may well have prevented that, the principal topic for chant being that of modality. The fact remains that, although a systematic search of theoretical texts has not been undertaken, at this point there is no known discussion of such a topic in medieval theorists.

There is, however, another aspect of medieval religious culture which can give a further context to the interpretation of their melodies, and that is the exegesis of scripture. A long patristic tradition gave the Middle Ages a highly developed way of reading a text, one in which a text was read not only for its literal sense, but also for three different allegorical senses. The basic literal sense was to be used in the proof of doctrine; the allegorical senses did not contradict the literal, but added other dimensions to the text, whether prophetic, moral, or

eschatological.⁸⁷ Thus, for the medieval singer of chant, differing contexts might give a text very different shades of meaning. This is in perfect harmony, then, with the practice of representing an aspect of a text vividly in one setting and not doing so in another. It must be admitted, in addition, that various stages of history must have seen the matters addressed in this paper quite differently. This is suggested, for example, by the fact that the liquescent notes in *Passer invenit* disappear in some of its later versions.

There is, then, in the interpretation of text-music relations in Gregorian chant, a middle ground between the extremes of freely imaginative associations and the irate empiricism of Willi Apel. It is not restricted to the sound of the text as Stevens would have it; rather, on the basis of at least a few clear instances of the depiction of motion or spatial representation as embellishments, it admits of what is properly called word-painting, and points to a much wider range of more general text expression. Nevertheless, these exceptional instances of word-painting do not pertain to the fundamental structure of the music so much as they add to it a delight in vivid description.

Endnotes

¹ *Graduale Triplex* (hereafter abbreviated *GT*; Sable sur Sarthe: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1979), p.201; *The Liber Usualis* with introduction and rubrics in English (hereafter abbreviated *LU*; Tournai: Desclee, 1963), p. 786. The *Graduale Triplex* is the text of the *Gradual Romanum* (Sable sur Sarthe: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1974) with staffless neumes from two traditions added; it thus provides immediate confirmation of the antiquity of the chants with neumes; page references, however, are identical with the *Graduale Romanum* of 1974.

² *GT*, p. 306f.; *LU*, p. 556.

³ *GT*, pp. 227f.; *LU*, pp. 486f.

⁴ John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Chapter 8, "Speech and Melody: Gregorian Chant," pp. 268-307; for two other views, see Terence Bailey, "Word-Painting and the Romantic Interpretation of Chant," and Andrew Hughes, "Word Painting in a Twelfth-Century Office," *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1990), pp. 1-15 and 16-27.

5. Stevens, p. 307.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
7. Stevens, p. 289.
8. Likewise Bailey (pp. 4f.) accepts this long melisma as a kind of general rhetorical emphasis, but rejects any text expression in *Passer invenit* (pp. 9-11).
9. Quoted by Stevens, p. 292.
10. Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), pp. 301-4.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 303.
12. *LU*, p. 845.
13. Francois Auguste Gevaert, *La Melopee antique dans le chant de l'eglise latine* (1895; Reprint, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1967), pp. 297-301.
14. Pitches are here designated according to the medieval gamut: Gamma (bottom of the bass clef) A-G, a-g, and aa-ee. Middle C is thus simply c.
15. *Descendi in hortum*, in *Antiphonaire monastique, XIIe Siècle, Codex 601 de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Lucques, Paléographie musicale*, Vol. IX (Solesmes, Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1906; reprint, Bern: Lang, 1974), p. 458; Apel, p. 304.
16. Apel admits the *possibility* of literal representations of "high" and "low," but he cannot determine whether these are accidental or intentional, citing examples in which the similar words occur with opposite figures (p. 303f.); Stevens is of the same mind concerning "ascent" and "descent" (p. 302).
17. Stevens, p. 302.
18. "Quo tota rerum imago quodammodo verbis depingitur;" Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII, iii, 63 (Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966; vol. III, p. 244-247.)
19. Thus the precise musical term might better have been the British term "tone-painting" (similar to the German *Tonmalerei*), the commonly used "word-painting" being a term borrowed too literally from rhetoric, *non mutatis mutandis*.
20. Stevens, pp. 283-286; Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, III: Gregorianische Formenlehre: Eine choralische Stilkunde* (Leipzig, 1921; reprint: Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), pp. 281-294, gave a demonstration of that principle in relation to the bipartite structure of psalm verses; Mathias Bielitz, *Musik und Grammatik: Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie*, Beiträge zur Musikforschung, Band 4 (Munich: Emil Katzwichler, 1977), Leo Treitler and Ritva Jonsson, "Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship" *Studies in the History of Music, Vol. 1: Music and Language* (New York:

Broude Brothers, 1983), pp. 1-23, and Calvin M. Bower, "The Grammatical Model of Musical Understanding in the Middle Ages," in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, edited by Patrick J. Gallagher and Helen Damico, pp. 133-145 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), among others, have discussed the basis of this grammatical structure in the musical theorists of the Middle Ages. It is not surprising that the monastic theorists who established the basic theory of chant should have placed music in so directly grammatical a context, since, in the curriculum for the internal monastic schools prescribed by Charlemagne music followed directly upon grammar.

²¹ Apel, pp. 344-363.

²² Apel, pp. 312-330.

²³ Gevaert, *La mélopée antique*.

²⁴ *GT*, p. 89f.; *LU*, p. 507.

²⁵ Apel, p.302.

²⁶ In this and the following discussions, only those pieces from the basic medieval repertory are included; the fact that two other tracts of recent composition employ the same intonation formula as *Commovisti* is relatively immaterial to the argument. Cf. Apel, p. 319.

²⁷ Its longest melisma comprises 27 notes, while of the others eleven have melismas comprising only four notes; one each has nine, ten, eleven, and 12, and two have seventeen. Cf. Apel, p. 319.

²⁸ The highly formulaic graduals are in mode 2 (19 pieces listed by Apel in the medieval repertory) and mode 5 (45 pieces); the less formulaic graduals are in modes 3 and 4 (13 pieces), mode 1 (15 pieces), modes 7 (12 pieces) and mode 8 (3 pieces), Apel, pp. 344-363.

²⁹ Apel, p. 356f.

³⁰ *GT*, p. 22; *LU*, p. 335f.

³¹ *GT*, p. 103f.

³² Of the seventh-mode graduals considered by Apel, the responds generally range either F-f or G-g; the verses use more formulae in common, and the verses of the two graduals under consideration do not differ in range from the mode-seven graduals as a group.

³³ Wagner, *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, p. 300.

³⁴ The author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (attributed to Cicero and widely read in the Middle Ages) disapproves of the solecism simply as a fault, ps.-Cicero, *Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi*, IV.xii.17 (Loeb Classical Library, Cicero, Vol. I; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 270f.; but Quintilian devotes an extended discussion of positive, rhetorical use of the solecism, *Institutio oratoria*, I.v.34-54.

³⁵ Ps.-Joannes de Muris speaks of the communion *Principes persecuti sunt me* as having a fault, which is like a solecism in grammar; a most

unconventional passage occurs in this chant, which could be called a solecism: a succession of upward leaps, D G b c a; that this might be solecism in the sense of a rhetorical figure rather than a mere fault is suggested strongly by the fact that it occurs on "super eloquia." *Summa musicae*, in Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra Potissimum* (St. Blasien, 1784; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), Vol.III, p. 238; Cf. also Frederick Sturges Andrews, *Medieval Modal Theory*, Ph. D. diss., Cornell, 1935, pp. 139-141.

³⁶ *LU*, p. 1417.

³⁷ Apel, p. 302; cf. Gevaert, p. 153.

³⁸ Apel, p. 304.

³⁹ Gevaert, pp. 289-94.

⁴⁰ Gevaert, pp. 293f.

⁴¹ *Collocet enim Dominus, Aquam quam ego dedero*, and possibly *Bene fundata est*.

⁴² *Ecce ancilla Domini, Ecce completa sunt, Tolle quod tuum est*, and *Sic enim volo manere*; "ecce" is an exclamation implying an imperative; its translation into English is generally into the imperative "behold" or "see".

⁴³ *Hoc est preceptum meum*.

⁴⁴ *Stephanus autem*.

⁴⁵ Stevens, p. 303, takes this to be "semi-onomatopoeic," being simply the setting of a single word representing "in stylized form human expressive cries."

⁴⁶ See, for example, in the Introit *Dominus illuminatio mea* (*GT*, p. 288; *LU*, p. 998), the question "a quo trepidabo?" which is set to a very unusual rising melodic cadence, F-G-a.

⁴⁷ John R. Bryden and David G. Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).

⁴⁸ Bryden and Hughes, pp. 143-149; for the present purposes the initial descending figure searched was the first six notes descending below and not rising higher than the initial pitch; i.e., in Bryden and Hughes' notation, the first five digits are either a negative number or zero.

⁴⁹ All of the chants of every tenth page beginning page one in Bryden and Hughes were examined for the descending melodic beginning.

⁵⁰ *LU*, p. 22.

⁵¹ Wilhelm Fischer, "Die Herkunft des 'Ite, missa est' V. toni," *Festschrift Alfred Orel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hellmut Federhofer (Vienna: Rohrer, 1960), pp. 67-72.

^{52.} Rene Jean Hesbert, O.S.B., first called attention to them and commented briefly on the relation of text and music in “La Messe ‘Omnes gentes’ du VIIe Dimanche après la Pentecôte et ‘l’Antiphonale Missarum’ Romain,” *Revue Gregorienne*, XVII (1932), pp. 81- 89, 170-179; XVIII (1933), pp. 1-14: particularly XVIII, p. 7, n. 2.

^{53.} *Offertoriale triplex cum versiculis* (hereafter abbreviated *OT*; Sable sur Sarthe: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1985), p. 172f.; *GT*, p. 237f. The *Offertoriale Triplex* is a reprint of Carolus Ott, *Offertoriale sive versus offertoriorum* (Tournai: Desclee, 1935) with the addition of staffless neumes from two traditions; page references apply to both editions.

^{54.} *OT*, p. 170f.; *GT*, p. 610; *LU*, p. 1656f.

^{55.} *OT*, p. 144f.; *GT*, p. 468f.; *LU*, p. 1172.

^{56.} *OT*, p. 177f.

^{57.} *OT*, p. 187f.; *LU*, p. 1333.

^{58.} *LU*, p. 849; *GT*, p. 237.

^{59.} Cf. Rene Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant, 1935; reprint, Rome: Herder, 1967), pp. lvi-lvii.

^{60.} *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale, Vat. lat. 5319*, edited by Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki, with an introduction by Bruno Stäblein, *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*, Vol II (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), pp. 322f.

^{61.} The leap of a fifth is often employed in a metaphorical sense—it accompanies words signifying “proclamation” or “judgment;” the sound of the trumpet is then a musical metaphor for the idea of proclamation; see, for example, the gradual, *Custodi me* (*GT*, p. 304f.; *LU*, p. 1021f.), in the verse on “judicium,” a part of the verse which is non-formulaic in Apel’s analysis (Apel, p. 351). Andrew Hughes’s dictionary of chant words is designed to pursue just such a topic, cf. Hughes, “Word Painting in a Twelfth-Century Office,” p. 27, n. 14.

^{62.} This difference between Gregorian and Old Roman versions of other chants has been illustrated by Hendrik van der Werf in such pieces as the introits *Puer natus est* and *Factus est Dominus*, *The Emergence of Gregorian Chant: A Comparative Study of Ambrosian, Roman, and Gregorian Chant*, 2 vols. (Rochester, N. Y.: published by the author, 1983), Vol I, Part 2, pp. 73-5 and 16-18 respectively.

^{63.} A similar case is the *Alleluia, Angelus Domini*, where the text “revolvit” receives a series of torculus figures suggesting turning or rolling. Apel rightly points out that the notation of St. Gall 359 does not contain these torculus figures, inferring that the depiction of the text stems only from the tenth or eleventh century (Apel, p. 303). Thus in this case, the word-painting was accrued by the piece; by the addition of rather few notes, an ordinary passage became one of vivid description, even after the piece had been set into notation.

⁶⁴ Kenneth Levy, "Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul," *Early Music History*, IV (1984):89.

⁶⁵ Hesbert, *Sextuplex*, p. lxvi.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-123.

⁶⁷ Levy, p. 91f.

⁶⁸ Most of the sources appear in *Paleographie musicale* (Solesmes: Abbaye de St. Pierre, 1889-1958; Berne: Lang, 1968-present; reprint, Berne: Lang, 1971-74), Vols. I (St. Gall 339), IV (Einsiedeln), X (Laon), XI (Chartres), XIII (St. Yrieix), XIV (Benevento VI-34), XVI (Mont-Renaud), XVIII (Bologna), XIX (Graz), XX (Benevento VI-33); Bamberg 6 appears as Vol. II of *Monumenta Palaeographica Gregoriana* (Münsterschwarzach: Internationale Gesellschaft für Studien des Gregorianischen Chorals, n.d.); the dating is drawn from John Emerson, "Sources, MS: Western plainchant," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), Vol. XVII, pp. 611-634.

⁶⁹ Hesbert, *Sextuplex.*, p. lxvi.

⁷⁰ *Acts*, 1:9-11, in the Vulgate and Challoner-Rheims versions.

⁷¹ Petrus Pietschmann, O.S.B., "Die nicht dem Psalter entnommenen Messgesangstücke auf ihre Textgestalt untersucht," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, XII (1932), pp. 87-144; cf. particularly pp. 106, 129.

⁷² From the beginning of motive c the intonation has as its only skip a-F. The first occurrence of the d motive forms the beginning of an overall stepwise descent, moving to the cadence through G-E, F-D, C, to D.

⁷³ Stevens, p. 302f.; Apel, p.303f.

⁷⁴ In the version of the Montpellier Codex it is yet a little bit more disoriented: G D F E G F C D; *Antiphonarium tonale missarum, XIe siècle: Codex H. 159 de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de médecine de Montpellier, in Paléographie musical*, VIII (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1901-1905; reprint, Berne: Herbert Lang, 1972), p. 211.

⁷⁵ Levy, p. 74-77.

⁷⁶ *Acts*, 1:9.

⁷⁷ This is the subject of a further study; this complex of pieces shows the kind of interrelations explored by Kenneth Levy in "On Gregorian Orality," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XLIII (1990), pp. 185-227; my hypothesis is that there was a continuing interrelation between versions of these two pieces, the result being that the melisma from *Stetit* finally replaced whatever had been in *Viri*, and that *Viri* is already the adaptation of a melody from another older piece.

⁷⁸ *Wisdom*, 3:1-3.

^{79.} *Matt.* 16:18.

^{80.} *GT*, pp. 227f.; *LU*, pp. 486f.

^{81.} Stevens, pp. 292-4; Bailey, pp. 4f.

^{82.} *OT*.

^{83.} *GT*, pp. 259f., *LU*, p. 480.

^{84.} Cf. Walter Wiora, "Jubilare sine verbis," *In Memoriam Jacques Handschin*, ed. H. Anglés et al. (Strassburg, Heitz, 1962), pp. 39-65.

^{85.} *Die Gesänge*, pp. 298ff. and 363f; *Jubilare Deo universa terra* has a melisma of 26 notes upon a repetition of the text, but *Jubilare Deo omnis terra* has no repetition of text at all.

^{86.} Stevens, p. 271.

^{87.} Cf. Joseph Dyer, "The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office," *Speculum*, LXIV (1989), pp. 535-78; cf. pp. 535-38 and the literature cited there.

Patrons of the Arts The Wards: Justine and George Symbolic Illusions

Catherine Dower

Patrons of the arts seldom receive the acclaim deserved for their interest in and sponsoring of great music and great musicians. The public careers of Justine Bayard Cutting Ward (1879-1975) and her husband George Cabot Ward (1876-1936) merit special consideration for their patronage of music in the United States, Puerto Rico and abroad. Their contributions as sponsors have been well-documented, and it is fitting that each generation be acquainted with the magnitude of their endeavors and the depth of their involvement.

Mrs. Ward came from a socially prominent family which concerned itself with the cultural affairs of New York City. Her father, William Bayard Cutting (1850-1912), was a member of the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Opera, and although as commonly supposed, was not a founder as is even stated in the brochure promoting the latest book on Mrs. Ward by Dom Pierre Combe, published by the Catholic University Press. Cutting was a boxholder in the Old Academy of Music. According to Allen Churchill in *The Upper Crust, An Informal History Of New York's Highest Society*, the Academy of Music (Fourteenth Street and Irving Place) was the only opera house for years in New York City.¹ The eighteen boxes were transferred from one generation to the next within the same families — like Cutting, Bayard and Belmont [name changed

to the French for Schoenberg) — and even Mrs. Astor could not obtain a box. When William Henry Vanderbilt offered \$30,000 for a box they declined him membership. Vanderbilt, Rockefeller, Gould, Morgan, Whitney and other “nouveaux riches” therefore founded a rival opera house — the Metropolitan Opera and Real Estate Corp.

According to the Metropolitan Opera Association Archives, William Bayard Cutting was not in the original founding group but was unanimously elected to the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Opera and Real Estate Co. on May 12, 1908.²

W.B. Cutting was also on the Board of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a Trustee of Columbia University from which he was graduated, and President of the Saint Louis, Alton, and Terre Haute Railroad. When he died in 1912, he left an estate of \$2,000,000. Each of the three children received \$250,000.³ The W. Bayard Cutting Arboretum, the estate of her parents at Westbrook, Oakdale, Long Island, where Justine Ward lived as a child, is a public park.

Recognized in her early years as a rising author, Justine Ward was schooled privately by tutors and later attended the Brearly School in New York (what would correspond now to grades 7 through 10.) She was married to George Cabot Ward by the Rev. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus at Brompton Oratory in London on July 2, 1901. Because it was a “mixed marriage,” [Justine was not a Catholic], altar candles were not permitted to be lighted and vocal or instrumental music was forbidden.⁴ The wedding took place in the afternoon, after which a reception was held at the home of Joseph H. Choate, United States Ambassador, which according to *The New York Times*, was “lent for the occasion” and there was an “extraordinary profusion of flowers.”⁵

George Cabot Ward also came from a socially prominent family. Justine Ward’s marriage to him was influential in two ways. First, through her conversion to Catholicism in 1904, she became interested in church music, and second, George Ward was one of the United States appointed officials to Puerto Rico following the Spanish-American war and thus it opened the opportunity for her to participate actively in Puerto Rican musical life.

Justine Bayard Ward was an accomplished pianist. She had been a personal friend of Father William O’Brien Pardow, S.J.,

who had taught her about rhythm of the chant, whose biography she later wrote, and who converted her to Catholicism on June 27, 1904 at Saint Ignatius Loyola Church on Park Avenue in New York.⁶ In thanksgiving for her gift of faith she resolved to further the renewal of liturgical music.⁷

Justine Ward had become interested in the plainsong of the Church and had studied the chant with Father John B. Young, S.J., musical director of Saint Francis Xavier Church in New York City. Father Young had developed a system of sight reading and singing, a new plan of studies for the parochial schools of the Archdiocese of New York. Justine Ward later adopted his tonal exercises and also wrote a study in *The Catholic Choirmaster* on his liturgical restoration work and his outline for a course in music for the parish schools based on principles of Cheve: using numbers to represent tones of the scale.⁸

After reading the papal encyclical of Pius X, the *Motu Proprio* of November 22, 1903, Justine Ward began writing about Church music. By the time she arrived in Puerto Rico she was already recognized as a rising author. Her article, "Church or Concert," originally published in *The Messenger* (1905), was translated into German and printed in the *Augsburger Postzeitung* (1906). Her article, "The Reform in Church Music," which first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* (April, 1906), was reprinted as a booklet by London's Catholic Truth Society, and was also printed by *The Messenger* (No. 12, June 22, 1906), and in Philadelphia by *Education Briefs* (No. 24, October, 1908).

Concerning this last article, "The Reform in Church Music," she received several letters of commendation which she preserved in her scrapbooks. A letter from Professor John Singenberger (Sacred Heart Sanitarium, Wisconsin, June 21, 1906) inquired if he might have permission to reprint the article for his readers. Mrs. Ward also received a request from Father Joseph Nieborowski of Térraba (Costa Rica) to publish the work in Spanish. The editor of *The Messenger* wrote to her stating that readers had written suggesting that the article be reproduced and widely disseminated.⁹ Edith Wharton wrote a note to her praising her endeavors,¹⁰ and her "Aunt Bessie" Schönberg from Pallous, South Austria, wrote to her that she

had had the article bound in white and gold with a fine silk book mark: "it really looked superior and worthy to take a place in the Gregorian library at the Vatican," and she had a private audience during which she presented it to the Pope who told her that he would read it that evening.¹¹

Federico Degetau, the First Commissioner from Puerto Rico to the United States Congress, wrote a letter to Mrs. Ward acknowledging the receipt of this article, which he planned to translate into Spanish.¹² His translation, "La reforma de la Musica Religiosa," was published in *La Verdad, Revista catolica de San Juan, P.R.* (June 27, 1908). Degetau read his translation at the meeting of the Ateneo Puertorriqueno honoring the memory of beloved Puerto Rican composer, Felipe Gutiérrez.¹³ During the evening the insular Police Orchestra, directed by Francisco Verar, played the *Overture* from *Guarionex* by Gutiérrez, followed by a speech by the Vice President of the Ateneo, Emilio de Toro Cuebas. The orchestra then played *El Parto de los montes*, a capricho with clarinet and flute obligato by Gutiérrez. Manuel Fernandez Juncos gave a reading followed by the study on Gregorian Chant by Justine B. Ward, read by Degetau.

After the intermission, the orchestra played *La Familia*, a symphony by Gutiérrez. Rafael Monagas described the life of Gutiérrez, Mrs. Arteaga sang *Elegy* by Massenet and *Quanti Mai* by Gounod, and Julio Arteaga played the *Appassionata Sonata*, op. 57, by Beethoven. José Janer gave a poetry reading and the evening ended with the orchestra playing the grand march from Meyerbeer's *El Profeta*.¹⁴

Copies of the study by Mrs. Ward were given to the audience, and she received great applause. Later, Manuel Fernandez Juncos reviewed Mrs. Ward's study in Cervantes and he wrote that it was a "very spiritual paper, aesthetically profound," and praised Mrs. Ward for her "great sincerity, her intellectual ability, her sharp ingenuity which enabled her to express herself so elegantly."¹⁵ A few highlights of the article are noted here:

. . . Church music is an art made up of two elements, music and prayer, and it cannot be judged by the value of one of its elements tested as a separate entity. . . . the law of prayer must be the law of song, both that our prayer may be good art and that our art may be good prayer. . . . In opera we recognize the same principle. There the law

of the drama is the law of the music. . . . The spirit and form of the drama regulate the spirit and form of the music. This principle is universally recognized as regards opera; but the very musician who applies it as a matter of course to the theatre is dumbfounded when asked to apply it to the church. The modern composer is equally shortsighted in his methods: a man with no conception of love, . . . would scarcely undertake to set to music the drama of *Tristan and Isolde*, yet a man with no conception of prayer — and of such there are, alas, many — does not hesitate to set to music words of whose meaning he has not the vaguest practical knowledge. . . . for if the law of drama be the law of music in opera, and the law of prayer be the law of song in the church, the composer must understand the meaning of the drama, in the one case, and the meaning of prayer in the other, . . . the music is not merely an accessory, but an integral part of the ritual; words and music form together a complete artistic whole. . . . “The more closely a composition for the Church approaches in movement, inspiration and savor, the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple” [J.W. quoting from the *Motu Proprio*]. The liturgy of the Catholic Church serves a two-fold purpose: to pray and to teach. . . . chant enunciates the words, music embroiders on them; one is the principle of concentration, the other that of diffusion. Chant is, therefore, the only form in which the whole liturgy can be sung at all. [Here J.W. wrote in the margin of the text “too strong.”] . . . Liturgical prayer is not the expression of individual reaching up to God, as in private devotion; it is the Church praying as a church, officially, as a corporate whole. . . . Chant with a free rhythm of prose . . . Chant is joyful, but the joy of the cross, as distinguished from the joy of the revel. Chant is fervent, but with the passion of asceticism, as distinguished from the passion of the world. . . . Church music must not have less character than secular music, but its character must be different; a difference not of degree but of kind. There is no emotion more intense than religious emotion, but its intensity is along other lines than those of worldly emotion. The same is true of religious music.

This is a distinction which many of the great composers in the past have recognized. Thus Wagner, . . . frankly borrows the church's form when wishing to construct a religious drama. By means of one Gregorian progression, . . . he gives his entire opera a stamp of pseudo-spirituality. . . . indeed, a study of the great composers would seem to bear out the theory that the more lofty the thought, the less adequate becomes the modern scale, and the more intense the emotion, the less adequate becomes the modern measure. Chant must not be listened to as *music*, for music, in our modern sense, suggests that formal arrangement of sound, that conventionalism, to which our ear is accustomed, and does not, therefore, include Chant in its popular use. Chant is a form of declamation, a musical, and very devotional, recitation of the text. It does not attempt to reproduce the illusion of the text, as in the theatre. . . . it aims higher. . . . It suggests a meditative mood. . . . One more aspect of this movement, which must not be forgotten, is its democratic nature. For the carrying out of the full ideal demands the cooperation of the entire people, who will not longer assist at, but take part, in the liturgy.¹⁶

She was especially interested in Gregorian Chant and soon dedicated her life to the promotion of sacred music. She became an authority on the performance of the chant according to the Solesmes method which she had studied with Dom André Mocquereau at Quarr Abbey and at Solesmes.

She achieved international fame through her many articles on sacred music which were translated into several languages. In 1910, because of her writings on sacred music, Father Thomas E. Shields invited her to assist him with the musical portion of the parish elementary school curriculum and he subsequently invited her to teach music at Sisters College at the Catholic University of America.

Justine Ward's life is well-known to the church-music world and is fairly well-documented. She did not limit herself with the usual generous donations, but pursued an active musical career. This is exemplified by her numerous articles on the promotion of sacred music, especially Gregorian chant, and her progressive system of music education, The Ward

Method of School Music,¹⁷ for grades one through eight — “designed to bring spiritual and aesthetic enrichment by integrating music on a daily basis with other subjects in the Catholic school curriculum.”¹⁸ It is still used in England, Ireland, Holland, France, Italy, and the United States.

Justine Ward was invited by Mother Georgia Stevens, R.S.C.J., to teach at Manhattanville College (1916) and in two years, she founded the Pius X School of Liturgical Music in New York City.¹⁹ Because of the growing registration for courses, she donated the music building — Pius X Hall — in 1924. She founded the Dom Mocquereau Foundation in New York in 1928, a charitable corporation organized for teaching and disseminating Gregorian chant. The next year she subsidized a Schola Cantorum at The Catholic University of America by establishing a \$1,000,000 trust fund. Later donations led to Catholic University naming the music building for her — WARD HALL in 1967, giving her an Honorary doctorate, and on April 26, 1976, the School of Music announced the opening of their Center for Ward Method Studies under the competent direction of Theodore Marier.²⁰

George Ward was also a musician. By profession he was a lawyer, but he also played the violin. In fact, early in his career he had been advised by the celebrated lawyer and ambassador to England Joseph Choate, “Never let anyone know that you play the violin; it would wreck your career!”²¹

During the period when Puerto Rico passed from the Spanish to American control in 1898, there was inevitable friction between the functionaries and the people of the island. This was understandable, particularly because of the language barrier. The story of one appointed official and how he conquered Puerto Rican hostility is a refreshing episode in the island’s history, and it indicates that some American officials were very much involved in the island’s musical world.

Throughout his term of office in the government, George Cabot Ward and his wife, Justine Bayard Cutting Ward, showed an appreciation of the Puerto Rican culture and took a continuing interest in island activities. In 1905, when Ward was appointed Auditor of Puerto Rico by President Theodore Roosevelt, he and his wife moved to Old San Juan and occu-

pied a house facing the Fortaleza. Ward arrived in Puerto Rico in February of 1906 and served as Auditor until August 30, 1909, when he was named Secretary of Puerto Rico by President William Howard Taft. Ward was Acting Governor at various times during his tenure as Secretary, the position he held until his resignation February 25, 1910.²²

When the former Auditor, Thomas W. Hynes returned to the United States in November of 1905, he found illness in his family and resigned his position.²³ The following day, George Cabot Ward was named to succeed Hynes. When the news of Ward's appointment reached the island, *The Puerto Rico Eagle* stated that the new Auditor "is a young man of a very wealthy family of New York City and is a lawyer by profession."²⁴ Ward, who possessed a solid academic background, having graduated from Harvard College in 1898 and Harvard Law School in 1901, was admitted to the New York Bar in 1901, and practiced law in New York City before being appointed to his position in Puerto Rico.

Ward had been in Puerto Rico only five days when an editorial indicated that he had already favorably impressed the citizens. The affectionate "Salute" stated that Ward was an "exception to the general rule of bureaucrats"²⁵ — in the daily sessions of the Executive Council, Ward was always present (according to the newspapers) and usually took an active role in the proceedings.

By March 31, Ward had proven himself worthy of even more favorable comments. The editorial bears repetition:

"Let Mr. Post [Secretary and Acting Governor] profit by the lesson administered by the worthy councilor and learn to respect public opinion, to heed its dictates and obey its mandates; let him awaken to the necessity of satisfying an opinion that has the power and authority to impose its will.

And it is not only Mr. Post — whose haughtiness and presumptions are proverbial — who should find in the Auditor an example worthy of emulation, there are others who hold the absurd view that everything foreign is superior to what is found here, that we must accept as great and unmerited favors all the capricious reforms and innovations imposed on us by the instruments of liquidation who masquerade as redeemers.

How different our feeling and that of the general public would be toward the government, if among its members the same method of procedure adopted by Mr. Ward, the Auditor, was observed. Conscious of his unfamiliarity with questions relating to the colony, he refused to vote in the Executive Council a few hours after his arrival in the island, thus showing not only his good sense but also his respect for the country to which he had come.²⁶

The Wards were immediately included in civic and church social functions. They attended a ceremony at the Collegio Sagrado Corazon at which the Bishop officiated, and during which the Police Band performed brilliant concert pieces.²⁷ During the next month, Mrs. Ward was named to the Board of Directors of the Anti-Tuberculosis League of Puerto Rico, along with the wife of Governor Beekman Winthrop and others.²⁸ On April 17, in the salon of Parque Borinquen, the Wards, along with the leaders of San Juan society, attended a "Fancy Dress Ball." This must have been a very special occasion in their early San Juan days because Mrs. Ward's scrapbook of those years preserves many pictures of her "grandmother's dress," which she wore that evening.²⁹ The dance lasted from 9 p.m. until 2 a.m., with music by the orchestra of the Insular Police Band, Senor Francisco Verar conducting.³⁰

The Ward's first residence in Puerto Rico was on a side street facing the Governor's Palace. While they were in San Juan they occupied several houses, including the famous "Pink Palace" which was the home of the Secretaries of Puerto Rico.

Their second home was on the sea wall near the Fortaleza. They also owned a home in the country where they could escape for fresh air and rest. Their cabin had originally been a road mender's cabin on the side of the mountain.

Apparently, when other United States-appointed officials arrived in San Juan they lived in government-owned homes. Several editorials appeared in the newspapers that spring criticizing the Secretary for living in the "Pink Palace" and other government officials who would not pay their utilities. The editorial stated that these people lived at the expense of the government and never purchased property on the island.³¹

The first resident of the “Pink Palace” had been the Attorney General James Harlin, after whom, in October of 1901, it was occupied by Secretary Charles Hartzell and then by succeeding Secretaries.³²

On May 21, 1906, Governor Beekman Winthrop returned to Puerto Rico and the “disturbing and alarming” term of Post was about to end.³³ The following day, however, when the Governor returned, he received a “glacial” reception from the people because so many unpleasant and disagreeable occurrences had taken place during his absence.³⁴ Post left for the States the next week (for a short stay) and the editor reported that he had left the country in a “near state of revolt.”³⁵ With Post gone, Winthrop became the target of severe criticism by the news media. Clearly, leaders of Puerto Rican society had lost confidence in him, although much of the problem was caused by Post.

“Then came Mr. Ward,” declared the editor of the *Boletín Mercantil de Puerto Rico*. From “the moment of his arrival,” he demonstrated that he was “a competent official and a distinguished administrator. . .”³⁶ He respected the Puerto Rican people, and was the opposite of the typical imperialists who insisted on their ability to “instruct and enlighten” the natives “on all matters.”³⁷

In July, the editor again praised George Cabot Ward for his opposition to an economic proposal that was seen by natives as the epitome of imperialism. George Ward had won the hearts of the people:

Has there been seen from any direction an opposition to the imperialistic measure more firm, more eloquent or more convincing than that displayed by Mr. Ward?

The ringing and eloquent words of the Auditor have resounded in the ears of the congregation and awakened the consciences of some who have been deaf to the demands of the public. . . .

It is the Auditor who has pointed out the errors of the doctrine here by those who believe in the centralizing and absorbing powers of the State; it is this saving theory that has triumphed, because of his great prestige and his indisputable ability.

The ideas of Mr. Ward which have merited the unstinted praise of the Colony, may perhaps have appeared disrespectful to the congregation which does not know what to think of a functionary of this order, of one who dares to express ideas and opinions contrary to the redemptionist creed which has established the infallibility of our tutors on all questions and in all matters.

Yet, the editorial expressed concern that the other Americans on the Council were offended by Ward's approach.

"Quite likely, [they] have viewed with a fear amounting to horror what they doubtless judge to be the iconoclastic tendencies of the distinguished official who does not recognize in the reverend congregation the ineffable superiority which it believes itself to possess. [Yet,] it is a matter of slight consequence what the congregantes think, their views and opinions carry no weight outside themselves; public opinion heartily endorses all that has been said by Mr. Ward and accords him enthusiastic praise.

In the public mind, the Auditor is separate and distinct from the congregation, he is a different type of man from the members of that mesocratic clique, he does not share the imperialistic and absorbing views of the bureaucracy; he seems to have a higher and more lofty ambition than those who have taken in charge the nefarious undertaking of effecting the liquidation of the island."³⁸

In mid August, the Wards sailed for the United States, not only for a vacation but to enlighten the President on Puerto Rican problems.³⁹ He declared that the problems, both political and economic, could have been partially solved with recognition of Puerto Rico and complete citizenship for its people. Ward also reported the depression and poverty which existed in the coffee districts, due to "an unfair and unjust" tariff. Puerto Rico had been forced to consume only American products because of the tariff of that time. It seemed only just that an equal obligation should exist regarding the tariff which prevented Puerto Rican coffee from being imported into the United States.⁴⁰

During the Wards' absence from Puerto Rico, it was announced that Governor Winthrop would be leaving, and there

was speculation and hope that Ward might be his successor. Ward was praised for his "individual merit and ability," as a man "who, in no matter what position he may be placed, shows intelligence and fairness in all his acts."⁴¹

In November, when Ward returned to Puerto Rico, newspapers carried the story of his conference with Roosevelt, and about the \$1,000,000 appropriated for the construction of new roads.⁴² Preparations for Roosevelt's trip to the island were progressing and he was among the dignitaries chosen to accompany the President on his island tour.⁴³ The next month Ward again demonstrated his genuine concern for the local problems when he contributed to a fiesta for the poor children of San Juan.⁴⁴ In addition to his support by the public, as Auditor of Puerto Rico, Ward demonstrated that he was conscientious and efficient. He had made a close study of the system of audit and found that it failed to meet the requirements of the times. Indeed, by the old system it was possible for the same bill to be paid several times: Ward established a uniform system for ordering goods, using duplicate forms. Apparently improper payments had been made, payments in cash instead of by check. He initiated a system of direct audit before payment, he suggested an annual audit of all books of all departments, and he revised the bookkeeping system; thereafter a more complete record of government business would exist.⁴⁵

In 1907, Ward impressed the Puerto Rican people with his determination to learn Spanish, which by then he "spoke correctly and wrote with elegance."⁴⁶ Moreover, he was concerned that notices of public hearings were printed in English, which meant that no local citizens would attend.⁴⁷ Cognizant of this fact, Ward announced that his reports would be printed in Spanish.⁴⁸ The editor of the *Boletín Mercantil de Puerto Rico* again praised Ward, noting the marked difference between his views

"and those who boast of their ignorance of the language spoken in the colony and would abolish it.

The attitude of the Auditor produces in the mind of the public a feeling of confidence and creates a sentiment of affection which some of the bureaucrats have done their best to destroy with their lack of consideration and vio-

lences, and who have never extended to the colony those courtesies so frequently displayed by Mr. Ward.

If public documents are to be known and read in Puerto Rico, it is necessary, in fact, imperative, that they should be published in the language spoken and understood by the people.

It is difficult to conceive how they could have any other idea or proceed in any other manner, those functionaries who affect and seem to feel for everything that is peculiarly ours, for all that is the essence of our personality and the basis of the character of our people, an offensive aversion which is mortifying for us, and, on occasion, intolerably insulting and impudent.

Perhaps some will infer from the foregoing that we ought not to praise the attitude of the Auditor, seeing that his difference of conduct signifies, plainly and unmistakably, a demonstration of respect which merits the consideration of a civilized country which has a superior grade of culture.

To refrain from expressing a feeling of deep rejoicing and satisfaction would be the same as denying tributes to virtue claiming the right to be bad and that it ought to be recognized that all men indulge in practices that are good.

We are not in an epoch viewing with indifference the actions of those who comply with their duties, when there are so many who live in complete and utter disregard of public opinion."⁴⁹

As a member of the Executive Council, he proposed bills to consider real estate decisions,⁵⁰ to establish a special commission to study anemia among the people,⁵¹ and to provide compensation to certain city councils of Puerto Rico for the maintenance of city jails.⁵² He recommended radical changes in the system of auditing and accounting, introducing more modern methods into the business office of the Insular Government. He also created a Paymaster's Bureau in the Treasury Department. He suggested that the Fund of the Insular Police Band which was used to purchase music, repair instruments, and meet various band expenses be placed in the Insular Treasury or be deposited with the Chief of Police instead of remaining

in the hands of the bandmaster. All in all, his office furnished more financial data than formerly, and the reports were published in the *Official Gazette*, a new government periodical.⁵³

In March, when President Roosevelt cabled Governor Winthrop with the news that he was to become Under Secretary of the Treasury in Washington, it was speculated that Ward might be a possible candidate for Governor.⁵⁴ By March, however, Regis Post had been named Governor and Ward was now mentioned as a possible successor to Post as Secretary of Puerto Rico.⁵⁵ This was not to materialize for another two years.

Socially, in 1907 the Wards participated in many functions. On January 17 they attended a fiesta hosted by the Winthrops in the Executive Mansion, with entertainment by the Police Band.⁵⁶ On January 23 at the Hotel Inglaterra they attended a banquet in honor of the King of Spain, Don Alfonso XIII.⁵⁷ A sextet directed by Maestro Marquez played works by Sarasate, Leoncavallo, Wagner, Mascagni, Albeniz, Caballero, and Marquez; and several dignitaries gave speeches in Spanish including the Governor who recorded the glories of the discoveries of America. The next day the news media saluted all of the orators, especially the brilliant speech by Munoz Rivera, and Ward, who pleased them all with his speech in correct Spanish.⁵⁸

In February, the Wards participated in a carnival in the theatre for the benefit of the Women's and Children's Hospital at which the Band of the Regiment of Puerto Rico and the Insular Police Band played. Mrs. Ward was listed among those at the "Kiosco de confeti," where they promoted a "battle of confetti."⁵⁹ There was also a vaudeville show with numbers sung by Amalia Paoli and piano solos by Monsita Ferrer.⁶⁰ The next week the Wards attended a dance in the Elks Club with the orchestra of the Police playing music by Juan Rios Ovalle.⁶¹

In April they toured the island in an automobile caravan, escorting the Secretary of War, William Howard Taft and his wife,⁶² and on their return attended a splendid banquet at the Executive Mansion in honor of the Tafts.⁶³

In June of 1907, George Cabot Ward demonstrated that Puerto Rico was becoming modernized, when he issued an

invitation to the people to join an Automobile Club. He was named President, and other officers were Luis Toro as Vice President, Edwin L. Arnold as Treasurer, and Charles Hartzell as Secretary.⁶⁴ They took auto trips to a fiesta in Ponce,⁶⁵ and in August they toured the island with the governor in the lead car. They reached Caguas in two hours and sixteen minutes, and Aibonito in five hours and three minutes. Some of the cars broke down on the trip, and Ward's auto trouble prevented him from arriving at Coamo with the others.⁶⁶

At the end of the summer the Wards left for the United States, returning to the island on December 5.⁶⁷ When Governor Post returned on the eleventh, Ward was among the dignitaries to meet him, and the Police Band played *La Borinquena*.⁶⁸ Ward attended the banquet for Governor Post at which the Police Band played, and all important government employees were present.⁶⁹

Rather significantly, when new Directors were named for the Ateneo Puertorriqueno, George Cabot Ward was elected to the Board, the only member who was not a native Puerto Rican. The new officers were President Ferdinand R. Cesteros, Vice President Emilio de Toro, and Board Members, George Cabot Ward, Federico Degetau, Jacinto Texidor, Manuel Vélez Lopez, Rafael Monagas, V. Urrutia. The Secretary was José de Janer, Vice Secretary was Enrique Contreras, Treasurer Manuel F. Calderon, and Librarian Rafael Asenjo.⁷⁰ It was unprecedented for an American to be accepted in such a way, and Ward attended all the director's meetings and the social functions of the organization.

The Wards were present at all important social functions. When Julio Arteaga gave a recital of his pupils in the salon of the Paris Bazaar, they heard Mrs. Arteaga sing songs by her husband, *Madrigal*, and *Tu qui audio*, and an aria by Rossini.⁷¹ Ward was always certain to write to express his appreciation for being invited and he always complimented the hosts and hostesses. For example, when Francisco Verar conducted the Police Band at a reception the Wards gave in their home, Ward sent a letter to Verar thanking the band for the fine presentation, and for the brilliant execution of the many compositions, among which were danzas by "the immortal" Morel

Campos and his “illustrious successor” Juan Rios Ovalle. Ward’s letter was printed in the newspaper.⁷² When the reporters mentioned Mrs. Ward, she was always “la distinguida senora de Ward,” and was always described as beautifully or elegantly dressed with lovely embroidered work or many brilliant jewels, or both.⁷³ The Wards were among the many who attended an anti-tuberculosis benefit at the Hippodrome on April 19th.⁷⁴

When a meeting was held of all of the officers of the various societies of the city, Mrs. Ward was elected a Vice President, and the other committee members included Nicolasa Torruella de Arteaga, Maria Amelia Pasarell, Maria Luisa Diaz Canaja, Josefina Noble, and Minima del Valle.⁷⁵

The Wards were invited to the wedding of the daughter of Pedro Giusti in the San Juan cathedral and a reception at “Villa Francia” in Hato Rey.⁷⁶ When Julio Arteaga featured his daughter in a recital, he invited the Wards to attend. Genoveva De Arteaga performed a sonata by Reinecke. Srta. Belén Dueno performed the Mozart *Piano Concerto in A Major* and an *Impromptu* by Schubert. Mrs. Arteaga sang arias by Mozart, Rossini, and Verdi.⁷⁷

Ward was on hand for the celebration of the Fourth of July and he joined the Governor in the reviewing stand as the Regiment of Puerto Rico filed by.⁷⁸ Later that month he and Mrs. Ward were in Ponce for the weekend to attend the horse races.⁷⁹ Returning to the city they attended a banquet in honor of Governor Post, with the Police Orchestra in a side room playing musical selections.⁸⁰

In August Mr. Ward participated in the Teacher Institute, as he had done in 1907. He briefly insisted on the need for cooperation of the parents — to assist the teachers in their work and help and encourage their children in their studies.⁸¹

At the meeting of the Ateneo Board of Directors, Ward gave a prize to the Puerto Rican composer of the winning danza in their contests.⁸² He was reelected to the Board in 1908. The officers for the year were Ferdinand R. Cesteros as President, Vice President Emilio del Toro Cuebas, Treasurer Aureliano Ferrer Viale, Vice Treasurer Manuel R. Calderon,

Secretaries Enrique Contreras and Arturo Cordova Landron, Librarians Rafael E. Ramirez and A. Lopez Tizol, Board members, Martin Travieso, Jr., Rafael Monagas, Eugenio G. de Hostos, George Cabot Ward, Augusto Malaret, and José Janer. Again, a great honor was extended to Ward, the only American on the Board.⁸³

In March, Mrs. Ward was listed in the newspaper as one of the “distinguished ladies” attending a concert presented for the Women’s Club.⁸⁴ The newspapers followed her career documenting committees and Boards as she attended in various capacities. *Puerto Rico Ilustrado* featured her photo as a leading club woman of the city in 1910.⁸⁵

In his final report as Auditor in 1908, Ward boasted many improvements in methods in Government Bureaus. It was during this time that the Legislature appropriated the \$200,000 settlement for the Catholic Church against the Insular Government. The first \$60,000 was paid in 1908-9 and the remainder during the next two years, with interest. Official automobiles were now being provided, enabling officials to reach more places efficiently. Ward created a new bureau of traveling examiners, a unified system of accounting, and he continued to work on the reorganization of the Auditor’s office.⁸⁶

At the end of August he was named Secretary of Puerto Rico by President Taft.⁸⁷ Ward received numerous letters, cablegrams, and communications of congratulations from his friends in the United States and around the island. By October he was Acting Governor. In this capacity he had to prepare the program of activities for the newly-named Governor, George Colton, who was to arrive from the United States on November 4.⁸⁸ While Ward was Acting Governor, his father-in-law, William Bayard Cutting, gave \$500 to the Anti-Tuberculous League of Puerto Rico. In the same article in which that gift was announced, the Acting Governor informed the reporter that he had given a silver cup to the President of the Ateneo Puertorriqueno to be awarded to the composer of a Puerto Rican danza, as a prize for excellence in the contests of the Ateneo.⁸⁹

The Wards greeted the new Governor and his family as they disembarked from the “Morro Castle,”⁹⁰ and gave a recep-

tion for them in the “Opalacio rojo,” the “Pink Palace” home of the Secretary of Puerto Rico.⁹¹ After the inauguration a letter was published in the newspaper signed by George Cabot Ward in which he expressed his profound gratitude to all who contributed to the success of the ceremonies. It was a warm, gracious, thoughtful letter. No other Governor had ever written such a communication to the people.⁹²

Ward left for the United States for a minor operation in December. In his absence, Mrs. Ward assisted with a program to benefit poor children. She was also on the Board of Directors for the Society to assist the poor.⁹³ When he returned, he and Mrs. Ward attended a fiesta in the Hippodrome for the benefit of the hearing impaired.⁹⁴

When George Ward resigned as Secretary of Puerto Rico on February 25, 1910,⁹⁵ he told a reporter that he would leave Puerto Rico “with profound sadness. I have spent four years here. . . . Everyday I appreciate more the hospitality of the Puerto Rican people.”⁹⁶

When the Wards left Puerto Rico, a newspaper mentioned that the Wards would be missed in the highest social circles.⁹⁷ Governor Colton gave a luncheon for Ward on March 9, 1910. The Colonial Regiment of Puerto Rico, the Commander of the Marines, the President of the Supreme Court, and the members of the Executive Council and city leaders were all invited. They wished him success in his future political career, and he declared that he would never forget his four years in Puerto Rico and the hospitality of the people. He praised the Council and the Administration of Governor Colton.⁹⁸

The Wards left immediately to attend the funeral of Mrs. Ward’s brother, William Bayard Cutting, Jr., who was a victim of pneumonia while doing research in Egypt in preparation for a series of lectures he was to give at Harvard the next year on English colonial government.⁹⁹ Cutting had been a member of the Diplomatic Corps, having served in London, Milan, and while secretary of the Legation in Tangiers in 1909, had resigned because of his wife’s poor health, according to letters in his file in the National Archives.

The Wards were missed in Puerto Rico. About June of 1910 a letter to *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico* inquired whether

there were still a Club Automovilista since Cabot Ward had left. Since he had founded it and was its president, the reader wondered what had happened to the organization. The reporter informed him that the club was still functioning and that the dues for active members were \$25 to join and \$40 for the year.¹⁰⁰

That year, Ward was a member of the United States Delegation to the Fourth Pan American Congress at Buenos Aires, in July, and a member of the United States Commission to Chile. He served as Commissioner of Parks of New York City from 1914 to 1917.¹⁰¹ As Park Commissioner he urged the organization of a permanent committee of citizens to combat any attempt to invade the parks and he opened a campaign to remove large advertising signs from city playgrounds.

He enjoyed considerable success as a Park Commissioner until April 16, 1917, while on his way to open a new playground, driving his car northward on First Avenue between Sixty-seventh and Sixty-eighth Streets, he ran into two little girls who were running fast to cross the street. They didn't see his car because of a huge coal truck and darted in front of him. They were killed instantly. Ward was greatly affected by the accident. In his statement to the news media he said he was heartbroken. "It seems almost irony of fate that I, who throughout my administration of the parks and playgrounds of New York, have constantly labored in the interests of our city's children, should have thus been the innocent cause of sorrow in two households." Ward was paroled and exonerated. The jury agreed after hearing at least a dozen witnesses that it was an unavoidable accident and Ward offered to settle the suit for one of the girls for \$1300 to avoid litigation although it was agreed that the killing of the two girls was accidental.¹⁰² He resigned as Park Commissioner that November.¹⁰³ The Report of the *American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, 1918*, stated that "it was generally conceded that he [Ward] had made one of the best Park Commissioners that the City has ever had. He had the interests of the people closely at heart, was solicitous for the proper use of the parks, was a stout advocate of protecting the parks against improper encroachments, was open-minded to suggestions from his fellow-citizens, and exercised a cultivated taste in matters that required discriminating judgment."¹⁰⁴

Ward was commissioned a Captain of the Ninth Coast Artillery, New York, and a Major in the Aviation Section Signal Corps. He was appointed assistant chief of staff and chief of the Intelligence Section, Line of Communication, A.E.F., on December 24, 1917. He was made a lieutenant colonel March 1, 1918.

Until his death in 1936, he made his home at 21 Avenue de la Victoire, Nice, France.¹⁰⁵ Colonel Ward was a director of the American Library of Paris, of the Franco-American Society, of the Franco-American Welfare, and of France Amérique. He was a vice president of the Interallied Veterans Federation, chairman of the American Legion delegation to Brussels in 1922, a commander of the Serbian Order of the White Eagle, a member of the Political Science Association, the Bar Association of the City of New York, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the Pan-American Society and the Ibero-American Society. In the United States, Colonel Ward belonged to the University, Century, City, Republican, Bankers, Harvard, and Whitehall Clubs of New York, and to the Cosmos and Chevy Chase Clubs in Washington, D.C.

In 1919, Justine Ward received a legal annulment of her marriage at Binghampton, New York, with permission of Cardinal Patrick Hayes, Archbishop of New York.

Justine Ward was instrumental in having many students attend the music schools she funded. Because of her friendship with the Arteagas when she was in Puerto Rico, both Julio Arteaga and his daughter Genoveva, both leading island musicians, attended the Pius X School of Liturgical Music in 1921.¹⁰⁶

She was generous to a fault but came to a "parting of ways" with some of her associates whom she had befriended. She escaped from her commitment to the Pius X School of Liturgical Music (Theodore Marier was instrumental in bringing a reconciliation with the Sacred Heart Sisters) and later from the Catholic University of America, leaving the music building far from completed. Many tried to "patch up the breach," between Mrs. Ward and the University and finally, Dr. John Paul, Dean of the School of Music, appeared to accomplish this feat. In the late 1960s, he invited Sr. Wilma, S.S.N.D. to

teach the Ward Method during the summer session. Many of us took advantage of this at that time. Mrs. Ward was in attendance at a final program presented by Sr. Wilma illustrating the Ward Method and this author presented Sr. Wilma with a bouquet of roses after the presentation. Rumor had it that Mrs. Ward was not too pleased with the demonstration. Theodore Marier again came to the rescue and is still the Director of the Center for Ward Studies at Catholic University.

Justine Ward had an unyielding character where Gregorian Chant was concerned. The account of her association with the Benedictine Monks of Solesmes is ably covered by Dom Pierre Combe, O.S.B. *Justine Ward and Solesmes* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1987). It was a mammoth undertaking and appears to be accurate with the exception of the fact, as mentioned above, that Justine Ward's father was on the Board but not a founder of the Metropolitan Opera [promotion brochure], and she had not "been married since 1901" to George Ward; they were married in 1901 but she had received an annulment in 1919 at Binghamton, New York, with permission of Cardinal Patrick Hayes.

There are many lasting tributes to Justine Ward — Pius X Hall, Catholic University music building, organs at both the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music and at Solesmes, the Dom Mocquereau Foundation and the work it sponsors, the Center for Ward Studies, and on July 14, 1976, the Library of Congress selected and accepted 112 volumes from Justine Ward's library that she had bequeathed in her will.¹⁰⁷

Justine Ward was the recipient of many distinguished honors among which was the cross *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* from Pope Pius XII in 1950. She was also a benefactress of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music (Rome) from which she held an honorary degree of Doctor of Gregorian Chant (1926). She was decorated by the governments of Italy and the Netherlands for her exceptional civil service in 1944. Her other honors include the Liturgical Music Award of the Society of Saint Gregory (1948), the *Croce di Benemerenzza* from the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. Her life is a fascinating study — a completely nostalgic trip of a benevolent philanthropist, a most unusual patroness of the arts.

Endnotes

1. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 134
2. Letter from Mary Ellis Peltz, Archivist, Metropolitan Opera Association, inc., (Lincoln Center Plaza, New York City), June 14, 1977; each of the thirty five stock holders was assessed 300 shares of stock at \$100 (about \$40,000) plus \$30,000 for reconstruction of the building, plus the price of the "Diamond Horseshoe." The stockholders also paid an annual assessment of \$15 a share, according to Irving Kolodin in *Metropolitan Opera 1883-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 52-53; 134-5. Also see John Briggs, *Requiem for a Yellow Brick Brewery*. (Boston: Little Brown, 1969), pp. 3-7; 42-44.
3. *The New York Times*, (March 12, 1912), 6.
4. Letter from Rev. D. Mark Taylor, priest of Brompton Oratory, June 19, 1977. See photo of copy of wedding certificate.
5. *The New York Times*, (July 3, 1901), 5. Her younger brother was later Secretary to Choate in London, one of his first diplomatic corps positions.
6. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915. Reviews in the Woodstock Letters at Georgetown University Library. A review in *The Month* [London] (April, 1915), 431, stated that "we must commend the authoress for the successful way in which she has not only given a speaking portrait of her subject, but provided a spiritual book of great value."
7. Sr. Anne DePaul Quigley. *The Cultural and Aesthetic Objective in Elementary School Singing; The Ward Method Exemplified by Comparison*. (Rochester, N.Y.: Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, 1945), p. 28.
8. XI (January-March, 1924), 120-124.
9. John S. Wynne, S.J., Kohlman Hall, Fort Washington Avenue at 181st Street, April 27, 1906.
10. Origo, p. 30. She wrote that one day when Justine was a young girl her mother invited Edith Wharton to see a tapestry which was in the drawing room where Justine was practicing the piano. Mrs. Wharton's remark was, "Well, Teddy, it may be just as well that we never had any children. Just think, one of them might have been musical!"
11. Letter dated July 25, 1908, is unsigned, but the information under the picture of Pallous Castle in her scrapbook shows that her 'Aunt' Bessie and Uncle Ernst Schoenberg lived there.
12. Letter in her scrapbook.
13. *LaC*, xviii (June 13, 1908), 1.

14. *Ibid.*, (June 15, 1908), 2.

15. "Una precioso estudio sobre musica religiosa," *Cervantes, Revista Decenal de Literatura, Ciencias y Artés*, IV/23 (July 10, 1908), 1-4.

16. Justine Bayard Ward, "The Reform of Church Music," in *Educational Briefs*, 24 (October, 1908), 455-463.

17. *The Ward Method/Music instruction for Catholic Schools Grades 1-8*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press for the Center for Ward Studies, 1976.

18. Sr. Anna DePaul Quigley. *The Cultural and Aesthetic Objective in Elementary School Singing; The Ward Method Exemplified by Comparison*. (Rochester, N.Y.: Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, 1945), p. 28.

19. See Justine Ward's article on the Restoration of Gregorian Chant in *The Catholic Choirmaster* XI (January-March, 1924), 120-4.

20. Letter from Dr. Thomas Mastroianni, Dean, April 26, 1976.

21. Iris Origo. *Images and Shadows*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1970, p. 30.

22. Before his tenure as Auditor, George Ward may have previously visited the island. On April 12, 1901, a J.G. Ward arrived on the "Philadelphia." (Often in the Puerto Rican newspapers his name was printed as Jorge or Jacob.) According to *SJN*, VI/86 (April 13, 1901), 8; in March, 1904, a Mr. Ward left for the North on the "Ponce," according to *The San Juan News*, IX/62 (March 16, 1904), 3.

23. *Boletín mercantil*, LXVII/275 (November 29, 1905), 7, and LXVII/276 (November 30, 1905), 6, and *LaC*, XVI (December 28, 1905), 6.

24. *The Puerto Rico Eagle*, IV (December 30, 1905), 8. The report speculated that the new Auditor would arrive early in the month. The *BM*, LXVIII/5 (January 6, 1906), 4, stated that Ward would leave for Puerto Rico, sailing on the 27th, and *BM*, LXVIII/24 (January 29, 1906), 4, stated that he had left New York for the Island. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/27 (February 1, 1906), 7, stated that he would leave New York the next day. *The Puerto Rico Eagle*, IV (February 12, 1906), 8, stated that he would leave on the next ship, and the same paper, IV (February 24, 1906), 8, stated that he had arrived on the "Coamo." *BM*, LXVIII/45 (February 23, 1906), 7, listed the Honorable George Cabot Ward and maid among the passengers of the "Philadelphia" and page 4 carried the story of his arrival on that ship. Other articles about his appointment appeared in the *BM*, LVII/298 (December 28, 1905), 7, and *LaC*, XVI (December 29, 1905), 2.

25. *BM*, LXVIII/49 (February 28, 1906), 2.

26. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/76 (March 31, 1906), 5.

27. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/67 (March 21, 1906), 2, and LXVIII/60 (March 13, 1906), 1. There were musical numbers, poetry, a discourse by the Bishop and a final hymn accompanied by the orchestra.
28. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/78 (April 3, 1906), 1.
29. Scrapbooks are not named nor are the pages numbered.
30. *BM*, LXVIII/89 (April 17, 1906), 2. Special mention of Mrs. Ward's dress was noted here.
31. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/106 (May 7, 1906), 5.
32. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/104 (May 5, 1906), 5.
33. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/119 (May 21, 1906), 5.
34. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/123 (May 25, 1906), 5.
35. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/127 (May 31, 1906), 5.
36. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/111 (May 14, 1906), 5.
37. *BM*, (May 14, 1906), 5.
38. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/167 (July 18, 1906), 2.
39. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/190 (August 14, 1906), 4.
40. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/210 (September 6, 1906), 5. Several articles sang his praises, including LXVIII/209 (September 5, 1906), 2, and LXVIII/210 (September 6, 1906), 2.
41. Editorial. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/234 (October 4, 1906), 6, also LXVIII/233 (October 3, 1906), 2.
42. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/260 (November 3, 1906), 5.
43. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/277 (November 23, 1906), 7. Pictures from Justine Ward's scrapbook.
44. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/307 (December 29, 1906), 2.
45. *United States House of Representatives Document Vol. 49, No. 5152—59th Congress, 2nd Session*. Document No. 203, p. 73. Annual Report of the Auditor of Puerto Rico to the Governor for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1906.
46. *BM*, LXXII/56 (March 8, 1910), 2.
47. *Ibid.*, LXVIII/114 (May 16, 1906), 5. This was an editorial relating to the Commissioner of the Interior and the fact that an interpreter was employed at all proceedings of the Council, but the announcements were always in English.
48. *La Correspondencia*, XVII (January 7, 1907), 3.
49. *BM*, LXIX/7 (January 9, 1907), 5.
50. *Ibid.*, LXIX/24 (January 29, 1907), 4.

51. *LaC*, XVII (February 4, 1907), 3.
52. *Ibid.*, (March 1, 1907), 2, and (March 5, 1907), 2.
53. *Second Annual Report of the Auditor of Puerto Rico for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1907. House Document Vol. 49, No. 5152—59th Congress, 2nd Session. Document No. 203, pp. 1-33.*
54. *BM*, LXIX/54 (March 5, 1907), 2, 5.
55. *LaC*, XVII (March 8, 1907), 1.
56. *Ibid.*, (January 18, 1907), 2.
57. *Ibid.*, (January 24, 1907), 2.
58. *BM*, LXIX/20 (January 24, 1907), 2.
59. *LaC*, XVII (February 6, 1907), 2.
60. *Ibid.*, (February 7, 1907), 2.
61. *Ibid.*, (February 12, 1907), 2.
62. *BM*, LXIX/89 (April 10, 1907), 2.
63. *Ibid.*, LXIX/80 (April 12, 1907), 2, and *LaC*, XVII (April 12, 1907), 3.
64. *LaC*, XVII (January 25, 1907), 3.
65. *Ibid.*, (July 25, 1907), 3.
66. *Ibid.*, (August 16, 1907), 21 (August 17, 1907), 2, and (August 19, 1907), 2.
67. *Ibid.*, (November 26, 1907), 2, and (December 6, 1907), 3.
68. *Ibid.*, (December 12, 1907), 1.
69. *Ibid.*, (December 16, 1907), 1.
70. *Ibid.*, (December 30, 1907), 3.
71. *Ibid.*, (January 24, 1908), 4.
72. *Ibid.*, (February 28, 1908), 2.
73. *Ibid.*, (February 26, 1908), 3, and (February 7, 1908), 2.
74. *La Correspondencia*, (April 18, 1903), 3.
75. *Ibid.*, (May 9, 1908), 3.
76. *Ibid.*, (May 12, 1908), 2.
77. *Ibid.*, (June 4, 1908), 1.
78. *BM*, LXX/158 (July 6, 1908), 2.
79. *Ibid.*, LXX/173 (July 24, 1908), 2.
80. *Ibid.*, LXX/178 (July 29, 1908), 2.

81. *United States Senate Document No. 5393- 60th Congress, 2nd Session, Annual Report of the Governor*. Document No. 578, pp. 208-9. In 1907, Ward, Rafael del Valle, and Manuel Fernandez Juncos addressed the group. Also see *BM*, LXX/184 (August 5, 1908), 2.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 3, and LXX/282 (December 24, 1908), 2, and B.M. 70/227 (December 18, 1908), 3. A letter to this author from his son, Dr. Jose A. Balseiro, professor at the University of Miami at Coral Gables, Florida, May 26, 1977, states that his father Rafael Balseiro Davila was awarded the prize for his danza *Una perla* in 1914, but the prize was not a silver cup that Ward originally gave, but a "beautiful silver and crystal pitcher." Also see this author's *Puerto Rican Music Following the Spanish American War*, Washington, D.C.: University Press of American 1983, p. 141. See José A. Balseiro, "Dos danzas de Rafael Balseiro Davila," *Rivista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena*, VI/20 (July-September, 1963), 22-23.

83. *Ibid.*, LXX/285 (December 29, 1908), 3. According to the *Junta Directiva y Presidentes de Secciones* of the Ateneo for 1909, he was elected on December 28, 1908.

84. *BM* 71/62 (March 16, 1909), 21.

85. *LaC*, (October 26, 1909), 1; *Puerto Rico Ilustrado* I/1 (March 6, 1910).

86. *Annual Report of the Auditor of Puerto Rico for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1909, United States Senate Document No. 5393—60th Congress, 2nd Session*. Document No. 578, pp. 4-25.

87. *BM*, LXXI/207 (August 25, 1909), 2.

88. *LaC*, XIX (October 15, 1909), 2, and (October 20, 1909), 2.

89. *Ibid.*, (October 23, 1909), 6.

90. *LaC*, XIX (November 5, 1909), 2.

91. *Ibid.*, (November 9, 1909), 2.

92. *Ibid.*, (November 18, 1909), 2.

93. *Ibid.*, (December 2, 1909), 6, and (December 7, 1909), 7, and *Ibid.*, which stated that he would return on the 18th (December 15, 1909), 2.

94. *Ibid.*, (December 20, 1909), 5.

95. *BM*, LXXII/47 (February 25, 1910), 2.

96. *Ibid.*, LXXII/48 (February 26, 1910), 2.

97. *Ibid.*, LXXII/56 (March 8, 1910), 2.

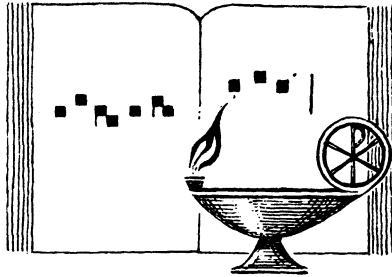
98. *Ibid.*, LXXII/57 (March 9, 1910), 2.

99. *Washington Herald* (March 11, 1910), in Ward scrapbook.

100. *LaC*, XX (June 20, 1910), 1.
101. *The New York Times*, (August 28, 1915), 14.
102. *The New York Times*, I (April 17, 1917), 1.
103. *Ibid.*, (November 14, 1917), 15.
104. Twenty-third Annual Report (Albany: J.B. Lyons Co.), 1918, 164-5.
105. *The New York Times*, (May 14, 1936), 25.
106. Letter from Genoveva De Arteaga to this author, (May 23, 1976).
107. List prepared by Barbara G. Killian, Ass't Head of Gift Section of the Library of Congress.

GIFT OF
DOCTOR
JUSTINE BAYARD
WARD

teacher musician
author scholar



the catholic university
of america
libraries



Justine Ward's Memorial Card 1975



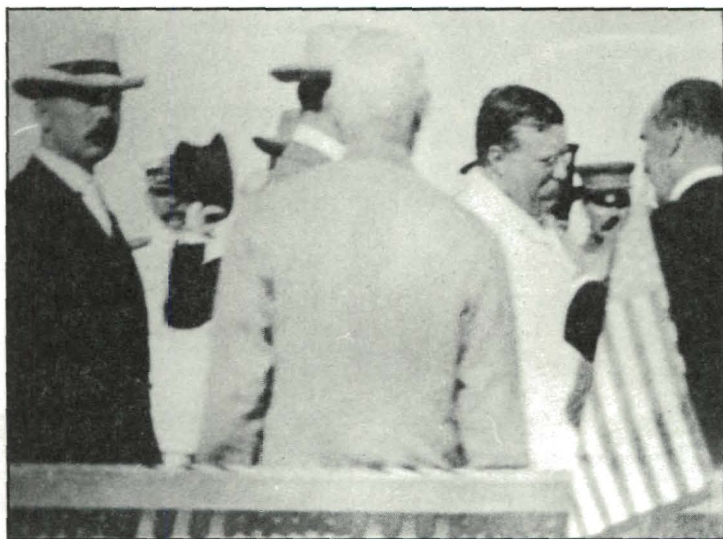
Justine Ward at their home in Puerto Rico



Justine Ward in her "Fancy-Ball" Dress (her grandmother's dress) as she attended the "fancy dress" ball in Puerto Rico on April 16, 1906. Here she is pictured on the roof of their home.



Justine Ward on her horse, "Fantange" in Puerto Rico



*George Cabot Ward in Puerto Rico Theodore Roosevelt's
tour of the island in 1906.
Ward is on the far left of the picture.*



*Justine Ward in the Governor's Palace in Puerto Rico
I believe that some have called this the "Pink Palace" —
the home of the Secretary of Puerto Rico. George Ward was
Secretary General of Puerto Rico from 1909 to 1910.*

EL CARNAVAL

América para los americanos.

MONROE.

Revista Puertorriqueña
Satirico-Literaria, Politico-Independiente.

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Puerto Rico para los puertorriqueños.

HOSTOS.

Año X.

San Juan, Puerto Rico 7 de Noviembre de 1919.

Núm. 41

Una verdadera americana.



La distinguida señora Ward goza entre todo el elemento culto de San Juan de grandes simpatías. Su trato afable y distinguidas maneras dejan entrever su alto rango.
La expresión dulce de su rostro revela un alma tierna.
De inteligencia clara y temperamento artístico exquisito, es ella una admiradora de todo lo que en el país representa cultura.
Es también una mano generosa, propicia á la caridad.
El país sabe corresponder á las almas nobles y generosas con el cariño sincero á que se hacen acreedoras.
La señora Ward es oro de ley, y como tal pesa en la balanza del aprecio nativo.

Justine Ward on the cover of El Carnival — Puerto Rican periodical.



Justine Ward
Photo that was used on the cover of El Carnival.

A "Hodie" Processional

Paul Manz

A $\text{♩} = 80$

S
1
Ho-di-e Chris-tus Na-tus est. Ho-di-e, ho-di-e

A
1
Ho-di-e Chris-tus Na-tus est. Ho-di-e, ho-di-e

T
1

B
1

1
(for rehearsal only)

1

5 Ho - di - e. ho - di - e. Ho - di - e CHRIS - tus pas - sus est.

5 Ho - di - e Chris - tus pas - sus est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e

5

5

5

5

Detailed description: This is a musical score for a vocal piece titled 'Cum Angelis Canere'. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The vocal line contains the lyrics: 'Ho - di - e. ho - di - e. Ho - di - e CHRIS - tus pas - sus est.' The piano accompaniment line contains the lyrics: 'Ho - di - e Chris - tus pas - sus est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e'. The second system has two staves: a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The vocal line continues with the lyrics: 'Ho - di - e. ho - di - e. Ho - di - e CHRIS - tus pas - sus est.' The piano accompaniment line continues with the lyrics: 'Ho - di - e, ho - di - e'. The score is marked with a '5' at the beginning of each system, indicating the fifth page of a larger work.

B

9 Ho - di - e, ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e.

9 Ho - di - e, ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e.

9 Ho - di - e Chris - tus Na - tus est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e.

9 Ho - di - e Chris - tus Na - tus est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e.

13 Ho - di - e ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e

13 Ho - di - e ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e

13 Ho - di - e. ho - di - e. Ho - di - e Chris - tus Na - tus est.

13 Ho - di - e Chris - tus Na - tus est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e

13

Detailed description: This is a musical score for a choral setting. It consists of five systems of staves. The first three systems are vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor/Bass), and the last two are piano accompaniment (Right and Left Hand). The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: 'Ho - di - e ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e' and 'Ho - di - e Chris - tus Na - tus est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

C

17 Ho - di - e, ho - di - e Ho - di - e Chris - tus se - pul - tus est. Ho - di - e Chris - tus

17 Ho - di - e Chris - tus cru - ci - fix - us est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e. Ho - di - e Chris - tus

17 Ho - di - e, ho - di - e Ho - di - e Chris - tus se - pul - tus est. Ho - di - e Chris - tus

17 Ho - di - e Chris - tus cru - ci - fix - us est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e. Ho - di - e Chris - tus

17

22 Re - sur - rec - tus est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e.

22 Re - sur - rec - tus est. He - di - e, ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e.

22 Re - sur - rec - tus est. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e.

22 Ho - di - e, ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e.

22

D
Ho - di - e Chris - tus Na - tus est.
Ho - di - e, ho - di - e. Ho - di - e, ho - di - e.

Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e.

25 Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e.
Ho - di - e Chris - tus Re-sur - rec-tus est. Ho - di - e Chris - tus

25 Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e.
Ho - di - e Chris - tus Re-sur - rec-tus est. Ho - di - e Chris - tus

25 Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e.

25 Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - di - e.

E

Ho - die, ho - di - e Ho - di - e Chris - tus Re - sur - rec - tus est.

28 Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - die. Ho - die, ho - di - e.
se - pul - tus - est. Ho - die, ho - die. Ho - die, ho - di - e.

28 Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - die. Ho - die, ho - di - e.
se - pul - tus est. Ho - di - e Chris - tus Re - sur - rec - tus est.

28 Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - die. Ho - die, ho - di - e.

28 Ho - die, ho - di - e. Ho - die, ho - die. Ho - die, ho - di - e.

28

A "Hodie" Processional

Ho - di - e Chis - tus Reg - nat!

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system contains four staves: three vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and one piano accompaniment staff. The vocal parts begin with the lyrics 'Ho - di - e Chis - tus Reg - nat!' and feature a melodic line with a long slur. The piano accompaniment provides a harmonic foundation. The second system continues the vocal and piano parts, with the vocal staves ending on a final note and the piano accompaniment concluding with a chord. The number '31' is printed at the beginning of each staff in both systems.

Jean de Castro and the Motet (2nd half of the 16th century)

Ignace Bossuyt

The so-called fifth generation of the polyphonists of the Low Countries is usually identified with the triumvirate of Orlandus Lassus (1532-1594), Philippus de Monte (1521-1603), and Giaches de Wert (1536-1596). These first-class figures, active in Munich, Vienna-Prague and Mantua, respectively, excelled in the religious as well as in the secular genres, although the emphasis could vary. Lassus was without doubt the most versatile of the three: he enriched all the current genres of vocal polyphony with immortal works, although he perhaps reached the peak of his powers in his motets. Philippus de Monte is mostly cited as the composer par excellence of the Italian madrigal. The recently completed integral edition of his motets, however, reveals an equal mastery within that genre.¹ Giaches de Wert's fame too is linked mainly to his magnificent and sometimes extravagant madrigal output. Although fewer in number than his secular works, his motets, published in three collections in 1566 and 1581, can hold their own in quality with his madrigals with which, for that matter, they show a clear affiliation through their intensely dramatic style.²

In studies of this generation, which encompasses virtually the entire second half of the 16th century, it is frequently overlooked that a number of other respectable composers from the Low Countries lived and worked in the shadow of these three prominent figures, often at the same courts or in

other important centres abroad. Many of them were held in high esteem by their contemporaries, their renown often resting on their output of religious music (masses, motets, and liturgical works). Cases in point are Jakob Regnart (ca.1540/45 – 1599), vice-chapelmaster under Philippus de Monte and chapelmaster at the court of Archduke Ferdinand II in Innsbruck³; Alexander Utendal (ca.1543/45 – 1581), vice-chapelmaster at Innsbruck⁴; Franciscus Sales (ca. 1550-1599), singer and composer at the courts of Munich, Innsbruck, and Prague; Rinaldo del Mel (ca. 1554 – ca. 1598), who worked in Portugal and Italy (e.g. in Rome); Johannes de Cleve (1528/29 – 1582), chapelmaster to Archduke Karl in Graz; Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32 – 1591), composer of the well-known *Preces speciales pro salubri generalis Concilii successu* (Venice 1562)⁵; etc.

Another member of the same generation is the versatile Jean de Castro (ca. 1540 – ca. 1610?), a particularly fascinating figure, who was active in several West European localities but whose biography still suffers from a number of lacunae. He lived in Antwerp and in Lyon, among other places. After 1585 he was in the service of Johann Wilhelm, duke of Julich, Cleve and Berg, whose residence was in Dusseldorf, and afterwards of Ernst of Bavaria (1554-1612), archbishop and elector of Cologne.⁶ Between 1569 and 1611 thirty-one collections by de Castro appeared (at Antwerp, Louvain, Paris, Douai, Frankfurt, Venice, and Cologne) of madrigals, chansons, motets, and masses, for highly variable forces (two to eight parts). A number of these publications was later reprinted.⁷ Compositions by de Castro also figure in 12 anthologies published between 1569 and 1623, some of which he himself assembled (e.g. RISM 1575 /4).⁸ From the sale catalogues of Phalesius — Bellerus it appears that, after Lassus, de Castro ‘lay best in the market’, indicating that his works circulated widely.⁹

Up to now this composer has received — unjustly, I think — little attention.¹⁰ Taking as my point of departure the collection of *Novae Sacrae Cantiones, quae vulgo motetta vocant, cum quinque, sex, et octo vocibus*, published in 1588 at Douai by Jean Bogardus, I will dwell briefly, in the pages that follow, on his motets.¹¹

De Castro is credited with more than 130 motets, most in two or three sections and the vast majority in three or five parts. Typical of de Castro is his preference for small forces, in particular three voices, which is also conspicuous in his chansons (out of a total of more than 220, about 100 are for three voices; some 55 of his motets are three-part). With larger forces his predilection is for five parts (some 60 chansons and a like number of motets). The motet collection of 1588 contains 27 compositions, among them 2 in five, two in six, and two in eight parts. 'Classical' four-part writing apparently did not suit him so well in his Latin works: no such motets by him are known, and even his few masses are reserved exclusively for three voices, which is rather exceptional for this genre.¹²

Peculiar to de Castro's motet output is the large number of 'occasional' works (political motets, wedding motets), in which certain persons are mentioned by name. This is not to say that these are all of secular inspiration; some of them proceed from an applicable religious text, and the individual involved is 'fit in'. Nor are the epithalamia necessarily secular, for they may have been performed in the course of the church wedding. De Castro's oeuvre is thus a typical instance of the versatility of the motet at the end of the 16th century. Accordingly his works display the greatest variety: 1) secular political motet or a homage to humanistic friends and scholars; 2) religious political motet; 3) wedding motet (secular and/or religious); 4) strictly religious in inspiration but not necessarily liturgical; 5) purely liturgical¹³.

By way of illustration I cite a few examples of types 2 to 5 from the 1588 collection. The first motet, *Salvum fac populum tuum*, honors Ernst of Bavaria (see above), to whom the composer also dedicated the collection as a whole; this first composition is therefore a musical extension, so to speak, of the dedication.¹⁴ The text of the first section (*salvum fac populum tuum, domine, et ernestum, qui in medio nostri est, dirige, quoniam in misericordia tua speraverunt patres eius, et liberasti eos*) is reminiscent of ch. 10, v. 9 of the book Esther (...*et salvum fecit dominus populum suum*...) and v. 5 of psalm 21 (*in te speraverunt patres nostri, speraverunt et liberasti eos*). It is a typical example of a centonized text, assembled from several Biblical books or psalms and in addition adapted to a specific person, in this

case the archbishop of Cologne. We are therefore dealing with a religious political motet.

In the epithalamion *Hartzemo charites Catharinam*, which celebrates the marriage of a Catharina Wedichia to a Hartzemus, both Christ and Hymenaeus, the Greek god of wedlock, are invoked: *O Hymenaea fave, christe fave.*

Wholly religious in inspiration are a number of psalm motets: the motet *Afflictus sum et humiliatus sum* is a setting of six verses from psalm 37 (*Domine, ne in furore tua arguas me*), one of the seven penitential psalms (section one: vv. 9, 12, 14; section two: vv. 15, 16, 22). A strictly liturgical function cannot be ascribed to this work, although of course its use during a prayer service cannot be ruled out. The complete fourth penitential psalm, *Miserere mei deus* (ps. 50), which is particularly well-known through Josquin Desprez's occasional motet,¹⁵ appears in an eight-part setting for double choir at the end of the volume. In view of the alternation of the two four-voice choirs and the relatively simple declamatory writing of some verses (which refers to the falsobordone), a liturgical link is obviously acceptable and even probable. It may have been performed during the lauds of the triduum sacrum or at a funeral service (just as Josquin's motet was meant for the obsequies of Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara).

The text of the motet *O quam gloriosum est regnum* corresponds with the *Antiphona ad Magnificat* from the Vespers of the feast of All Saints. The liturgical function appears indisputable here. An even clearer association with religious services is evident in the motets that begin with the Gregorian intonation or/and in which musical references are found to the original melody, such as *Tantum ergo* and *O salutaris hostia* (with intonation and paraphrase) or *O sacrum convivium* (with paraphrase). Apparent from these three works, all destined for the feast of Corpus Christi, is the importance of polyphony in church feasts of Duplex I Classis. Yet a fourth motet from the same collection refers to the feast of Corpus Christi: *Caro mea vere est cibus*, based on ch. 6 vv. 56-59 of the Gospel of John. This work may have been sung as a gospel motet during mass. Accordingly, it is completely free-composed. The *Regina coeli*, on the other hand, paraphrases the melody of the Marian antiphon.

This variation in the choice of texts and in the destination of the motets finds a pendant in the rich variety of the musical elaboration. The foundation of de Castro's vocal polyphony is undoubtedly the contrapuntal tradition of the Low Countries. As with Orlandus Lassus and so many other contemporaries this legacy is optimally applied to achieve an intense association of text and music, and this with regard to structure (pervading imitation: to each text fragment corresponds a variously imitative theme or motif) as well as to content (illustrative and affective). In de Castro's work the focus is above all on the rendering of the content of the text. Herein he is undoubtedly following in the footsteps of Lassus, but even more than his peerless contemporary de Castro dramatizes the text, at times with extreme means, so that his work is clearly an extension of the current 'modern' madrigal (e.g. Luca Marenzio, Giaches de Wert). A few examples will serve to illustrate this.

In five-part motets such as appear in this collection de Castro is not above reducing the number of voices to two or even one if and when the text gives cause thereto. In the particularly expressive psalm motet *Afflictus sum et humiliatus sum*, in which the humble and humiliated sinner appeals hopefully to God, the bass alone sings the words *ego autem*, in strong contrast with the preceding five-part fragment (*Amici mei et proximi mei adversum me appropinquaverunt et steterunt*). The second tenor joins the solo bass at *tanquam surdus*, which is followed immediately by a general pause of a semibreve (*surdus!*). After a short four-part passage on *non audiebam*, the words *et sicut mutus* are again reserved for two voices (cantus and second tenor). And another general pause precedes the four and five-part concluding fragment of the first section *non aperiens os suum* (mus. ex. 1). Within just a few measures de Castro compacts a succession of strong contrasts: in the forces (from one to five voices), in the rhythm (a semibreve if followed immediately by fusae), in the use of pauses.

Rem quasi actam ante oculos ponendo: thus the Antwerp humanist Samuel Quicquelberg characterized the expressive power of Lassus in his penitential psalms.¹⁶ Even more than in Lassus the text is interpreted 'theatrically' by de Castro, even as 'dramatic truth' (*ego autem* = one voice), as was to be the case in the madrigal and in opera.

Possibly because of these 'soloistic' features, which inescapably point to vocal performance, de Castro does not reckon with the possibility of instrumental participation. This does not mean that in a number of motets the doubling of a voice by an instrument would be ruled out, but it is in any case impossible, in compositions with such passages, to *replace* the voices with instruments.¹⁷

This fragment also illustrates to what extent de Castro's art is based on syllabic declamation. Yet the composer regularly breaches this basic style in favour of a melismatic approach which can be called excessive even for his time, at least in the motet. Once again de Castro's strong affinity with the madrigal becomes apparent. Sometimes the melisma is intensified by great leaps, as on *pugnavit* (*quia non fuit alius qui pugnavit pro nobis* in the motet *Dedisti solus pacem*) (mus. ex. 2).

This passage clarifies yet another favourite contrast technique, that again refers to the madrigal and is frequently applied by, among others, Claudio Monteverdi: the accumulation of rhythmically differing parts. By means of long note values one or more parts form a kind of frame, around which the rapidly moving other voices range freely. Often the bass is the 'slow' part, so that it also serves as the harmonic foundation, but such is not always the case (see in mus. ex. 2 the second tenor). An extreme example of a long bass note is encountered in the Christmas motet *Noe, noe, dies est laetitiae* on the work *delectabilis* (mus. ex. 3).

From these examples the reader may not deduce that de Castro concentrated exclusively on extravagant experiments. The entry of most of his motets usually shows how much his art is anchored in the imitative counterpoint of the Netherlanders. Almost all the motets begin with an imitative fragment, mostly in a movement that starts slowly and gradually speeds up and in which syllabics and melismatics are in perfect equilibrium. Therefore a style that links up with the 'ars perfecta' of Josquin Desprez and the generation of Nicolaas Gombert, Clemens non Papa, and Adriaan Willaert. A good example is provided by the first measures of the motet *Caro mea vere est cibus* (mus. ex. 4). Typical too is the use of a motif and its inversion (see bar 4 in the bass, bar 6 in the cantus, bar

8 in the second tenor, etc.). This entry, however, also betrays the characteristics of de Castro's own generation: predominantly syllabic motifs form the basic material, long-drawn-out themes are avoided. The first phrase, *Caro mea vere est cibus*, de Castro even divides into two separate fragments: *caro mea* is a segment apart, in which the text is repeated several times (as is customary at the beginning of a composition); *vere est cibus* is a second segment, giving the text only once. The same procedure can be seen in other fragments, e.g. *et sanguis meus* (repeated) — *vere est potus* (given once), and, in part two, *non sicut manducaverunt patres vestri manna* (repeated) — *et mortui sunt* (just once). Brief syllabic motifs therefore are accorded preference above long 'spanning' phrases (as often in Gombert and Clemens non Papa).¹⁸

Highly instructive is a comparison with the motet settings of the same text by Philippus de Monte and Palestrina. De Monte also accentuates the two syntactic text fragments 1. *caro mea* — 2. *vere est cibus*, e.g. by a rest and by the leap between the two motifs (mus. ex. 5).¹⁹ Still, text and music constitute a more united entity. First and foremost because de Monte does not separately develop the motifs one after another (as de Castro does), but simultaneously; secondly because the melody of the entire sentence in fact forms a single grand melodic arc (ascent to *vere*, than descent to the point of departure; see e.g. cantus, bars 1-5 and 11-16; tenor, bars 9-14; bass, bars 6-11). In addition, the role of the melismas is greater and clearly integrated in the whole phrase *caro mea vere est cibus*. De Monte's melodic arc, therefore, is still clearly much in line with the thematic formation of, for example, a Nicolaas Gombert.

In his likewise five-part motet *Caro mea vere est cibus* Palestrina concentrates his attention on the transparency of the polyphony: some voices are rhythmically grouped (see at the entry alto and bass; in bar 5 cantus II and tenor), so that homophonic declamation is mixed with imitative counterpoint (mus. ex. 6).²⁰ Even more than in de Monte, the theme in Palestrina forms a whole. Although rests appear here and there between the two text fragments, the theme itself can hardly be said to contain two motifs (less marked interval-a-third-between *mea* and *vere*, no lengthening of the first note of

vere, see bars 3 and 4; compare de Monte, altus, bar 4; bass, bar 8; tenor, bars 9-10).

From these examples it is clear how composers of the same generation and despite the use of the same means still manage to achieve a completely different musical setting of the same works. Thus de Monte and Palestrina show a more elaborate use of themes, while de Castro concentrates more on short motifs. Needless to say, the comparison of just one motet fragment of these three composers cannot lead immediately to definite conclusions, but the example does seem to reveal a somewhat different approach.

If de Castro's style often displays a close affiliation with secular genres (first of all the madrigal), that does not mean that all his compositions are modeled on that type. De Castro too constantly mixes in his oeuvre 'old' and 'new', either within one and the same work (a motet-like entry is sometimes followed by markedly madrigalesque passages) or within the same collection (like the 1588 volume discussed here). On the one hand there are the free composed works, on the other those that are associated with the Gregorian repertoire (see above). I have already pointed to the paraphrase technique in *Tantum ergo*, *O salutaris hostia* and *O sacrum convivium*. In the *Regina coeli* too de Castro regularly refers, in all the parts, to Gregorian chant, e.g. in the cantus planus style (the equally long notes at the entry, for example) (mus. ex. 7). Sometimes the melody is paraphrased in accordance with the content of the text: the direction of the motion (ascending or descending) of the original melody is retained, but notes are added and the rhythm is completely transformed (see mus. ex. 8 at *laetare*: dance rhythm, but the descending melodic line betrays the Gregorian inspiration).²¹

In the *Stabat mater*, of which de Castro sets only the first six stanzas, the composer even harks back to the type of the ostinato motet in its strictest form, viz. in which a syllabic ostinato melody (on the opening words *Stabat mater dolorosa*) in equal note values (eight breves) alternates regularly with pauses (four breves). The motif appears six times, alternately on fa and on the upper fifth do (one ostinato per stanza, but the beginning of each stanza does not necessarily correspond

with the beginning of the ostinato). The ostinato motif is not a Gregorian borrowing, although the descending fourth at *dolorosa* seems to have had an inspirational effect (mus. ex. 9).²² Due to the modal key notes *fa* and *do* (sixth mode) the melody is changed somewhat in the transposition to *do* (in the first section two descending thirds instead of a third and a second) (mus. ex. 10). The four other contrapuntal parts are detached from the Gregorian melody.

De Castro's *Stabat mater* is a strikingly mellifluous composition. Very judiciously he doses the dissonances (especially suspensions, often in cadences) in the chords on the ostinato notes. The first dissonant suspension on an ostinato note only appears in bar 23 (cadence *fa* at *dolentem*). Not cadence-bound is the dissonant suspension at *tristis* (bar 29, mus. ex. 11). The pauses between the ostinato passages provide the composer with an opportunity to insert a few expressive clausulae in *mi* (on *maerebat* and *dolebat*), which were impossible to introduce on the ostinato notes (mus. ex. 12).²³

This selective discussion of Jean de Castro's motet art, which has focused on a single collection from 1588, has shown, I hope, how versatile an oeuvre this late 16th-century composer has left us. Like so many of his contemporaries he can serve as a model of a genre, in this case the motet, which reached an exceptional peak within the traditions of Netherlands polyphony, but with some innovative influences (e.g. of the madrigal). The repertoire of that period is inexhaustible and in many cases has not yet been studied sufficiently; hence its frequent inaccessibility in modern editions. I would like to plead for a (re) appraisal of this magnificent legacy, which not only merits a place in the concert hall, but also its readoption in the liturgy, where it could be sung (e.g. on major feasts) alongside the Gregorian chant (when still performed...) and the more (though still scarce) valuable vernacular hymns. This repertoire, then, can still render excellent services, not only as an edifying esthetic moment, but also *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

Endnotes

¹ Of the ten motet collections that appeared between 1572 and 1600, two have been published in: P. de Monte: Opera, ed. by CH. VAN

DEN BORREN and G. VAN DOORSLAER, Bruges, 1927-39, reprint New York, 1965 (vol. XVII and XXII). The other (still surviving) collections have been edited, in an transcription by M. STEINHARDT, between 1975 and 1986 as *Series A. Motets* (6 vols.), in: Philippi de Monte Opera. New Complete Edition, ed. by R.B. LENAERTS, Leuven University Press (vols. 1,2,5,6,9 and 11). A seventh tome (vol. 12) contains Motets from Various Sources, Motets Extant in Instrumental Versions only and Incomplete Motets.

² De Wert's opera omnia were published in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, XXIV (G. de Wert: Collected Works, ed. by C. MacCLINTOCK and M. BERNSTEIN). The motets were edited as vol. XI, XIII and XVI. In 1966 there appeared a monograph: C. MacCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596): Life and Works*, (*Musicological Studies and Documents*, ed. by A. CARAPETYAN, 17), American Institute of Musicology. From 1988 dates I. BOGAERT, *Giaches de Wert. Vlaams polyfonist 1536-1596*, published by Peeters, Leuven, actually a revision by J. TAELS of a text dating from 1938 by Irene Bogaerte (1906-1985); unfortunately this book is an opportunity missed for the Dutch-speaking world: the text is hopeless outdated, recent literature has been neglected completely, and the 'revisor' constantly exhibits his total ignorance of musicological research.

To obtain a good idea of de Wert as a motet composer, one should listen to a recent compact disc, issued in 1986 by the Flemish cultural association 'Davidsfonds' (*Renaissance-polyfonie uit de Nederlanden: Lassus — De Monte — De Wert*), on which the vocal ensemble *Currende*, directed by Erik van Nevel, performs three magnificent motets of de Wert (*Ascendente Jesu, Vox in Rama* and *Quiescat vox tua*) - CD reference: Eufoda 1104, to be ordered directly from the Davidsfonds, Blijde-Inkomst-sstraat, 3000 Leuven, Belgium

³ See W. PASS, *Thematischer Katalog Samtlicher Werke Jacob Regnarts*, (*Tabulae Musicae Austriacae*, 5), 1969. Motets edited by W.PASS in *CMM*, LXII, 4-6, 1972-1975.

⁴ SEE I. BOSSUYT, *De componist Alexander Utendal (ca. 1543/45- 1581)*. Een bijdrage tot de studie van de Nederlandse polyfonie in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw, (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, Jaargang 45, nr. 36*), Brussel, 1983. Edition of the *Psalmi poenitentiales (1570)* by ST. SCHULZE in *Denkmaler der Tonkunst in Osterreich*, 38-139, Graz, 1985.

⁵ Modern edition of the *Preces speciales* by O. URSPRUNG in *Denkmaler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, 34, 1926, 2nd edition 1974 (with an extensive introduction and thematic catalogue of the works of de Kerle).

⁶ See M. OEBEL, *Beitrag zu einer Monographie Uber Jean de Castro (ca. 1540-1610)*, Regensburg, 1928 and L. VEREERTBRUGGHEN, *Jean de Castro (ca.1540 – ca. 1611) en zijn bundel: "Livre de chansons a*

cing parties, avec une Pastorelle a VII" (Antwerpen, 1586), unpublished licentiate's diss., vol. 1, Leuven, 1980, p. 1-16.

⁷ For a survey see RISM. Einzeldrucke vor 1800, ed. by K. SCHLAGER, 2. Kassel-Basel, 1972, p. 80-82 (nrs. C 1468 – C 1503).

⁸ See RISM. Recueils imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles, ed. by F. LESURE, 1. Liste chronologique, München-Duisburg, 1960.

⁹ L.F. BERNSTEIN, art. Castro, Jean de, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. SADIE, 3, London, 1980, p. 878.

¹⁰ In the Musicological Section of the K.U. Leuven, Belgium, the following (unpublished) dissertations, in addition to the one cited in n. 6, have hitherto been devoted to the oeuvre of de Castro:

-M. VOS, *Een index van Johannes de Castro's Cantiones Sacrae en zijn bundel: "Novae Cantiones Sacrae, quae vulgo motetta vocantur, cum quinque, sex et octo vocibus"* (Duaci, 1588), 2 vols., Leuven, 1981;

-A. DE VIS, *Chansons, odes et sonetz de Piere Ronsard, mises en musique a quatre, a cinq et huit parties, par Jean de Castro. A Louvain chez P. Phalese, en Anvers chez I. Bellere, 1576*, 2 vols., Leuven, 1985. In the course of the next three years (October 1990-1993) the life and work of de Castro will be the subject of a thorough research programme. Any data that can shed new light on the biography of the composer or any information on the present whereabouts of original prints and especially of manuscripts of de Castro's compositions will be received with gratitude.

¹¹ See the study of M. VOS (n. 10). A few other motet collections (RISM C 1480, C 1410 and C1478) were edited by H. KUMMERLING as volumes XVI, XVII and XVIII of the *Denkmaler rheinischer Musik*, Düsseldorf, 1972-1975, unfortunately without a thorough scholarly introduction.

¹² The *Missae tres, trium vocum, in honorem sanctissimae et individuae trinitatis*, Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbruch, 1599 (RISM C 1496). The number of masses as well as the choice of three voices seems to have been inspired by the Trinity.

¹³ For the function of the motet in the 16th century, see A.M. CUMMINGS, *Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34, 1981, p. 43-59 and J. NOBLE, *The Function of Josquin's Motets*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 35, 1985, p. 9-31.

¹⁴ The first work in Lassus' so-called 'Antwerp motet book' of 1566 is also a kind of musical paraphrase of the dedication to Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586). See especially the study of A. DUNNING, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555*, Utrecht, 1970.

¹⁵ For the concrete historical context see e.g. P. MACEY, *Savonarola and the Sixteenth Century Motet*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 36, 1983, p. 422-452.

^{16.} Cited by, among many others, W. BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit*, Kassel-Basel, 1958, p.250.

^{17.} Nor does the title page of the collection of chansons on texts by Pierre de Ronsard (*Chansons, odes et sonetz de Pierre Ronsard, mises en musique a quatre, cing et huit parties*, Leuven- Antwerp, 1576) require instrumental participation. Soloistic passages occur regularly in these chansons. Of a more 'compact' style are the chansons from the collection *Livre de chansons a cinq parties* (Antwerp, 1586). Here the title pages specifies: *convenable a la voix, comme a toutes sortes d'instrumens*. Cf. I. BOSSUYT, *Jean de Castro: Chansons, odes et sonets de Pierre Ronsard* (1576), in *Revue de Musicologie*, 74, 1988, p. 173-187.

^{18.} With regard to the stylistic changes of ca. 1540-1550, see e.g.:

- H. BECK, *Die Venezianische Musikerschule im 16. Jahrhundert*, Wilhelmshaven, 1968,

- ID., *Grundlagen des Venezianischen Stils bei Adrian Willaert und Cyprian de Rore*, in *Renaissance-Muziek 1400-1600. Donum natalicium Rene Bernard Lenaerts*, ed. by J. ROBIJNS, Leuven, 1969, p. 39-50.

as well as the still very valuable contribution of E.E. LOWINSKY, *Das Antwerpener Motettenbuch Orlando di Lasso's und seine Beziehungen zum Motettenschaffen der niederlandische Zeitgenossen*, in *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 14, 1932, p. 185-229 and 15, 1937, p. 93-105.

^{19.} Motet from the *Liber primus Sacrarum Cationum cum quinque vocibus*, Venice, 1572. Published in modern edition in *Philippi de Monte Opera*, ed. by R.B. LENAERTS, Series A. Motets, 1, ed by M. STEINHARDT, Leuven University Press, 1975, p. 43-49 (mus.ex. 5 borrowed from p. 43)

^{20.} Motet from *Motetorum liber tertius*, Venice, 1575. Modern edition in *G.P. da Palestrina: Le opere complete*, ed. by R. CASIMIRI, 8, Rome, 1940, p. 19-22 (mus. ex. 6 borrowed from p. 19).

^{21.} For the Gregorian melody see *Liber Usualis*, Paris-Tournai, 1964, p. 275 and 278.

^{22.} *Liber Usualis*, p. 1834v.

^{23.} In connection with the textually expressive use of the clausula in mi (and indeed everything concerning modal analysis), see esp. the standard work of B. MEIER, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony Described According to the Sources*, 2nd edition, New York, 1988.

I wish to thank Peter van Dessel for his translation from the Dutch and Bart Demuyt for the preparation of the musical examples on computer.

Ex. 1

cantus et ste - te - runt
altus et ste - te - runt
tenor 1 et ste - te - runt
tenor 2 et ste - te - runt
bassus et ste - te - runt e - go au -

non ad - i - e
non ad - i - e
non ad - i - e - bam (non
tan - quam sur - dus
tem tan - quam sur - dus non ad - i - e

bam et si - cut mu - tus
bam
ad - i - e - bam)
et si - cut mu - tus
bam

non a - pe - ri - ens os su - um,
non a - pe - ri - ens
non a - pe - ri - ens os su - um,
non a - pe - ri - ens os su - um,
non a - pe - ri -

Ex.3

Musical score for Ex.3, first system. It features five vocal parts: cantus, altus, tenor 1, tenor 2, and bassus. The lyrics are: cantus: de - le - cta - bi - lis, de; altus: de - le - cta - bi - lis, to - tus de -; tenor 1: de - le - cta - bi - lis, de - le -; tenor 2: de - le - cta - bi - lis, de - le -; bassus: de - le - cta - bi - lis.

Musical score for Ex.3, second system. It continues the vocal parts from the first system. The lyrics are: cantus: le - cta - bi - lis; altus: le - cta - bi - lis; tenor 1: cta - bi - lis; tenor 2: cta - bi - lis; bassus: cta - bi - lis.

Ex.4

Musical score for Ex.4, first system. It features five vocal parts: cantus, altus, tenor 1, tenor 2, and bassus. The lyrics are: cantus: Ca; altus: Ca; tenor 1: ro; tenor 2: ro; bassus: ro.

Musical score for Ex.4, second system. It continues the vocal parts from the first system. The lyrics are: cantus: ro me - a; altus: me - a, (ca - ro) me; tenor 1: Ca - ro; tenor 2: Ca - ro me - a, (ca - ro); bassus: Ca - ro.

Cum Angelis Canere

(ca - ro me -
 a) Ca - ro me - a, me
 me - a, (ca - ro me -
 me - a) Ca -
 me - a, Ca -

a) Ca - ro me - a, Ca - ro
 a, (ca - ro me - a) Ca -
 a) Ca - ro me -
 ro me - a,
 ro me - a, (ca -

me - a,
 ro me -
 a, (ca - ro me - a)
 ro me - a, (ca - ro

Ex.5

cantus
me - a ve - re est ci -
altus
Ca - ro me - a ve - re
tenor 1
tenor 2
Ca - ro
bassus

bus, ve - re est ci -
est ci - bus, ve - re est ci -
Ca -
me - a ve - re est ci -
Ca - ro me -

bus, ve - re est ci - bus,
bus, (ve - re est ci -
ro me - a ve - re est ci -
bus, Ca - ro me - a
a ve - re est ci -

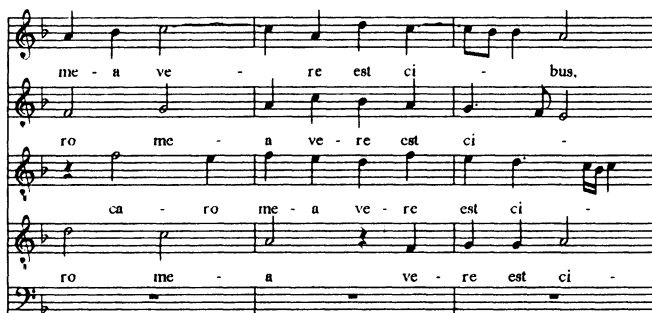
ro me - a ve - re
bus,) Ca - ro me -
bus, ve - re est ci -
ve - re est ci - bus,
bus, ve - re est ci -

bus,
ci bus,
bus,
bus,
bus,

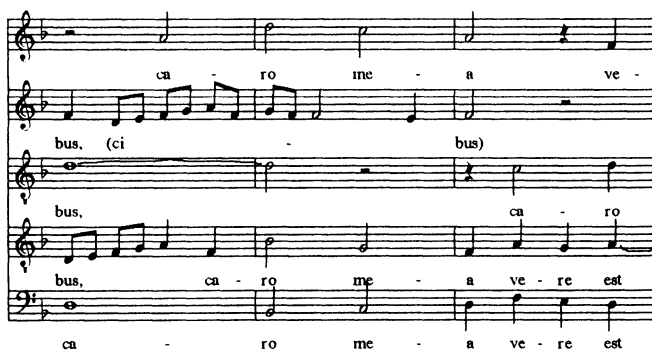
Ex.6

cantus
altus
tenor 1
tenor 2
bassus

Ca ro me
Ca ro
Ca ro
a ve re est ci bus, ca ro
me a ve re est ci bus,
me a ve re est ci bus,



me - a ve - re est ci - bus,
ro me - a ve - re est ci -
ca - ro me - a ve - re est ci -
ro me - a ve - re est ci -



ca - ro me - a ve -
bus, (ci - bus)
bus, ca - ro
bus, ca - ro me - a ve - re est
ca - ro me - a ve - re est



re est ci - bus,
ca - ro me -
me a ve - re est ci - bus,
ci - bus, ve - re est
ci - bus, ve - re est ci - bus,



a ve - re est ci - bus,
ve - re est ci - bus,
ci - bus,

Ex.7

cantus

altus

tenor 1

tenor 2

bassus

Re - gi - na

Re - gi - na cae -

cae - li. (re - gi - na cae - li.)

li. re gi - na - cae - li,

Re - gi - na cae - li,

Ex.8

cantus

altus

tenor 1

tenor 2

bassus

lae - ta - re.

lae - ta - re.

(lae - ta - re.)

lae - ta - re.

lae - ta - re.

Ex.9

Sta - bnt

ma - ter do -

lo - ro - sa,

Ex. 10

sta - bat
ma - ter do -
lo - ro - sa,

Ex. 11

cantus tris - tis et af - fli -
altus tris tis
tenor 1 tris - tis et af - fli -
tenor 2 sta - bat
bassus tris - tis et

Ex. 12

cantus
altus quae mae - re -
tenor 1 quae mae - re - bat
tenor 2 quae mae - re - bat
bassus quae mae - re -
bat et do - le - bat,
et do - le - bat,
et do - le - bat,
bat et do - le - bat,

The Attaignant Organ Books

M. Alfred Bichsel†

While looking for early liturgical organ music for a graduate seminar at the Eastman School of Music a number of years ago, we certainly could not overlook the three organ books published by Pierre Attaignant in 1530 and 1531 which had been transcribed in a modern edition by Yvonne Rokseth (1925 & 1930). It had been the good fortune of this writer to have been a student of Mme Rokseth at the University of Strasbourg in 1947 and 1948.

But before examining these books, we must point out that they were not the first documents of organ music destined for the liturgy. There was, to be sure, Conrad Pauman's *Fundamentum Organizandi* published in 1452 which contained a number of liturgical pieces such as verses of the *Salve Regina*. In addition there was the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* of 1460. Yet the Attaignant collection was the first to have appeared in France and, strangely enough, the originals now find themselves in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich, (Musica practica 232-238).

Perhaps one of the reasons that so few tablatures of liturgical music appear prior to this time is the fact that properly trained organists were capable of improvising the versicles or verses of a Mass or other portions of the Offices from the polyphonic compositions already extant at that time, as, for example those of Ockeghem, Pierre de la Rue, Josquin des Prés, Busnois and Richafort, to name but a few. But with the introduction of part books for polyphonic compositions the art of improvising from such Masses became very cumbersome and declined.

While we are primarily interested in the liturgical aspect of these books, it would not be out of place to give several details concerning the method of reproduction that Pierre Attaignant used in publishing his books.

He can be credited for having made considerable advances in his method of printing, by the introduction of a five line staff. This type of notation was destined to become the father and forerunner of all keyboard notation including the organ, to which was later added a separate staff for the pedal. Another unusual feature of his tablature is the fact that he used moveable metallic type which had been manufactured by a certain P. Hautin of Paris.

Probably the most important facet of Attaignant's method of notation is that it was comparatively easy to read as compared to the cumbersome German type of tablature notation with its combination of rhythmic symbols (breve, semi-breve, minima, etc.) together with letters for the actual pitches. He placed the actual notation symbols on lines or spaces of his five line staves and had clefs at the beginning of each line.



[Rokseth, Yvonne: *Deux Livres d'Orgue parus chez Pierre Attaignant*, p. VIII]

The example showing Attaignant's type is actually the *Prélude sur chacun ton*. The transcription of those fourteen and a half measures follows:

[Rokseth, *op. cit.* p. 31]

Before making a study of the pieces in these books we must speak about the use of instruments in the liturgy. There was always present a controversy between the kings and nobility together with their retinue of musicians on the one hand, and the theologians on the other who insisted on the purity of the text wedded to the chant. This controversy had not been resolved even after the passage of almost two and a half centuries of polyphonic music going as far back as the measured organum of Pérotin and ending with the Franco-Flemish school of Josquin des Prés at which period we now find ourselves. Polyphony involved the singing of a text, and while many pious pronouncements were made regarding the control of the *cantus firmus* of a Mass, we are all aware of the fact that many Masses were composed on profane melodies as is attested to by the fact that every composer at least once in his lifetime wrote a Mass on the popular French chanson *L'homme armé*. But instruments cannot sing a text, and their introduction posed another situation, and whether the theologians liked it or not, there were many lords, dukes, princes and

kings who, having a retinue of musicians at their disposal for their light and frivolous moments also wanted to make use of them for the performance of the Divine Office. Eventually the burden of this instrumental task fell on the organ, and with this procedure there does not seem to be too much opposition on the part of the hierarchy.

Another factor contributing to the increasing prominence of the organ in the north countries and including France was the superb advancement in organ construction, particularly the Great Organ. This too, may have been a subterfuge to fool the theologians because since the nobility was constrained not to use their instrumentalists, the organ builders began to introduce reeds into the organ which attempted to imitate the tonal attributes of trumpets, trombones and musettes. Even in our day the superb quality of French reeds for organs has not been surpassed.

We now turn our attention to a closer examination of these books by beginning with their titles. The first reads:

Tabulature pour le ieu Dorgues// Espinetes et Manicordions sur le plain chant de Cunctipotens et// Kyrie fons. Avec leurs Et in terra. Patrem. Sanctus et Agnus dei// le tout nouvellement imprime a Paris par Pierre Attaignant de =| mourant en la rue de la Harpe pres leglise Saint Cosme.//

Avec privilege du Roy nostre// sire pour trois ans.

Tabulature pour le ieu Dorgues

Espinetes et Manicordions sur le plain chant de Cunctipotens et Kyrie fons. Avec leurs Et in terra. Patrem. Sanctus et Agnus dei le tout nouvellement imprime a Paris par Pierre Attaignant demourant en la rue de la Harpe pres leglise saint Cosme.

**Avec privilege du Roy nostre
sire pour trois ans.**

The Second bears the title:

Magnificat sur les huit tons avec// Te deū laudamus. et deux Preludes, le tout mys en la tabulature des// Orgues Espinettes Manicordions imprimez a Paris par Pierre// Attaignant libraire demourant en la rue de la Harpe pres leglise// saint Cosme. Kal. Martii 1530.

Avec privilege du Roy nostre sire// pour trois ans.//

xii

Magnificat sur les huit tons avec
Te deū laudamus. et deux Preludes/le tout mys en la tabulature des
Orgues Espinettes & Manicordions imprimez a Paris par Pierre
Attaignant libraire demourant en la rue de la Harpe pres leglise
saint Cosme. Kal. Martii 1530

Prelude	fol. xii
Prelude	fol. xiii
Magnificat primi toni	fol. xiiii
Magnificat secundi toni	fol. xv
Magnificat tertii toni	fol. xvi
Magnificat quarti toni	fol. xvii
Magnificat quinti toni	fol. xviii
Magnificat sexti toni	fol. xix
Magnificat septimi toni	fol. xx
Magnificat octavi toni	fol. xxi
Te deum laudamus.	fol. xxii

Avec privilege du Roy nostre sire
pour trois ans.

[Rokseth, *op. cit.* p. VII]

The Third Book:

Treze Motetz musicaulz avec ung // prelude le tout reduict en la tabulature des Orgues Espinettes et // Manicordions et telz semblable instrumentz imprimez a Paris par // Pierre Attaignant libraire demourant en la rue de la Harpe pres // leglise Saint Cosme Desquelz la table sensuyt. Kal April. 1531

Treze Motetz musicaulz avec ung
Prelude/le tout reduict en la tabulature des Orgues Espinettes et
Manicordions et telz semblables instrumentz imprimez a Paris par
Pierre Attaignant libraire demourant en la rue de la Harpe pres
leglise saint Cosme Desquelz la table sensuyt. Kal. April. 1531

Aspice domine	folio. cxli	Q vos oēs d trāstis p vlam	cxviii
Bonici esu dulcissime	lxxxii	Harce domine	cxvii
Benedictus Feum	lxxxvii	Prelude.	cxv
Confumino	cxv	Sicut malus	lxxxvii
Dulcis amica	cxvi	Sancta trinitas	lxxii
Fortuna desperata	lxxxviii	Si bona suscepimus	c
Dñi? tue dñe fecerunt me	lxxxii	Sicut lilium	cx

Avec privilege du Roy nostre sire
pour trois ans.

[Rokseth, *op. cit.* vol ii p. XXVII]

Turning our attention to the first book, we note that, while the title mentions the *Missa "Cunctipotens"* first, in actuality the *Kyrie "fons bonitatis"* and its succeeding Mass movements are first in the publication. If one believes that he is going to find the *cantus firmus* of these Masses in accordance to the Gregorian melodies as we find them in the most recent Vatican editions, he will be disappointed, for here we find a mixture of various melodies. It is a known fact that before the Council of Trent mixtures of Mass movements were quite the usual thing in various Graduals — the Ordinary differed from one province to another and even from one church to the other in the same province, the fragments having been differently assembled.

Upon first examination of the *Mass "Kyrie Fons"* (see next page for reproduction), one would expect to find its accompanying *Gloria* based on the melody of the *Gloria* of Mass II according to the Vatican editions, only to find that it is based on the *Gloria* of the *Missa "Cunctipotens"* (Mass IV of the Vatican Edition). As a matter of fact, with the exception of the *Kyrie* of both Masses, the rest are different variations on the same Gregorian themes extracted from the Mass "*cunctipotens*." The reason for this is that at the beginning of the 16th Century the Paris Gradual scarcely contained more than these two, and they had been used almost exclusively for several centuries.

MESSE "KYRIE FONS"

KYRIE

Kyrie

The first system of musical notation for the Kyrie. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The time signature is common time (C). The treble staff begins with a series of eighth notes, while the bass staff provides a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.

The second system of musical notation, continuing the piece. The treble staff features a more active melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the bass staff continues with a steady accompaniment.

The third system of musical notation. The treble staff shows a melodic line with some chromatic movement, and the bass staff provides a supporting accompaniment.

The fourth system of musical notation. The treble staff continues with a melodic line, and the bass staff provides accompaniment with some rhythmic variation.



The fifth and final system of musical notation for this section. It concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots. The treble staff has a melodic line that ends on a sustained note, and the bass staff provides a final accompaniment.

[Rokseth, *op. cit.* p. 1]

Up to this time most Parisian missals indicate that the Mass ‘Fons Bonitatis’ was to be sung on the following occasions: the day following Pentecost and the Feast of the Epiphany; the Sundays in the Octave of the Assumption and in the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. For the Sundays of Easter and Pentecost and on all double feasts throughout the year, the missal designates the Mass “*cunctipotens*.”

Of these two Masses only the first one has a Deo gratias response to *Ite missa est*. This melody is not to be found in any of the Vatican editions, but Yvonne Rokseth has noted that it coincides with the melody of the Antiphon of the Magnificat *Christi Pietas* designated for Second Vespers of the Feast of St. Nicholas.

Now a word about the *Credo* is in order. The first Mass in Book I has a *Credo* which is based on the melody of *Credo I* of the Vatican Edition, but the second Mass has no *Credo* at all. Thus it might be safely assumed that the same one could have been used in both instances. The anonymous composer of these pieces, seeing the similarity of many of the verses of the *Credo*, refrained from composing different variations, and no doubt was aware of the fact that the melody for the verse *genitum* could be played according to the model of the melodic fragment of *et ex patre*, and that the verse *et resurrexit* could be played according to the melody of *et incarnatus*.

What was the type of organ for which these pieces were composed? Yvonne Rokseth maintains that the anonymous composer had in mind a moderately sized organ, such as those one might have encountered at that time in the churches of France, rather than the enormous instruments found in the cathedrals. In support of this thesis, she advances the fact that the range does not exceed below  or above,  and since at that time pedals were found only in large and important churches, these works may be suitably played on the manuals.

Before going any further we must point out that these pieces served an utilitarian rather than an artistic purpose. In our introduction we pointed out the disfavor with which the ecclesiastic authorities regarded the use of instruments for the

Divine Office, and while the organ was favored above other instruments, this disfavor nevertheless had to be made clear frequently because many of the organists in regal and ducal chapels also played for the entertainment of their patrons as well as for their daily worship. Thus one of the reasons for the publication of these books by Attaignant was the fact that there was little if any sacred repertoire at the disposal of the organist and he was thus strongly tempted to repeat, while playing for the Office, the tunes that he was obliged to play at court festivities.

In addition the organ was used to occupy the attention (or inattention as in our own day) before and after the Divine Office. It was also used for the procession of the clergy or royalty at special occasions such as coronations, anniversaries, etc. During the service itself the organ could be used to accompany the chant, and the great gallery organ could be used to alternate with the chancel choir in those portions which constitute the Ordinary of the Mass [the so-called *Alternatimspraxis*], as well as in canticles and hymns.

This practice, however, was reserved for important feasts. At the Cathedral of Beauvais in 1533, for example, it was ordered by the chapter that this practice be reserved for Christmas, the Octave of Easter and Pentecost, the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, the Feast of the Blessed Sacrament, the Assumption, all the Apostles, the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Feast of the Four Doctors of the Latin Church when it fell on a Sunday.

Later when more such feasts were added to the calendar, we note some inconsistencies in the ecclesiastic rule that the choir and not the organ should intone the opening verses of any portion of the Ordinary, for in these two Masses in the Attaignant collection, the organ is to play the first *Kyrie*, the choir is to sing the second, and the organ playing the third. The choir then continues with the first *Christe*, etc. This same practice is carried on in the *Sanctus* and the *Agnus Dei*. Another abuse to be found and against which the ecclesiastic authorities strongly protested was the fact that the organ replaced the choir for almost half the verses of the Credo, in spite of the fact that many councils had insisted that all the

verses of the Nicene Symbol be heard clearly by the faithful.

Finally in this connection, it is not unlikely that in many court chapels the organ took the place of the choristers themselves during the daily Office when there were no singers. The practice of alternation (*Alternatimspraxis*) has long been of interest to us and the substitution of instruments for voices was only a natural outflow of the method in which the *Missa Choralis*, the *Cantus Firmus Mass*, and the *Missa Parodia* were performed during the supremacy of the Franco-Flemish School. This in turn was an outflow of the usual method in performing responses of the Gradual: partly chanted, partly polyphonic, again chanted, and terminating in the polyphonic clausula such as we found them already at the time of Pérotin in the 13th Century.

The *Gloria* is treated similarly by verses. After the celebrant has intoned *Gloria in excelsis Deo* the organ takes up *Et in terra pax*, while the choir sings *laudamus te*, and thus it continues:

Organ	Choir
<i>Benedicimus te</i>	<i>Adoramus te</i>
<i>Glorificamus te</i>	<i>Gratias agimus</i>
<i>Domine Deus</i>	<i>Domine Fili Unigenite</i>
<i>Domine Deus Agnus</i>	<i>Qui tollis peccata</i>
<i>Qui tollis peccata</i>	<i>Qui sedes</i>
<i>Quoniam tu solus sanctus</i>	<i>Tu solus Dominus</i>
<i>Tu solus Altissimus</i>	<i>Cum Sancto Spiritu</i>
<i>In gloria Dei Patris</i>	<i>Amen</i>

This is quite evident from the "Cunctipotens" Mass which follows:

GLORIA

Et in terra

Musical notation for the first system of 'Et in terra'. It consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The time signature is common time (C). The melody is written in the treble clef, and the accompaniment is in the bass clef. The piece begins with a series of eighth notes in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.

Musical notation for the second system of 'Et in terra'. The melody continues with eighth notes and quarter notes. The bass line provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines.

Musical notation for the third system of 'Et in terra'. The melody features a mix of eighth and quarter notes. The bass line includes some chords and rests. At the end of the system, there are two first endings marked with '(1)'.

Benedicimus te

Musical notation for the first system of 'Benedicimus te'. The melody is primarily composed of eighth notes. The bass line has a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

Glorificamus te

Musical notation for the first system of 'Glorificamus te'. The melody is a continuous stream of eighth notes. The bass line consists of eighth notes with some chordal textures.

Musical notation for the second system of 'Glorificamus te'. The melody continues with eighth notes. The bass line has a consistent eighth-note accompaniment.

Domine Deus
rex

Musical notation for the first system of 'Domine Deus rex'. The melody is written in the treble clef and features eighth notes. The bass line has a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Musical notation for the second system of 'Domine Deus rex'. The melody continues with eighth notes. The bass line has a consistent eighth-note accompaniment. At the end of the system, there is a first ending marked with '(1)'.

First system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef with piano accompaniment.

Second system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef with piano accompaniment.

Domine Deus
agnus

Third system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef with piano accompaniment.

Fourth system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef with piano accompaniment.

24

Qui tollis
peccata

Fifth system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef with piano accompaniment.

Sixth system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef with piano accompaniment.

Seventh system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef with piano accompaniment.

Quoniam
tu solus

Eighth system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef with piano accompaniment.

Tu solus
altissimus

In gloria
dei patris

The image displays two musical scores for organ. The first score, titled 'Tu solus altissimus', consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a treble clef staff with a melodic line and a bass clef staff with a harmonic accompaniment. The second system continues the piece with more complex textures, including sixteenth-note passages in the right hand and sustained chords in the left. The second score, titled 'In gloria dei patris', also consists of two systems. The first system features a treble clef staff with a melodic line and a bass clef staff with a harmonic accompaniment. The second system continues the piece with more complex textures, including sixteenth-note passages in the right hand and sustained chords in the left.

[Rokseth, op. cit. pp. 22-25]

The second book of the Attaignant collection is devoted to two liturgical pieces: the *Magnificat* and the *Te Deum*. The *Magnificat* section begins with a prelude obviously based on tone I which we will include later. This is followed by another prelude titled “Prelude sur chacun Ton” (Prelude on each tone). Then come versets on each of the eight Tones. Close examination of the pieces reveals this format:

Tones I, IV, VI, VII Organ plays the first two verses and the choir then chants the rest.

Tone III has the organ playing five verses — then the choir.

Tone VIII has the organ playing four verses — then the choir.

One big question with regard to these verses as well as the Masses of Book I is: what portion thereof are transcriptions and which are actually composed for the organ? The style of the Mass pieces seems to indicate that they were directly conceived for the organ. There are three reasons to support this view: (1) The *Cantus Firmus* seems to be uniformly set forth in augmented values;

(2) There is an abundance of figured scales and harmonic progressions: (3) The absence of repeated notes in the *cantus firmus*, where one would expect them in declaiming a text.

On the contrary some of the verses of the *Magnificat* seem to be transcriptions of polyphonic settings. For example, the second verse of the *Magnificat* on Tone VIII follows an original polyphonic setting by Richafort according to Y. Rokseth. [Ex. on next page]. As compared to the Mass pieces, those of the *Magnificat*, for the most part, do not have the scale passages and rich ornamentation, but more frequently contain well delineated imitations. However, it would be a grave error to say that all of the *Magnificat* verses were transcriptions.

These *Magnificat* pieces as well as the *Te Deum* seem to have fulfilled an utilitarian, that is a practical, purpose rather than an artistic one— in other words they are *Gebrauchsmusik* which had for its purpose the fulfillment of a liturgical need. The *Te Deum* which completes the Second Book is based on the solemn tone of the *Te Deum*. This is quite correct since the organ was to be used only on high and solemn feasts. [Music on following pages].

Magnificat sur les huit tons

avec Te Deum Laudamus
et deux Préludes

PRELUDIUM

The first system of the prelude consists of two staves. The treble staff begins with a common time signature (C) and contains a series of notes, including a half note followed by a quarter note, and then a series of eighth notes. The bass staff contains a similar rhythmic pattern, starting with a half note and followed by quarter and eighth notes.

The second system continues the musical piece. The treble staff features a series of eighth notes, while the bass staff has a more complex rhythmic pattern with quarter and eighth notes.

The third system shows the continuation of the prelude. The treble staff has a series of eighth notes, and the bass staff features a series of quarter notes.

The fourth system continues the prelude. The treble staff has a series of eighth notes, and the bass staff features a series of quarter notes.

The fifth system continues the prelude. The treble staff has a series of eighth notes, and the bass staff features a series of quarter notes.

The sixth system continues the prelude. The treble staff has a series of eighth notes, and the bass staff features a series of quarter notes.

The seventh system continues the prelude. The treble staff has a series of eighth notes, and the bass staff features a series of quarter notes.

Secundus Versus

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Secundus Versus". The score is written for piano and is organized into six systems, each consisting of a treble and bass staff. The music is in common time (C) and features a complex, rhythmic texture. The right hand (treble staff) often plays rapid sixteenth-note passages, while the left hand (bass staff) provides a steady accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings. The piece concludes with a final cadence in common time, marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

MAGNIFICAT
primi toni

The first system of the musical score consists of four measures. The upper staff is in treble clef with a common time signature (C). The lower staff is in bass clef with a common time signature (C). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music features a flowing melody in the upper voice and a supporting bass line with some chordal textures. There are various accidentals, including sharps and naturals, throughout the system.

Secundus Versus

The second system of the musical score consists of three measures. The upper staff is in treble clef with a common time signature (C). The lower staff is in bass clef with a common time signature (C). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music continues the melody from the first system, with a more active bass line in the final measure. The system concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS

Musical score for 'TE DEUM LAUDAMUS'. The score is written for voice and piano. It consists of three systems of music. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The third system concludes the piece with a final cadence. The piano part features intricate arpeggiated patterns in the left hand and block chords in the right hand.

Tibi omnes angeli

Musical score for 'Tibi omnes angeli'. The score is written for voice and piano. It consists of three systems of music. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The third system concludes the piece with a final cadence. The piano part features intricate arpeggiated patterns in the left hand and block chords in the right hand. There are performance markings (1) and (2) in the score.

The Third and last Book contains thirteen motets transcribed for organ from their original vocal setting, preceded by a prelude. While the title says “treze” actually only eleven are motets with Latin texts while two are Italian songs.

Attaignant indicated a composer for only one piece in this book, and that is the second one which is a transcription of a *Benedictus* by Antoine de Fevin. However, the titles of the original motets were given by Attaignant and Yvonne Rokseth was able to discover the composers through the long process of searching through contemporary polyphonic sources. There are represented in this anthology the most celebrated and popular composers at the beginning of the 16th Century. The limits of our assignment will not permit us to examine any of these works except the motet *O vos omnes* of Loyset Compere, which will follow this writing. The text is that of the Fifth Response of the IInd Nocturn of Matins of Holy Saturday, although the first part is also used as the Antiphon to the last Psalm of Lauds for the same day. It is taken from the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah, Chapter One, verse 12, 18, and 19. A number of other composers had set the Lamentations and *Improperia* of Good Friday to polyphony already at this time, but all of them seem to have been doomed to oblivion because of later and more popular settings of Ingegneri and especially those by Palestrina and Victoria.

Loyset Compere was a canon of the Cathedral of Saint Quentin where he died in 1518. He was a pupil of the great and illustrious master of the Franco-Flemish School, Johann Ockeghem. We learn this fact from Guillaume Cretin in his famous *Déploration sur la mort d'Ockeghem*. While he seems to have been overshadowed by his own master Ockeghem and his own contemporary Josquin in our present day estimate, Loyset nevertheless was ranked with these masters as well as with Alexander Agricola at his own time.

The function of the organ motets seem to be slightly different from the alternating practice of the first two books. They seem to serve as sort of a prelude to the Polyphonic motet itself which was then sung by the choir.

In conclusion we restate the fact that the Attaignant Organ Books served two purposes: (1) The fulfillment of a desperate need for such literature; (2) A check on widespread liturgical abuse with regard to use of instruments in the Divine Office. SDG

Cum Angelis Canere
VI. O vos omnes

Motet de LOYSEI COMPERE.

Discantus

Tenor

Bassus

O vos omnes

TREZE MOTETZ, fo cviii

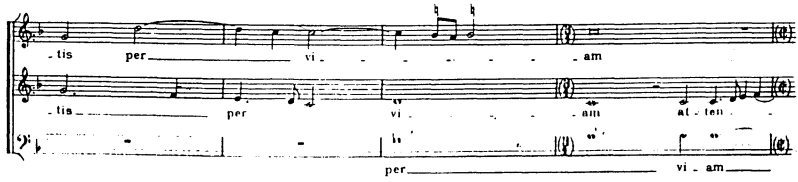
ORGUE

omnes qui transi-

nes qui transi-

nes

5 10



- tis per vi - am

- tis per vi - am at - ten -

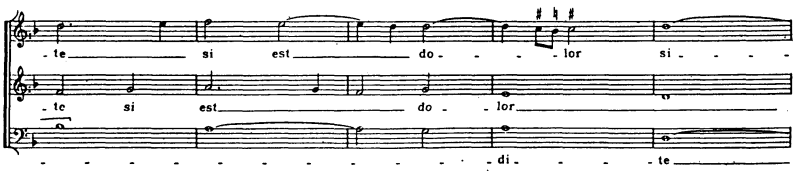
per vi - am



at - ten - di - te et vi - de -

di - te et vi - de -

at - ten -



- te si est do - lor si -

- te si est do - lor

di - te



The musical score consists of six systems, each with a vocal line (Soprano and Alto) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "cut do lor me si cut do lor et vi de us, si cut do lor me us, si cut do te si est do lor si me us. lor me us. cut do lor me us." Measure numbers 25, 30, and 35 are indicated at the start of their respective systems.

System 1: Vocal lines with lyrics "cut do lor me" and "si cut do lor". Piano accompaniment.

System 2: Piano accompaniment starting at measure 25.

System 3: Vocal lines with lyrics "us, si cut do lor" and "me us, si cut do". Piano accompaniment.

System 4: Piano accompaniment starting at measure 30.

System 5: Vocal lines with lyrics "me us." and "lor me us." and "cut do lor me us." Piano accompaniment.

System 6: Piano accompaniment starting at measure 35.

Nature, Law and the Family

Rev. Peter J. Elliott

When we talk of “Natural Law”, people imagine we are referring to the laws of nature, such as gravity, but this is not so. We are talking about the *moral* law which belongs to the basically unchanging nature of the human person within a created, ordered universe. By the term “natural law”, we describe an innate moral code built into us, a moral law engraved within the nature of every person. Each of us has the capacity to know that good ought to be done and evil avoided, according to the dictates of right reason. This moral reasoning takes the form of a sense of what is right or wrong, our conscience which tells us that this ought to be done or that this ought not to be done.

Before I relate the Natural Law to the family, I must make an ecumenical observation. As a priest working in the Vatican, I represent the Catholic tradition which maintains belief that God has created us with a basic capacity to grasp the Natural Law and, furthermore, that not only individuals but society as a whole should be ordered and guided by it. I realize that some other Christians from the Reformation tradition are not so confident in the role of Natural Law because they see human nature in a less optimistic way than Catholics do. They argue that, while there is an unchanging moral order, a capacity to discern what is right or wrong within human nature has been severely damaged, if not destroyed, by original sin. They regard the Catholic preoccupation with Natural Law as a harkening back to classical pagan philosophical ideals, when all

we need is the Law revealed in specific commandments in the Bible.

However, I believe that in practice we do not really disagree. In the Letter to the Romans, Saint Paul himself outlined Natural Law in describing those who do not know the revealed commandments: “When Gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires, they are a law to themselves, even though they do not have the law. They show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them on that day when, according to my gospel, God judges the secrets of men by Christ Jesus.” Romans 2: 14-16.

This moral law of nature written on our hearts does not “work” automatically. In that sense, it is not the same as the non-rational physical laws of nature, such as gravity. We are weak, fallen and sinful. We do make mistakes and we find it hard to work out exact applications of the Natural Law in certain areas. This is why we need grace and divine revelation to guide and sustain us and to form our consciences. But we still know that there is right and wrong, that there is an objective moral order, as real and abiding as the physical laws of the created world in which we live.

Natural Law, being universal, is an ethical meeting-point for all people, regardless of race, religion or politics. When we see the essential role this universal moral law plays in family life and in the family’s place in society, the importance of this meeting-point will become clearer. Every issue and possibility raised at this congress is a response to principles of truth, justice, goodness, Natural Law principles which bring us together in deep concern for the families of today, that we may build families for tomorrow.

The Nature and Rights of the Family

The crisis in the family is ethical — ultimately spiritual. It is always centered around the perennial human choice between doing good and avoiding evil or of conforming to the decadence around us. This is why the Ten Commandments are largely family laws. Read them for yourselves and see how

God has revealed specific family applications of that law engraved on our hearts, our stubborn and often hardened hearts as Moses knew so well. But God created us in his own image and likeness and in the moment of creation presented the first bride to the first bridegroom, therefore his Law for us is largely a family law. It proceeds from his eternal Nature into our created nature. As persons we participate in his Eternal Law through the law of our rational moral nature. Yet through biology, sexuality, gender, it is natural to us as embodied persons to be formed in families and to form families.

As the natural and primary society of persons, the family is subject to the Natural Law. This begins with the bond of marriage which creates a new family. It proceeds into the procreation and raising of children, and then through the various phases and changes of family life and structure.

The transmission of human life is thus an important area for us to seek to discern how good is to be done and evil avoided. This explains why my own Church takes a stand on a particular application of Natural Law. I refer to the famous reaffirmation of a Natural Law morality in the rejection of contraception, sterilization and abortion in the encyclical letter of Paul VI, *humanae vitae*, July 25, 1968. This teaching was repeated in a more personalist way by John Paul II in his magnificent exhortation on the family, *Familiaris consortio*, November 22, 1981.

Whether or not you agree with Catholic teaching in this critical area, you may agree that individuals, families and society in general are suffering the consequences of destructive interference in the natural, personal and sacred process of transmitting human life. When you break the law of gravity, you break your neck. When you break natural moral law, you break the family. Consequences do not determine what is right or wrong, but they do help us to discern how the moral order works, and that it is as inherent in creation as gravity. This also explains why a modern method of natural child spacing is explained at this Congress, discovered, I am proud to say, by two Australians, Drs. John and Lyn Billings.

But the tradition I represent, is not only concerned with specific moral applications of Natural Law. Human rights are

a major theme of the Church in the age of John Paul II. His concern for human rights rests securely within the social teaching of the Church, which is based largely on Natural Law. Where there is an inherent natural moral order there are rights which are equally natural and inalienable. If the human person is a moral being, if moral laws are as inherent as the laws of nature in the environment around us, then in justice, duties and obligations set up inalienable rights.

Individuals have natural rights in the ordered society which ought to reflect Natural Law. But, “no man is an island”, and individuals are born into and formed by a family. Therefore this natural primary community has its own inherent rights. It is time we heard more about the rights of the family and a little less about the rights of the individual.

In 1983, to secure and proclaim family rights, the Holy See published *The Charter of the Rights of the Family*. In reading this document, you find a statement of specific natural rights based on Natural Law, rights arising from the nature of the human person living in the first natural community or society, rights arising from being married persons and especially the inherent rights of parents. But what the reader of this Charter immediately sees is the way these rights are disregarded, even denied or scorned in the kind of secularist societies developing today. The crisis in family rights thus takes us into the inner crisis of the family. Why should Johnny obey his parents when they have been abolished? Of course Sue can go on the pill or have an abortion without telling mother, because mother no longer exists when Sue makes her choices.

The Crisis of Ethics and Law

In the light of Natural Law and family rights, we look at the prospects for the families of the future with alarm. We can first discern what is happening in a negative way, by understanding the destructive and nihilistic power of the alternative philosophy to Natural Law. This is known as *legal positivism*, which may be described as the state or society determining what is right or wrong by passing laws. What is right is what is legal. What is wrong is what is illegal. The positive or negative force of law is what determines an act to be moral or

immoral, or “appropriate” or “inappropriate”, according to the language of those who promote legal positivism.

Let me give some topical examples. Abortion is right because the state says so. You can experiment on embryos because parliament allows such acts. A deformed fetus may be aborted up until birth, because the law seems to allow for this. Jews and gypsies are not human beings according to the law and may be sent to the gas chamber. You note how I have deliberately linked Nazi Germany, epitome of legal positivism, with our current social situation. This is our tragic and dangerous dilemma. Most societies now find that their social ethic is no better than that of the Third Reich. This explains why horrors happen in our laboratories today which would have been condemned at Nuremberg forty-odd years ago. In times past, even in the recent past, a sense of what was right and wrong, always right and always wrong, permeated society, maintained by religion, or by a respect at least for the moral value of religion. This Natural Law ethic was reflected in laws and in attempts to reform unjust or draconian laws. Now that has gone.

Human rights cannot be innate and natural once legal positivism is in control. Under legal positivism, human rights are granted - or taken away - by the state or society. I add the word “society” because “social consensus”, or what is claimed to be majority opinion, is the usual justification for legal positivism. Of course in the legal positivist society all sorts of individuals and groups gleefully scramble for their “rights”, like the survival of the fittest at a bargain sale. But these rights are not deemed to be real unless the state says so. There is a hideous moral gulf between the Nineteenth Century struggle to free slaves, based on Natural Law principles, and the struggles to legalize abortion, vice and perversions, justified by an alleged social consensus. It is assumed that what was once wrong is now acceptable and what was acceptable is now wrong. Asserted rights over one’s body or fertility and the sovereignty of sexual pleasure are allowed to destroy the natural right to life and to undermine the rights of natural sexuality.

Remember the famous “new morality” of the South Bank theologians, nearly thirty years ago? That was an attack on

Natural Law morality. It was the revisionist morality of clever and rather nice religious people who thought they could discover right and wrong for themselves in each different moral situation. They told us that “modern man has come of age”. They were in fact using a familiar historicist argument against unchanging human nature and the objective moral order. They said that human nature changes and therefore morality evolves, and that is the end of Natural Law which says that basically human nature is the same and the objective moral order remains the same. In practice, apart from initiating a disastrous descent into “loophole morality” in the moral theology of the major Churches, their “new morality” assisted the triumph of sociology over ethics, of public opinion over what we know, deep down in our consciences, to be truly right or wrong.

But *what* does society say? Is it society which really determines morality and hence law, or is it well-organized pressure groups? Is not the so-called social consensus simply organized by those who determine mass media policy? The tyrants whose word is law today are not emperors or dictators but the unseen ones who decide the relentless anti-family immorality of much of the media. Furthermore, the logic of social consensus reinforces itself. If one were to do a door-to-door survey simply asking whether abortion is right or wrong, many of the responses would run like this, “It can’t be wrong can it? After all it’s legal now isn’t it?” And you would get the same answer from Beryl in Battersea as you would from Cynthia in Knightsbridge.

What does this assault on a Natural Law morality do to the family? It destroys the family by ignoring the rights of the family. This may best be explained through the example of no-fault divorce. By removing fault from divorce proceedings, you render divorce simply an agreement to separate or the decision of one partner to depart. By making divorce easy you strike at the created reality which causes the family to exist, marriage, you subject children who are meant to enjoy the security of that bond to the caprice of individuals, and as is evident in my own country, you leave divorced women with children in difficult circumstances. In the midst of the personal anguish we must ask where are the rights of the family

once the marriage contract becomes easier to break than a time-payment contract for the new TV.

Abolishing the Family

Therefore, looking deeper at this threat to family life we can discern that it is a denial of the very existence of a natural community called the family, which is the fundamental dynamic cell of society, an organic community which is good and which should be defended. However, we are not idealizing the family as we defend it. G.K. Chesterton, who wrote extensively and prophetically on the family, once remarked: "When we defend the family we do not mean it is always a peaceful family; when we maintain the thesis of marriage we do not mean that it is always a happy marriage. We mean that it is the theater of the spiritual drama, the place where things happen, especially the things that matter. It is not so much the place where a man kills his wife as the place where he can take the equally sensational step of not killing his wife."¹

By removing moral responsibility from a bored or unfaithful spouse, an easy divorce law is saying that this is not a moral matter because the smallest community formed by the marriage bond sets up no moral duties or obligations which should be reflected in particular laws. The spouse who is inconvenienced by the community formed by marriage can abandon that community. It follows that children can also walk out of the home, if they wish. Because its natural base no longer holds, the whole of society is now centered around the convenience or comfort of an individual. It is the triumph of the "imperial self".

This denial of the reality of the natural community formed by marriage helps explain the curious redefinition of the family as a "household", that is as any group of people living under one roof. Any association of individuals is blithely called a "family", regardless of relationship, marriage, gender or sexual inclination. One is reminded of the evil Manson "family", for the devil parodies and inverts that which is innately good and natural. On the level of political philosophy in the redefinition of "family" we can perceive extreme liberalism, even nihilism, where the individual is the measure of all

things. This godless, self-centered individualism envisages society as a collection of individuals, wandering through a series of ultimately pointless and expendable “relationships”. At a more fundamental philosophical level, making words mean what we choose them to mean draws us into the web of a sceptical world-view - we can never know a rose but only play games with words, with the name of the rose.

On a broader social level, the rights of the family are central to a contest between different visions of society. Using familiar British reference points, it could be argued that we are still involved in a struggle between two minds: Edmund Burke, who saw society as made up of natural societies such as the family, and Thomas Hobbes, who saw society as made up of competitive, and rather nasty, individuals to be regulated by the supreme state authority. Burke had an awareness of Natural Law ethics, of divine purpose within society conceived as an organic and natural order. Hobbes denied the existence of Natural Law. For him, the state determines what is right or wrong in regulating relations between rather brutish and competitive individuals, who left to themselves would destroy one another. Hobbes was a father of legal positivism and he seems to be winning today.

Unfortunately, Hobbes was also one of the fathers of modern totalitarianism, because, in his system, the state ultimately controls all individuals and groups. On the other hand, as they know so well in Eastern Europe, the family is the center of true liberty. Chesterton also said: “The family is the test of freedom; because the family is the only thing that the free man makes for himself and by himself.”² The totalitarians, whether old Marxist or fascist, or new consumerist, must break the family. Why? It is the natural citadel for free men and women confronted with the diabolical demand - that you must surrender your very self in return for a secure place in our system and the share of the booty which we will allot to you.

Family Politics

How can the family meet this challenge? At the level of society in general, by engaging in family politics. Today we desperately need a family politics to tackle issues such as easy

divorce, discrimination against married people, equating common law unions or homosexual alliances with marriage, the denial of parents' rights in education especially sex education, artificial control of population growth, the intrusion of pornography into the home through the media, ignoring the rights of the father in disputed areas where radical feminism has abolished him. But these ethical issues must not be only the traditional family "reacting" to social engineering. There must be positive initiatives to advance and secure the innate goodness of the family, for example, a living wage for parents, taxation in favor of the family, incentives to encourage mothers to stay in the home, the promotion of a positive and healthy regard for childbearing, an openness to larger families, supporting small family businesses and enterprises.

It goes on and on, this family politics. Unfortunately we have to face the fact that much of it is a struggle to reverse years of accumulated discrimination against the rights and the very nature of the family which delineates those rights.

Because the natural society of the family is formed by procreation, family politics must be concerned with the sanctity of human life from conception until natural death. If you think the pro-life movement is only about saving unborn babies from the abortionist and elderly folk from a lethal injection, think again. It is a family movement. All its moral issues have a direct impact on family life. That unborn infant, that elderly person, is first and foremost a member of the basic living cell of society, and it is within some form of family that the life or death decisions are made. When death is chosen, part of the family also dies. We choose life. The pro-life movement epitomizes the essential unity between the family and Natural Law ethics. Let us work for the day when every pregnant woman can walk down the high street with joy, the mother of hope greeted with respect because she embodies trust in the families of the future.

Through family politics you are also called to be involved in struggles to renew society, for example: maintaining Sunday as a day of worship, rest and recreation, securing each neighborhood as a peaceful family space, seeing that environmental issues serve the family, protecting, healing and

supporting the poor family, the broken family, facing the drug issue through families, caring for the aged and handicapped at home. In the light of these concerns which find their place at this Congress, it is clear why family politics can emerge as the wave of the future. But sound family politics is not merely a string of causes to make life at home more cosy. It must be based on the fundamental struggle to make law and social policy strongly support every marriage and every family. It will be a struggle to reassert Natural Law as God's gift of freedom and that is the critical spiritual struggle for true freedom in the Europe of the future.

Renewing Family Life

However, family politics is only part of the answer. It is so easy to run around trying to convert others while ignoring one's own soul. Remember Dickens' character Mrs. Jellaby, so concerned about the children in distant missions abroad that she let her own children fall into neglect and ruin. The recovery of what is natural and good begins at home. It is not for me to lecture you on what needs to be done. All I can request is a thorough examination of conscience concerning life in your own home. From Natural Law and natural rights flow moral obligations and responsibilities. Consider, for example the duty of parents to love their children with the gift of their time, which should flow from the noble and attentive self-giving love between husband and wife. Only free men, women and children can give themselves in love in the freedom of their home.

Unfortunately, the insularity of the modern family is one major obstacle to the moral and spiritual renewal of the natural and good community in the home. For example, the obsessive privacy of the selfish society can shrivel up the family. It is one thing to tell busybodies trying to rescue your children from your religious formation to "keep out and mind your own business!" It is another thing to avoid other families, to try to "go it alone", when what we need is a family-to-family ministry. The family itself transforms the selfish society by making a commitment to other families. You will have the opportunity to make that commitment through the various

associations you meet here in these days of work and celebration. This solidarity of families with one another is a ground for hope.

We must first defeat our own pessimism. Let me speak honestly. I frequently travel between Europe, Australia and the United States. I work in perhaps the best vantage point in the world. Constantly, in your country and mine, I find a terrible pessimism concerning marriage and the family. Faced with the tragedies of family life today, there is a tendency, even among Christians, to take the broken home, the single parent and to say, "Well, this is the norm today. We're not going to change this trend and we should build all family policy around these hard cases." But the truth is otherwise.

While we must stand in solidarity with the family which suffers, there are thousands of good, healthy families out there and they are well represented here at Brighton. They are trying to live as communities which are natural and good, essential cells in a natural human society. These families are the "norm". Your family striving to find happiness in doing what is right is the "norm". What is good and true and strong is the "norm". This is not idealism. This is healthy realism based on the Natural Law. It is a call to trust the family, to be confident in the resilience and innate goodness of the little community of life and love. It is a challenge hurled back at the godless state and the godless society which can never tolerate that sensible principle of subsidiarity, that the small groups usually function better than big business or big government. This realism is the ground for Hope for families called "to become what they are."³

The path ahead is glorious. It is not a nostalgic return to the past. We can never go back to Eden. That way is barred and the angel stands there with fiery sword forbidding entry. No, we must take a higher and humbler path, across the hills of time, guided by the glimmer of eternity to a small village and a little home where God Himself rested in a gentle Mother's arms and played beneath a foster father's loving gaze. If the "future of humanity passes by way of the family"⁴, we must first find our way home to Nazareth.

Endnotes

¹ G.K. Chesterton, “The Home of the Unities”, in *The New Witness*, 17 January, 1919.

² Ibid.

³ Pope John Paul II, *Familiaris consortio*, 86.

⁴ Ibid., 17.

CMAA Centennial

Virginia A. Schubert

The Hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Society of Saint Cecilia of America and of the establishment of the journal, *Caecilia*, was observed with great festivity at a solemn Mass celebrated in the Church of St. Agnes, Saint Paul, Minnesota, on December 27, 1973.

Garlands of pine boughs and wreaths tied with red velvet ribbons decorated the sanctuary of the large, Baroque style church; seasonal red poinsettias were massed on the white marble altar. As the ministers of the Mass entered the church in solemn procession accompanied by the Knights of Columbus and altar boys carrying processional banners, the red and white flags of the parish, the yellow and white papal emblem and the American flag, the Schola Cantorum under the direction of Dr. William F. Pohl intoned the Gregorian introit for the Mass of Saint John the Apostle with alternatim sections of improvisation by Robert Strusinski, the organist. The proper of the Mass was taken from the Graduale Romanum.

The Mass was celebrated by Monsignor Johannes Overath of Cologne, Germany, vice-president of the Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, who represented the Federated Caecilian Societies of the German-speaking countries. He was assisted by Reverend John Buchanan and Reverend George Eischens. The Archbishop of Saint Paul and Minneapolis, the Most Reverend Leo Binz, and the Bishop of New Ulm, the Most Reverend Alphonse J. Schladweiler, were both present in the sanctuary.

To mark the centennial celebration with music befitting the philosophy and history of the society, the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale, under the direction of Monsignor Richard J. Schuler, sang Joseph Haydn's Mass in Time of War (Paukenmesse) with soloists and orchestral accompaniment. The stirring *Dona nobis pacem* section of Haydn's *Agnus Dei* with its repeated use of timpani and trumpets, giving the Mass its title, was written at the time that the armies of Napoleon were at the gates of Vienna. Perhaps the threatening dangers portrayed in the prayer for peace in time of war could be as true today as in Haydn's day. It is not now the forces of Napoleon, but rather a struggle facing church musicians at this juncture in their efforts to preserve the treasures of the past and create a new music for our own time. The timpani and the trumpets seemed so symbolic to me.

In his sermon, Reverend Ralph S. March, O.S.Cist., editor of *Sacred Music*, described the difficult and noble work of those who have gone before; he reiterated the challenge facing the present members of the society; he called for efforts to enhance divine worship by preserving and fostering the treasury of sacred music and by developing new sacred music of great artistic merit.

At the conclusion of the Mass, attended by over a thousand people, announcement was made of greetings and special recognition received by CMAA on the occasion of its centennial. Archbishop Binz read a congratulatory telegram from the Holy Father. Monsignor Overath, representing Dr. Anton Saladin, president of the Federated Caecilian Societies of the German-speaking countries, announced that the silver Palestrina medal of the ACV had been awarded to CMAA and had been accepted by Prof. Gerhard Track, newly-elected president, at the business meeting of the society held during the afternoon. At the same time, the gold Lassus medal of the ACV was presented to Monsignor Schuler, secretary of CMAA and vice-president of CIMS, for his devotion to the cause of sacred music and most particularly for his work as chairman of the Fifth International Church Music Congress in Chicago and Milwaukee in 1966.

The colorful procession of bishops and priests and the boys with their banners left the sanctuary and made its way

through the church as the choir sang Tappert's *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*. A reception for the parishioners, guests, musicians and clergy was held in the church hall.

The Twin Cities Catholic Chorale

Richard M. Hogan

In 1956, Monsignor Richard J. Schuler founded the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale with some sixty charter members from the cities and surrounding suburbs of St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota. Since at that time Monsignor Schuler was teaching music at the College of Saint Thomas in St. Paul, the new choir was able to make use of the practice rooms at Saint Thomas. Eventually, the college was regarded as the home of the choir. Initially, the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale did not have an affiliation with any parish in the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis, but accepted invitations to sing on parish feast days and at important archdiocesan functions. In addition, the chorale performed orchestral compositions at its annual sacred concerts usually with the assistance of members of the Minnesota Orchestra. These concerts provided an opportunity to sing some of the Viennese classical Masses which could not, at that time, be sung at liturgical functions. Many American Catholics were under the (false) impression that the *Motu proprio* issued by Pope Pius X had forbidden the performance of orchestral settings of the Mass texts within the liturgy. Thus, the annual concerts given by Monsignor Schuler allowed his choir members to study and appreciate the riches of the liturgical music of eighteenth-century Vienna.

After the Second Vatican Council many parish choirs disintegrated. Many priests believed that everything during the Mass, including the music, had to be said (or sung) in English. Since there were very few artistically adequate settings of the

English Mass texts, parish choirs discovered that the much hailed liturgical reform had deprived them of their repertoire. They had nothing to sing and nothing to practice. Their membership dwindled and finally, in most cases, they disbanded. The Twin Cities Catholic Chorale continued to sing settings of the Latin Mass drawn from the treasury of sacred music either in concert or, when invited to a parish, at liturgical functions. Thus, the chorale was able to survive these "lean years" of Catholic church music. Monsignor Schuler was not opposed to new liturgical compositions employing the English Mass text. In fact, the chorale has at least three or four English Masses in its repertoire. However, the few new liturgical compositions which are of high artistic quality are usually not readily received by the congregation because of their modern musical style. They do not, for the most part, establish the proper atmosphere for prayer among the members of the congregation. Therefore, the Chorale continued to sing Latin Masses, but it received fewer and fewer invitations from pastors because most of them had adopted English to the complete exclusion of Latin. One concert per year is hardly sufficient reason for weekly practices. If the choir was to survive, it would have to develop a new program, devote itself to a new and unique project. The chorale's journey to Salzburg in 1974 for the Sixth International Church Music Congress, organized by CIMS, suggested a program which many choir members believed could succeed in Minnesota.

The European experience opened a new world to most of the choir members. In Italy, together with the Dallas Catholic Choir, we visited Florence, Assisi, and most importantly, Rome. In Germany, the tourist areas surrounding Cologne and Munich attracted the choir. The Austrian cities of Linz, Lienz, imperial Vienna, and Salzburg charmed the Minnesota visitors as they have others from around the globe. In all these areas, but especially in Bavaria and Austria, the choir members experienced the high tradition of Catholic church music which continues after the Council. We envied the yearly programs of the Austrian and German cathedral choirs. One of our most memorable experiences was hearing the Mozart *Requiem* sung by the Salzburg cathedral choir. Most of us had heard this work often, but usually not at Mass. This master-

piece of sacred music produces a wondrous effect when heard outside of its proper liturgical setting, but within the liturgy, it is transformed into a profound musical prayer for the souls of the faithful departed. The baroque cathedral of Salzburg was a perfect setting for this liturgical drama. However, the chorale did not travel to Europe only to listen. We sang Joseph Haydn's *Missa in Tempori Belli, the Paukenmesse*, on the feast of the Assumption in St. Peter's in Munich. Under Joseph Kronsteiner together with his Linz cathedral choir the chorale sang the Bruckner *E Minor Mass* in Linz. In Salzburg at the pilgrim church of Maria Plain, the chorale sang Michael Haydn's *Requiem*. After three weeks, we returned home, but we did not leave Europe empty-handed. With the firm resolve to implement a program of classical orchestral Masses in the Twin Cities similar to the efforts of Bavarian and Austrian church choirs we landed at the Minneapolis-St. Paul airport.

However, there were two major problems. First, we needed a parish where we could sing regularly. Secondly, we needed funds to pay the costs of hiring professional musicians. The first problem was resolved relatively easily. Monsignor Schuler had been appointed pastor of St. Agnes in St. Paul a few years before the choir made its European trip. St. Agnes was founded in 1887 by German-speaking immigrants to United States. The church is a baroque structure as its "onion" tower, one of the hallmarks of the baroque style, clearly indicates. The Masses of the Viennese classical period belong in such a parish. They could only serve to heighten the previously existing baroque, south German atmosphere. Since the predecessor of Monsignor Schuler, Monsignor Rudolph G. Bandas, had not abandoned the Latin High Mass, the chorale could sing the classical Viennese Masses at any Sunday High Mass. The Masses of Mozart, Haydn, Schubert, and Beethoven would be a *pars integrans* of the Latin liturgy at St. Agnes, because the language of the altar and the choirloft would be the same. If, as in some churches, the ministers at the altar employ the vernacular while the choir sings Latin, it appears as if the music is completely divorced and separate from the liturgy unfolding on the altar. Only when the choir and ministers use the same language is a unity between the altar and choirloft established. Thus, the Latin High Masses at St. Agnes

gave the chorale an opportunity to implement its program in accordance with sound liturgical principles. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the choir director had no problems whatsoever with the clergy. The pastor was also the choir director!

Unfortunately, the problem of funding was the greater of the two. In the first year, 1974-1975, the chorale actually sang seventeen orchestral Masses and in the Second year, 1975-1976, twenty-five. We needed a relatively steady annual income which would provide the funds for the professional musicians, members of the Minnesota Orchestra. In order to announce a program of twenty-five Masses we had to have some solid financial backing. On the average, we hired fifteen musicians for each Mass, but during the second year we added four professional vocal soloists. The need for a firm financial base thus became even more pressing. St. Agnes parish could not assume this burden. The parish was already financing a high school and a grade school. Still, under Monsignor Schuler, it had a budget for church music, but this fell far short of what the chorale's project needed.

When in September 1974, we decided to announce a program of five Masses and to organize a new society called the Friends of the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale, we sent letters to about two hundred people in the metropolitan Twin Cities area announcing the new project and asking them for their financial support. These people had been willing to donate small sums to the chorale on previous occasions. The response to our efforts surprised even the optimists among us! Not only were we able to finance the five Masses which we had announced, but were able to plan twelve more. Most of the members of the Friends of the Chorale donated twenty-five dollars. Some gave one hundred and there were a few contributions above one hundred. 1977-1978 is the fifth year since the birth of the Friends of the Chorale. There are now over 900 members who have generously supported the efforts of the chorale during this year and the past four.

Why? Why have these people, who certainly could make use of their hard earned money in many different ways and for many different purposes, donated it for church music? The

only possible answer to this question is that these people want to hear good church music sung within the liturgy. If we recall that the Viennese classical Masses have rarely been sung within the liturgy in this country, perhaps it is possible to imagine the new World which was opened to the people who attend the Latin High Mass at St. Agnes. Seldom, in this country, has such music been sung regularly in its proper setting. The Friends of the Chorale realize the significance of the effort which Monsignor Schuler, the members of the chorale and the Minnesota Orchestra, are making and want it to continue.

It is clear that the incomparable music of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, and Schubert should only be sung as part of the liturgy which is equal in beauty. There must be balance between the choirloft and the altar. The beauty of the music must be balanced by the solemnity and beauty of the ceremonies. If the liturgy is not comparable to the music, then the music and ceremonies are separated and there is no unity between altar and choirloft. Since the chorale inaugurated its musical program five years ago, Monsignor Schuler, as pastor, has attempted to enhance the ceremonies at the Sunday High Mass. On the great feasts of the church year, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, and on the patronal feast of St. Agnes, Monsignor Schuler has frequently invited a bishop to celebrate the sung Mass. The Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis has several auxiliary and suffragan bishops who are willing to sing a Latin High Mass now and then. Also, the ordinary, Archbishop John Roach, has celebrated the High Mass at St. Agnes on several occasions. Otherwise the celebrant sings the Mass with two deacons and ministers from the parish schools.

The High Mass at St. Agnes continues to leave a lasting impression on many people. But it is not simply the music. All the liturgical elements — the ceremonies, the music, the sermon, the vestments, even the church building, itself — combine, when properly used, to create a beautiful, worthy, and solemn atmosphere of the sacred. Church music is a part of this whole; it is a *pars integrans in liturgia*. The music without comparable ceremonies could not produce the effect which the liturgy demands. The composers did not intend the con-

cert hall as the proper setting for their Viennese classical Masses. In light of this, one could compare Masses sung outside of their liturgical setting with operas performed without actors in concert. In both cases, the music, alone, leaves a certain impression, but it is incomplete. Opera music should be performed with costumes, acting, and all the other elements proper to an opera. Only then is one able to appreciate the opera as a whole. The same is true of church music. It belongs in the liturgy. The members of the Friends of the Chorale support the chorale's program because they want to participate in a truly beautiful, uplifting, liturgical ceremony. (They do not consider the program to be a series of concerts.)

The Viennese classical Masses have enriched the liturgies of many a parish in Europe and around the world. Since the council they are again proving themselves, but this time in an American parish. Every week there are new members joining either the choir or the Friends of the Chorale. The success of these Masses has been nothing short of phenomenal. But it is not entirely attributable to our own efforts. The fact is that there is a demand among Catholics, and especially young people, for beautiful ceremonies and worthy sacred music. If our program has been well received in the Twin Cities, it is more than likely that a similar program in other parts of the United States would meet with the same success. Catholics today are starved for the beautiful in their religious lives. The church musician has the knowledge and the tools to fill this need.

Mons. Schuler and the Latin Liturgy Association

Charles N. Meter

Msgr. Richard Schuler has always been an ardent promoter of the use of the Latin language in the liturgy, in full compliance with the constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council. When plans were being made for the Second National Convention of the Latin Liturgy Association of the United States during May 1989, it was a natural choice to hold it at Msgr. Schuler's church, St. Agnes, in St. Paul, Minnesota. A more beautiful and sacred setting for the liturgy during the days of the Convention could hardly be found than the lovely baroque-style, one hundred year old church, just recently redecorated and refurbished. Not only did Monsignor act as the congenial host of the Convention, but he also directed most of the music that accompanied the various liturgical services, besides presenting one of the papers. The high-point of the two-day Convention was the Solemn Pontifical Mass on the feast of Corpus Christi transferred to Sunday. Celebrant of the Mass was the Most Rev. Richard J. Ham, senior auxiliary Bishop of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The music for the Ordinary of the Mass was Mozart's Coronation Mass, beautifully performed by the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale and members of the Minnesota Orchestra, all under the direction of Msgr. Schuler. The Proper of the Mass was sung in Gregorian by the parish Schola, that reminded one of the chanting of the Solesmes monks. It was a special joy for me to concelebrate in this inspiring Latin liturgy of the Novus Ordo, because Bishop

Ham had been a former student of mine in the Preparatory Seminary 50 years ago when he sang with my first chant choir in 1939. The Solemn Mass was followed by the traditional Corpus Christi procession outdoors with two different altars for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Even there, and along the way, Monsignor led the singing of the many participants.

Besides the liturgical celebrations of Masses and Vespers, there were of course the usual lectures and interesting discussions on subjects pertaining to the use of Latin in the Roman Rite. Here again, Msgr. Schuler gave a very practical talk on "Latin in Today's Parish". Would that his words of wisdom and experience were followed by more parishes in our country!

Of course, beautiful liturgy in Latin is a regular event at St. Agnes church. In the Fall Issue of Sacred Music 1987 Msgr. Schuler wrote: "Each Sunday, the solemn Mass (with two deacons) is celebrated in Latin. On thirty Sundays of the year, the music of the Viennese classicists (Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven et al) is sung by the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale assisted by instrumentalists (usually about 20) from the Minnesota Orchestra. The choir of sixty voices, plus four soloists, has some twenty Masses in its repertory. The proper is sung in Gregorian chant by a schola of men, and the congregation sings the responses and acclamations." At St. Agnes Church Latin Vespers are chanted each Sunday of the year and each day during the Octave of Christmas. A Latin High Mass is celebrated each Saturday of the year. The Latin passion is chanted on Palm Sunday as well as Latin Tenebrae each day during the Holy Week Triduum.

Again, to quote Msgr. Schuler in the same article: "It is through art that man comes to God. Music, architecture, painting, sculpture — indeed, flowers, candles, incense, vestments and ceremony — all can be the means of grace and prayer, provided they are worthy of the Creator of all art and holy as He is. Jesus Christ is the supreme art of the Father. Our art must be a reflection of Him in whose image we are all made. Such liturgy is the aim of Saint Agnes, Sunday mornings." Bravo, Msgr. Schuler!

My acquaintance with Msgr. Schuler goes back to the time he was studying in Rome at the Pontifical Institute of Sacred

Music and doing special work at the Vatican Archives. It was not a personal contact, but he was my representative at a meeting in Rome of the national presidents of the International Federation of Pueri Cantores, called by Msgr. Maillet, founder and president of the organization. Since then, we have met many times at various meetings of Church musicians. To this day Monsignor is still an active member of the American Federation.

For all the wonderful work he has done in our country as a musician, a liturgist, a writer, an editor, a lecturer, and, above all, as a fearless defender of the great heritage of the sacred music of the Church, all of us both in the United States and abroad shall be ever grateful. With one jubilant voice we sing to our septuagenarian jubilarian: AD MULTOS PLURIMOSQUE ANNOS VIVAS! VIVAS! VIVAS!

Latin Liturgy Association

James Hitchcock

A new national organization, the Latin Liturgy Association, has been formed to promote the celebration of the Church's liturgy in what remains, despite impressions to the contrary, the official liturgical language of the Western Church.

The new association was formed in a meeting at St. Louis, July 29-30, 1975, attended by fifteen persons from various parts of the United States and Canada. Canadian representatives are in the process of deciding whether there should be a single organization for all of North America or separate groups for Canada and the United States.

Constitutions, by-laws, and statements of purpose for the new organization are being composed and will be ready for distribution sometime during the fall. The Latin Liturgy Association will then solicit members from around the country. It aims to operate both as a grass-roots group, encouraging the use of Latin in parishes and religious institutions, and as a national organization making available information and encouragement to local groups and serving as a national voice on behalf of the revitalization of the Church's Latin liturgy.

Those wishing information about the new group should write to its national secretary, Mrs. Jean Findlay, Millbank, Afton, Va. 22920. Literature and other information will be sent to inquirers as soon as it becomes available.

The organizational meeting in St. Louis was deliberately kept small and informal, the talks of an exploratory nature in

the beginning. Invitations to attend were sent to several people around the country who were known to be concerned about the neglect of Latin in the present life of the Church. Most of those approached agreed eagerly to come to the meeting. Those who were unable to make the trip asked to be kept informed of the group's activities.

The Benedictine monks of the St. Louis Priory kindly made their facilities available to the meeting, including lunch and the use of the beautiful Priory Church, a circular building frequently featured in articles about modern church architecture in the United States.

At noon on Tuesday, July 29, there was a High Mass in the church sung by Msgr. Richard Schuler, pastor of St. Agnes Parish in St. Paul, Minnesota, and editor of *Sacred Music*. The entire Mass was sung in Gregorian chant, with proper parts rendered by a small local choir directed by Joseph O'Connor of St. Louis, one of the participants in the organizational meeting. The Mass was a votive Mass of the Holy Spirit.

The organizers of the meeting had made no attempt to publicize it, but word got out nonetheless and there were a number of inquiries from people asking if they could attend the Mass. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* sent both a reporter and a photographer, and the following weekend there was a large article about the occasion. Despite the fact that it was one of the hottest days of the year, and that the church was not air-conditioned, extremely favorable comments were received about the solemnity and dignity of the service and the high quality of the music.

Discussions which were intended to be tentative soon led to agreement on several fundamental points: that the Latin liturgy is in danger almost of extinction through neglect in this country; that there is a substantial body of American Catholics who desire to participate in the Latin liturgy either regularly or occasionally; that there is much misunderstanding about Latin among priests and lay people (some even being under the impression that Latin is not allowed except by special permission); and that some kind of organized effort is required to remedy this situation.

Without prejudice to the Tridentine Mass, members of the group agreed to commit themselves unequivocally to the *Novus*

Ordo as the official rite of the Church. It was recognized as imperative to the success of the group that it make clear its complete loyalty to the Holy See and to the bishops and its readiness to work within the framework of the reformed liturgy.

The group sees itself as engaged in activities on several levels. One is what might be called “consciousness-raising” - making people aware that Latin is still permitted and indeed encouraged by the present Holy Father (as well as by Pope John XXIII in *Veterum Sapientiae*). There are many Catholics who want a Latin Mass but believe it is not permissible or not practical for one reason or another. Members of the association also believe that there are many Catholics who, if exposed to the Latin liturgy, would discover riches and beauty they had either forgotten or (in the case of younger people) were unaware of.

The success of the organization was also recognized as dependent ultimately on action at the local level — persuading pastors to initiate the Latin Mass. To this end the group plans to distribute materials giving precise information as to the status of Latin in the new rite, where to obtain books and music for liturgical use, etc. The group hopes to inspire and encourage individuals in their own parishes to ask for the Latin Mass and provide them with practical suggestions as to how to bring it into being.

There is much need for educational activity as well, particularly among priests and more particularly among seminarians who at present may receive little training in the Latin liturgy or Gregorian chant and are hence unable to celebrate the Latin liturgy if they should want to.

Finally, the group hopes to become a responsible, respected voice in the American Church addressing bishops, seminary rectors, pastors, and lay people on this subject, compelling their attention, and dispelling misconceptions.

The American group is greatly encouraged by the example of the Association for the Latin Liturgy in Great Britain, which has had considerable success in keeping alive a vital form of worship in the Church’s official language. The American

group will not be officially linked to the British group but will strive for good working relationships between the two.

At the first meeting Msgr. Schuler stressed the fact that the revival of Latin should not be seen as “nostalgia” or even as a “return” to the old ways but as the implementation of the new Latin liturgy which most Catholics have never had any experience of. Obviously the Church intended the *Novus Ordo* to be used, and the failure by so many parishes to do so is one of the principal failures of implementation of the reforms of the Second Vatican Council.

Mrs. Shelagh Lindsey, a professor at the University of Manitoba, presented an account of the highly successful Latin liturgies which a group in Winnipeg has been sponsoring for well over a year. These have proven extremely popular and have continued to grow. There were also reports on similar experiences at Msgr. Schuler’s church and at the Newman Club chapel at Stanford University.

Members were also in agreement that the group should have a positive character and orientation. It will not be “against” the vernacular liturgy, which it recognizes as one of the authentic fruits of the Second Vatican Council and very meaningful to many people. It is likewise not “against” the Tridentine Mass, while recognizing that this is not now authorized for use in the United States. It does not seek to impose Latin on those who do not want it.

At the same time it should be recognized that Latin enjoys a primacy of place in the worship of the Church. Its use is not a matter of merely one more language alongside the myriad modern languages in which the Mass currently can be, and is, celebrated. It would be tragic if Latin were forgotten in the Church except by a few rather eccentric *aficionados*.

Some of those at the meeting were convinced that now is a crucial and opportune time for the Latin revival. It should be attempted while there are still significant number of people who have a recollection of, and the ability to enter into, Latin worship. There is also evident a new interest in spirituality, a new research for roots, and correspondingly a certain disaffection with a predominantly “mod” Liturgy.

The association will seek episcopal approval and will also elect a national advisory board of distinguished persons in various kinds of activity who are concerned for the preservation of Latin Liturgy.

Elected as temporary chairman of the group, pending completion of the constitution and by-laws, was James Hitchcock, professor of history at St. Louis University and author of *The Recovery of the Sacred*. Vice-chairmen are Joseph O'Connor and William Mahrt, professor of music at Stanford University. Secretary is Mrs. Findlay.

The Benedictine Basilica and the Latin Liturgy

Duane L.C.M. Galles

For Gibbon the arresting experience of a lifetime was his visit in the close of evening to the church of the Franciscan friars while they were singing vespers “in the Temple of Jupiter on the ruins of the Capitol”. From that experience sprang the insight that led to his great history.¹ For me the arresting experience of a lifetime was my visit some twenty years ago to the major Basilica of Saint Paul-outside-the-Walls staffed by Benedictine monks. As the sun’s vesper rays shone through the alabaster clerestories of the basilica, it seemed filled at once with the brightness of divine light and the glow of divine love.

But besides the major Basilica of Saint Paul-outside-the-Walls in Rome, there are a number of great Benedictine churches throughout the world which enjoy the rank of minor basilica. Besides the great Roman basilica with its *porta sancta* to attract pilgrims during the Holy Year, there are also venerable Benedictine pilgrimage basilicas at Monserrat, Ettal, Saint-Benoit de Fleury, and Vallombroso. The church of Maria Laach Abbey, near Trier, a leading center in the liturgical revival, became a minor basilica in 1926 as did the great pilgrimage church of Ottobeuren Abbey in Bavaria.² Also of great note is the abbey church of Saint Gregory in Downside, England, which in 1935 was raised to the rank of minor basilica. Shortly thereafter in 1940 and 1955 two American Benedictine churches were also elevated to that rank. These

were, respectively, the abbey church of the Immaculate Conception in Conception, Missouri, and the archabbey church of Saint Vincent de Paul in Latrobe, Pennsylvania.³ Given these and the several other Benedictine basilicas throughout the world, the post-Vatican II reforms of the laws of minor basilicas should be of interest to all sons and daughters of Saint Benedict.

In the wake of the second council of the Vatican, the canon law of minor basilicas was substantially reformed. Hitherto, elevation to the rank of minor basilica was seen as a special honor or ‘ennobling’ conferred by the pope on a lovely old church.⁴ Henceforth, minor basilicas were to be centers of special liturgical and pastoral zeal with the most profound links to the Chair of Peter. In the process they acquired special duties with respect to the Latin liturgy.

To understand the reformed canon law of minor basilicas, codified in the 1968 decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites bearing the incipit, *Domus Dei*, one needs to understand the purpose of the decree and something of the history of basilicas. Canon 19 of the *Code of Canon Law* tells us that the purpose of a law is to be used to interpret it. In its third paragraph, *Domus Dei* reveals both its general and specific purposes. In general, the decree on basilicas was made as part of the post-conciliar effort to adapt all ecclesiastical institutes to the needs and conditions of our day. The paragraph goes on to say that in the reformed law the basilican title is to have a dual purpose. First, it is to unite the church honored by the most profound links with the Chair of Peter. Secondly, it is to transform the church honored into a center of peculiar liturgical and pastoral zeal. It is helpful here to refer to the Latin text.

First, we note that we have an “et...et”, or “both...and”, type of construction. The Latin makes it clear that the specific purpose of the basilican title in the reformed law is twofold. Second, let us look more closely at the language of the first clause—“intimius Petri cathedrae devinciatur”. “Intimus” is “profound” and “intimius” is the adverb’s comparative degree, “more profoundly”. “Devincio” is a verb meaning to “unite closely”. The Latin thus has an effusiveness that is hard to

capture in English. The *Canon Law Digest* merely translates the first purpose as that basilicas “will be linked even more closely with the Chair of Peter”.

Third, let us now look more closely at the second clause, “*peculiaris navitatis liturgicae atque pastoralis centrum evadunt*”. Here it is important to appreciate the noun, “*navitas*”. It means “zeal”, “assiduity”. It implies a high degree of *engagement* on the part of the new basilica. The verb “*evado*” is also important. It means “to turn” or “to become”. It hints at a transformation. This clause the *Canon Law Digest* has rendered as “become centers of special liturgical and pastoral endeavours.”⁵ It is important to keep the original and authentic (Latin) text in mind to understand the intensity of purpose of the reformed basilica. Understanding that purpose more accurately will help one understand more clearly the obligations laid down by the decree on basilicas.

Also to understand the nature of the reform one needs to know something of what is being reformed. That will help one appreciate more clearly the extent of the reform undertaken. The incipit of the decree, *Domus Dei*, alludes to the fact that the word ‘basilica’ comes from the Greek words for ‘royal house’. Such places with their large spaces and magnificent trappings were indispensable for the dignified conduct of public affairs, and, even after the demise of kings in Greece, the buildings to which they had given their name survived. The basilica not only survived, it flourished and developed into a distinct architectural form. The basilica in architecture is a covered double arcade terminating in a rounded apse and flanked by two or more aisles. The central space or nave is lit by clerestory windows.

After Constantine’s Edict of Toleration in 312 A.D., many basilicas were built or given over as places of Christian worship. Liturgy, derived from the Greek for “public service”, thus made its home in a public building. Rome, as the Empire’s capital, acquired several basilicas for worship, many being the gift of Constantine and his family. But as Christianity spread to smaller towns and eventually to the countryside, its places of worship tended to be called by the newer name of ‘*ecclesia*’, church. Eventually, the new departure became the norm and

'church' became the generic name for a Christian place of worship.

Some basilicas, however, continued to use their erstwhile sobriquet. And Rome, with its wealth of churches, continued to have many basilicas. By the end of the eighteenth century a differentiation had arisen among the Roman basilicas. In the early part of that century the Holy Year churches of Saint John Lateran, Saint Mary Major, Saint Peter's, and Saint Paul outside the Walls had come to be styled 'major' or greater basilicas. In contrast to these were the distinguished collegiate churches of Rome. These came to be called the 'minor' or lesser basilicas. A collegiate church is merely one served by a college or team of secular clergy, and a distinguished (*insignis*) one is one decorated with special privileges, both for the church and for its clergy.

These distinguished Roman collegiate churches had come to use, as distinctive church ornaments, the papal parasol and a special bell mounted on a staff. The papal parasol or *conopeum* was a special red and yellow silk canopy which was once used to protect the pope from inclement weather during papal cavalcades to stational churches. The bell or *tintinnabulum* mounted on a staff served in former times both to marshal papal processions and to warn bystanders of the procession's approach. The basilica clergy, being secular canons of a distinguished collegiate church, had acquired the right to wear, as choir dress while chanting the liturgy of the hours, a rochet over their soutane and over the rochet in winter a violet *cappa magna* of wool fitted with an ermine cape and lined with red cloth. In summer a *cotta* or surplice replaced the heavy *cappa magna*.

When in the eighteenth century the name and privileges of the Roman minor basilicas had become fixed, they were ready for export. The first minor basilica created by the popes outside of Rome was that of Saint Nicholas in Tolentine, Italy. At the request of its Observant Augustinian clergy, Pope Pius VI bestowed the honor on the church there in 1783 by the bull, *Supremus ille*. In 1805 the minor basilica crossed the Alps and made its way to Paris. That year the Cathedral of Notre Dame there received the honor from Pope Pius VII.⁶ The last

stage in the development of the law of minor basilicas came in 1836 when the privileges of the minor basilica were at length expressly defined. Hitherto the canonical institute rested on custom. In 1836 the customary privileges of the minor basilica were codified by the decree, *Lucerina*, of the Sacred Congregation of Rites.⁷

Such was the law of minor basilicas in 1940 and 1955 when the Benedictine abbey churches at Conception and Latrobe were elevated to the rank of minor basilica. The old style basilica has been conceived in terms of privileges for the church and its clergy. The post-conciliar basilica, rooted in the reforms of the Second Vatican Council, is conceived quite differently. As the post-conciliar decree on basilicas says, the title of minor basilica should be retained but at the same time “should be enriched with a new meaning whereby such churches will be united by the most profound links with the Chair of Peter and become centers of special liturgical and pastoral zeal.”

In short, the decree codifies the law of minor basilicas and at the same time gives these edifices a new and reformed purpose. The decree intends to render concrete the *novus habitus mentis* or new approach of the council’s constitution on the church, *Lumen gentium*. The close links with the Chair of Peter theme had seemingly its source in the constitution’s declaration on the Petrine Ministry. Article 22 of the constitution declares that the “Roman Pontiff by reason of his office as Vicar of Christ, namely, and as pastor of the entire Church, has full, supreme and universal power over the whole Church, a power which he can always exercise unhindered”. The same article adds that the “Lord made Peter alone the rock-foundation and the holder of the keys of the Church, and constituted him shepherd of his whole flock.”⁸

At the same time the decree on basilicas is clearly imbued with the council’s concept of ecclesial office as ordination to service. This concept of service or *diakonia* was one of the very major emphases of the council and it recurs frequently in the various conciliar documents. Article 24 of the constitution on the church declares, for instance, that the pastoral office is “in the strict sense of the term a service which is called very ex-

pressively in sacred scripture a *diakonia* or ministry.” This concept undergirds an entire ecclesiology in which the clergy are at the service of the laity and the laity are at the service of the world.⁹

To see how the decree on basilicas renders more concrete this *novus habitus mentis* one needs to examine the articles of the decree in some detail. Moreover, since the decree had as its general purpose to adapt the basilican title in accordance with the mind of Vatican II to the needs and conditions of our age, the decree needs to be interpreted in the light of the conciliar documents it was trying to translate into juridical language.¹⁰

The decree is divided into three sections, ‘conditions’, ‘obligations’, and ‘concessions’. The first section lays down the conditions necessary for elevation to the rank of minor basilica. The second lays down the obligations of churches elevated to basilican rank. The third section lists the indulgences and other concessions flowing from the new title.

The last section actually contains two articles which are not concessions but rather general norms. Article 14 of the decree is, in fact, an unusual provision. It states that churches already possessing the title of basilica “should, as far as possible, accommodate themselves to the conditions and obligations mentioned in nn 1-9.” Now canon 9 tells us that a law is not retroactive unless the contrary is clearly expressed. Article 14, then, is a rare case of retroactive legislation. The conditions and obligations of *Domus Dei* for new basilicas thus apply with equal force to existing basilicas and, thus, bind all basilicas. The concessions appearing in articles 10-13, by contrast, apply only to new basilicas. It follows that existing basilicas could retain the rights and privileges conferred on them by the old law—in accordance with canon 4, which preserves existing rights not expressly revised or repealed by the *Code*. At the same time, by virtue of article 14 of the decree, all basilicas—no matter when elevated to that rank—are bound by the obligations of the reformed law.

As “centers of special liturgical and pastoral zeal”, basilicas are ‘special service centers’. They have special obligations with respect to the solemn liturgy, the sacrament of penance, and

the teaching of Catholic truth—especially as manifested by the Roman Pontiff. They also have obligations with respect to the Latin liturgy.

Offspring of the collegiate church, which has the obligation of celebrating, as canon 503 tells us, “the more solemn liturgical functions”, the basilica likewise has obligations to the solemn liturgy. As the decree commands, basilicas must celebrate the liturgy, especially the Eucharist, with “the utmost dignity” (*omnimodo cum dignitate*). Since, as article 112 of the constitution on the liturgy tells us, sacred music is “necessary or integral to the solemn liturgy”, it follows (and the decree expressly states) that a basilica must have a choir. Moreover, the basilica is required to mark “with particular solemnity” (*singulari cum solemnitate*) the feast of Saint Peter’s Chair (February 22), the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (June 29), and the anniversary of the election of the Supreme Pontiff. Mindful of the council’s injunction that churches cultivate choirs assiduously, article 8 of the decree adds that in sung Masses Gregorian chant or sacred polyphony should it be performed “with particular care and devotion.” Also to assure the solemn celebration of the liturgy the decree states that “a sufficient number of priests” should be assigned to the basilica, a condition which should hardly be burdensome at a Benedictine abbey.

In support of the basilica’s duty to promote the solemn liturgy, the decree concedes to the rector of the (secular) basilica the use of a black silk mozetta with buttons, button holes, and piping of red. This special choir dress is a nod to the collegiate church origin of the basilica and one may compare the basilica rector’s mozetta with the black or grey one trimmed with violet prescribed in 1970 as the reformed choir dress of cathedral and collegiate church canons. Expressive of the close links between the basilica and the Holy See is the silk of the reformed basilica rector’s mozetta. Silk is the special fabric of the papal court. Red, of course, is a papal color.¹¹

The basilica’s second major duty is with respect to the sacrament of penance. At the recent special synod of bishops celebrated in 1985 to mark the twentieth anniversary of the close of the Vatican council, Luigi Cardinal Dadaglio, the

Sacred Penitentiary, observed that today penance is neglected and even disdained by many, He added: "The thought of Pope Pius V remains always valid: 'Give me good confessors and behold the reform of the entire church'."¹²

Perhaps, it is with this thought in mind that the decree on basilicas requires that in basilicas there be a sufficient number of confessors who are available at specified hours for the needs of penitents. Buttressing this duty to be instruments of God's mercy is the concession of a plenary indulgence to the faithful visiting the basilica on specified days. This special focus on the basilica as a locus of God's mercy would seem to hark back to its collegiate church origins. Customarily collegiate churches possess a canon penitentiary. Canon 508 reminds us that the canon penitentiary has the ordinary power (i.e., it comes from the law itself and not by delegation from the diocesan bishop) to absolve in the sacramental forum from all censures (i.e., excommunications, interdicts, suspensions) not declared or reserved to the Holy See. The canon penitentiary may use this power anywhere in the diocese and even, in respect to those domiciled within the diocese, when these persons are outside of it. The office dates back to the fourth Lateran council, whose famous decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* of 1215 required annual confession by all for the first time.¹³

The third special duty of basilicas is in the teaching of Catholic truth. In basilicas there is to be frequent preaching of the word of God which is not to be reduced merely to feast day homilies. To assist in the obligation imposed on basilicas of teaching Catholic truth the decree provides that when some pilgrimage or large concourse of people assist at Mass in reformed basilicas the creed may be recited. Moreover, besides preaching, basilicas are to provide special courses for the religious education of the Christian faithful. Furthermore, given their close links with the Chair of Peter, basilicas are to devote special attention to the study and dissemination of documents which manifest the mind and teaching authority of the Supreme Pontiff.

Perhaps because of this obligation the basilica is also to display on its facade the papal coat of arms or the arms of the

Holy See. Under the old law the right to display the papal arms was seen as a privilege. Now it has become an obligation. Perhaps it is analogous to the obligation of clerics to wear clerical dress. Clerics have the obligation to serve Christ's faithful and the faithful have a corresponding right to that service. The obligation of clerical dress is meant to make clerics more identifiable in public so that the faithful can more easily call on their services. By the same token the papal arms mark the reformed basilica, not unlike a service mark under the secular law of service marks, as a special center of God's grace and Catholic truth.¹⁴

This teaching function, moreover, is another throwback to the collegiate church origin of the basilica. The canon theologian of the collegiate church had the duty of giving public lectures in theology from the time of Trent. In Italy particular canon law even specified that the canon theologian deliver forty such lectures annually.¹⁵ The reformed law of basilicas specifies no exact number of lectures but history here helpfully points out how serious and substantial the obligation traditionally was.

Finally, we come to the fourth obligation of basilicas—their special obligation to the Latin liturgy. Article 8 of the decree provides that in every basilica (old and new), as may be opportune but especially on feast days, one or two Masses, whether said or sung, are to be celebrated in the Latin language. Normally the phrase *pro opportunitate*, might be translated “when convenient” or “if opportune”. Here its context argues for a more rigorous meaning. Words are to be understood in their context, canon 18 instructs us. Moreover, amplifying its intent, the article cites three documents in a footnote.

The first document cited in the footnote is article 54 of the constitution on the liturgy, *Sacrosanctum concilium*. That article of the conciliar commands pastors to make sure that their people are able to sing or say the Latin parts of the ordinary of the Mass which are proper to them. Similar clauses in the 1964 instruction, *Inter oecumenici*, and the 1967 instruction on sacred music, *Musicam sacram*, are also cited in the footnote of the decree on basilicas.¹⁶ In short, the decree on basilicas is not laying down new norms on the status of the Latin liturgy

in the Latin church. That was already accomplished by the supreme authority in the church in the conciliar constitution six years before. The basilica decree, therefore, merely points to the *ius vigens* or law in force and highlights the peculiar duty of basilicas with respect to the Latin liturgy—as may be appropriate, but especially on feast days, one or two Latin Masses, whether said or sung, are to be celebrated in basilicas. Thus, if the phrase *pro opportunitate* seems to weaken the force of article 8 of the decree on basilicas, it must be read in the context of the clear command of article 54 of *Sacrosanctum concilium* that pastors teach their people that Latin of the Mass to which it expressly refers. Seen in this context the thrust of the decree is merely to highlight the special link between Latin and the basilica by prescribing one or two Latin Masses there on feast days.

It should be noted that the obligation of basilicas with respect to the Latin liturgy does not flow from the basilica's special obligation to the solemn liturgy. The decree expressly states that the "one or two Latin Masses on Sundays and feasts days" may be said or sung Masses. Moreover, commentators on the Vatican council assure us that the council fathers defeated a move which would have necessarily linked Latin with the solemn liturgy.¹⁷

The decree on basilicas makes plain that basilicas are often pilgrimage churches. In other cases they are large and venerable edifices of great artistic worth or historic places attracting many visitors.¹⁸ Other documents of the Holy See had already pointed out the need for Latin liturgies at places of pilgrimage and at other churches frequented by tourists of various tongues. Special concern, *Christus Dominus* warned, was to be shown for migrants and others of the kind.¹⁹ The *Directory on the Pastoral Ministry of Bishops* tells bishops to see to it that pastors give 'meaningful help' to the faithful of other languages by providing opportunities for Mass in their language or in Latin.²⁰ Even earlier the Consilium for the implementation of the liturgical reforms of Vatican II has urged the preservation of the Latin Mass, especially in large cities or in places frequented by tourists.²¹ Since the very conditions for elevations to the rank of minor basilica require the church to be large and magnificent and "preeminent in the whole dio-

cese” by reason of its relics or images or for historical reasons, basilicas by their very nature were churches wherein services in Latin would be requisite. . . Small wonder, then, that the Latin liturgy is one of the ‘special’ services for the provision of which basilicas are established.

If the special place of the Latin liturgy at the basilica serves to underscore its place as a special pastoral service center, at the same time Latin highlights the basilica’s “most intimate links” with the Chair of Peter. It thus expresses what the council said, that Peter is the “rock-foundation” of the Church. Language is a uniquely human means of communication. Lower animals lack the power of speech. Angels have no need for it. It well bespeaks the personalism of the second Vatican council that the post-conciliar reform of the canon law of basilicas should use something so uniquely human and personal as language to express the link between the basilica and the Chair of Peter. And surely it is no wonder that the special link between the basilica and Rome should express itself in the language of the Romans? In short, by nurturing Latin the basilica both provides its special pastoral service to Christ’s faithful and professes its links with the Chair of Peter.

Benedictine basilicas would seemingly have little difficulty in adapting to the reformed law of minor basilicas. The solemn liturgy is among the ancient Benedictine traditions. History testifies that Benedictine abbeys have customarily possessed amply both the human and material resources needed to celebrate the liturgy solemnly. The *motu proprio* erecting the abbey church of Conception Abbey into a basilica contented itself with affirming this truism while that for Maria Laach called that abbey “celeberrimum monasticae vitae divinique cultus centrum”. The Downside *motu proprio* stated that the faithful flocked there “ob sacrarum functionum splendorem.”²²

Likewise, the proffering of God’s truth and God’s mercy have been ancient Benedictine traditions. The *scriptorium* was long a Benedictine hallmark. It is eloquent of Benedictine dedication to learning and truth. Moreover, some of the Church’s greatest missionaries were Benedictines. One thinks of Augustine of Canterbury, Boniface, and Willibrord in the

Middle Ages and, more recently, of Boniface Wimmer and Virgil Michel in the United States, the apostle of the American Middle West and the apostle of the liturgical revival. The monasteries of these great monks were not only centers of monachism but also centers of evangelization.²³

But what of the nexus between Benedictines and the Latin liturgy? From the early days of Benedict of Nursia it was part of the warp and woof of Benedictine life and moulded one of the most ancient spiritualities in the Latin church. In his 1966 address to the superiors general of religious Pope Paul VI hoped that religious would preserve the Latin liturgy, even though the Vatican council just concluded had observed that the vernacular is frequently of benefit to the faithful. Latin was, after all, he said, an abundant source of Christian and humane culture and a rich treasury of devotion. Moreover, it was ordered to the decency, beauty and native vigour of both prayer and song.²⁴ Six weeks later in an address to the Benedictine abbots of the world the pope voiced the hope that the injunctions of the earlier address would be viewed, not as a burden, but as a defense of venerable Benedictine tradition and a safeguarding of its human and spiritual treasury.²⁵

Nevertheless, a recent study of Benedictine liturgical praxis and music has demonstrated how attenuated the Benedictine link with Latin has become. Despite the superb and incomparable work and example of a Benedictine abbey like Solesmes in providing liturgical books with musical notation for the reformed Vatican II Latin liturgy, they remain disused in many Benedictine houses.²⁶ But whatever the praxis of most Benedictine houses, where a Benedictine church has been elevated to the rank of minor basilica, the canon law of minor basilicas operates to provide fixed guidelines. Where a Benedictine church is a basilica, canon law has set it apart juridically as a center of special zeal for the Latin liturgy.

As we observe the twenty-fifth anniversary of the close of the second Vatican council, we reach an apt milestone from which to review its documents and to re-study its reforms and then to cause them to be implemented more precisely as the council intended. It is time to strip away the glosses and inter-

pretations, which while invoking the 'spirit' of the council have obscured the real tenor of its decrees. We need to read the pure word of the decrees, their *ipsissima verba*.

In its ecclesiology of service the council provided an opportune instrument to enable people to scrap the image of the church as a power pyramid, which is moreover a static and inward-looking approach. Instead the council invited us to see the Church as a hierarchy of service, dynamic and ordered to the service of the world. It is in this renewed spirit of service that the reformed canon law of basilicas was born. The law is a remarkable example of the *nova et vetera* which is the Church. It has plumbed the origins of the basilica and, while preserving its pristine character, adapted it to the needs of today. This in noble part will be concretely accomplished when Benedictine basilicas become the special pastoral service centers for the Latin liturgy that canon law intends.

In its decree on the religious life, *Perfectae caritatis*, the council noted that it redounds to the benefit of the whole church that each religious institute have its peculiar character and function. Its proper and pristine spirit and wholesome traditions are to be discerned and conserved, for they form the patrimony, the precious heritage of the institute.²⁷ The minor basilica is undoubtedly an institute with a precious heritage and, as with religious institutes, it is for the good of the whole church that that heritage is conserved.

Endnotes

1. Georges A. Bonnard (ed.), *Edward Gibbon: Memoirs of My Life* (London 1966) 136.

2 Apostolic letter, "Inter potiora", *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* [=AAS] 12 (1920) 106; "Incliti sancti Benedicti", AAS 19 (1927) 179; "Refert ad nos", AAS 18 (1926) 214; "Flores apparuerunt", AAS 42 (1949) 284; "In edito monte", AAS 43 (1950) 426.

3. Apostolic letter, "Cliftoniensi", AAS 27 (1935) 401; "Diocesi sancti Iosephi," AAS 32 (1940) 546; "Quasi fons lucis", AAS 48 (1956) 608.

4. R. McNamara, "Minor basilicas in the United States", *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, 59 (1959) 912.

5. Sacred Congregation of Rites, decree “Domus Dei”, AAS 60 (1968) 536; *Canon Law Digest* 7 (1975) 28.

6. A. Frutaz, “II II centenario della elevatione a basilica patriarcale e capella papale della chiesa di S. Francesco in Assisi, ‘Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Caput et Mater’ ”, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 68 (1954) 202, 203, 205, 207, 209.

7. Sacred Congregation of Rites, *Decreta Authentica Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum ex actis eiusdem collecta eiusque auctoritate promulgata sub auspiciis S.S. domini nostri Leonis Papae XIII* (Romae, 1898) 264.

8. Second Vatican council, constitution *Lumen Gentium*, AAS 57 (1965) 26

9. *Ibid.*, 29; C. Burke, *Authority and Freedom in the Church* (San Francisco, 1988) 25.

10. Cf. John Paul II, apostolic constitution “Sacrae disciplinae legis”, AAS 75 (1983), pars II, p. xii , promulgating the 1983 Code of Canon Law: “Novus hic *Codex* concipi potest veluti magnus nusus transferendi in sermone canonistica hanc ipsam doctrinam [sc. of Vatican II].”

11. X. Barbier de Montault, *Le Costume et les usages ecclésiastiques selon la tradition romaine* (Paris, 1897) 53,54; Sacred Congregation of the Clergy, circular letter “Per instructionem”, AAS 64 (1971) 314.

12. Synodus Episcoporum, *Bulletin of the Committee for Information*, #23 (November 29, 1985) 3.

13. D. Bouix, *Tractatus de Capitulis* (Paris, 1862) p. 110 says the canon penitentiary, even if there is no request, is to place himself early in the morning in his appointed confessional during Lent, Advent, Ember days, and other more solemn feasts. On the requirement of annual confession, see E. Regatillo, *Ius Sacramentarium* (Rome, 1964) 386.

14. Burke, *op. cit.* 25; a service mark is a mark used in connection with the sale or advertising of a service to identify the service of one and distinguish it from those of others.

15 *United States Code* 1127. The papal arms on a basilica might also be compared to a ‘certification mark’, which is a mark used on or in connection with a product or service of one or more owners of the mark to certify the region or other origin or material mode of manufacture or quality, accuracy of such goods or services or labor performed by a union or other organization. *Ibid.* In this sense the papal arms provide some certification of the quality and accuracy of the teachings emanating from a basilica.

15. I D’Annibale, *Summula Theologiae Moralis* (Romae, 1897) III 169.

16. Second Vatican Council, constitution "Sacrosanctum consilium", AAS 56 (1963) 97; Sacred Congregation of Rites, instruction "Inter oecumenici", AAS 56 (1964) 891 and "Musicam sacram", AAS 59 (1967) 314.

17. H. Vorgrimler, *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II* (New York, 1967) 77.

18. See articles 1 and 3 of "Domus Dei."

19. Second Vatican Council, decree "Christus Dominus", AAS 58 (1966) 673.

20. Sacred Congregation for Bishops, *Directory on the Pastoral Ministry of Bishops* (Canadian Catholic Conference, Ottawa, 1974) 46.

21. Consilium, circular letter "L'heureux developement", *Notitiae* 2 (1966) 157.

22. See note 3 above. "Diocesi S. Iosephi" said "Mos est religiosarum S. Benedicti familiarum, liturgicae in eodem functiones diligentia, decore, ac pietate quam maximis peragantur" at p. 547.

23. "Cliftoniensi" noted that the monks of Downside's Douai predecessor had been "conspicui atque ad anglicos missiones parati".

24. Paul VI, epistle "Sacrificium laudis", *Notitiae* 2 (1966) 253.

25. Paul VI, address "Laetamur admodum", AAS 58 (1966) 888.

26. D. Nicholson, *Liturgical Music in Benedictine Monasticism, a Post-Vatican II Survey* (Mt Angel Abbey, 1986). Note however that at Ettal the Conventual Mass on Sundays and vespers every other Sunday are always sung in Latin, for "as a Minor Basilica the monks are 'required', at least by the spirit of the law, to nurture Latin". *Ibid.*, p. 18.

27. Second Vatican council, decree "Perfectae caritatis". AAS 58 (1965) 703.

Tabula Gratulatoria

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Richard J. Schuler: A Select Bibliography

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The Beauty of Holiness? Liturgical Music Today

Dominican Fr DIMOCK is Professor of Theology at the Franciscan University of Steubenville and Visiting Professor of Liturgy at the University of St. Thomas de Urbe (Rome). His piece first appeared in the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* for January 1990, and is reprinted here with permission.

Mary Oberle HUBLEY:

Some Reflections on "Contemporary" Hymns

Mrs. HUBLEY, who received her music diploma from Aquinas College at Grand Rapids in 1971, is a composer

and publisher of contemporary liturgical music in Huntington IN.

Robert A. SKERIS:

Wanted: Reverence in Worship

Fr SKERIS, Professor of Theology and Associate Chaplain at Christendom College in Front Royal, VA, is a Consultant to the Vatican's Office of Pontifical Ceremonies.

Clement MORIN p.s.s. and Robert M. FOWELLS:

The Gregorian Language: Servus Dei

Sulpician Fr MORIN, long-time professor of Gregorian Chant at the Grand Séminaire of Montreal, received an honorary Dr.mus.sac. from the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in 1986 for his work as an indefatigable apostle of the chant in many lands and in spite of his official "retirement."

Robert M. FOWELLS, emeritus Professor of Musicology at California State University in Los Angeles, has authored the English translation of Dom Eugène CARDINE's "Sémiologie Grégorienne," and still directs frequent workshops in Gregorian chant.

Robert F. HAYBURN:

The Printed Editions of the Chant Books and Their Effect on the Gregorian Tradition

Monsignor HAYBURN, retired pastor of St. Bridget's Church in San Francisco who passed away on 18 May 1991, presented this paper to the Gregorian Chant Workshop held at California State University/Los Angeles during the Summer Session of 1988.

William Peter MAHRT:

Word Painting and Formulaic Chant

Dr. MAHRT, Professor Musicology at Stanford University in Palo Alto, CA, also directs the musical liturgy at the University's St. Ann Chapel, where a full Gregorian chant liturgy is sung every Sunday, with Renaissance polyphonic Masses on the high feasts.

Catherine DOWER:

*Patrons of the Arts. The Wards: Justine and George.
Symbolic Illusions*

Miss DOWER, an expert on Puerto Rican music history, is emerita Professor of Music History at Westfield State College in Westfield MA.

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A "Hodie" Processional

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Ignace BOSSUYT:

Jean de Castro and the Motet

A world authority on the Franco-Flemish school of polyphonists, Professor BOSSUYT is Chairman of the Department of Musicology at the Catholic University of Leuven/Belgium.

M. Alfred BICHSEL:

The Attainant Organ Books

This Swiss-born musicologist and ordained minister of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, was founding chairman of the Graduate Department of Church Music at the Eastman School of Music in the University of Rochester from 1960/75. Dr. Bichsel passed away on 15 February 1992.

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Nature, Law and the Family

Fr ELLIOTT, M.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Melb.), S.T.D. (Rome), is a priest of the Archdiocese of Melbourne/Australia currently serving as an official of the Pontifical

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Virginia SCHUBERT:

CMAA Centennial

Dr. SCHUBERT is Professor of French and Chairman of the French Department at Macalester College in Saint Paul MN. Her eyewitness chronicle was originally published in *Sacred Music* 101/1 (1974) 6/7.

Richard M. HOGAN:

The Twin Cities Catholic Chorale

This article was originally published in German in the Austrian church music journal *Singende Kirche* 24 (1976/77) 157/60. The present translation by the author appeared first in *Sacred Music* 104/4 (1977) 27/30.

James HITCHCOCK:

Latin Liturgy Association

A prolific author, well-known lecturer and active Catholic layman, Dr. HITCHCOCK is Professor of History at St. Louis University. His article originally appeared in *Sacred Music* 102/3 (1975) 21/3.

Charles N. METER:

Mons. Schuler and the Latin Liturgy Association

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The Benedictine Basilica and the Latin Liturgy

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The "Documentary Appendix" contains significant articles by Mons. SCHULER originally published in the journal *Sacred Music*, as follows:

Education in Music, The Answer to our Liturgical Problems

Sacred Music 93 (1966) 29/36

The Sacred and the Secular in Music

Sacred Music 93 (1966) 85/92

The Congregation. Its Possibilities and Limitations in Singing

Sacred Music 94/4 (1967) 12/22, 41/3

Preparation of the Diocesan Clergy in Church Music

Sacred Music 101/3 (1974) 3/8

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Sacred Music 104/1 (1977) 27/30

A Chronicle of the Reform

1: Tra le sollecitudini

Sacred Music 109/1 (1982) 7/11

2: Musicae sacrae disciplina

Sacred Music 109/2 (1982) 7/12

3: Sacrosanctum Concilium

Sacred Music 109/3 (1982) 7/10

4: Musicam sacram

Sacred Music 109/4 (1982) 15/21

5: The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations

Sacred Music 110/1 (1983) 5/11

6: Music in Catholic Worship

Sacred Music 110/2 (1983) 11/16

7: Documents on the Liturgy

Sacred Music 110/3 (1983) 7/11

Documentary Appendix—1

Education in Music The Answer to Our Liturgical Problems

Richard J. Schuler

For nearly a century the Holy See has been repeating the need for education in sacred music in the various documents issued on the subject of liturgy. Many of our present problems would not exist if attention had been paid to the suggestions and the commands of the papal legislation.

In 1903, Pope Pius X wrote in his motu proprio *Tra le sollecitudini*:

Let efforts be made to support and promote, in the best way possible, the higher schools of sacred music where they already exist and to help in founding them where they do not. It is of the utmost importance that the Church herself provide for the instruction of her choir-masters, organists, and singers according to the true principles of sacred art. (par. 28.)

In 1928, Pope Pius XI, in his Apostolic Constitution *Divini cultus sanctitatem*, admonished:

To achieve all that We hope for in this matter numerous trained teachers will be required. And in this connection We accord due praise to all the schools and institutions throughout the Catholic world, which by giving careful instruction in these subjects, are forming good and suitable teachers. (par. 11.)

In 1955, Pope Pius XII, in his encyclical *Musicae sacrae disciplina* again makes the same recommendations:

Provision must be made with the greatest care that those who are preparing to receive Holy Orders in seminaries or in the colleges of religious and missionary orders be correctly trained according to the mind of the Church in the theory and performance of sacred music and Gregorian chant by teachers who are skilled in these arts, who respect tradition and usage and who give complete obedience to the directives of the Holy See. (sec. IV.)

In 1958, the Sacred Congregation of Rites issued its Instruction on Sacred Music and Sacred Liturgy, giving in the greatest detail the wishes of the Holy See on musical education. Paragraphs 106-110 contain these commands:

106. a. If the schools are directed by Catholics and are free to follow their own programs, provisions should be made for the children to learn popular sacred hymns in the schools themselves, and to receive, according to their understanding, a more complete instruction on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the manner of participating in it. They should also begin to sing the more simple Gregorian melodies.

b. If, however, it is a question of public schools subject to civil laws, the Ordinaries of places must take care to give suitable regulations to provide for the necessary education of the children in sacred liturgy and sacred chant.

107. What has been said above about the primary and elementary schools applies with even greater necessity to the intermediate or secondary schools where adolescents must acquire that maturity needed for sound social and religious life.

108. The liturgical and musical education described so far should be carried as far as the highest institutes of letters and science, called "universities." In fact, it is most important that those who have pursued higher studies and have assumed important roles in the life of society, should also have received a fuller instruction in the complete Christian life. Therefore, all priests in whose care university students have in any way been entrusted should strive to lead them theoretically and practically to a more complete knowledge and participation in the sacred liturgy . . .

109. If a certain degree of knowledge of the sacred liturgy and sacred music is required of all the faithful, young men

who aspire to the priesthood must achieve a complete and sound instruction on the whole of the sacred liturgy and of sacred chant. Therefore, everything concerning this question established by the Code of Canon Law (#1364, 1 & 3; #1365, 2) or more specifically ordered by the competent authority, must be accurately observed, under serious obligation of conscience of all those concerned. (Cf. especially the Constitution "Divini cultus" of December 21, 1928, on the increasing impetus to be given to the liturgy and to Gregorian chant and sacred music: AAS 31 [1929] 33-41.)

110. A sound and progressive instruction in the sacred liturgy and sacred chant must also be given to both men and women Religious as well as to members of secular institutes, from the time of probation and the novitiate. One must also see to it that there are able teachers prepared to instruct, direct, and accompany sacred chant in religious communities of men and women and in the colleges and universities dependent upon them. The superiors of men and women Religious must strive so that all the members of their communities, and not merely select groups, have sufficient practice in sacred chant.

111. There are churches which, of their nature, require that the sacred liturgy together with sacred music be carried out with special beauty and splendor; such are the larger parish churches, collegiate, cathedral, or abbatial churches; churches of major religious houses; major shrines. Persons attached to such churches—clerics, ministers, and musicians—must strive with all care and attention to become able and ready to perform the sacred chant and liturgical functions perfectly.

And finally, the cornice was placed on the edifice that was under construction for sixty years, when Vatican Council II, in its Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, ordered the very same directions that the Popes had been repeating:

Great importance is to be attached to the teaching and practice of music in seminaries, in the novitiates and houses of study of religious of both sexes, and also in other Catholic institutions and schools. To impart this instruction, teachers are to be carefully trained and put

in charge of the teaching of sacred music. It is desirable also to found higher institutes of sacred music whenever this can be done. Composers and singers, especially boys, must also be given a genuine liturgical training. (par. 115.)

It has not been only in this century that the Church has manifested an interest in promoting musical training for her worship. Historically this has always been her position. Even before the time of St. Gregory the Great, there are indications of the training of singers for the liturgy celebrated in the Roman basilicas. During the Middle Ages, the great schools at Metz and St. Gall spread the chant with the help of singers from the papal choir. The intense interest of the Renaissance popes in sacred music is attested to by the great treasury of polyphony preserved in the Vatican Library. And in modern times, the various schools of church music, in Rome and in other episcopal sees, point to the continuing concern of the Church for this sacred art.

In considering the question of musical instruction in the United States, as seen against the backdrop of the papal legislation, we might distinguish the following levels of instruction:

- I. Students in Catholic schools
 - A. Grade schools
 - B. High schools
 - C. Colleges
- II. Seminary students and religious candidates
- III. Professional musicians
 - A. Composers
 - B. Directors and organists
 - C. Classroom teachers
 - D. Advanced degrees

I. Students in Catholic Schools

Since the Church has undertaken in her own schools to educate children in all branches of learning, then music also should have its place. Music is a part of life as is literature or science, and sacred music is a part of the Church's heritage as is her law or her history. Whole syllabi, methods, hours, etc.

must be worked out by the diocesan superintendents and community supervisors. Some points can be made here about each level of instruction and what should be achieved in it if Catholic education is going to give students their rightful inheritance in both sacred and secular music.

A. The grade schools have, by and large, been rather successful in music teaching, especially through the first six years, although under the impact of shortages of religious teachers and the emphasis on scientific subjects and languages, the music program is slipping. Often the need of Sisters is so great that those with musical training and talent are transferred to other fields because they are considered more important than music.¹ On the elementary level, the student should be instructed in note reading, given an acquaintance with the basic collection of traditional American songs and the fundamental repertoire of chants and hymns. He should have some introduction to the classical musical literature, and if his interest and ability permit, he should have an opportunity for some instrumental study.

The training of boys for service in the liturgy as singers must be fostered if the papal instructions are to be fulfilled, and certainly our Catholic school system in this country is a most convenient arrangement for developing such boy choirs, provided that the pastor and the school administration wish to have such groups. Something that must be insisted on is that the teaching of music in schools exists for the instruction of the student so that he can use this knowledge and art at the present time and in his later life; it does not exist for the exploiting of the student, as is the case when children are used daily for sung Masses or where the entire burden of a parochial music program is placed upon them.

B. The high schools, on the other hand, especially the boys' high schools, have done next to nothing with regard to music, either sacred or secular. Surely here Catholic education can justly be indicted for failure to provide for the student's musical culture or for his basic musical needs as a member of the Church. In some schools there are glee clubs, but this cannot take the place of a program for the training of all. If the grade schools' training has been effective, then the

high schools can proceed from there with music appreciation, choral and instrumental groups for the more talented, and above all a continuing program of general singing, which must include both secular and sacred repertoire. The future leaders in music are trained and discovered on this level; they cannot be created in colleges without years of previous training.

C. The colleges, especially men's colleges, by and large, have done nothing to promote the musical art either for use in the liturgy or for the students' cultural development. Some colleges have no department of music; others have no liturgical program whatsoever.² Largely, of course, the failure of the colleges can be traced to the neglect of music by the high schools, since it is impossible to initiate students into music at college level if there is no previous training.

The role of Catholic colleges is important if the musical decrees of the Council are to be put into effect, because these schools with departments of music must produce the teachers, organists and directors for parish musical programs. Thus, college music departments should be organized to train the student not only for secular education on the secondary and elementary levels, but to provide a basic training of them in liturgical music as well. In addition, colleges will have to arrange for a wider cultural pursuit of music by all the students and a liturgical program that will give all the students an opportunity to acquire the fundamental musical training necessary for their role in the liturgy.

II. Seminary Students and Religious Candidates

Training of these young men and women in music has a two-fold purpose: 1) to prepare them for a more intense liturgical life; 2) to prepare them to guide, encourage, understand, and supervise the work of professional musicians in schools and parishes. The training of clerics and novices is not a professional musical training. Their musical studies should, however, be the equivalent of that expected of college graduates, and equal to that provided them in other disciplines, e.g., literature or history. They should be able to sight-sing vocal

music of ordinary difficulty, so that they can readily sing those parts of the liturgy that are or will be theirs, and they should, if necessary, be prepared to lead the congregation in hymns. Music should be made a part of their lives both for the praise of God and for the enjoyment of it in their leisure time. Above all, it must be insisted that novitiate or seminary training alone cannot be considered adequate preparation for a cleric or religious to function as a music teacher or director.

III. Professional Musicians

Here lies the crux of the problem of implementing the wishes of the Council on sacred music. If these decrees are to be put into effect in this country, it will be through the efforts of trained, professional musicians.

A. The composer is a specialized, highly-trained musician who possesses a talent and a deep religious perception. This is not the area for the amateur. While the talent is God-given, the training must be obtained by long study. Surely graduate work is necessary, and in addition to that there is need for the composer to make use of seminars with other serious composers, with the clergy, and with those learned in liturgy. The Church should provide opportunity for study-weeks for trained composers, and the commissioning of works by Catholic institutions and parishes should become a regular procedure. Large cathedrals, colleges and abbeys might well consider the position of a "composer in residence," who would be engaged full-time to provide compositions for the liturgy in the local church. This is a concept that was not new to the Renaissance popes and bishops who often retained composers for their chapels. The leaven that such a serious musician could be in a given area is immense.

B. This country is so varied in the degree of Catholic life that the position of organist or choirmaster might describe the role of a performer in a great urban cathedral or in a rural mission church. Training, of course, of directors and organists can be related to the size, dignity, and finances of the church concerned. Certainly for large parishes, at least the B.A. degree in music (or its equivalent), and preferably the M.A. (or its equivalent), is in order. A thorough musical and liturgical

training must be expected. This should be provided by the music departments of Catholic colleges after some improvements in them, or it can be obtained in secular schools with additional study that is Catholic and liturgical. Too often in the past we have had directors with liturgical study who lacked the necessary musical training; both liturgy and music are demanded, but the liturgical knowledge can more easily be acquired than the musical. Smaller churches that cannot afford full-time professional musicians must see to the training of their personnel in diocesan institutes, summer workshops, and through private study. The success of the parish musical program, both for the choir and for the congregation, rests immediately with the director and the organist, whose competence and training will determine the ultimate result of any effort in a parish to implement the decrees of the Council.

C. Teachers of music in grade and high schools must be adequately trained. This has not always been the case in the past, and as a result the music program has often been of inferior worth in Catholic schools. The bachelor's degree, with added study in liturgical music, should be required of the teacher. It is an injustice to a Religious to assign him or her to a class in music without providing him with a proper training. Mere talent without training is not sufficient. For the preparation of music teachers, it should be remembered that music study must begin early in life. Teacher training is of the utmost importance if the Catholic schools are going to sustain any kind of musical curriculum, and this should be able to be sought in the music departments of the Catholic colleges on the bachelor's level. Opportunities for further graduate study should be available to teachers, and this generally can be sought in secular universities.

D. For advanced degrees, there are many fine schools, mostly secular, in this country that can provide unexcelled musical training for Church musicians. We must remember that music is music; the same art that serves the secular musician serves the church musician also. The liturgical musician must be a true musician. Many secular schools are anxious to provide training for the church musician, and in particular for the Catholic musician, especially since Catholic music constitutes so large a part of the whole history of the musical art.

Unfortunately, Catholics have not utilized sufficiently the opportunities opened to them for study of Catholic liturgical music in these universities.

Some have advocated the founding of a special Catholic professional school of church music in this country. My opinion on this is in the negative, at least at the present. Who would finance so costly an operation? Who would staff it? How long would it be for its degrees to become properly recognized? There exist adequate music departments in Catholic colleges to furnish the work toward the bachelor's degree, which with some improvements can give an adequate training for professional church musicians. For graduate study in church music, I think that the existing graduate schools should be used. We have much to learn from the procedure and scholarship of secular schools, especially on the graduate level. In music there are few of the problems to the Faith that are perhaps encountered in philosophical or scientific disciplines on secular campuses; music is indeed the most ecumenical of all the academic areas. Rather than found a new school, I suggest we direct our efforts and money into the training of promising young Catholics both on the bachelor and graduate levels within existing schools. Financial assistance during the study years together with the assurance of a living commensurate with the education will bring competent young people into the field of church music. A series of scholarships, set up by the Church in various colleges and universities, will bring out and encourage the latent talent that surely exists among our Catholic youth in the musical art. The schools of music would be more than willing to cooperate in such a project to produce a professionally trained, liturgical musician.

Finally, I suggest that the continuing education of present composers be with clergy, performers, authorities in liturgy, and other composers. With such study projects, the acceptance of the idea of "composers in residence," and an adequate system of remuneration, the desired music in the vernacular will be produced in our country. There is in the United States a vast reservoir of music talent, both for composition and performance. Despite the papal urgings and commands it has not been tapped during this century. Now we

are in great need; we must have musicians to implement the wishes of the Council. Education on all levels is the solution.

Endnotes

¹ For an excellent treatment of the role of the Religious as a music teacher cf. Sister M. Theophane, O.S.F., "The Apostolate of the Religious Music Teacher." *Caecilia*, 90/1 (Spring 1964) 20-30.

². Cf. Lavern J. Wagner, "The Present State of Music in Catholic Colleges and Universities," *Caecilia* 90/4 (Winter 1963-64) 166-178.

Documentary Appendix—2

The Sacred and the Secular in Music

Richard J. Schuler

The Oxford Dictionary defines “sacred” as “consecrated, dedicated, set apart, made holy by association with a deity.” It defines “secular”, on the other hand, as “pertaining to the world as distinguished from the church and religion; with reference to music, not concerned with or devoted to the service of religion, not sacred, profane.”

These two words sum up a great controversy that is penetrating many areas and disciplines within the Church today. It is felt, for example, in the convent and monastery in efforts to adjust the consecrated, dedicated Religious to his position in the modern world. It is met in theology, and especially in ascetical theology, where the term “world” was long taken as the equivalent of evil. It is at the basis of the *aggiornamento* which seeks to adjust the Church to its position in the modern world, the sacred amid the secular. In the arts, we are confronted with the question of a religious painting or a profane one, a sacred building or a secular one, a sacred dance or a worldly one. But nowhere at this moment is the controversy so immediate as in the art of music, which we are told by the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the II Vatican Council is an “integral part of liturgy.” Is there a sacred music which is something different from secular music? Are present outcries that some music is profane and does not belong in worship justified? What makes music holy or evil, fitting or unfitting, worthy or unworthy of divine worship, sacred or profane?

Before we attack these questions and others, we should note that we do have a distinction drawn between sacred and

secular music. Pope Pius XII in his encyclical, *Musicae sacrae disciplina*, begins that document with the very words “sacred music,” and in the course of his instruction he is at great pains to point out that “anything unbecoming divine worship or hindering the faithful from lifting up their minds to God be removed from sacred music.” He maintains that church music is a music set apart and dedicated to a particular purpose, *viz.*, the worship of God. St. Pius X made the quality of “holiness” one of the marks of true church music in his *Motu Proprio* of November, 1903, and Pius XI in his Apostolic Constitution, *Divini cultus sanctitatem*, says the liturgy is indeed a sacred thing which the Roman Pontiffs have been solicitous to safeguard and protect. Protect from what? From the non-sacred, the profane, the secular, of course. The phrase, *nil profanum*, has echoed through the centuries.

Historically, the problem of the sacred and the secular is an old one. It was fought out in the early centuries by the Fathers of the Church, many of whom feared the pagan influences that could creep into Christianity through Greek music, instrumental music and musical devices associated with various pagan cults or lascivious practices. Clement of Alexandria (c. 150 - c. 220), a very learned man with musical and poetical talents, warned against the use of instruments such as “the ancient psaltery, the trumpet, the timbrel and aulos, which those engaged in war and those who reject the fear of God make use of in the singing at their festivals.”¹

In the Alexandrian tradition of allegorical interpretation, Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260 - c. 340), the church historian, disapproved of instruments and substituted various allegories for the realities to explain his position: “we sing the praises of God with a living psaltery.” He called the body the cithara and the lyre of ten strings the five bodily senses and the five virtues of the soul in trying to explain references to the use of such instruments in the Old Testament.² Saint Athanasius (c. 298-373) followed in the same Alexandrian viewpoint.

In the West, Saint Jerome (c. 340-420), who indeed spent a long period of his life in the East, was opposed to the use of instruments in Christian worship and made his influence felt on his friend, Pope Damasus, in a period when much of the

organization of the Roman liturgy was taking place. Saint Augustine (354-430) did much to achieve a synthesis between the learning of pagan Greece and Rome and the Christian Faith, but he still accepted an allegorical interpretation of the use of instruments in Christian worship, chiefly because of the fear of the associations connected with their use in pagan cults. It was always, of course, Psalm 150 that caused the problem for the commentators, since it so distinctly calls for the praise of God with instruments, "Praise the Lord with the sound of the tuba; praise him with psaltery and harp." The singing of the psalms was ever urged and the practice of singing them even in rather elaborate settings was widely attested to.

After Saint Augustine, as the Church grew and its influence extended, less is found about the dangers inherent in the use of instrumental music or in the singing of women, because the association of these things with the pagan rites was gradually being forgotten as paganism diminished. At the same time, as the Church gained strength, it was able, little by little, to make use in its worship of those cultural, artistic and popular traditions of the Mediterranean basin that formerly had belonged in some part to pagan celebrations.

It is significant that it is the association or the connotation with evil, paganism or secularism that concerned the Fathers. Once that connotation ceased to be attached to music, the problem no longer loomed large. After the time of Augustine, the old fears were beginning to be lessened and the writers and preachers no longer are opposed to music. It is significant also that it is in the period when the Church and Christian influence are small and struggling and the dangers of the secular engulfing the sacred are great, that we hear cries of alarm from the religious writers. When the influence of the Church is great, the danger of secularization is less, and we often find secular things being brought into religious use without fear of profanation.

Let us examine several periods in the history of music with these two points in mind: 1) connotation, and 2) the absorption of the sacred by the secular and vice versa, in periods of greater or lesser Christian influence. First, the question of connotation of the secular. In ancient Greece, the aulos and

the cithara were instruments employed in the worship of Dionysius and Apollo, and, for converts to Christianity in Greek lands, these sounds recalled all the rites of pagan worship in their past lives and endangered their attachment to the newly embraced Christian Faith. As paganism declined, generations grew up which had never experienced pagan rites and for which the association of these instruments with sinful festivities did not exist. In time, these instruments came to be used in Christian life and even in Christian worship. In a sense they ceased to be pagan and secular and even became sacred because the secular and pagan associations were no longer present.

One can see a similar pattern in much of the music that came to be the great corpus of Roman chant. A considerable bulk of it was derived from the folk music of the Mediterranean regions. These melodies lost their secular associations and acquired religious ones as the Church grew in influence on the lives of the people of the fifth and sixth centuries. We can see a similar thing happening in other artistic and cultural areas during those centuries also when the Roman Empire was changing into the new medieval order. For example, the old garments of the Roman patricians were retained as the vestments of the clergy; the very shape and structure of the Christian church was borrowed from the ancient basilica which originally was a secular edifice; the political nomenclature of the ancient empire was accepted by the Church as she organized her dioceses, provinces, prefectures, or sent out her legates and nuncios; the faldstool, the chalice itself, the bishops' garb, the use of statues, mosaics and painting, were all found in pagan and secular culture. But as the Church spread and grew, connections that many things had with paganism and secular uses were forgotten, and they became fitting aids to Christian worship.

Through the Middle Ages there seems to have been little concern for a distinction between the sacred and the secular. Today, we cannot easily detect the difference between the melodies of the troubadours and the trouvères and the melodies employed as hymns and sequences unless we examine the texts. Even when Pope John XXII spoke out in the constitution, *Docta sanctorum*, in 1324, he was not so concerned about

secular influences as he was with the care for the proper use of the church modes, the intelligibility of the texts, and the general dignity of the service which he felt the novelties of the *Ars Nova* were endangering.

The early Renaissance period found no problem in employing profane sources — chansons, madrigals, lieder for a *cantus prius factus* of a Mass composition, and even in entitling the work from the secular sources to identify its origins. These were not exceptionally profane or secular times. On the contrary, in addition to the fact that the secular connotations of a chanson or a madrigal *cantus* were lost in the complexities of contrapuntal treatment, we must remember that the times were such that religion was still strong in its influence on life and thus the sacred was able to absorb the secular. Only when the Catholic Faith began to weaken under the stress of the Protestant Reformation do we have this device of using a secular *cantus* for a religious composition forbidden by the Council of Trent. The composers indeed continued to write a “*Missa sine nomine*” where the secular *cantus* was still used but not identified, but no one objected because the association of the melodies with secular sources was not made.

The second point of our consideration is that when the Faith and religion are strong, the danger of the secular engulfing the sacred is much less, and thus we experience little outcry against the secular. Without repeating the history of each era, it should suffice to say that this was true in the early Middle Ages as instrumental music came to be adopted into the liturgy. The organ, for example, was in its origin a secular instrument, but by the high Middle Ages it was so regularly found as a part of the church furniture that it became the sacred instrument *par excellence*. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries the chant absorbed a great bulk of the Mediterranean folk music, as Christianity became an all powerful element in European life. Throughout the Middle Ages the sacred pervaded all life and dominated its secular aspects in every sphere. What we possess of medieval music, painting, sculpture, and architecture demonstrates this again and again.

In music the serious and lasting dichotomy between the sacred and the secular that we know today dates from the

beginning of the Baroque era, the early seventeenth century, and with this began the split in musical style between sacred and secular which led to the gradual decay of church music, a decline that musicians for the past one hundred years have been trying to arrest. The Baroque era was very concerned with and conscious of style. The unity of style that had characterized the music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was lost when the new devices for the expression of the affections of the Baroque were applied to the music of the church as soon as they appeared in secular forms. They were judged by some to be unfitting for the music of worship. These new techniques were essentially means for displaying the so-called affections through music, and they were thought to be undignified and unworthy in connection with the sacred texts of the liturgy. Thus began the creation of a particular sacred style after the manner of Palestrina's compositions, a style of writing now set aside as a sacred music. The new developments in composition were generally relegated to non-church music and were therefore considered all the more secular and unfitting for church use. The Church herself was on the defensive against the reformers, and the sacred was under attack also. It could no longer absorb and assimilate the secular. Thus, in the early 17th century, the very problem that afflicts us today was born, and we still live to a great degree under the influences of the 17th century. We cannot easily push aside in a short time what has grown and become ingrained for nearly four hundred years.

To repeat, then, we can say that in times of great Christian strength and influence, secular music has been absorbed into the Church's worship without fear of secularization or profanation, but when the Faith declines in influence great concern is shown for the dangers involved in such a process.

But is there any real distinction between sacred and secular in music? Is there something essentially sacred in a church style? Are certain melodies, rhythms or harmonies by their very nature holy or sacred and others secular and profane? Music is music; of itself it is neither sacred or secular, just as mathematics is neither sacred nor secular. But by association, connotation, the consent of society, or the practice of the community, certain devices, harmonies, or rhythms — in a

word, a certain style of composition and performance — has come to be called secular and another style sacred. In studies on the psychology of music this is referred to by the term “connotation,” which we can define as “the result of associations made between some aspect of the musical organization and extra-musical experience.”³

Training and experience are necessary to establish such connotations, and once established they are hard to overcome. They are not merely individual, personal associations, but the common experience of a whole cultural group. We all know the difficulties involved in determining the emotions expressed by most Oriental music that we hear; we are unconditioned by experience or study to know if it is sad or joyous, religious or secular. Music in itself is not a language of absolute terms of communication. It differs from spoken language where sounds have absolute meanings agreed upon by the whole community. To express descriptive ideas, music must be dependent on outside means — words, pictures, or onomatopoeic effects. Of itself it can convey only what experience and training have come to associate with certain sounds or devices. Thus we arrive at certain notions of what music for church should be by association and experience from our very earliest days. Some associations are entirely traditional. The pipe organ, for example, for the peoples of Western culture is associated with church and evokes attitudes of piety, religion and faith. This is not true of the oriental who lacks such experience. For him the gong, on the other hand, is a common sound lacking the Westerners’ connotation of the mysterious and the exotic.

Associations can develop and can cease to exist also. Life is constantly forming new connotations in everyone. Some ages have consciously developed a system of elaborate connotative devices in their music. By means of melodic, rhythmic or harmonic techniques certain emotional states or even symbolic ideas have been expressed. The leitmotifs of Wagner or his pseudo-religious atmosphere created by shimmering strings and modal melodies are examples of such efforts. The Baroque era, also, cultivated the use of dissonance to express the emotions contained in words such as “sigh” or “suffer” or “die.” We today also have connotative music as the score of any

film will demonstrate. We easily recognize the associations achieved by military music, by cowboy music, by the soap opera theme played on an electronic organ, or the night at sea or a storm or a hundred other well established musical devices that depict a scene or evoke an idea. And we have some ideas also about what we think is sacred music and what is secular.

The important thing is that in times of great religious faith, we tend to say that the secular music of the age sounds like religious music, but in times of lesser faith and religious influence we tend to say that the religious music sounds secular. For example, the 16th century madrigals, performed without their texts, approach so closely to the motet writing of the same period that we might think of them as sacred, but the Mozart Masses remind us of his operas, only because the operas are better known. Had it been a different age, perhaps we would say that the operas sounded like masses and the motets like madrigals.

Thus, there is nothing in the music itself — even in complicated rhythms that is by nature sacred or secular. It is the connotation that makes the difference, and in a secular-dominated society church music must beware of being submerged by these secular connotations.

There is no doubt that our times are secular. Materialism is the characteristic of our day. As this move away from the supernatural increases, there is a corresponding growth in the establishment of purely human, secular values. Actually, one wonders even if the human person is going to maintain his position at the center of our present world, or whether as God has been replaced at that center by man, man in his turn will fall before the machine which is his creature, just as man is God's creature. It has been noted often before, that our age with its increase of concern for man's material well-being (which is secularism) has also seen the greatest increase of brutality, war, exploitation of our fellowmen, and curtailment of the liberty and freedom we so often hear about and in the name of which so much has been done. It is against this that the Church must assert its force and its teaching, for the sacred exists and is in opposition to the secular by its very nature and ends.

It is true, of course, that the Church must exist in the modern world and must be attuned to the twentieth century, but it cannot be thought of as a mere human institution like others, because it is set apart. It is sacred. Its rites are forbidden for ordinary use. Its teaching and purpose dedicates it to another world of eternity. The problem lies in connecting these sacred rites and teachings with secular man, of uniting his ordinary life with the sacred life of the Church.

Language, symbols and music can be the connection, the bridge between the sacred and the secular. Some have claimed that the language, symbols and music employed by the Church have ceased to “communicate” with twentieth-century man, and thus the decline of authority and prestige in religion among many is traceable to this. Modifications and change became necessary. The II Vatican Council attempted to do precisely this, and we have experienced reforms in ritual and music and in various other areas intended to adjust the Church to the life of man in the twentieth century. What the Council has ordered is well considered, but what some have read into the Council’s documents is often exaggerated and even harmful.

It is an axiom that as the means of communication are altered there is danger of altering thereby the reality itself. For that reason, the language of theology must be so carefully worded or else the doctrine expressed will be changed; and the wording of a law must be precise and clear or the intention of the lawgiver will be modified. The Church is sacred and it must remain so. Her mission is in the world but not of the world. Yet by modifying the symbols that express her mission, it is possible also to modify her basic doctrine and purpose. This is well expressed in a sociological principle: “Whenever the symbolism of a social institution is so modified that the symbols suggest meanings contrary to, or destructive of, the function of the institution, the modification is suicidal for the institution.”⁴

I submit that the introduction into our sacred rites of such secular instruments and music as we are currently witnessing in this secular age has gone beyond the limits of change that are prudent and that rather than sanctifying the secular as

many claim they are doing, such a procedure will, because of the strong secular connotations involved, lead to the secularization of the sacred. In our age of materialism and secularism, we must repeat what was the cry of the Church Fathers: *nil profanum*.

Endnotes

¹. Migne, PG VIII, 443.

². Migne, PG XXIII, 1171.

³ Leonard B. Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956) p. 258.

⁴. Marshall E. Jones, "Some Limits of Change: an Essay in the Sociology of Religion." *American Benedictine Review*, Vol. XVII: 1 (March 1966) p. 8. I am indebted to this article for several ideas expressed here.

Documentary Appendix—3

The Congregation: Its Possibilities and Limitations in Singing*

Richard J. Schuler

On March 5, 1967, the Holy See issued an Instruction on Sacred Music in order to implement the decrees of the II Vatican Council. If anything is emphasized, insisted on, repeated and clearly commanded in this document, it is the role of the congregation in singing. Article 16 says:

One cannot show anything more religious and more joyful in sacred celebrations than a whole congregation expressing its faith and devotion in song. Therefore, the active participation of the whole people, manifested in singing, is to be carefully promoted.

And Article 18 says that the “formation of the whole people in singing should be seriously and patiently undertaken together with liturgical instruction.” Article 26 suggests that the “priest and the ministers of every degree should join their voices with that of the entire congregation,” and Article 28 in setting up various degrees of musical participation says that “in this way the faithful will be continually led toward an ever greater participation in the singing.” Undoubtedly, the fostering of the singing of the congregation has become the liturgical, musical and pastoral challenge of our day, and I might add, it is the crux of the problem now faced by those anxious to promote the liturgical renewal called for by the Vatican Council.

*Given as a lecture at Catholic University in June, 1967, as part of music workshop, this article is published with the permission of Very Rev. Robert P. Mohan, S.S., director of the University’s workshops.

While this Instruction gives so much importance to congregational singing, it must be pointed out that the singing of the whole body of the faithful is by no means a new thing or something particularly "post-conciliar." I would, in fact, like to show in this paper that the singing of the people is as old as the Church and that it has persisted through the centuries, contrary to what many would say, and that the renewed emphasis on it today is not merely a phenomenon of the post-Vatican period, but rather a program that began with St. Pius X and even before him. After this historical survey, I would like to turn to the question of promoting congregational singing today and study the possibilities as well as the limitations that confront us in this country in carrying out the stated will of Holy Church. These possibilities are great, but the limitations must be recognized. They are physical, psychological, historical, musical and educational. First let us examine the history of the congregation's role in singing from the earliest times. The early Christian liturgy was the direct descendant of the synagogue service rather than the elaborate rites of the Temple. As a result there was from the earliest period the use of "psalms, and spiritual canticles" as St. Paul indicates.² The singing of psalms and hymns that was so much a part of the Jewish synagogue liturgy was just as frequent in the service of the first generation of Christians. Such acclamations as *Alleluia*, *Amen* and *Hosanna* were in use and sung by the whole body of the faithful, while the "spiritual canticle" was probably a jubilant melody without words, highly ornamented and performed by a soloist as a kind of ecstatic chant. While the congregation here was more receptive than active, it did have its part to play in singing.³

We can gain a glimpse into the order of Christian worship in the first century from reading the Apocalypse. The sacred writer conceives of the worship of the Church as an anticipation of the liturgy of heaven. The celestial and earthly liturgical services follow one another, and thus we can learn about Christian worship from the references to the heavenly liturgy with its hymns and prayers found throughout the Apocalypse. The *Trisagion* does not appear as the conclusion of the preface until the fourth century, but it occurs as a doxology in the Apocalypse.⁴ The various chants in honor of the Lamb also reflect the Church's liturgical action in the Apostolic period:

“The Lamb that was slain is worthy to receive power, and divinity, and wisdom, and strength, and honor and glory and benediction.”⁵ To this was added “Amen.” Or again, “Alleluia, salvation and glory and power belong to our God.”⁶ Or the final prayer for the coming of Christ: “Surely I come quickly: Amen. Come Lord Jesus.”⁷

Christ Himself sang a hymn after the Last Supper. We do not know what it was, but it may well have been one of the psalms from the Hallel, and the Apostles may have joined in the refrain. Surely these Hebrew songs formed a great part of the source-material of the first Christian music, and these Jewish forms were accepted and used in Rome. In time, the growth of the Christian musical heritage was further stimulated by the wealth of folk music in the Mediterranean basin and perhaps to some little degree by the musical culture of Greece. We have only the briefest references in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers concerning the musical practices of that day. St. Clement of Rome (d. 97), who followed Peter as fourth bishop of Rome, mentions the *Sanctus* and constantly quotes the psalms.⁸ St. Ignatius of Antioch (d. ca. 107), who has left us seven letters written on his journey to Rome and martyrdom, wrote to the Ephesians urging them to “make of yourselves a choir, so that with one voice and one mind, taking the key note of God, you may sing in unison with one voice through Jesus Christ to the Father. . .”⁹ To the Romans he wrote: “Thus forming yourselves into a chorus of love, you may sing to the Father in Christ Jesus. . .”¹⁰ In his letter to the Antiocheans he distinguishes between lectors and cantors: “I salute the subdeacons, the readers, the singers, the doorkeepers, the laborers, the exorcists, the confessors.”¹¹

The great witness to the Life of the Church in Rome in the late second and early third centuries was Hippolytus (d. 235), who has been suggested as the author of two hymns for Easter, both of considerable length. They contain such passages as these:

Christ is risen: the world below is in ruins.
 Christ is risen: the spirits of evil are fallen.
 Christ is risen: the angels of God are rejoicing.
 Christ is risen: the tombs are void of their dead.
 Christ has indeed risen from the dead, the first of the sleepers.
 Glory and power are his forever and ever. Amen.¹²

Although the bulk of these hymns belongs to the cantor, it is very possible that the repeated texts may have been sung by the congregation, since the litany became a popular form very early.

Many of the Fathers were greatly concerned about the quality of the songs the people sang both in church and in their daily living. Among those was St. Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. 215), who wrote a chapter on “How to conduct ourselves on feasts,” in his book, *Pedagogos*. He mentions the choir or group of singers and says that their songs must be modest and not reflect pagan models. Here we find the beginning of the recorded opposition to musical instruments and the attempt by allegorical interpretations to explain away the biblical references to instrumental music in worship. This characterized the writers of the Alexandrian school for several centuries. Clement has left us a hymn to Christ the Saviour, which Father Hamman suggests may have been a kind of school song sung by all the young Christians who studied under Clement.¹³ Origen (d. ca. 254) is a witness to the singing of the whole body of the faithful when he tells us:

Everybody prays and sings praises to God as best he can in his mother tongue, for the Lord of all the languages of the earth hears those who pray to Him in each different language, hearing but one voice.¹⁴

This may well be one of the first references to the vernacular also. Origen points out the value of sacred music in time of struggle: “Let us fight crying out and singing in hymns, psalms and spiritual canticles.”¹⁵

The Apostolic Constitutions, written near the end of the fourth century, reflect the life of the Church in Syria and show how important a place music had in the service as well as the role taken in it by the body of the faithful. Describing the assembly in the church around the bishop, the Constitutions use the analogy of a ship of which the bishop is the captain and the priest and deacons, the mariners. Several references confirm the active role of the congregation in the singing:

When two lessons have been read, let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusions, of the verses.¹⁶

Assemble together every day, morning and evening, singing psalms and praying in the Lord's house: in the morning saying Psalm 62 and in the evening, Psalm 140.¹⁷

And when he has prayed for these things, let the rest of the priests add "Amen," and together with them all the people . . . and let them all answer, "and with Thy spirit"¹⁸

The cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, with twain covering their feet, with twain covering their heads, and with twain flying, say, together with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels, incessantly, and with constant and loud voices, and let all the people say it with them: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, heaven and earth are full of His glory: be Thou blessed forever. Amen."¹⁹

Let us all still earnestly say on their account: Lord, have mercy upon them.²⁰

These quotations show how the use of the art of music in liturgy was developing in the fourth century. After the edict of Milan (313), the Church began the construction of the great basilicas which called forth the growth and perfection of all the arts that surrounded the worship of God. Music too began to meet the need of a more splendid and more florid expression. But we must remember that the body of the faithful was generally unable to read, and even for those who could, the possibility of manuscript copies of text or music was out of the question. Indeed, that any musical notation was in use in Christian circles of this period is unlikely. Thus, the responsorial type of chant became the popular form. A soloist sang a psalm to which the faithful replied with an *Amen* or *Alleluia* or perhaps a verse of a psalm, such as is found in Psalm 135, 9 "for his mercy endureth forever." In time, the responsorial form was replaced to a great degree by the antiphonal method with two choirs alternating on the verses of the psalm and the people responding with their acclamations after each verse or at the end. Antiphonal singing proved to be of great interest. Eusebius of Caesaria (d. ca. 340) is a witness to the frequent use of the psalms in his day: He writes:

It is commanded to sing a psalm to His name, which is observed by us in all places, for in all the churches of God established among the nations it is ordered that

these psalms be sung and intoned, not only for the Greeks but for the barbarians as well.²¹

In the whole world, in the cities, in the towns, in the countryside, all over the Church, the people of Christ . . . sing aloud hymns and psalms to the one God as spoken of by the prophets²²

The method of singing these psalms is given us by Sozomenos (d. ca. 447), who describes the singing that accompanied the moving of the bodies of the martyrs:

Those who were assembled sang psalms with the others; the congregation responded with a song and joined in with this versicle.

Indeed, at that time, they said the men and the women, the young maidens, the old and the young, who carried the coffin of the martyr, sang psalms along the entire route, urging one another to sing, so that by that kind of singing they lightened the labor.²³

Saint John Chrysostom (d. 407) relates concerning Psalm 140 that “nearly all know the words of this psalm, and throughout their lives they constantly sing it.”²⁴ And he indicates that it was sung daily: “I do not think the Father accidentally ordered that this psalm be sung daily at evening.”²⁵ He tells us that Psalm 41 was popular as a blessing before meals.²⁶

Indeed, popular as the psalms were and frequent as was their use in the services within the churches as well as in all activities of daily life, we find other kinds of singing gradually coming to replace them. The great innovation in worship in the fourth century was the hymn used in the morning and evening services. The hymn was popular in the East from the third century when heretics first used it as a means of spreading their teachings. St. Ephraim (d. ca. 373) introduced the practice into the Syrian Church and later St. Ambrose (d. 397), the undoubted originator of the Latin hymn, successfully made use of hymns in Milan. St. Augustine (d. 430) describes this:

Then it was first instituted (at Milan under Ambrose) that after the manner of the Eastern churches, hymns and psalms should be sung lest the people should wax faint through the tediousness of sorrow, and from that day to

this the custom is retained and almost all Thy congregations throughout other parts of the world following herein.²⁷

Paulinus (d. 5th cent.) in his *Life of St. Ambrose* confirms this same fact:

At this time antiphons, hymns and vigils first began to be celebrated in the church of Milan, and this devotion to this day continues not only in the Milanese church but in nearly all the western provinces as well.²⁸

But the hymn was not successful everywhere. St. Hilary of Poitiers (d. 368) translated Greek and Syrian hymns to use in his struggle against Arianism, but he did not have the successes that St. Ambrose describes in Milan:

They claim the people are beguiled by the melodies of my hymns. Truly I do not deny this. It is a great melody, than which nothing is more powerful, since what is able to be more powerful than the praise of the Trinity, which daily is proclaimed in the mouth of all the people.²⁹

These hymns provided a greater melodic interest than the psalms, as Ambrose indicates. They were usually performed by a soloist to whom the congregation responded with a refrain, or by two choirs in antiphonal arrangement to which the congregation would reply.

Methodius of Olympus (d. 311) has left us a hymn in his book on virginity. The cantor sings several sections after each of which this antiphon is repeated in litany fashion: "My purity intact for you, my lamp alight in my hand, Bridegroom, I come out to meet you."³⁰ This hymn is still within the classical metrical system and the older responsorial type of psalm singing. Indeed, hymns were sung even in the first century as St. Paul describes, but with the fifth and sixth centuries, Gaul was already assuming its medieval Frankish outlines, and the hymn began to acquire strophic form with a metric stress accent as it came into contact with the Germanic tongues. But at this time, too, the hymn was incorporated into the monastic service by the founders of Western monasticism, Caesarius of Arles, Aurelian and Benedict, and with its subsequent development within the monastery, it became more and more of an art form demanding trained performers. Thus the form that ear-

lier was used so frequently in the secular churches now became a monastic prerogative, and although in time the Benedictine hymnal was adopted by the secular churches, by then the newer hymns were practical for use by the clergy or the choir only.

In addition to the hymn a new form appeared called the antiphon, a short piece that was sung at the beginning and at the end of a psalm or between the verses of a psalm. This obviously arose to offer the congregation some part in the psalm singing, in which it was unable to take part because of its lack of books and its inability to read. It really was an elaboration of the earlier practice of singing the *Amen* or the *Alleluia*. The word *antiphona* appears in Latin literature in the *Itinerarium* of the Spanish nun, Aetheria, who left an account of her famous journey to the Holy Land early in the fifth century. In describing her visit to Jerusalem during Holy Week she says:

At the seventh hour all the people went up the Mount of Olives to the church; the bishop was seated and hymns and antiphons fitting the day and the place were sung.

And the bishop rose together with all the people and set out on foot from the Mount of Olives. The whole body of people went before him responding continuously with hymns and antiphons: Blessed is He who comes in the name of the Lord.³¹

Besides singing psalms, hymns, antiphons and litanies within the liturgy, the people also used religious songs in all phases of their lives according to the writings of the Fathers of the fifth and sixth centuries. Often, indeed, it is a rebuke of profane singing that these holy men found it necessary to deliver. St. Caesarius of Arles (d. 543) composed popular psalms, hymns and antiphons in the vernacular which was Latin for the Gauls of the Roman tradition and Greek for those in the Greek settlements. The people sang these in church while the monks sang their psalms in choir. Ambrosiaster in the time of Pope Damasus records that the Italians enjoyed singing in Greek even though they did not understand the words, since the beautiful sounds of the Greek language attracted them so.³² We do not find these popular religious songs that

flourished from the fifth to the ninth centuries recorded in documents that describe the papal liturgy or the monastic services. These sources reflect only the growth and perfection of the *scholae cantorum* and the monastic choirs rather than the singing of the faithful. Even the great Roman basilicas during this period were cared for by monasteries attached to them. Thus the various *Ordines Romnai* say little more than that the people responded *Amen* or *Et cum spiritu tuo*. To rely entirely on accounts of monastic or papal services can give a false picture of the role of the faithful in those times. The various Latin liturgies, beside the papal and monastic varieties, indicate that the people maintained their role in worship by singing. In the Mozarabic rite, for example, the people regularly sang the *Pater noster*, responding with *Amen* to each in vocation of the celebrant. On Good Friday, in the chant of the *Indulgentia*, after the reading of the Passion, the people responded to each of the hundred verses intoned by the deacon. Similar forms can be found also in the Gallican service with the congregation replying with *Kyrie eleison*. Likewise, in these popular liturgies the old collection of earlier hymns very likely persisted in use even though newer and more complex compositions were finding favor in the monasteries.

The Carolingian period witnessed a renewal in the popularity of congregational singing within the liturgy. Charlemagne (d. 814) himself ordered the people to sing the *Gloria Patri* after each psalm. *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison* were alternated between the men and women, and the writers of the period record the efforts of the clergy to cultivate the singing of the people. Monsignor Anglès has pointed out that “no matter what is said to the contrary the Church never ceased encouraging singing by the people, both in and out of church.” The faithful sang in religious processions, at vigils for the feasts of martyrs, for burials, rogation days, translation of holy relics, and many other ecclesiastical occasions. Thus alongside the marvellous growth of the *scholae cantorum*, the flowering of the great artistic treasure of the Gregorian chant, the elaboration of papal, episcopal and monastic rites, the singing of the people continued in all parts of the West in the Celtic, Mozarabic, and Gallican forms of the Latin liturgy as well as in the parochial churches of Italy.

The new forms that emerge beginning with the ninth century — the tropes, sequences, new hymns, the conductus, the liturgical drama, to mention some — were not intended for performance by the congregation. Rather, the faithful were to listen. And, of course, the same is true of the polyphonic music that began to be created at that time. But, as always, a distinction must be drawn between cathedral, monastic and parochial services, and between those forms that were sung by the faithful and those that were undertaken by the trained group or the clergy.

The late Middle Ages saw a marvelous flowering of the Latin hymn and the sequence. It was the age of the universities, a thriving commerce with the Byzantine world, the birth of centralized states and new cities, new religious orders and modern languages. It also was the age of the troubadour and the trouvères and their very popular songs. Ruth Ellis Messenger suggests that it was the new mendicant orders that first sought to bridge the gap between the Latin ritual and the popular singing of hymns in the vernacular. She also suggests that it was the achievement of the university-trained clergy that brought the vernacular languages to their full development and also produced the great corpus of Latin hymns.³⁴ But the question of hymn-singing by the laymen in the late Middle Ages had become one of language. How much Latin did he know? Surely the university training was in Latin; secondary and elementary schooling had existed from the ninth century in cathedral and monastic centers, and it is thought to have been rather widespread. These curricula were based in Latin studies. New towns that sprang up had their Latin schools, and both sexes shared an elementary education at least. However, it cannot be doubted that illiteracy was common, especially in rural areas and among the lower classes. Nevertheless, a degree of Latin was the possession of most, and a proficiency in it the achievement of the educated classes. Attesting to the use of Latin by the people are the spiritual *laudi* as well as the songs of the wandering goliardic scholars and poets, e.g., *the Carmina Burana*. The bilingual or macaronic-poetry of the period seems to have provided the solution to the language problem, secular and sacred pieces interchanging both the vernacular and Latin. The *cantio* and the carol were extremely

popular bi-lingual forms, but the law of the Church did not permit the new vernacular tongues in the liturgy. Thus the singing of the congregation was confined to non-liturgical forms.

During the period of the Reformation, the Protestants made great use of the popular vernacular hymn to promote their teachings, and in those areas where the religious question was fought out, a whole literature of Catholic hymns grew up too. These popular songs had their roots in the Gregorian hymns and the folk melodies of the region; some were newly composed and others were *contrafacta*. But the people sang these hymns, and innumerable dioceses published their own hymnals. This practice continued to our time especially in many German dioceses that have their own *Gebetbuch und Gesangbuch*, filled usually with a treasury of popular *Kirchenlieder* that date back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In regions where Catholicism was not engaged in so mortal a struggle with the reformers, less of a literature was created, and this lack leaves the English-speaking nations today with less of a treasury of worthwhile hymns than German, Slavic and Hungarian-speaking areas.

The German *Singmesse* grew up in the eighteenth century as a means of re-incorporating the singing of the people in the vernacular into the liturgy. A similar procedure existed in some Slavic countries also. These were compromises between liturgy and devotional practices, between the liturgical texts and popular hymns. But with the revival of the Gregorian chant in the mid-nineteenth century a full-scale attempt to engage the people in singing the Mass texts themselves began. Despite the fact that most of the chants selected for the restored Roman *Kyriale* were originally composed for trained groups, considerable success was achieved in having the congregation sing the ordinary parts of the Mass in chant. This was especially true in France where these melodies today still are very familiar to the people. The great Gregorian congresses held all over Europe under the leadership of Dom Joseph Pothier brought thousands together to sing the chant at great Masses. Truly, the editors of the Vatican Edition intended it as a people's songbook, and St. Pius X made this clear when he wrote in his *Motu Proprio* of November 22, 1903:

“Gregorian chant must be restored to the people so that they may again take a more active part in the sacred liturgy.”

Many European dioceses published chant books for the faithful, and the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a number of hymnals printed in this country, if indeed not always of the best quality. Hymns were sung at Mass and devotions. The congregation took its part in Vespers and Benediction. Hymn singing at novenas was very popular and enthusiastic. The great efforts of the musicians of those years were aimed at improving the quality of the music the people were called upon to sing, especially by teaching the children the Gregorian repertoire.

It has often been said that today we must restore to the people the ordinary and even the proper parts of the Mass that were taken from them by the rise of trained *scholae* and polyphonic choirs. History has shown that the proper and much of the ordinary, for the most part, were not sung by the congregation. There is no time here to treat each section of the Mass separately, so it must suffice to say that the Introit was introduced into the Mass as an antiphonal chant sometime after the death of St. Augustine (430). The liturgical melodies were already then on the way toward their artistic development; the people never took any part in the singing of the Introit. The Gradual was originally a psalm with the people repeating a refrain in responsorial fashion. Both St. Augustine and St. John Chrysostom refer to this. In the seventh and eighth centuries, all but one verse was eliminated, and when this was adorned with a melismatic setting, the trained *schola* had to sing it. The Alleluia was a very popular chant as St. Jerome, Cassiodorus and St. Augustine testify, but even in their time it was becoming melismatic. The earliest records of an offertory processional chant come from North Africa in St. Augustine's time, but Roman sources do not mention it until the sixth century. In structure it was at first antiphonal but very early it was taken over by the soloist, and its melodies became very elaborate even in the responses which fell to the choir. The music for the offertory procession was longer than that for the other processions since until the eleventh century all walked in it, whereas the entrance procession was confined to the clergy and the communion procession depended on

the number of communicants. In early times the communion processional was a responsorial form with the faithful singing a refrain. It is the oldest of the Roman processional chants. When the verses were gradually underlaid with enriched melismas, and as communions fell off, the verses were reduced and became the obligation of the choir.

The ordinary parts of the Mass had the advantage of unchanging texts that could be memorized by the faithful. The *Kyrie* came into the Roman Mass in the fifth century, and the congregation sang it as well as the *Sanctus* and the *miserere* of the *Agnus Dei*. The *Credo* established itself very late in the Western Mass, having been a part of the baptismal rite much earlier. When it was used by the congregation it was adorned with the simplest recitation melody. For the most part all these early chants of the people for the ordinary and proper texts have not been preserved. As the Church grew and the need for more elaborate settings of the Mass texts was felt, the music for the people continued to be produced and used but in the form of the great heritage of popular hymns, antiphons and litanies as we have seen.

Thus it came as nothing new when on March 5, 1967, the Holy See said "one cannot show anything more religious and more joyful in sacred celebrations than a whole congregation expressing its faith in song." But how is this to be realized in our time? Let us turn our attention briefly to the possibilities and the limitations of our American congregations.

The possibilities are enormous, and surely we should make a success of the wishes of the Church as outlined in the Instruction that the faithful be able to sing both in Latin and in the vernacular those parts of the ordinary of the Mass that pertain to them.³⁵ Our people have been wonderfully willing to cooperate; we have a great school system to use; there is sufficient musical talent in this country to provide leadership that is so essential if only it is properly attracted to the Church, adequately trained and justly remunerated. We can become a singing Church with effort and perseverance.

But what are the limitations? Some are physical. The lack of an adequate pipe organ competently played handicaps any effort. A church building lined with acoustical, sound-absorb-

ing material will kill congregational singing. A proliferation of pamphlets, books and song sheets will discourage any group. The presence of an incompetent director, especially with a loud speaker system, can harm the best of efforts. However, I think the greatest single physical limitation to our efforts to encourage the congregation to sing remains the fact that many people since their school days simply have never been called on to sing, either in or out of church, and therefore, the very physical ability to use this skill has never been developed.

What are the psychological limitations of our congregations in singing? First, a singer needs security if he will truly sing. This he has when he is well acquainted with the piece and is given good direction and support preferably by a good organist. Thus, it is wrong constantly to be introducing new repertoire, a practice that can destroy true congregational singing if carried to excess. People are attached to the pieces they know. People's song is a question of tradition, not of variety. I have always felt that the singing of hymns in this country would be years ahead of its present state if the rash of inferior hymnals published since the Council had never appeared, and we had used rather the hymns taught in the parochial schools for the past fifty years. These are the pieces the people know and would sing, and for the most part they are musically and poetically superior to much of the current trash. These inferior products of second-rate poets and composers embarrass a congregation and form a real psychological obstacle to singing. Some say the youth love them; they don't know any better which is a tremendous indictment of their teachers. And yet these songs of no musical, theological, poetical or emotional value are forced on congregations by dilettants who want congregational singing no matter how. The advice of a competent musician is rarely asked, especially by many clerical song leaders. The Church which has always fostered the beautiful has now become a mishmash garret for all kinds of mediocrities that wouldn't even qualify for TV commercials, as someone recently remarked. Further, psychologically there is a grave necessity for silence coupled with the singing; there is need for listening coupled with the singing. The Instruction so clearly indicates that the congregation has

its role, but so do the ministers and the choir. And there is a time for silence. People cannot sing all the parts of the Mass. It is pastorally and psychologically unwise to ask them to, and usually such a request is based on a false understanding of what "active participation" truly is.

We have already seen the limitations presented by history, but we must add to those conditions common to the entire Latin rite the phenomenon that the Church in the United States has inherited from its predominantly Irish background. Congregational singing in Ireland was made an impossibility by the intense persecution of the Faith. The miracle is that the Faith was preserved and the silent, Low Mass maintained for all those terrible years. It was this form of worship that emigrants from mid-nineteenth century Ireland, only just liberated religiously, transplanted to this country. A tradition of silence in worship of four hundred years duration is not easily changed.

Musically our congregations are limited and the sooner we realize this the quicker we will succeed in creating a good congregational response. I would like to say here a few words about repertoire selection, both with regard to the music for the read Mass and for the sung Mass. In hymns people prefer a regular, strophic structure with a simple rhyme scheme. The singing of prose texts, including vernacular translations of the psalms, has never, even in the days of the Protestant Reformation, proved satisfactory to congregations, a fact that we can learn from the Lutherans and Calvinists who very early turned to metrical translations and strophic melodies. Further, texts of a didactic cast, the so-called catechism hymn, rarely succeed, since hymns are not made to be means of instruction or moralizing, but rather they are sung worship. The universal Church possesses a wealth of hymn tunes that are the common property of all language groups, but in English we suffer from a lack of truly worthy texts that can be joined with the melodies. It is in the area of hymn-singing that the most immediate success with the congregation can be achieved, and our Catholic heritage of good hymns can become the treasured possession of our American congregations. To ask the faithful to sing prose settings of psalms presents the problem of long texts not easily memorized because of a lack of regular musical

accent or rhyme scheme. Similar problems occur with the texts of the Mass. In the proper, frequently changing texts prove too difficult. The ordinary texts are more easily memorized, especially if set with easily comprehended melodies. The Instruction makes it clear what parts the congregation is expected to sing, and it should be stressed here that the obligation does not end with the accomplishment of these parts in the vernacular, but the Constitution and the Instruction both say that the people are to be instructed to sing also in Latin those parts of the ordinary that belong to them. This has been done in the past very successfully in many countries with the easier Gregorian ordinaries and, of course, the responses. It is to our shame and the impoverishment of our youth, both liturgically and aesthetically, that a bold disobedience of these papal and conciliar mandates over the past four years has been fostered by many near-sighted, vernacular enthusiasts, not excluding even seminary music teachers. Many a congregation today could sing Mass VIII or Mass IX, Credo I or III and a good number of the great Latin hymns *Pange lingua*, *O Salutaris Hostia*, *Stabat Mater*, etc., even without rehearsal. But this repertoire is fast being lost and the new generation is determinedly being “protected” from exposure to Gregorian chant which is their rightful heritage. This is neither the letter nor the spirit of the Constitution or the Instruction. It is simply disobedience.

Finally, our congregations are limited educationally. This is the hardest thing to understand. In a country that possesses the greatest system of Catholic education in the world, training in music for worship is almost non-existent in many areas and on many levels. What about the repeated papal directives over the past sixty years.³⁶ While one must recognize a noble effort in the grade schools in the past, the same cannot be said for today’s secondary or collegiate education. We have not merely failed to prepare our students for their role that the Church now asks of them, but we have even deprived them in many cases of their right to their whole musical heritage. And what is worse, we are continuing to do this and justify it by such insane nonsense as “teen-age sub-cultures” and “music for special groups,” as if these young men and women were incapable of inheriting the musical art of the West in order to

make it a part of their lives and their children's lives, to say nothing of their contributing anew to the whole thesaurus of man's musical culture. A future age will judge us harshly on this score. It is in education that the secret to successful singing by the faithful lies, and this does not mean a mere ten or fifteen minutes rehearsal before Mass, as a very high body recently recommended on the subject of musical education. It means a frank re-organization of music in our whole school system; it means a sincere and complete obedience to papal and conciliar mandates.

In conclusion, may I make these practical suggestions:

1) Singing by the people and singing by the choir are not opposed to each other. Both congregational music and art music are needed by man in his worship of God as was shown by developments in the Church at an early date.

2) Never seek from the congregation more than it is capable of at that given moment, but never rest in anything less than its full possibility.

3) Americans today have great cultural opportunities, including the ability to hear great music at the mere flip of an FM radio switch. The music of the Church for the worship of God cannot be an inferior degree of excellence. We must maintain the glorious heritage of the musical art of the Roman Church.

4) Proceed from the known to the unknown with the congregation, and do so *poco a poco*. Success at the beginning is so important. Early failures are hard to overcome.

5) It takes money to have good congregational singing. This must be spent on a good pipe organ, a good organist and a good hymnal. We can get along without the "leader of song" and his loudspeaker.

6) Don't neglect to use the fruits of musicians' labors of the past sixty years. Sing the hymns and Gregorian chants that have been well established in many places. Use both the Latin and the vernacular repertoire that our people know. That is the command of the Constitution and the Instruction, and it is good common sense too. New development must rest squarely on the accomplishments of the past, as history has shown and

as the Council Fathers have so wisely demonstrated in their call for a renewal in the music of the Church.

7) Finally, follow carefully and conscientiously the directions of the Holy See as indicated in the Instruction of March 5, 1967. It establishes the proper balance between the congregation and the choir, between people's song and art music, between the old and the new, between vernacular and Latin. *In medio stat virtus* (Our strength lies at the middle of the road).

Endnotes

1. Additional references to the singing of the people can be found in these paragraphs of the Instruction: 33, 34, 35, 39, 47, 53, 56, 65 and 67.

2. Col. 3:16; Eph. 5:18-24.

3. Anglès, Iginio. "The Singing of the Faithful," a paper prepared for the Fifth International Church Music Congress, Chicago, 1966.

4. Apoc. 4:8.

5. Apoc. 5:12.

6. Apoc. 19:1.

7. Other references to liturgy in the Apocalypse are: 1:5-6; 4:11; 5:9-10; 5:13-14; 15:3-4; 19:2-8; 22:21.

8. Epistle to the Corinthians, Chap. 34.

9. Epistle to the Ephesians, Chap. 4.

10. Epistle to the Romans, Chap. 2.

11. Epistle to the Antiocheans, Chap. 12.

12. These hymns are found among the spurious writings of St. John Chrysostom, PG 59:741-746.

13. Hamman, A. *Early Christian Prayers*. (Chicago: Regnery, 1961). p. 37.

14. Contra Celsum, Bk. 8, Chap. 37.

15. Lib. Judicum, Homilia IX (PG 12:990).

16. Bk. 2, Chap. 57.

17. Bk. 2, Chap. 59.

18. Bk. 8, Chap. 5.

19. Bk. 7, Chap. 12.

20. Bk. 8, Chap. 8.

21. Commentaria in Psalmos, Ps 65 (PG 23:647).

22. *Ibid.* (PG 23:658).
23. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Lib. 5:19 (PG 67:1275).
24. *Expositio in Psalmum CXL* (PG 55:426).
25. *Ibid.* (PG 55:427).
26. *Expositio in Psalmum XLI* (PG 55:155).
27. *Confessions*, 9:7.
28. PL 14:31.
29. *Sermo contra Auxentium* (PL 16:1017).
30. *Symposium 11* (PG 18:208).
31. *Itinerarium Egeriae*, 31.
32. I Epistle to the Corinthians, 14:14 (PL 17:225).
33. Anglés, Iginio, *op. cit.*
34. Messenger, Ruth Ellis, *The Medieval Latin Hymn*. (Washington: Capital Press, 1958). p. 54-55.
35. *Instruction on Sacred Music* (March 5, 1967), Art. 47.
36. See: Schuler, Richard J. "Education in Music, the answer to our liturgical problems," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 93 (Summer, 1966), p. 29-36.

Documentary Appendix—4

Preparation of the Diocesan Clergy in Church Music

Richard J. Schuler

If this paper had been prepared for the Fourth International Church Music Congress in Cologne or even for the Fifth Congress in Chicago-Milwaukee, it would have taken an entirely different direction than at present. In 1961 or in 1966, one would have dealt with the renewal and improvement of the training of seminarians in the field of church music. However, unfortunately and tragically, in 1974 we must speak not of renewal but rather of a beginning, a re-introduction of a program to teach the seminarian the role of music in the prayer life of the Church and prepare him to carry out a sung liturgy so that he can function in the role of priest.

In 1961, one could point to several Roman decrees relating to the subject of liturgical music-training for the candidate for the priesthood. There was the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X of 1903; the various instructions issued for the seminaries and religious houses of the City of Rome; the Apostolic Constitution of Pius XI (although very brief in its reference to seminaries); the encyclicals *Mediator Dei* (1953) and *Musicae sacrae disciplina* (1955). To be sure, these documents were very general and really did little to specify what even the most fundamental requirements should be. The candidate was to study music, both in its Gregorian and polyphonic forms; he was to learn hymns for use with the people; music was to be a means of prayer for himself and a tool for use in his apostolate. But compared to the detailed courses of instruction issued by secu-

lar educational agencies, these guidelines were far from adequate or specific. Nevertheless, one could say that *poco a poco*, progress in the musical education of the clergy was evident in 1961, even yet in 1966. Bishops were more willing to consider the subject seriously; seminary authorities were more ready to cooperate in giving time for musical instruction, although it was far from being considered a major area of study; more and more, the men assigned to roles as teachers of music in seminaries had been provided with higher studies in preparation for their work, although in most cases far from adequately.

Yet, in 1961 and in 1966, one could safely have said that the music reforms of Pius X had not been effectively accomplished. The reason for that failure lies with the lack of proper instruction musically of the clergy. The reason for this lack of instruction of the clergy can be traced to the failure of the seminaries to give adequate training to their students. And one can easily assign the chief reason for that: the teachers of music in most seminaries training the diocesan clergy were woefully uninstructed and lamentably deficient themselves in musical knowledge and method. *Nemo dat quod non habet*. Still at that juncture, 1966, one might have hoped for a continuing progress, a gradual brightening, even perhaps the dawning of a new age, as the impetus of conciliar decrees on church music forced action in this area of priestly training.

However, in 1974, we know that this is not the case. Today the picture is far gloomier than it was a decade ago, even perhaps than it was when Pius X began his pontificate in 1903. We still have the Roman instructions from the pre-conciliar days, and in addition we have received others: the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy; the Instruction on Sacred Music of 1967; the comprehensive Instruction on the Liturgical Formation of Seminarians given by the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities in December, 1965. Why is it then that even with these further directives from the highest authority in the Church, the situation has so far deteriorated that even the minimal training in the forms of music ordered by the Council has almost disappeared in many seminaries? Two reasons can, I think, be advanced to explain this situation. First, there exists a general disrespect for authority in society, and this is reflected in the Church where an attitude

can be detected that regards Roman documents as mere opinions to be read and set aside if they are not in agreement with one's own particular viewpoint. Perhaps the events that followed the issuing of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* promoted the opposition to authority within the Church to a great degree. Secondly, the widespread denial of the sacred, as it pertains to the means of worship, has upset the very position of sacred music as an integral part of liturgy, despite clear affirmations of the Council to the contrary.

It is evident that lack of respect for ecclesiastical authority and the denial of the sacred are not problems peculiar to church music and the training of seminarians. These phenomena are to be found through the whole Church and must be dealt with directly before it will be possible to renew the musical formation of diocesan seminarians and to implement the conciliar liturgical and musical reforms.

I. Let us consider the problem of the sacred. In 1968, the Music Advisory Board of the American Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy issued a statement in which it was proclaimed that "the primary goal of all Eucharistic celebration is to make a humanly attractive experience." Here is the expression of the malady that is causing the deterioration of the sacred. Human pleasure is the ultimate goal to be achieved. Liturgy no longer deals with the relationship between man and God, but rather that of man to man or even to oneself. Pope Paul VI has warned repeatedly that the sin of our age is one of atheism, not indeed a theoretical, academic denial of God, but rather a removal of God from life in its every day, actual practice. Man has himself become God, and little wonder then that we have "God is dead" theologians. How can sacred art exist in such a milieu, when the very purpose of sacred art is to lead us to God, who "dwells in light inaccessible"? This denial of the sacred as it exists in a person, a place or a thing exclusively dedicated to God, follows logically on the enthronement of man. Such humanism leads to secularism. For those who have allowed the secular to replace the sacred, "God is dead."

When man, in a sense, assumes the place of God in the liturgy by an exaggerated humanism, then the need for the sacred ceases. The need to dedicate material things to God by sacralizing them, even the need for the sacraments or the

acknowledgment of the supernatural elevation of man through grace, ceases. The secular fulfills the purposes of humanism as well as, if not better, than the sacred. This would account for those who say that the duty of church music is to establish “community” or “togetherness”—both humanistic ideals. But when man does not feel a need for God, we have returned to the “practical” atheism about which Pope Paul warned us.

The problem today in the musical and liturgical training of seminarians is not essentially a musical one. If it were, musicians could solve it. The difficulty is one of Faith, as it is in every other area of the Church today — Catholic education, religious vocations, celibacy of the clergy, divorce, birth control, or the authority of the Holy Father. It is useless to speak of a course of study for music in the seminary until the seminary and its professors are convinced of the fundamental truths of the Roman Catholic Faith. Sacred music cannot live, nor can liturgy itself survive, in a milieu that not merely questions but often denies what is Catholic dogma and morality under a thin veil of speculative, process theologizing. At least in the United States, seminaries have been in the forefront in promoting much that has led to a secularization of Catholicism. Comment on this is well expressed in a book, *American and Catholic* by Robert Leckie (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1970): “Montesquieu once predicted that Protestantism would wither away, after which Catholicism would become Protestant. Bearing this in mind, recalling also how liberal Protestantism’s attempt to Christianize secularism resulted in a secularization of Protestantism, it may be suggested that in its new emphasis on the social gospel, in its preoccupation with sex, its dissolving discipline, its abdication of moral authority and its own attempt to accommodate modernity, the American Church has already taken on much of the protective coloration of its environment. It is now thoroughly American, apparently riding the crest of the religious wave of the future, but whether or not it will still be Catholic remains to be seen.”

As early as the preparations for the Fifth International Church Music Congress in 1965, one could see that there were those who would deny the existence of the sacred and the place of sacred music in the liturgy, despite the clear state-

ment of the Vatican Council itself that sacred song forms a necessary or integral part of the solemn liturgy. Both the Pope and the Council frequently refer to "sacred" music, and the Instruction of 1967 actually begins with the words, *Musica sacra*. The malady that afflicts the Church today was first detected in sacred music and liturgy. But it is apparent by now that what ails music in the service of worship is only a ripple on the surface of the sea; beneath there is a churning, seething, boiling ferment of error and disbelief. We will never have a renewal of sacred music without Faith; we will never have sacred music at all until the place of man in relation to God is established clearly. There will be no sacred music until the place of art in man's seeking for God is defined. There must be an affirmation of the sacred, and this must begin in the seminaries.

II. But what is taught today in our seminaries? One cannot here take up what are the specific problems of the courses in dogmatic or moral theology, nor can one argue here about the questions of seminary discipline or the life patterns of clerical students. While all of this impinges directly on the liturgical and musical formation, there is not time to consider it. However, two areas must be discussed: the prayer life of the seminarian himself, and the tools that he must acquire for the apostolate that will ultimately be his as a priest.

First, his prayer life. Obviously this must begin long before the major seminary. In the home and in the elementary school a sense of reverence toward what is holy must be cultivated. By participating in the parish liturgy the future seminarian can come to have a love of divine worship and an acquaintance with the means of worship: music, ceremonial, art, architecture — not merely as external phenomena but as the expression of the deep internal action of the baptized Christian taking part in the redeeming mysteries of Christ's Church. In the development of religious vocations the contact with the holy and the beautiful is essential. By experiencing the sacred, the seed of a priestly vocation is planted. The deeper theological and ascetical foundations of a flourishing prayer-life should be taught in the seminary, but even then the liturgy remains the primary source of all spiritual life, as Pope St. Pius X said. A full and active participation in the liturgy demands

on the part of the seminarian an ability to take his proper active role in the liturgical life of the seminary: to sing, to read, to fulfill the functions of the ministry or order according to the rank that he has achieved. To deprive him of training to sing or to read or to know the very role of sacred art in liturgy is to restrict him in his prayer-life which should be centered in the liturgy as the primary source of grace. Seminaries that have abandoned Gregorian chant, solemn Mass and the sung Office are hindering, not fostering, the development of the spiritual growth of their students.

Recently, a seminarian came to me to ask if he might take part in the solemn Mass on Sundays in my parish, because his seminary did not have a sung Mass. He was attracted by the ceremony and the music that stirred up within him a love for the sacrifice of the Mass. It is sad that in the institution that is training him to be a priest he cannot find what is the very essence of priestly work, the performance of the sacred, solemn liturgical action. Other seminarians have not even heard of what it is that they are missing. In such a training ground can one expect to find a deep spiritual growth? It is not the mere specialist in modern thought or social welfare workers that a seminary is commissioned to prepare; the first obligation is to establish holiness upon which to build all else. Liturgy and sacred music are essential for this development.

Secondly, liturgy and sacred music are the tools of the future apostolate of the cleric. So much is written and spoken today about "special ministries." We have attempts such as the worker-priest, the priest-politician, the priest-sociologist, and all manner of secular gimmicks that do not achieve the true purpose of priesthood which is to stand as mediator between God and man, offering the perfect sacrifice to atone for sin. The real ministry lies in the liturgy with the art that serves as its handmaid. The sacred liturgy has attracted the human spirit for centuries and will today continue to exercise the same magnetic pull on men if its truly sacred character is allowed to shine forth. The redeeming action of Christ which is the essence of the liturgy needs external, visible and tangible means of expression. That central, transcendental, spiritual and sacred purpose of the Mass and the sacraments which Christ left us is to bring the fruits of His Redemption to each

succeeding generation. The ceremonies, music, painting, architecture and all the other arts that surround the central kernel are the Church's means for presenting these mysteries of Redemption; they are the tools of the apostolate of the priest. To deprive a priest of a knowledge of these tools with their power to attract mankind and their significance as symbols transcending this world is like training a physician without teaching him the use and the value of medicine.

It is essential that the young cleric be taught to sing those parts of the liturgy required of the ministry or order he possesses; further, he should be given an appreciation of the role of sacred music in liturgy and a respect for the work of the professional church musician; beyond this, the seminary has an obligation to provide him with a sufficient knowledge of music in general that he may find in music a source of recreation and pleasure as it is expected an educated man will do. Recently, I had a fine young priest tell me that he could not and would not sing. He refuses to celebrate a *Missa cantata* or sing any service. I asked him if he had not been taught music during his six years in the preparatory seminary and another six years in one of the important major seminaries of the United States. He told me that he had not been trained to sing, but that he had been given instruction in how to direct the congregation or a choir! This, of course, reflects the level of competency of the instruction to which he was subjected; but it also shows how he has been cheated and how the people to whom he ministers have likewise been cheated out of one of the means of God's grace — the solemn liturgical actions which demand liturgical singing from the priest.

No one has ever proposed a training of clerics as professional musicians, except in those extraordinary cases when exceptional talents are discovered and a diocese has the good fortune to have a young priest whose gifts can be developed in order that he might instruct others. Most people can be taught to sing or play an instrument without having a special musical talent; long and intense study is not demanded for ordinary musical achievement, either vocal or instrumental. But musical training is imperative for the young cleric so that he can undertake his proper role in the liturgy, appreciate the roles of others, whether singers, instrumentalists or directors,

and then oversee the general direction of the sacred liturgy in his charge, with a knowledge of its theology, its history and its art. A training in these minimal fundamentals should be given every student; he has a right in justice to it.

Connected essentially to the study of liturgical music is a knowledge of the Latin language. Seminaries that do not foster the study and use of Latin are promoting a kind of iconoclasm directed against the heritage of sacred music that the Council ordered to be promoted. There seems to be little doubt that the abandoning of Latin in direct disobedience to the decrees of the Council is connected closely with the decline of the sacred. Some weeks ago I invited a young deacon to exercise his newly acquired order at a solemn Mass in my parish. The choir master came in before the ceremonies to inquire concerning what *Ite missa est* the young man wished to sing. He did not know what the *Ite* was, and said that he would sing only in English. He had been taught nothing about Latin chant. Young priests today have been systematically and deliberately trained to despise the Latin tongue and all that has been associated with it for centuries, theologically and artistically.

III. Priestly vocations today in many countries are on the decline. The shortage of priests in some areas is becoming critical. Seminaries are depleted and many have even closed because of lack of students. Could the condition be caused by the abandoning of the sacred? Is it perhaps that the substitution of so many humanistic and secularistic concerns has failed to attract the young who truly are seeking God? Religion is the sum of all doctrine, institutions, customs and ceremonies through which the human community expresses and organizes its relationship with the Creator. Subjectively, religion is an inclination of the whole man toward a transcendental Creator in whom he believes, to whom he feels obligated, on whom he depends, and with whom he tries to communicate. Man's need for outward communication with God results in his use of art in religion. Religion must express itself, so that the spiritual can be made manifest; the invisible, visible; the unheard, audible. Thus religion needs art for teaching, for missionary purposes, for its very existence. Is not the Word made flesh the perfect art of the Father, the most perfect revelation of God's glory and the center of all Christian reli-

gion? He is the mediator Who binds the material to the spiritual. Human art in its way imitates and reflects Christ; it is the bridge between Creator and creature. Is not the abandoning of the traditional Christian art in its musical, pictorial and sculptured forms, coupled with the failure of so much of modern art which has left its sacred connections, to be seen as one of the reasons for emptying our seminaries — indeed, emptying of the ranks of the priesthood too?

The young are looking for religious experience, but they fail to find it in the secular, humanistic forms now offered them. Some even say that drugs become a means of spiritual elevation as the young strive almost wildly and yet vainly to escape the material things that have surfeited them. Eroticism, drugs, and the restlessness of contemporary society only more deeply submerge man in matter rather than freeing him from it, so that his spirit might soar toward his Creator. It is only in such freedom of the spirit that a vocation can be nurtured; in the proper use of matter and in particular by the sanctifying of the material through sacred art, the souls of the young can be attracted to God and to His priesthood.

Documentary Appendix—5

Church Music Association

In the late summer of 1964, at the close of the twelfth annual liturgical music workshop, members of the Society of Saint Gregory of America and the American Society of Saint Cecilia and other interested church musicians met at Boys Town in Nebraska, at the invitation of Monsignor Francis P. Schmitt, to consider the possibilities of uniting the two organizations into a single society for church musicians in the United States. In the friendly hospitality of Father Flanagan's Boys' Home and its president, Monsignor Nicholas J. Wegner, the procedures for forming the Church Music Association of America moved along smoothly, and the new society was born.

Representation at the meeting was truly nation-wide and well divided among clerical and lay persons. Among those present were the members of the board of directors of the Society of St. Gregory: Monsignor Richard B. Curtin, Reverend Benedict Ehmann, Reverend Joseph F. Mytych, Reverend Cletus Madsen, Reverend Joseph R. Foley, C.S.P., J. Vincent Higginson and Ralph Jusko. Representing the Society of Saint Cecilia were Monsignor Francis P. Schmitt, Reverend Richard J. Schuler, Reverend Francis A. Brunner, C.Ss.R., Sister M. Theophane, O.S.F., Archabbot Rembert Weakland, O.S.B., Paul Koch, Alexander Peloquin, Lavern Wagner, Roger Wagner, James Welch, James Keenan, Frank Szynskie, Norbert Letter and Mrs. Winifred Flanagan. Reverend Elmer Pfeil was a member of both boards. Monsignor Curtin, who represented Father John Selner, S.S., president of the Society of

Saint Gregory, and Monsignor Schmitt acted as co-chairmen of the meetings.

A provisional constitution was drafted and officers were chosen for one year. Archabbot Weakland was named president; Father Madsen, vice-president; Father Schuler, secretary; and Frank Szynskie, treasurer. Various committees and a board of directors were selected. Two resolutions, submitted by Father Brunner, Father Robert A. Skeris and Father Schuler, were adopted by the new society: 1) We pledge ourselves to maintain the highest artistic standards in church music; 2) we pledge ourselves to preserve the treasury of sacred music, especially Gregorian chant, at the same time encouraging composers to write artistically fine music, especially for more active participation of the people according to the norms of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council and the wishes of the American hierarchy.

As a result of subsequent smaller meetings a permanent constitution was drafted, submitted to the membership and adopted. Questions concerning the journal of the society were resolved. The Catholic Choirmaster, begun in 1915 and published through fifty volumes by the Society of Saint Gregory, merged with Caecilia, then in its ninety-fourth volume and published by the Society of Saint Cecilia. Plans for national and regional meetings were formulated in an effort to fulfill the decrees of the Vatican Council and the directives of the American bishops in the reforms of the liturgy and its music.

The first general meeting of the Church Music Association was held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 28, 1966, at the conclusion of the convention held in conjunction with the Fifth International Church Music Congress sponsored by the Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, an international sacred music federation founded by Pope Paul VI in 1963. The event was the first international meeting of church musicians following the close of the Second Vatican Council and the publication of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. It was truly an historic event for CMAA and for CIMS because of the significance of the papers and discussions on the nature of active participation by the faithful in the liturgy, a central concept of the conciliar instructions.¹ The Masses, concerts,

lectures and discussions, both in Chicago and in Milwaukee, marked the occasion as one of international import. The election of officers made Theodore Marier president with all the other officers re-elected for another term.

In 1968, the general meeting was held in Detroit, Michigan. Racial difficulties in the city restricted the attendance at the convention, resulting in serious financial losses having to be assumed by CMAA. On April 19, Theodore Marier was re-elected president; Noel Goemanne became vice-president; Father Skeris, secretary; and Frank Szynskie remained treasurer.

Boston, Massachusetts, was the host of the third general meeting, April 2, 1970. A larger attendance was the result of considerable effort by the chairman, Robert Blanchard, and his committee. Roger Wagner was elected president with all the other officers retained.

The fourth general meeting was originally planned for Los Angeles, California, but circumstances made it impossible to meet in 1972 as the constitution directed. Because of ill health the president, Roger Wagner, resigned. Father Skeris, vice-president, was in Europe preparing for a doctorate in theology. Finally, Monsignor Schuler called the meeting on December 27, 1973, at Saint Paul, Minnesota. The occasion was an opportunity to celebrate the centenary of the founding of the American Society of Saint Cecilia. Monsignor Johannes Overath, representing the federated Cecilian societies of the German-speaking countries, presented the Palestrina medal to CMAA in the name of the Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verband für die Länder der deutschen Sprache, and spoke concerning John Singenberger and the early work for church music in this country. New officers were elected: Gerhard Track, president; Father Skeris, Vice-president; Monsignor Schuler, secretary; and Mrs. Richard Dres, treasurer. Solemn Mass was celebrated in the Church of Saint Agnes by Monsignor Overath with a congregation of a thousand guests, including Archbishop Leo Binz of Saint Paul and Minneapolis and Bishop Alphonse J. Schladweiler of New Ulm, Minnesota. The Twin Cities Catholic Chorale sang Joseph Haydn's *Paukenmesse*.

The fifth general meeting was held in Pueblo, Colorado, February 1, 1975, in conjunction with the Mozart festival held

in that city. Attendance was small because of the rising cost of travel. The convention heard reports on the Sixth International Church Music Congress held in Salzburg, Austria, in August 1974, at which CMAA was represented by two American choirs, the Dallas Catholic Choir under the direction of Father Ralph S. March, S.O.Cist., and the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale directed by Monsignor Schuler.

New elections for CMAA were held in 1977. Monsignor Schuler was elected president; Gerhard Track, vice-president; Virginia Schubert, secretary; B. Allen Young, treasurer. Plans for a general meeting of the association will be made at the first meeting of the board of directors planned for April.

Besides conventions, the chief activity of the Church Music Association has been the publication of its quarterly journal, *Sacred Music*. One of the first acts of the newly organized society was to bring together *The Catholic Choirmaster* and *Caecilia*. While some wished to continue the title *Caecilia* and others suggested a combination title, *Caecilia-Choirmaster*, the ultimate decision was to find a new name, and *Sacred Music* emerged as the winner. Archabbot Weakland assumed the editorship, and printing and publication was done at the Archabbey of Saint Vincent, Latrobe, Pennsylvania. Volumes 91 and 92 (eight issues) came from Latrobe during Archabbot Weakland's editorship. At a meeting of the board of directors in Boston, Massachusetts, November 11, 1966, Father March was selected to be editor. The editorial office was moved to Dallas, Texas, and the printing was done by North Central publishing Co., Saint Paul, Minnesota. A new format was introduced. Father March edited thirty-six issues (Vol. 94-102, No. 2). He resigned in 1975, and Gerhard Track, president, appointed Monsignor Schuler as editor. The magazine is now edited and printed in Saint Paul.

The Church Music Association of America is now in its thirteenth year. The period of its existence coincides with the years of ferment following on the close of the Vatican Council. Many of the hopes eagerly embraced in 1966 have been shattered by the course of events. The music of the liturgy in this country today can hardly be hailed as the realization of what was eagerly expected at the first convention of the association

in Milwaukee in 1966. In every area a regression has occurred: performance, composition, education. Deep theological controversies surfaced early after the council and soon became apparent in liturgical music, a fact that brought the conflicts growing out of the council into the focus of most of the faithful producing many doubts and worries. The church musicians were among the first to wonder about some interpretations of the conciliar documents and the Roman instructions that followed. The documents themselves were clear; the goal was clear and attainable; but the path along which liturgical music in this country has been drawn (or pushed) reflects little of what is set forth in the instructions from Rome.²

What has been the role of the Church Music Association during all this development? A quiet one. Yet one that eventually will be seen to be the true one. I firmly believe CMAA has been faithful to the directives of the council and the Holy See. And it has been faithful to the pledges made at its inception: 1) to maintain the highest artistic standards in church music; 2) to preserve the treasury of sacred music, especially the Gregorian chant, at the same time encouraging composers to write artistically fine music, especially for more active participation of the people according to the norms of the Constitution on the sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council and the wishes of the American hierarchy.

The general meetings have not been extraordinary successes. Travel costs continue to rise and make national conventions a luxury for the expense account set or the income tax deduction group. The very expanse of the United States works against such national assemblies, and regional meetings are hard to organize without the existence of a central office that can provide guidance and full-time organizational assistance. But CMAA has no such facilities or funds. Thus national conventions such as the Chicago-Milwaukee meeting of 1966, at least for the foreseeable future, must remain little more than local gatherings, even though dignified by the title of a national convention. Money is necessary for any such event, and CMAA simply does not have such funds.

There remains then the journal, *Sacred Music*. This is the life-blood of the society. It is the activity that can most securely

bind together the members spread across the nation. It is a means of education, encouragement and communication. In it the pledges of the society can be fulfilled. It can stand as a quiet protest to the aberrations we have witnessed in liturgy and in music. It can be a record of the work of those who wish to fulfill the decrees of the Church carefully and conscientiously. It will be a record for history that a sincere effort was made in this country to implement the sixth chapter of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and the instructions that followed it.

The subscription list of Sacred Music stands at about one thousand. This is not nearly enough, either from an economical viewpoint of publication costs, or from the point of view of the influence the journal should have. Nor is it commensurate with the effort put forth by those who are editing it, who all work without any fees whatsoever. The joy of the project could be so much greater were the magazine spread more widely.

We have not increased the subscription price or membership in CMAA in ten years. And there is no intention of doing so. However, if the number of subscribers could be increased financial problems would not be significant. May I then ask each subscriber to find another subscriber? Surely you know of someone who would be interested in reading our journal. Send a gift subscription. Add a name to the CMAA roster.

The new officers pledge themselves to serve you. They pledge themselves to the purposes of the society. They hope with the means at their disposal to continue its work by publishing a first-rate journal and hopefully arranging those meetings deemed to be useful.

Monsignor Richard J. Schuler

Endnotes

¹ Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II. Rome: Conso-
ciatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969. Available from North Central
Publishing Company, 274 East Fillmore Avenue, Saint Paul, Minne-
sota 55107. \$15.

² Cf. "Church Music after Vatican II." Sacred Music, Vol. 103, No. 4
(Winter 1976) 15-18.

Documentary Appendix—6

A Chronicle of the Reform

Part 1: *Tra le sollicitudini*

(This series of articles on the history of church music in the United States during this century is an attempt to recount the events that led up to the present state of the art in our times. It will cover the span from the *motu proprio Tra le sollicitudini*, of Saint Pius X, through the encyclical *Musicae sacra disciplina* of Pope Pius XII and the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council and the documents that followed upon it. In knowing the course of development, musicians today may build on the accomplishments of the past and so fulfill the directives of the Church.)

The *motu proprio, Tra le sollicitudini*, issued by Pope Pius X, November 22, 1903, shortly after he ascended the papal throne, marks the official beginning of the reform of the liturgy that has been so much a part of the life of the Church in this century. The liturgical reform began as a reform of church music. The *motu proprio* was a major document issued for the universal Church. Prior to that time there had been some regulations promulgated by the Holy Father for his Diocese of Rome, and these instructions were imitated in other dioceses by the local bishops. But Pope Pius' *motu proprio* of 1903 inaugurated a movement that would culminate in the action of the Second Vatican Council, which was the first ecumenical council to turn its attention to questions of church music so extensively, and in so doing, place the capstone on the reforms begun nearly a century before.

The *motu proprio* itself was the outcome of several decades of activity and study that had centered chiefly in Germany and France. Two movements flourished along separate but similar

paths with the reform of liturgical music as their primary objective. One was the Caecilian movement in the German-speaking lands, centered on Regensburg in Bavaria. The other grew up around the Benedictine monastery at Solesmes in France. Roots of both movements can be traced to the romanticism of the nineteenth century with its interest in the culture of the middle ages including the revival of medieval music. Musicological research and interest in the discipline of history grew up in those years also. Efforts to study and perform Gregorian chant occupied both scholars and practical musicians, leading to the re-publication of the Medicean edition of 1614 (*Graduale* in 1871 and 1873, and *Antiphonale* in 1878) by the German firm of Pustet. Several volumes of chant were issued from the abbey of Solesmes too. An agreement with the Holy See granting Pustet exclusive rights for the sale of the chant books of the Church delayed the publication of the Solesmes editions which finally were adopted as the official texts and printed as the Vatican Edition in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Closely associated with the church music revival in Regensburg were Karl Proske, Franz X. Haberl and Franz X. Witt, founder of the Cecilian Society at Bamberg in 1868. Its journal, *Musica Sacra*, and the famous school of church music in Regensburg became the means of spreading their ideas throughout the German-speaking lands and even into Italy and the United States. Even the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music, founded in Rome in 1911, and Italian musicians such as Licinio Refice, Raffaele Casimiri and Lorenzo Perosi had connections with the Caecilian activity at Regensburg. In the United States the Caecilian ideals were promoted by John B. Singenberger who came to this country at the invitation of Archbishop John Martin Henni of Milwaukee and in 1873 founded the American Society of Saint Caecilia with its publication *Caecilia*.

While the Caecilians were interested in polyphonic music as well as Gregorian chant, the studies of the monks of Solesmes concentrated on chant under the direction of their abbot, Prosper Gueranger, who assigned Dom Paul Jausion and later Dom Joseph Pothier to the task of reconstructing the ancient melodies from manuscripts that were coming to light

through interest in the monuments of the middle ages. Their work ultimately resulted in the Vatican Edition. Connected with its publication was the controversy stirred up between the proponents of the Medicean edition and the new Vatican books, repercussions of which were heard even in the United States and left their imprint, causing a decline in the Caecilian movement. Chant congresses which promoted the singing of the ancient melodies by vast congregations were promoted especially in France. In the United States, the Gregorian congress organized by Justine B. Ward at New York in 1920 was a great impetus in spreading the authentic melodies. It was attended by representatives from Solesmes and musicians from all parts of the world.

Although the Caecilian movement was active for nearly thirty years in the United States, particularly among German-speaking Catholics, the real catalyst for reform of church music in the United States came in 1903 with Pope Pius' *motu proprio*. Action did not begin immediately, but as the Caecilian movement ran into difficulties because of the suppression of the Regensburg Medicean edition of the chant, other efforts developed to carry out the papal instructions. Just before the beginning of World War I, in June 1913, a meeting was held in Baltimore to organize a society that would implement the directives of the *motu proprio*. Father J.M. Petter of Saint Bernard's Seminary in Rochester, New York, with Monsignor Leo P. Manzetti of Saint Mary's Seminary in Baltimore and Nicola A. Montani of Philadelphia invited others to join them, and in the summer of 1914, a larger group of musicians met in Cliff Haven on Lake Champlain to draft the constitution of the Society of Saint Gregory of America. Their publication, *The Catholic Choirmaster*, appeared in 1915 with Montani as editor.

Important in the reform were the Catholic music publishing houses. In 1906, McLaughlin and Reilly was established in Boston, joining the older J. Fischer and Bro. of Dayton, Ohio, M.L. Nemmers Co. of Milwaukee and Pustet of Regensburg and Cincinnati. Their cooperation in bringing the compositions of the Caecilians of Europe and this country into print together with smaller editions of chants useful for parishes and schools provided the tools for choirmasters, teachers and pastors.

With the introduction of these materials it was hoped that the secular, cheap and sentimental music that was so prevalent in American churches would be eliminated. The chief thrust of the *motu proprio* was to demand a holiness and an artistic quality for all music used in the liturgy. The style held up as the best example of such sanctity and art was Gregorian chant. The polyphony of the Roman School of the sixteenth century as well as other polyphonists of the Renaissance period came second, and suitable compositions of modern writers that fulfilled the threefold requirement of sanctity, artistry and universality could also be allowed. The reformers were particularly concerned to eradicate music that came from the operatic literature, folk tunes, ballads and art songs. As in the application of any general principles to specific cases, judgments sometimes were not well-founded, and the interpretation of the *motu proprio* by some whose vision was too narrow often eliminated the good along with the bad and substituted music of no value.

The First World War had a great effect on church music in the United States. The roots of the Caecilian Society were German, and during the war German culture in every aspect suffered from propaganda and prejudice. This contributed in a degree to the demise of the local Caecilian societies throughout the Midwest. By the same token, things French became very popular, and with that spirit in the land, the Solesmes chants found ready acceptance. A new era opened for the United States which brought in many European influences, not least a revival of interest in the liturgy with new ideas coming from Belgian, French, German and Austrian centres. Abbeys such as Maria Laach, Beuron, Maredsous, Mont-César and Klosterneuburg were visited by Americans who brought back the research and new liturgical thinking being done abroad. In this country, Saint John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota, through the work of Dom Virgil Michel, became the center for a liturgical movement, that published *Orate Fratres* (later *Worship*) to spread information and promote a renewed interest in the liturgy as the source of true spiritual life. Dom Gregory Huegle of Conception Abbey in Missouri and Dom Ermin Vitry, both of whom became editors of *Caecilia*, promoted Gregorian chant as part of the

larger liturgical revival. The publication of *The Saint Gregory Hymnal and Catholic Choirbook* in 1921 under the editorship of Nicola A. Montani marked a milestone in the reforms in both the United States and Canada. The *White List* published by the Society of Saint Gregory, attempted to establish suitable repertory both by suggesting and prohibiting certain compositions, although its restrictive stance and too narrow standards reflected the poorer aspects of the Caecilian movement and led ultimately to its rejection. It did, however, accomplish a considerable amount by giving the clergy and musicians some definitive criteria for action on a practical level, while the theoretical aspects were promoted by the liturgical movement. Another publication that did much to improve architectural standards as well as artistic taste in vestments, chalices and other appurtenances of the church was *Liturgical Arts*, published by Maurice Lavanoux.

The reform was pushed forward by periodicals, new musical literature, congresses and various forms of legislation both universal and local. But the need for schools to train musicians was apparent very early. The Caecilians in Europe had their school in Regensburg. The Holy See established an international institute in Rome for students from all countries. The Institut Catholique in Paris did its part to prepare students according to the principles of Solesmes. In the United States, the Catholic Normal School in Milwaukee served the American Society of Saint Caecilia and prepared many musicians to serve in the Midwest as teachers in the parochial schools and choirmasters in the parish churches. But the Solesmes chant also demanded a school for its study and the training of teachers to carry the new theories across the country. Such an institute was founded at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart in New York through the work of Mrs. Justine Ward and Mother Georgia Stevens who opened the Pius X School of Liturgical Music in 1916. It trained Sisters from many communities across the country who returned to train novices, who in turn took up the task of teaching Gregorian chant to the thousands of children in the growing parochial school system. Through the twenties and thirties, Gregorian chant became the music of the younger generations and in time as they entered monasteries, seminaries and convents, the chant

there improved and flourished. By 1940, the implementation of the directives of the *motu proprio* on chant was well underway in the United States, but a restrictive, narrow reading of the document could be detected and this would ultimately lead to a negative force that deprived the movement of the freedom needed for any artistic development.

Part of the restrictive, legalistic attitude that grew during the years following World War I can be attributed to the efforts to dispose of poor and often offensive compositions that cluttered the repertory of most choirs. Unfortunately, along with the poor and secular and cheap, much that was good music, especially music of the classical period, was replaced by compositions judged to be safe and acceptable, but which were often insipid and characterless, music that was so innocuous that it could be said to be "seen but not heard." The supremacy of the text was so over-emphasized that melody and harmony were sometimes only tolerated and were thought to be most acceptable when they were hardly noticed. Repetition of the text was judged to be wrong, thus excluding much great music of the past from liturgical performance. A misunderstanding of the polyphony of the sixteenth century, including the work of Palestrina, deified the Roman School of composers, although their works were only rarely performed: but in fostering that style efforts to imitate it produced music of doubtful worth. Since the *motu proprio* had given chant a primacy of place among styles of music suitable for liturgical use, some thought that to imitate chant would produce the best contemporary music. But imitation and restriction have never produced true art, and so the period between the wars in this country saw the creation of a great bulk of mediocre music as well as the great progress that occurred in chant study and performance.

Parochial schools, seminaries, novitiates and abbeys were the scene of the greatest chant activity. Singing by even large congregations developed. The *Liber usualis*, not an official book but a very *useful* one, served as the regular text for Mass, vespers and other parts of the liturgy, and it gradually replaced the old Regensburg books that were still occasionally found, especially in German parishes. Unfortunately, the chant did not find as ready an acceptance in the parish choirs,

many of which found it difficult to give up old repertory and to master the new theories of chant. A rigid insistence on the rhythmic theories of Solesmes in all performances of chant was a restrictive element, since most choirmasters had not been trained in it and thus were reluctant to try to teach it. Graduates of the Pius X School taught only the theories of Dom André Mocquereau and Dom Joseph Gajard to their students. These were very French in their approach to the Latin language, and often conflict developed in teaching the chant, especially among groups of German or other ethnic backgrounds. The chant became too precious and difficult to perform because of the theories of interpretation. Too often choirs imitated rather than learned the chants. School children in the Midwest sometimes sounded like members of a French choir instead of the children of immigrants from eastern Europe. Parish choirs found it too difficult to achieve the special effects demanded by the experts, and the result, unfortunately, was a reluctance to use chant, especially in parochial choirs and in congregations. The chant was intended to be the song of the people, but unfortunately it became an art form whose rendition was beyond the abilities of all except the specially trained.

The years following World War I saw also the establishment of departments of music in many Catholic colleges that were prospering in nearly every state. The women's colleges quite regularly promoted chant, because Pius X School trained nuns, and only later on allowed registration of male students. As a result, most men's colleges had very insignificant church music courses. This was caused also by the large number of colleges under Jesuit administration where courses in music were not usual. Seminaries did very little at first, since priests themselves were not trained to teach music. But little by little seminary officials recognized the need of professional study for teachers of music, and as the Roman directives continued to insist on the training of seminarians in chant and music, such training was given to promising candidates who in time became the professors of music in seminaries, replacing many who had held the position, often without much training.

In 1943, even though the country and the world were at war, modest observances of the publication of the *motu proprio*

were held in several parts of the United States. The question was always asked, "How much progress has been made in implementing the decrees of the Holy See?" Usually one could say that considerable work had been done. Seminary music courses had been established; departments of music that gave training in church music existed; religious orders of Sisters had prepared their members to teach the chant in the parochial schools; societies of church musicians continued to publish their journals; several firms made materials available for study and performance; many dioceses had issued regulations based on the Roman decrees; guilds of organists and choir-masters had been founded (Rochester in 1920, Newark in 1933, Saint Louis in 1933, Paterson in 1938, Saint Paul in 1939, Chicago in 1940, and San Francisco in 1941); many parishes had good choirs and dedicated musicians worked hard to carry out the reforms.

If there was one single difficulty that surfaced as the main problem in this country in implementing fully the orders of the Church, it would be the lack of professional training of those who were trying to fulfill the decrees. This was caused chiefly by the lack of professional schools of music that taught anything about Catholic church music and the reluctance of church authorities to put adequate finances into the liturgical music programs. A few key positions were occupied by musicians trained in Europe, but the main body of choir-masters and organists lacked the training they needed to carry out what the Church was asking. As a result the idea that one could be a "liturgical musician" without truly being a musician arose and did great damage by narrowing the scope of the reform and restricting the development of the musical art both in composition and in performance. A legalism and a false reading of the directives from Rome caused a restriction that kept the flowering of music in the liturgy from becoming a reality in every way.

Part II: Musicae sacrae disciplina

The nation went to war in December, 1941. Europe had already been embroiled in the conflict for two years. All things suffer in such global conflict, but the arts are particularly

devastated and not least of them, church music. Parish and cathedral choirs lost their male singers. Directors, composers and organists were called up to the various armed services. Only seminaries, abbeys and novitiates were able to maintain their regular programs since the law allowed for the exemption of the clergy from military conscription. A great deal of adaptation took place in most parishes as children's choirs and women's groups replaced the traditional adult mixed choirs. Congregational singing increased and the Gregorian melodies were found to be most useful as part-music became impossible because of the lack of tenors and basses.

The war years, 1939 to 1945, were years of great isolation for those who remained at home. Communication with Europe was cut off for the most part. Study abroad was not possible; new compositions and new publications were not available, not merely for lack of the possibility of importing them but because nothing was forthcoming from European countries engaged in total war. If the years between the First and Second World Wars are thought of as a period of isolation when the United States turned in upon itself, the actual years of the Second World War proved to be much more isolated and restricted. Nonetheless, the work of teaching the chant to the school children, seminarians and novices continued. The church music journals were published throughout the war. Parishes continued their regular services, and congregational singing, especially at the very popular novenas, spread and developed.

With peace in 1945, the men returned and choral organizations were reorganized. Interest in church music grew as returning soldiers told of what they had heard in the great cathedrals and churches in Europe. Prisoners of war told of the important role singing and especially sacred music played in their lives during captivity. European publishing houses, anxious to increase their markets and acquire some of the coveted American dollars, began to advertise their catalogs in the United States and open agencies to sell their publications in this country. Omer Westendorf of Cincinnati had observed the church music of several European capitals while in the armed service. On returning home he set up his World Library of Sacred Music to introduce to American choirmasters

and organists the music he had experienced in Europe, particularly in The Netherlands. He brought to this country the compositions of renaissance musicians in the Annie Bank editions, along with German, French, Belgian and Italian publishers' catalogs. With these new compositions came also various editions of Gregorian chant, some of which did not have the rhythmic markings of the Solesmes monks. The *Graduale Romanum* and the *Antiphonale Romanum* in the Vatican Polyglott Press printings, chant editions from Schwann-Verlag of Düsseldorf, from Dessain at Mechelen in Belgium and other church music houses came to be known along with the more familiar *Liber Usualis* which until the war had been the exclusive volume for singing chant in this country. It came as a revelation to many that the Vatican Edition itself did not have the editorial markings of the Solesmes rhythmic theories, and in fact many countries did not use them.

One of the greatest effects of the war and the anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish policies of the Nazi regimes in Europe was the influx into the United States of many important musicologists, especially from Germany. English joined German as a major language in the expanding discipline of musicology. Scholars from abroad took their places in American universities and began the training of young Americans in the history of music. Research which blossomed into performances left its mark on many Catholic church music organizations as interest in the compositions of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance grew. Programs for concerts as well as for worship often contained newly discovered and transcribed works from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. What the *motu proprio* of Pius X had praised so highly now became a possibility for practical use in this country. Opportunities for serious music study opened up for many young priests, Sisters and lay people in American universities as newly established chairs of musicology increased.

Enrollment in seminaries increased dramatically with the end of the war, and the teaching of chant and church music improved according to the directives from Rome. The position of professor of music was to be found in most major seminaries and regular courses in the theory and practice of liturgical singing were given. Among those occupying semi-

nary music positions in the late Forties and Fifties were: Monsignor Richard B. Curtin in New York; Fr. Benedict Ehmann in Rochester; Fr. Francis V. Strahan in Boston; Fr. John Selner, S.S., in Baltimore; Monsignor Joseph Kush in Chicago; Fr. Robert J. Stahl, S.M., in New Orleans; Fr. Francis A. Missia in Saint Paul; Fr. Elmer F. Pfeil in Milwaukee; Fr. John P. Cremins in Los Angeles; and Fr. Andrew A. Forster, S.S. in San Francisco. Programs in minor seminaries were improving, especially with the putting of emphasis on note reading and chant theory.

New developments in church music composition abroad reached this country shortly after the war. Noteworthy were the works of Netherlands composers: Hermann Strategier, Hendrik Andriessen, Jan Nieland; German composers: Theodor Pröpper, Heinrich Lemacher, Hermann Schroeder, Johann Nepomuk David, Georg Trexler; Belgian composers Flor Peeters, Jules Van Nuffel; French composers: Jean Langlais, Olivier Messiaen, Maurice Duruflé; and Austrian composers: Ernst Tittel, Joseph Lechthaler, Herman and Joseph Kronsteiner and Anton Heiller. That new contemporary techniques of composition could be used in church music, involving dissonance, free rhythm and modal writing, was a surprise to many. The use of instruments in addition to the organ had not been common in the United States and usually required the permission of the local bishop, a remnant of the rigidity introduced by the misreading of Pius X's *motu proprio*. An interest in the new music was fostered through workshops in various parts of the country along with the journals, *Caecilia* and *The Catholic Choirmaster*, and many diocesan courses for organists and choirmasters.

In the Diocese of Pittsburgh, Fr. Carlo Rossini set up a system for training and evaluating church musicians. Guilds in many dioceses organized study courses that led to approbation and certification following testing for proficiency and knowledge of church music legislation. The Gregorian Institute of America under Clifford Bennett provided visiting faculties for sessions set up in various parts of the country, as well as a correspondence course through which church musicians in rural and remote areas could study privately and have their work corrected and evaluated, even making it possible to ob-

tain a degree. The Archdiocese of Milwaukee under the direction of Fr. Elmer F. Pfeil and Sister Theophane, O.S.F., organized workshops that attracted students from all parts of the country, and at Boys Town, Nebraska, under the direction of Monsignor Francis P. Schmitt, workshops for church musicians were held each August beginning in 1953 and continuing through the 60's.

The Boys Town events were a significant development of the post-war years, attracting faculty members of international reputation and students from all parts of the country. With a library of highest quality and facilities not equalled elsewhere, the workshops at Boys Town had a wide influence. Among those associated with the yearly events were Fr. Francis A. Brunner C.Ss.R., Monsignor Richard J. Schuler, Dom Ermin Vitry, O.S.B., Marie Pierik, Flor Peeters, Anton Heiller, Jean Langlais, Paul Koch, Louise Cuyler, James Welch and Roger Wagner.

An outgrowth of the Boys Town workshops was the transfer of *Caecilia* to the revitalized Society of Saint Caecilia. With the cooperation of Arthur Reilly of the McLaughlin and Reilly music publishing firm which had underwritten the magazine for many years, Monsignor Schmitt assumed the editorship of the journal which began then to reflect the policies and theories of the Boys Town associates. Interest in chant without the Solesmes rhythmic theories grew at Boys Town along with the introduction of contemporary compositions from this country and Europe. In a sense the First World War had seen the decline in the Society of Saint Caecilia and the growth of the Society of Saint Gregory as the Solesmes editions replaced the Regensburg Medicaean books of chant. So did the Second World War and its aftermath witness a decline in the Society of Saint Gregory and its *White List* while the Society of Saint Caecilia revived with the introduction of new materials and ideas. Ultimately the two societies would combine.

In 1951, Pope Pius XII beatified Pope Pius X, and in 1954, he declared him to be a saint of the Church. These events were widely celebrated by church musicians and gave a great impulse to efforts to implement the *motu proprio* of Pius X. But the most important event of the entire post-war period was the

publication of the encyclical, *Musicae sacrae disciplina*, by Pope Pius XII, December 25, 1955. The first time a pope turned his attention in a major encyclical to questions of liturgical music, this document came in a logical and planned line of development that began with Pope Pius X's *motu proprio* of 1903 and was prepared for by the encyclical, *Mediator Dei*, of 1947. In adding yet another stone to the edifice of reform, Pius XII did not sound the negative note of excising decay that many thought they found in the *motu proprio* of Pius X. It is true that what is sensual and unchaste, illicit and extravagant and irreverent must be eliminated. But now the Holy See wished us rather to cultivate the great, the beautiful and the artistic. The valuable research of musicologists had opened the treasures of the past and new compositions of spiritual and artistic merit had appeared to adorn the liturgy. The developments of the fifty years since *Tra le sollecitudini* of Pius X were extensive and fruitful. All that is good and worthy, all that is true art and in conformity with the liturgical action could be employed as musical handmaiden of sacred liturgy. Pius XII wrote that music had progressed "from the simple and natural Gregorian modes, which are quite perfect in their kind, to great and even magnificent works of art which not only human voices, but also the organ and other musical instruments embellish, adorn and amplify almost endlessly."

Musicae sacrae disciplina brought a new freedom for the art of music that had been fettered, especially in the United States, by puritanical and rigid interpretations of Roman legislation. Music and all art needs freedom to flourish, even when its limitations as the handmaiden of the liturgy are clearly known and accepted by the artists. While the Church can clearly indicate what role music plays in worship, it is not legislation that produces art. Pope Pius XII discusses extensively the requirements for a true liturgical music: a God-given talent, properly trained, and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit who in a certain sense shares with the composer His role of creation. The theology of sacred music is beautifully developed in the encyclical which gave church musicians a sense of approbation for the success achieved in the first phase of the reform of liturgical music as well as a challenge to continue the work in a more constructive manner. Gregorian chant was

reaffirmed as the music of the Church *par excellence*: the new researches in medieval and renaissance music were commended and approved for use; and new writing was encouraged with clear instructions given for composers and performers.

The encyclical was a great surprise to the church musicians of the United States, an almost totally unexpected Christmas present, since it came for the feast of the Nativity. The Holy Father encouraged choirs; he urged the professional training of those charged with the training of others, particularly seminary students; he permitted the use of other instruments in addition to the pipe organ; he ordered the congregations to participate in the liturgy through singing so they would not be "present at the Holy Sacrifice merely as dumb and inactive spectators." He commended the various musical societies and urged formation of diocesan commissions for music and art. Everything that had been stated before by his predecessors was confirmed and a new dimension of freedom and progress was added.

On September 3, 1958, the feast of Saint Pius X, the Sacred Congregation of Rites made specific the more general directions of the encyclical with the instruction, *De musica sacra et sacra liturgia*. It was based solidly on the *motu proprio*, *Tra le sollecitudini* of Pius X, the apostolic constitution, *Divini cultus* of Pius XI, the encyclical, *Mediator Dei* of Pius XII, and the encyclical, *Musicae sacrae disciplina*. It stated clearly a well organized code of church music legislation. In 118 paragraphs the church musician had his pattern for action. It set the direction for the continuing reform, protected the art of sacred music and determined its relationship with the liturgical action, both in general norms and in specific actions. It remains today the basis for much of the conciliar and post-conciliar directives, and just as truly, many of the abuses afflicting the Church today were condemned and prohibited by the instruction which preceded the Vatican Council by ten years. Anyone truly wishing to understand such conciliar directives as *actuosa participatio populi* must read the 1958 instruction where participation of the faithful is clearly spelled out. Use of instruments, questions of radio and television broadcasts, remuneration of professional musicians, establishment of

schools of music and diocesan commissions are explained. What the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council as well as the various instructions that followed after the council had to say on sacred music could be found almost in detail in the 1958 instruction.

In those areas of the United States where serious efforts had been made to implement the reforms of Saint Pius X, the new encyclical and the instruction came as confirmation of work accomplished and direction for future activity. Where nothing had been done about the *motu proprio*, either nothing was done about the encyclical or the task of initiating the reform, fifty years late, had to be begun. But the 1950's saw continuing progress musically in the reform. Guilds of organists and choirmasters were organized in many more dioceses with courses of instruction scheduled, festivals for parish choirs arranged, efforts made to give church musicians a fair remuneration, and diocesan legislation echoing the papal decrees promulgated. The National Catholic Music Educators Association (NCMEA), while primarily organized for teachers of classroom music, turned its attention to church music. In Minnesota, the NCMEA sponsored annual state-wide festivals for boys choirs. Seminary professors in the Midwest met under the auspices of NCMEA to plan courses for both major and minor seminary music programs. National conventions of most Catholic societies were planned with good liturgical music. National Liturgical Weeks were scheduled to promote interest among clergy and laity in the new liturgical reforms. There was a conscious effort in most parts of the land to carry out the wishes of the Holy Father in *Musicae sacrae disciplina*.

In Saint Louis, Mario Salvador had his choir of boys at the cathedral; in New Orleans, Elise Cambon specialized in renaissance polyphony; Monsignor Charles N. Meter directed the choirboys at Holy Name Cathedral in Chicago, James Welch's chorale sang at Saint Philip Neri in the Bronx, and Father Joseph R. Foley, C.S.P., carried on the traditions of Father Finn's Paulist Choir. Richard Keys Biggs composed and directed at Blessed Sacrament Church in Hollywood and Roger Wagner gained international acclaim with his chorale and his performances of Catholic music. Monsignor Francis P. Schmitt in addition to his national tours conducted his Boys

Town choir each Sunday at the solemn Mass, presenting a repertory of wide variety. In Saint Paul, Monsignor Richard J. Schuler organized the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale in addition to his Nativity Choir. Paul Koch worked at the cathedral in Pittsburgh and Theodore Marier founded his choir school in Boston. In Dallas, Father Ralph S. March, S.O. Cist., organized and directed the Dallas Catholic Choir, and in Saint Paul, Richard Proulx conducted the Holy Childhood Schola Cantorum, founded by Father John Buchanan. Monsignor Robert F. Hayburn worked in San Francisco; C. Alexander Peloquin, in Providence; Frank Campbell-Watson in New York City and Philip G. Kreckel in Rochester. The pages of *Caecilia* and *The Catholic Choirmaster* record their programs and many others.

In Europe in the years following World War II, musicians felt the need for international consultation and discussion among themselves. As a part of the Holy Year of 1950, the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome, under the direction of Monsignor Iginio Anglès, set up a series of conferences on sacred music which came to be the First International Congress of Church Music. Later ones were held in Vienna in 1954, Paris in 1957, Cologne in 1961, Chicago-Milwaukee in 1966, Salzburg in 1974, Cologne-Bonn in 1980. The leadership of the Pontifical Institute was felt in these international gatherings with the papal directives forming the basis of discussion and the resolutions adopted. Action at the 1961 Cologne congress led to the establishment of the Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae by Pope Paul VI in 1963, with the responsibility of organizing succeeding international gatherings, the first of which was held in Chicago and Milwaukee under the auspices of the newly organized Church Music Association of America.

In late summer of 1964, at the close of the twelfth annual liturgical music workshop, members of the Society of Saint Gregory of America and the American Society of Saint Cecilia and other interested church musicians met at Boys Town in Nebraska, at the invitation of Monsignor Francis P. Schmitt, to consider the possibilities of uniting the two organizations into a single society for church musicians in the United States. In the friendly hospitality of Father Flanagan's Boys' Home and

its president, Monsignor Nicholas J. Wegner, the procedures for forming the Church Music Association of America moved along smoothly, and the new society was born.

Representation at the meeting was truly nation-wide and well divided among clerical and lay persons. Among those present were the members of the board of directors of the Society of St. Gregory: Monsignor Richard B. Curtin, Reverend Benedict Ehmann, Reverend Joseph F. Mytych, Reverend Cletus Madsen, Reverend Joseph R. Foley, C.S.P., J. Vincent Higginson and Ralph Jusko. Representing the Society of Saint Cecilia were Monsignor Francis P. Schmitt, Reverend Richard J. Schuler, Reverend Francis A. Brunner, C.Ss.R., Sister M. Theophane, O.S.F., Archabbot Rembert Weakland, O.S.B., Paul Koch, Alexander Peloquin, Lavern Wagner, Roger Wagner, James Welch, James Keenan, Frank Szynskie, Norbert Letter and Mrs. Winifred Flanagan. Reverend Elmer Pfeil was a member of both boards. Monsignor Curtin, who represented Father John Selner, S.S., president of the Society of Saint Gregory, and Monsignor Schmitt acted as co-chairmen of the meetings.

A provisional constitution was drafted and officers were chosen for one year. Archabott Weakland was named president; Father Madsen, vice-president; Father Schuler, secretary; and Frank Szynskie, treasurer. Various committees and a board of directors were selected. Two resolutions, submitted by Father Brunner, Father Robert A. Skeris and Father Schuler, were adopted by the new society: 1) We pledge ourselves to maintain the highest artistic standards in church music; 2) we pledge ourselves to preserve the treasury of sacred music, especially Gregorian chant, at the same time encouraging composers to write artistically fine music, especially for more active participation of the people.

At subsequent meetings a permanent constitution was drafted, submitted to the membership and adopted. *The Catholic Choirmaster*, begun in 1915 and published through fifty volumes by the Society of Saint Gregory, merged with *Caecilia*, then in its ninety fourth volume and published by the Society of Saint Cecilia. The journal of the new Church Music Association of America, continuing the volume numbers of *Caecilia*,

was named *Sacred Music*. Coadjutor Archabbot Rembert Weakland, O.S.B., became editor.

The calling of the Second Vatican Council and the publication of its first document, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, marked the closing of one era and the opening of another. So did the founding of the Church Music Association of America signal the end of the age when church music was fostered and regulated by the two American societies, St. Gregory and St. Cecilia. The new society inaugurated the conciliar and post-conciliar period with all the challenges and problems that it brought to the church musician in the on-going task of reform. In 1964, the future still looked bright and the challenge of the conciliar decrees attracted the American church musicians. The foundations had been laid over the past sixty years, and now the crowning stones were to be put in place. Little did anyone know what lay ahead.

PART III: *Sacrosanctum Concilium*

On December 4, 1963, the first document to be issued by the Second Vatican Council was officially promulgated. With the title *Sacrosanctum concilium*, it was the constitution on the sacred liturgy. Its sixth chapter was dedicated to sacred music, the first time an ecumenical council had turned its attention so extensively to the subject of music in liturgy. It was the capstone placed on all the official pronouncements made over the past sixty years by Roman authority in the on-going reform of church music, begun by Pope Pius X with his *motu proprio* of 1903.

For church musicians around the world, two principal challenges stood out in the council's document: the permission for the use of the vernacular in certain parts of the liturgy; and the continuing insistence on *actuosa participatio populi*, an idea clearly enunciated by Pope Pius X and often repeated through the intervening years, especially in the instruction of 1958. Both challenges were welcomed with joy and in anticipation of the rich possibilities that the vernacular languages and the singing of the people promised for new compositions and in revitalized performance practices. A sense of freedom for artistic development with new avenues of

expression was clearly foreseen by those who commented on the conciliar constitution. Truly, *Sacrosanctum concilium* was a *magna carta* for the church musician, re-enforcing the historical developments of liturgical music from the Gregorian chant to modern works, openly allowing all styles of sacred music as long as they were appropriate to the occasion, encouraging and even demanding new works, both in the vernacular and in Latin, both for choirs and for congregations, permitting the use of various instruments but ensuring the honored position of the pipe organ.

The sections of the constitution that dealt with sacred music had been studied and debated by the pre-conciliar committees and, once the council opened, developed further by the conciliar committee. As early as 1960, Monsignor Iginio Angles, rector of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome, was appointed a member of the preparatory commission on sacred liturgy. Others among the consultors to the preparatory commission were Father Eugene Cardine of Solesmes Abbey; Father Frederick McManus of the Catholic University in Washington; Father Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., editor of *Worship*; Monsignor Johannes Wagner of the liturgical institute in Trier, Germany; and Canon George A. Martimort of the liturgical center in France. Secretary of the commission was Father Annibale Bugnini, C.M., of the Lateran University in Rome. Records of the discussions and proposals of this commission may someday be the subject of considerable study, together with the deliberations of the conciliar committees and the interventions of the fathers of the council during their meetings in Saint Peter's Basilica. The exact intentions of the fathers will be known only through the careful study of their deliberations, since the published conciliar documents themselves are only the distillation of many hours of study, discussion and argument. An interesting proposal, for example, to permit the vernacular languages in all spoken liturgy, while retaining Latin for the solemn, sung Masses and offices, would have allowed for the free exchange of musical compositions among the nations, giving the countries without a strong musical establishment opportunities to use music from other lands, and at the same time strengthening the universality of the Church through such exchange.

But the proposal unfortunately was not approved for the final draft, and thus much of the difficulty provoked by the sudden introduction of vernacular singing into the solemn liturgy resulted.

With the announcement of the appointment of the conciliar commissions in 1962, Archbishop Paul Hallinan of Atlanta, Georgia, was the sole American listed on the liturgy commission. Among the *periti* or consultors were Monsignor Angles, Father Bugnini, Father Frederick McManus, Monsignor Johannes Overath, Monsignor Fiorenzo Romita, Canon Martimort and Monsignor Johannes Wagner. Re-organization of the schema developed by the pre-conciliar commission changed the decrees on sacred music into the sixth chapter which was finally approved as we have it today. The records of the meetings of the members of the commission on sacred liturgy, together with the suggestions of *periti* and the final discussion of the document in Saint Peter's, form the foundation for future study of what was exactly the intention of those who gave us *Sacrosanctum concilium*. Several things concerning sacred music were crystal clear: Gregorian chant is the special music of the Church and must be given primacy of place; the long tradition of sacred music in all styles must be fostered and used; the purpose of music in the liturgy remains the glory of God and the sanctification of the faithful; the reforms begun by Pius X must continue and grow, especially the active participation of the people. The council clearly re-affirmed the musical traditions of the Church and at the same time gave ample challenge to musicians to continue and enlarge their work in the service of God's worship.

It was with the council's directives in mind that the Fifth International Church Music Congress, under the sponsorship of the newly organized *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae* and with the Church Music Association of America as host, met in Chicago and Milwaukee, August 21 through 28, 1966. Father Richard J. Schuler was chairman of the event, together with Father Elmer F. Pfeil and Father Robert A. Skeris. This was the first international meeting of church musicians since the close of the Second Vatican Council, December 8, 1965. Present were world-renowned musicians and scholars from fifteen nations on five continents.¹ Proceedings were divided

into study days at Rosary College in Chicago and a public congress in Milwaukee for which special music was composed and performed specifically to fulfill the intentions of the conciliar reforms. The purpose of the assembly was to begin the work asked for by the council, and the musicians eagerly came to Milwaukee in great numbers from all parts of the country to learn and to put into practice what were the wishes of the council. There had never been in this country before, nor has there been since, so distinguished a gathering of nationally and internationally famous church musicians. Many had themselves been the *periti* responsible for drafting the constitution on the sacred liturgy.

However, all was not harmonious when the Fifth International Congress opened its study days in Chicago. Father C.J. McNaspy, S.J., who was himself never present at any part of the congress, wrote in *America* about "secret meetings," "planned exclusion of important liturgists," and "reactionary attitudes in liturgical thinking."² Others joined in this vein, including persons belonging to a group called *Universa Laus* organized under Father Joseph Gelineau, S.J. Archabbot Rembert Weakland, O.S.B., who was president of the Church Music Association of America, the host of the congress, was unfortunately very outspoken in his criticisms, saying that the congress was "negative and restrictive." He too was present only for the last day of the Chicago sessions and was apparently unaware of the procedures established long before, governing the discussions during the study days. He and others wished to introduce many subjects to the floor for discussion that were not a part of the announced theme, which was *actuosa participatio populi* and its relation to sacred music. This theme had been approved by the Holy See as the only subject matter for discussion. In an interview with the Milwaukee press, the archabbot alluded to the congress as a kind of legislative body with the task of acting for the universal Church in order to exclude modern music and among other things, dancing. The congress, of course, had no legislative authority, nor had its organizers thought of it as having such a role. Nevertheless, a small group tried to subvert the work of the congress.³ This group was responsible for the false criticism of the congress printed and reprinted in the American press after the close of

the meeting. This was the beginning of efforts that have continued over the past twenty years to undermine the intentions of the council fathers and the work of the *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae*, founded by Pope Paul VI for the express purpose of implementing the directives of the Vatican Council in matters of liturgical music. Those who were unhappy with the role given to sacred music in the sixth chapter of the constitution on the sacred liturgy have never ceased to oppose what the Church has ordered for sacred music in its liturgy.⁴ They have by their actions set church music back to a state far worse than when Pope St. Pius X began the work of reform in 1903. They have promoted their own ideas of what music and liturgy should be, but these fail to correspond to the decrees of the council or the documents that followed after the close of the council. A careful analysis of the legislation given for the universal Church and the reality as it is presently promoted in the United States exposes a considerable divergence between the two.

Far from being the spring-board from which a great development in church music would be launched, the Fifth International Church Music Congress marks the end of progress in the reform begun in the time of Pius X and continuing until 1966. At the congress, new compositions, employing the vernacular and engaging the congregation as well as choral and instrumental forces, written in contemporary idiom and demonstrating that the art of music could indeed be employed for the glory of God and the edification of the faithful, filled four days of liturgical worship. Papers prepared by experts on the theological basis for liturgical music and the use of art in worship showed how necessary both the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and adequate training in the musical art are to create music that is worthy of its exalted purpose in the liturgy. That the quality of music for church would in a few years be lowered to the banality and profanity of some liturgical developments was beyond the imagination of most of those who participated in the events in Chicago and Milwaukee in the late summer of 1966.⁵

It became clear that the problem was a theological one, not a musical one. Those who analyzed the decrees of the Vatican Council on sacred music could see that the musicians

were capable of doing what was asked. They could provide what was ordered, but the problems lay in the theology of worship, indeed in the very fundamental concepts of the sacraments, the priesthood and the Church itself. It was apparent to those who had a Catholic sense of history that the Church was in the last throes of the heresy of Modernism, the malady that Pius X called the "synthesis of all heresies." It is interesting that the pope who in 1903 launched the liturgical renewal was the same pope who undertook to exterminate Modernism. He drove it underground, but it resurfaced with the Second Vatican Council, and with the speed characteristic of the communications of our day, it spread throughout the world, transported to every continent by many of the participants in the council who became infected. Since liturgy expresses belief, the importance of using it to diffuse errors is clear. Most Catholics know their Church and their faith chiefly through the Sunday Mass. When their worship is turned about, so will their very religion follow. When liturgy becomes entertainment, secularized and profaned, then its role as the expression of Catholic dogma is weakened and even lost for those who look to it for their spiritual sustenance, the "primary source of Catholic life," as Pope Pius X called it.⁶

The resurgence of Modernism or Neo-modernism was well organized all over the world. It spread with incredible velocity and efficiency. Indeed, there are those who think that an international conspiracy was operating.⁷ An agency called the International Center of Information and Documentation concerning the Conciliar Church (IDOC) promoted the tenets of Neo-modernism and functioned on an international level with associates in every country. All areas of Catholic life came under its scrutiny, and the names of those working under its direction included some of the best known scholars, religious and clergy of this country.⁸ Their aim was the same in liturgy, catechetics, religious life, education, the press, social action and even church music. What was happening was not without direction and purpose. To counter required equal if not greater organization, and such was not at hand. The results of the greatly advertised "changes" introduced into the post-conciliar Church by the modernist camp can be seen in the catastrophe we have witnessed in the closed schools, defections

from the clergy, decayed religious life, fewer converts, a substantial drop in attendance at Sunday Mass, theologians who defy the Magisterium, fewer vocations to the priesthood, and the banality, profanity and ineptitude of what is now promoted as liturgical music.

Who is responsible? In the field of liturgical music, those who voiced their opposition to the conciliar directives at the congress in Chicago and Milwaukee were associated with the National Liturgical Conference, *Universa Laus*, the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy and the Music Advisory Board organized under that committee. The activities of these groups in the years following the Fifth International Church Music Congress provide the answers to many of the questions asked by Catholics who wonder what has become of their musical heritage, what has happened to deprive them of the sacred worship of God that the liturgy should be. They wonder, in a word, why the clear orders of the Second Vatican Council on the reform of sacred music, set out in the sixth chapter of the constitution on the sacred liturgy, have not been heeded and implemented in the United States.

Endnotes

¹ For a list of participants and speakers at the Chicago sessions, see *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II* (Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969) p. 197-201.

² For a longer treatment of criticism of the congress, see *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II*, p. 283-288.

³ On August 24, 1966, a meeting of Americans was held at Rosary College during the congress. At it Archabbot Weakland complained about the congress, saying that those present were being brainwashed by papers which were filled with recurring incompetency and lack of artistic direction. He accused the praesidium of the *Consociatio* of employing undemocratic procedures, saying that he stood for liberty, pluralism and humanism since the Church in America has its own physiognomy.

⁴ A meeting was sponsored in Kansas City, Missouri, November 29 to December, 1966, by the American Liturgical Conference. Opposition to the sixth chapter of the constitution on the sacred liturgy was voiced by Archabbot Weakland who said that "false liturgical orientation gave birth to what we call the treasury of sacred music, and false judgments perpetuated it." Those "false judgments" seem to have been made by the fathers of the council who ordered that the treasury of sacred music be

preserved and fostered. At the same meeting, Theodore Marier, president of the Church Music Association of America, was unable to get an indication from the assembled liturgists that they accepted the constitution, including the sixth chapter.

^{5.} For an account of the maneuvering that went on to impose the liturgical “reforms” on the Church in the United States, see Gary K. Potter “The Liturgy Club,” *Triumph*, Vol. 3 (May 1968), p. 10-14, 37. For similar activity in the area of liturgical music, see Richard J. Schuler, “Who Killed Sacred Music?” *Triumph*, Vol. 4 (March 1969), p. 21-23.

^{6.} “We must give up the idea that liturgical celebrations, in the performance of their music, ought to rival the standards of the concert hall, the radio, the theater, and the achievements of professional composers and performers. Their art is too equivocal in spirit, too different in plan, too heterogeneous in its productions to be directly allied to the requirements of a worship celebrated in spirit and in truth.” (Colleville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1964), p. 141.

^{7.} Even Pope Paul VI spoke of the attack of Satan on the Church, saying that the smoke of hell could be detected.

^{8.} For a list of those from various nations including the United State, see “Dossier on IDO-C,” *Approaches*, No. 10-11 (January 1968), p. 30-95. Among those listed for liturgical action in the United States are Rev. Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., Rev. Frederick McManus and Jack Mannion. Cf. John Leo, “The Catholic Establishment,” *The Critic*, (December 1966-January 1967).

PART IV: *Musicam sacram*

With the close of the Second Vatican Council in December of 1965, church musicians began the work of implementing the decrees on music promulgated in the Constitution on the sacred liturgy. The first international effort was organized by the *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae* and the Church Music Association of America. The congress held in Chicago and Milwaukee, August 21 to 28, 1966, undertook to implement the two major challenges given musicians by the council fathers: *actuosa participatio populi* and the permission for an extended use of the vernacular languages. Pope Paul VI had erected the *Consociatio* in his chirograph of November 22, 1963, *Nobile subsidium liturgiae*, giving it the express mission of implementing the decrees of the council and furthering international meetings and discussions of development in sacred music. With a roster of scholars, composers and practicing musicians of international reputation, the *Consociatio* had the

potential to solve the problems presented by the introduction of the vernacular languages, the more extensive involvement of the congregation in singing, the employment of modern techniques of composition, the use of various instruments and the need for maintaining a truly sacred character in all music used in divine worship.

However, opposition to the *Consociatio* and its efforts was manifest very early. On an international level, *Universa Laus*, an organization led by Father Joseph Gelineau, S.J., openly worked against the *Consociatio* and its leaders. On the American scene, the American Liturgical Conference was the chief opponent. It worked through groups within the Church Music Association of America led by Archabbot Rembert G. Weakland, O.S.B., and through persons associated with the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy which was directed by Father Frederick R. McManus. The editor of *Worship*, Father Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., also played a leading role along with other journalists in fostering the tenets of *Universa Laus*. In time, the Music Advisory Board, set up under the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, became a tool for these groups in their efforts to oppose the *Consociatio* and its program to implement the decrees of the council on sacred music. The common denominator of the struggle was soon seen to be the conflict between the liturgists and the church musicians. The battle was fought in Europe and in the United States.

Universa Laus had its origin at an assembly of liturgists and musicians that met in Lugano, Switzerland, April 20 to 22, 1966, with the encouragement of Abbot Raimund Tschudy of Einsiedeln and Bishop A. Jelmini, president of the Swiss conference of bishops. Previous sessions of a similar kind had been held in Cresus in 1962, at Essen in 1963, at Taizé in 1964, and at Freiburg in Switzerland in 1965. The announced purpose of the gatherings was to study chant and music in their place in liturgical celebrations. At the Freiburg meeting nearly three hundred participants came from thirty-two countries, and at Lugano a selected group of seventy came from sixteen countries including America and Australia. Historical, liturgical, pastoral and technical studies were presented by Helmut Hucke, H. Leeb, Bernard Huijbers, Luigi Agustoni, G. Stefani, Lucian Deiss, Joseph Gelineau, and Abbot Raimund.

Favorable comments on the activities of *Universa Laus* were printed in *Musik und Altar*, published in Freiburg in Breisgau, in *De Linie* from Holland, in *Herder Korrespondenz*, and in *Notitiae*, the organ of the newly created Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy. An article in *Notitiae* noted the Holy Father's reply to a letter sent to the Vatican by the assembly at Lugano.

...the association has received the praise and the felicitations of the Secretary of State: "The Sovereign Pontiff has accepted with benevolence the letter addressed to him by both of you, Don Luigi Agustoni and Erhard Quack, informing him of the results of the assembly of Lugano, and also of the foundation of an international group for the study of chant and music in the liturgy, under the name of *Universa Laus*. This initiative has appeared opportune to His Holiness in this special period in which the development of the various directions in the department of liturgical chant and music has led to so many delicate problems. Therefore he has been pleased to invoke God's blessing on the newborn association and sends to the three chairmen and to all the members the apostolic blessing asked for.

This letter was sent on May 11 by Monsignor Angelo dell'Acqua, *substitutus*, to Father Joseph Gelineau, S. J., who together with Dr. Erhard Quack and Don Luigi Agustoni form the praesidium of the new association.¹

When it became clear that *Universa Laus* was promoting opposition to the *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae*, which had been officially erected by Pope Paul VI, another letter was issued by Monsignor dell'Acqua, July 16, 1966, addressed to Monsignor Johannes Overath, president of the *Consociatio*, and to Father Joseph Gelineau, a director of *Universa Laus*.

As you are aware, there was established with the pontifical chirograph, *Nobile subsidium liturgiae*, of November 22, 1963, the *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae*, which is the only international association of sacred music approved by the Holy See; moreover, any eventual duplication is useless and harmful.²

Another letter concerning *Universa Laus* from the Secretariate of State, dated July 29, 1966, was addressed to

Monsignor Overath saying that the Holy Father is of the opinion “that the matter involves a superfluous duplication (*inutile duplicato*), and this group should either place itself under the *Consociatio* or dissolve itself.” Much of the conflict surfaced in Chicago and Milwaukee during the Fifth International Church Music Congress.

While the battle raged around the official status of the two groups and what kind of approbation could be obtained from the Holy See, the real conflict lay in the place of sacred music in the liturgy and the implementing of the directives of the council. The position of *Universa Laus* was clearly stated in Father Gelineau’s *Voices and Instrument in Christian Worship*,³ a volume that received strong criticisms in many languages.⁴ The position of the *Consociatio* was clearly outlined in the papers delivered at the Chicago-Milwaukee congress.⁵ The final clash would occur over the publication of the 1967 instruction, *Musicam sacram*, issued jointly by the Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy and the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Monsignor Iginio Anglès said of the preparation of the instruction:

As you know we had to fight many a battle over this instruction, as the liturgists did not want to hear about the true value of good church music in the liturgy. They tried to destroy everything that belonged to the old Roman rite. The Holy Father showed much personal interest in this instruction. Sometimes he accepted an article composed by the liturgists, through we were against it. But in spite of this, the fundamental principles of church music were preserved.⁶

In the United States, during the 1966 congress and following it, the battle developed along lines similar to those in Europe. The Church Music Association was affiliated with the *Consociatio* and (with the exception of its president, Archabbot Weakland) stood in support of the principles outlined by the papal international association. On the opposite side, supporting *Universa Laus*, were the liturgists as represented by the Liturgical Conference and many members of the official bodies set up by the American bishops and dominated by Father Frederick McManus. These were the Bishops’ Committee on the Liturgy and its Music Advisory Board.

Father McManus was in close relationship with Father Annibale Bugnini, secretary of the Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy in Rome. Together with Father Johannes Wagner of Trier and Canon George A. Martimort of Paris, they promoted the liturgical innovations that were so devastating to church music both in Europe and in America. The resistance of the church musicians to the activities of these liturgists and even efforts at discussions about the disagreements were characterized by Father Bugnini, speaking at an Italian liturgical convention on January 4, 1968, as "four years of musical polemics."⁷ Controversy was noted even in Rome between the Congregation of Rites, long the authority in liturgical and musical matters for the universal Church, and the newly established Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy, of which Father Bugnini was secretary.

As Father Bugnini used the Consilium, so in the United States the liturgical revolution against the Roman rite and its treasury of sacred music was led by Archabbot Weakland as chairman of the Music Advisory Board of the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy. He and Father McManus achieved the ends set forth by *Universa Laus* through the official American agencies organized to fulfill the directives of the council. Since Father McManus was a part of the Consilium and also the International Committee for English in the Liturgy (ICEL), he was the key man in introducing into the United States all the plans of *Universa Laus*.⁸ He worked through the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, the Liturgical Conference, *Worship* and the Music Advisory Board.

The Music Advisory Board was set up in 1965 to assist the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy in musical matters. It had been the proposal of the Church Music Association of America that, as in England and in Germany, such advice be sought from the existing national association of musicians instead of organizing still another group, but the suggestion was not taken. With the introduction of the vernacular into the sung liturgy, questions of chants for both priest and people had to be solved. Other problems concerning the education of church musicians for the vernacular changes, professional training for church musicians and teachers of church music,

new hymnals, the position of the pipe organ in new churches and many other matters were to be brought to the attention of the experts appointed to the board.

According to Archbishop Paul Hallinan, secretary of the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, the new board was to be made up of "musicians, music critics and authorities in pastoral liturgy."⁹ He further stated that the bishops were seeking advice about a broad statement on the principles of sacred music, the selection of a musical setting for the Our Father, and help for seminaries. Members appointed to the board in 1965 were: J. Robert Carroll, Monsignor Richard B. Curtin, Louise Cuyler, Rev. Francis J. Guentner, S.J., Paul Hume, Theodore Marier, C. Alexander Peloquin, Rev. Richard J. Schuler, Robert Snow, Rev. Eugene Walsh, S.S., and Archabbot Rembert C. Weakland, O.S.B. The first meeting was in Detroit, Michigan, May 4 and 5, 1965. Archabbot Weakland was elected chairman and Father Schuler, secretary. Father McManus announced that he was the liaison with the bishops and spoke about sacred music in the new liturgical legislation. Archbishop Dearden, chairman of the bishops' committee, and other members of that committee welcomed the members. Although it was not as yet obvious, the stage was now set to accomplish in sacred music what the Liturgical Conference had achieved in the renovation of the rites and ceremonies. The plans of *Universa Laus* could now be implemented despite the wishes of the *Consociatio* or the Church Music Association of America. In fact, some members of those organizations would even be involved in carrying out the work. In a word, the Music Advisory Board was intended to become a rubber stamp in the United States for the proposals from *Universa Laus* as presented to it by Father McManus. The Benedictines, Father Godfrey Diekmann and Abbot Rembert Weakland, were cooperators, one as editor of the liturgy magazine, *Worship*, the other as chairman of the Music Advisory Board. A few musicians on the board fought against the introduction of the plans of *Universa Laus*, but they were outnumbered and were eventually replaced on the board by more cooperative advisors.¹⁰

Typical and perhaps most interesting of the innovations engineered through the Music Advisory Board by Father

McManus, Father Diekmann and Father Weakland was the "hootenanny Mass." The scenario began in April 1965, when Father Diekmann delivered an address entitled "Liturgical Renewal and the Student Mass" at the convention of the National Catholic Educational Association in New York. In his speech, he called for the use of the "hootenanny Mass" as a means of worship for high school students. This was the kick-off of a determined campaign on the part of the Liturgical Conference to establish the use of profane music in the liturgy celebrated in the United States. *Universa Laus* had already begun a similar effort in Europe.¹¹ In September 1965, the Catholic press began to carry reports of the use of hootenanny music by those in charge of college and high school student worship. In February 1966, the Music Advisory Board was called to meet in Chicago, with an agendum that included a proposal for the use of guitars and so-called "folk music" in the liturgy. It was clear at the meeting that both Fr. McManus and Archabbot Weakland were most anxious to obtain the board's approval. The Archabbot told of the success of such "experiments" at his college in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, where, during Mass, the students had enthusiastically sung, "He's got the Archabbot in the palm of His hand." Vigorous debate considerably altered the original proposal, and a much modified statement about "music for special groups" was finally approved by a majority of one, late in the day when many members already had left. But once the rubber stamp had been applied, the intensity of the debate and the narrow margin of the vote were immediately forgotten. The Music Advisory Board had fulfilled its function; it had been used.

The press took over. American newspapers, both secular and ecclesiastical, announced that the American bishops had approved of the use of guitars, folk music and the hootenanny Mass. Despite repeated statements from the Holy See prohibiting the use of secular music and words in the liturgy, the movement continued to be promoted in the United States and in Europe.¹² Deception played a part, since American priests were allowed to think that the decision of the Music Advisory Board was an order from the bishops themselves. In reality, an advisory board has no legislative authority, nor does a committee of bishops have such authority. Decisions on li-

turgical matters need the approval of the entire body of bishops after a committee has received the report of its advisors and submitted its own recommendations to the full body.¹³ The hootenanny Mass never came to the full body of bishops; it did not have to. The intended effect had been achieved through the announcement of the action of the Music Advisory Board and the publicity given to it by the national press. It was not honest, and further, it was against the expressed wishes and legislation of the Church.¹⁴

There are other examples of the introduction of the ideas of *Universa Laus* and the progressive liturgists that involved confusion and even deceit. The gullibility of the American clergy and their willingness to obey was used. A confusion was fostered in the minds of priests between the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy and the Liturgical Conference, which indeed had interlocking directorates. As anticipated, most American priests failed to distinguish between the releases that came from them, taking the proclamations of both as being the will of their bishops. Meanwhile, the official directives of the post-conciliar commissions in Rome rarely reached most American priests. They knew only the commentaries on them provided by the liturgists both nationally and on the diocesan level. As a result, the altars of most American churches were turned *versus populum*; choirs were disbanded; Gregorian chant was prohibited; Latin was forbidden for celebration of the Mass in many dioceses; church furniture and statuary were discarded. These innovations which distressed untold numbers of Catholics were thought to be the orders of the Second Vatican Council. Rather, they were the results of a conspiracy whose foundations and intentions have yet to be completely discovered and revealed.

The Church is clear in what is its liturgical reform. The documents for an on-going work, begun by Pius X and slowly developed through several pontificates, reached their fullness in the council and the later instructions that undertook to implement the will of the council fathers. Formulating the specific details of the liturgical renewal fell to the pontificate of Pope Paul VI. In the area of sacred music, the most significant document was the instruction of March 15, 1967, *Musicam sacram*.¹⁵

The text of the instruction was bitterly fought over, and both sides, liturgists and musicians, ultimately came away with less than they were expecting. Monsignor Anglès and Monsignor Overath presented the scholarly and practical positions of the church musicians in face of pressure for experimentation and triviality that would lead to the destruction of art, reverence and the treasury of sacred music, the heritage of the Roman Church through fifteen centuries. Their chief opponent was Father Bugnini. Pope Paul VI himself took an active part in determining the final draft.¹⁶ In the final analysis, the church musicians were satisfied at having saved the Church's musical heritage and were ready to carry out the requirements of the instruction, but what was ordered by the authority of the Church has not yet been achieved, chiefly because the liturgists wanted even further innovations. They were not ready to have the liturgy determined by an instruction; they were not yet finished with their experimentation and innovation. Even another instruction of September 5, 1970, has not succeeded in putting an end to innovations and so-called experimenting, now rechristened "creativity."¹⁷

Musicam sacram clearly presumes the use of the ancient form of the *Missa Romana cantata* (*Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus-Benedictus, Agnus Dei*) in its thousand-year development musically, and gives detailed directions for using it involving the participation of the congregation. But that traditional structure, the Ordinary and Proper parts of the Mass, has ceased to be a vital entity to contemporary liturgists. Further, *Musicam sacram* clearly states that the distinction between solemn, sung and read Masses is to be retained; but the liturgists from the beginning have refused to accept that order. Again, *Musicam sacram* has a detailed listing of the various degrees of participation by singing, but the liturgists have never observed the order of priority established by the instruction. Also, the "treasury of sacred music," mentioned in the constitution on the sacred liturgy of the Second Vatican Council, is carefully guarded and its use commanded, including the polyphonic settings of the ordinary of the Mass produced over the past six centuries by the greatest composers of every age; but the liturgists have all but eliminated this heritage as a reality in worship.

Not the least important point made by *Musicam sacram* is found in its very title, "sacred music." This reaffirms the state-

ment of the council that the purpose of church music is the “glory of God and the sanctification of the faithful.” Some were trying to assert that all things are sacred, and thus all music was suitable for the liturgy. They were in fact saying that nothing is “sacred,” and the result was a desacralization. The instruction reaffirms the on-going tradition that begins with the patristic age.¹⁸ Pope Paul VI himself spoke several times on the subject of sacred music. On April 15, 1971, he addressed a thousand religious dedicated to the work of liturgical music at a national convention of the Italian Society of Saint Cecilia held in Rome, repeating the admonition that “all is not valid; all is not licit; all is not good.” The secular, the cheap, the inferior and the inartistic “are not meant to cross the threshold of God’s temple.”¹⁹

Musicam sacram, in its nine chapters and preface, lays down general norms about sacred music, directives about musical personnel, orders about the Mass, the divine office and other rites; it treats of the use of Latin and the vernacular; it promotes congregational singing and fosters the creation of new music; it gives instruction about the use of instruments, directives for composers and for establishing music commissions. The always present question of a sound education for performing musicians and composers is emphasized along with the musical training of those preparing for the priesthood. Appreciation of what is “sacred” and what is “beautiful” in music demands long and well-directed study.

What had been the principal problem preventing the reforms of Pius X from being fully implemented in the United States - inadequate musical and liturgical formation - now was compounded as total amateurs invaded the areas of composition and performance, contrary to the directives of *Musicam sacram* and against the warnings of professional church musicians. Encouraged by liturgists who lacked musical learning, many amateurs began to sing, play and compose under the false idea that they were fulfilling the commands of the council for active participation. They were, in fact, breaking the rules of the highest authority in the Church. Texts to be sung in church are to be taken from the Holy Scriptures or liturgical sources,²⁰ but all kinds of secular ballads and songs have become commonplace. A *sensus ecclesiae* should determine the

fittingness of musical forms and techniques for use in divine worship, but without proper training such a sense is not present or operative, even with all the good will and good intentions of many amateurs. What Pope Paul VI called “liturgical taste, sensitiveness, study and education,” were demanded to carry out the directives of the 1967 instruction. Since they have been lacking in most of those who have assumed the church music positions in this country, the instruction, *Musicam sacram*, was never truly put into effect. It was obscured by a document prepared by the Music Advisory Board of the Bishops’ Committee on the Liturgy, entitled “The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations,” which has done untold harm.

Endnotes

¹. *Notitiae*, Vol. II (1966), p. 198-199.

². Secretariate of State, Dispatch N. 74270. Printed in *Musicae Sacrae Ministerium*, Anno III, N. 2-3 (Summer-Autumn 1966), p. 29.

³. Joseph Gelineau, *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship*. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1964.

⁴. Cf. *Response*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (1965), p. 104-107 (Reprinted in *Sacred Music*, Vol. 92, No. 3 (Autumn 1965), p. 83-88; *Musicae Sacrae Ministerium*, Vol. III, No. 1 (Spring 1966), p. 14-20.

⁵. Johannes Overath, ed., *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II*. Rome: *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae*, 1969. (English edition available from Church Music Association of America, 548 Lafond Avenue, Saint Paul, Minnesota 55103.)

⁶. Quoted from a personal letter sent to the author.

⁷. Cf. *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II* p. 17 (footnote).

⁸. Cf. Gary K. Potter, “The Liturgy Club,” *Triumph*, May 1968, p. 10-14f.

⁹. Unpublished minutes of the meeting.

¹⁰. At its meeting, December 1 and 2, 1966, in Kansas City, Missouri, under the leadership of Archbishop Hallinan and Father McManus, the following were retired from the Music Advisory Board: Monsignor Curtin, Fr. Schuler, Fr. McNaspy, Louise Cuyler, Alexander Peloquin and Paul Hume. In their places the Archbishop appointed Rev. Paul Byron, Rev. John Cannon and Rev. Robert Ledogar. Also added were Dennis Fitzpatrick, Haldan Tompkins and Richard Felciano.

¹¹. At the Chicago congress, the Allgemeiner Caecilien-Verband of the German-speaking nations had introduced a resolution against such profane music which had already begun to appear in Europe (See *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II*, p. 182-185); news reports from Europe, including the city of Rome, report the use of beat music, youth combos and folk music; the reaction from the Vatican was also reported calling for an end to such abuses (*Minneapolis Star*, January 4, 1967) with Father Bugnini himself explaining that "everything profane and worldly must be excluded from church services."

¹². Cf. *Declaratio Sacrae Rituum Congregationis et Consilii ad exsequendam Constitutionem de sacra liturgia, Notitiae*, Vol. III (1967), p. 37-38. The text of Father Bugnini's meeting with journalist clarifies the official declaration. It is appended on p. 39-46. Some discrepancy appears in that what Fr. McManus is promoting in the United States is apparently contradicted by Fr. Bugnini in Rome.

¹³. Cf. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Vol. LX, N. 6 June 28, 1968), p. 361.

¹⁴. For a more extensive discussion of the hootenanny Mass, see Richard J. Schuler, "Who Killed Sacred Music," *Triumph*, March 1969, p. 21-23.

¹⁵. Cf. *Sacred Music*, Vol. 94, No. 1 (Spring 1967), p. 7-21. The Latin text can be found in *Musicae Sacre Ministerium*, Vol. IV (Special number 1967), p. 116, and in *Notitiae*, Vol. III (March 1967), p. 87-108.

¹⁶. It is said that Pope Paul, in his own hand, wrote that he saw no reason why a polyphonic *Sanctus* could not be sung, thus correcting the false claim of the liturgists who wished to make that hymn into an acclamation always to be sung by the congregation. The Pope preserved the integrity of the *Missa Romana cantata*.

¹⁷. Cf. Robert A. Skeris, "The Third Instruction," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 98, No. 1 (Spring 1971), p. 3-8. The Latin text of the instruction may be found in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, LXII (1970), p. 692-704. Several criticisms have been made of the English translation that was widely circulated in this country. For an assessment of the implementation of the instruction, see Richard J. Schuler, "1967 Instruction — Ten Years Later," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 104, No. 3, p. 3-12.

¹⁸. The problem of the "sacred" is basic to the entire liturgical reform; violation of the "sacred" has been the chief scandal for most people. For literature on this subject, see "Pope Paul on Sacred Music," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 96, No. 2 (Summer 1969), p. 3-6; John Buchanan, "The Subject is Worship," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 96, No. 3 (Fall 1969), p. 3-11; Richard J. Schuler, "Humanism and the Sacred," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 96, No. 4 (Winter 1969), p. 3-6; Richard J. Schuler, "Pope Paul on Sacred Music," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (Summer 1971), p. 3-5; James Hitchcock, "The Decline of the Sacred," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (Winter -1973), p. 3-9; Deryck Hanshall, "Resacralization," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 103, No. 4 (Winter 1976), p. 3-12; Richard J. Schuler, "Sacred Music

and Contemplation," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 106, No. 1 (Spring 1979), p. 23-26; Richard J. Schuler, "The Sacred," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 107, No. 3 (Fall 1980), p. 21-27.

¹⁹ Cf. *Sacred Music*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (Summer 1971), p. 3-5.

²⁰ Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Art. 121.

PART V: The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations

The enormous task of implementing in the practical order the wishes of the council fathers as expressed in the constitution on the sacred liturgy occupied the attention of the Roman authorities for nearly ten years. Two official bodies were involved in the process, the Consilium for Implementing the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Difficulties between the two groups were many, but they were eventually solved by the establishment of the Sacred Congregation of Divine Worship to replace the old Congregation of Rites and the reorganization of the Consilium as a special commission dedicated to completing the liturgical reform.¹ Many conflicts of personalities and problems between the liturgists and the musicians continued to trouble the work of implementing the reforms called for by the council.

For church musicians the most important events of the decade following the close of the council were the publication of the new liturgical books as well as the various instructions and decrees of the Consilium and the Congregation of Rites and later, the new Congregation of Divine Worship. Fundamental to the entire reform was the new order of the Mass which was finalized with the appearance of the *Missale Romanum* in 1969. Controversy over the introduction to the 1969 edition led to the issuing of another "Institutio generalis Missalis Romani" in 1970. The Latin text of the missal remains the basis for all vernacular sacramentaries that have been published throughout the world.²

The new order of the Mass brought new texts for which musical settings were wanting, particularly the responsorial psalms. The rearrangement of introits and communions, dif-

ferent from the old order, as well as the three-year cycle of scripture readings, presented some difficulties at first. The new calendar impinged more closely on the church musician, because of the suppression of some feasts and a revised positioning of others. A new system of classification of liturgical celebrations according to importance brought a new vocabulary with “memorials,” “solemnities,” “ordinary time,” etc. The old octaves were gone for the most part, and the familiar sequences were no longer obligatory.

Publication of a new *Graduale Romanum* followed shortly. Based on scholarly research and sound methodology, the chants for the Mass were made available in an edition prepared by the monks of Solesmes.³ According to the principles enunciated in the preface to the volume, only authentic chants were included, eliminating many pieces that had cluttered the earlier 1908 edition. New feasts introduced into the calendar with texts lacking in authentic chant settings would have to be provided with music written in the idiom of our day, since Gregorian chant is no longer the style of contemporary composition and the process of producing an ersatz chant has been discredited. Music for newly introduced responsorial psalms would have to be newly composed. The challenge of the council fathers to musicians was seen to be an on-going one.

The new missal contains eighty-seven different preface texts. To provide musical settings for use at the altar, the monks provided sample tones, as well as musical notation for the singing of the four Eucharistic prayers, and the various introductory rites in this most useful volume.⁴ Together with the *Graduale Romanum* and the *Missale Romanum*, the *Ordo Missae in cantu* provided the clergy and the musicians with all the books needed to celebrate the sung liturgy in Latin.

An effort to introduce a simpler chant for the Mass produced a *Graduale simplex*, which was a failure from the beginning. It neither pleased the progressive liturgists who wanted only the vernacular, nor the musicians who pointed out that it was a mutilation of Gregorian chant as well as a misunderstanding of the relationship between text and musical setting with reference to form. They objected to the use of antiphon

melodies from the office as settings for texts of the Mass. An effort at an English vernacular version proved to be even a greater disaster.

The revision of the office and the ritual had less impact on the ordinary church musician, although it caused grave changes in monastic communities.⁵ No new official books in Latin with musical notation have been forthcoming as yet for the universal Church for the singing of the hours, although attempts to set the vernacular texts can be found. The official *Liturgia horarum* has no musical settings.

While the Holy See published the official revised liturgical books in the Latin language and spread them around the world, in the United States these books remained almost totally unknown, and in fact, in some dioceses, their use was prohibited by local legislation that forbade the use of Latin.⁶ To a great degree, the American clergy still do not know the *Missale Romanum*, the new *Graduale Romanum* or the *Ordo Missae in cantu*. They continue to co-relate the use of Latin with the old rite and the vernacular with the reformed rite. When asked to sing a Mass in Latin, they frequently resort to the old editions which are no longer in use. The confusion spread in the sixties concerning the use of Latin still continues.

Thus, with the virtual demise of Latin and with it the repertory of Gregorian chant and polyphonic music, church musicians turned their efforts to music for the new vernacular liturgy. Among the early problems was the instability of the translations, which were changed a number of times during the period of experimentation which produced many temporary versions. Choirs were discouraged by the assertion that there was no longer a place for them, and they regretted the loss of familiar repertory. New music was not quickly forthcoming, although publishers rushed to sell compositions, many the work of total amateurs. It soon became apparent that the congregations that were expected to sing psalms and responsories and lengthy antiphons and parts of the Mass, were only capable of mastering a few hymns and not much more. The vernacular liturgy did not generate a "nest of singing birds" in the United States, and with choirs disorganized,

the combo of a few instruments with various types of so-called folk-music became the musical ensemble in many churches. The organ was replaced by the guitar, the choir by the vocal combo, the professional musician by the amateur, the sacred by the secular. The hoped-for flowering of the privilege of the vernacular did not mature. Rather the speed of the disintegration of all that had been worked for during the years since Pius X amazed serious musicians. The decay was incredible.

In asking the question why, musically speaking, the reforms of the council were not a success, one must always arrive at the same answer: the wishes of the council fathers were not carried out. The council documents are clear; the instructions that followed are detailed and understandable; the official liturgical books leave no doubt about their use. But why have they not been put into effect in the United States? An important reason lies in the issuing of a document by the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, prepared by the Music Advisory Board and entitled "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations."⁷ While claiming to be an American interpretation of the Roman instruction, *Musicam sacram*, this statement is based on principles quite contrary to the expression of liturgical theology continuing though the past one hundred years. It is confused and even erroneous in doctrinal, musical and legal aspects. One wonders why the Roman instruction was not allowed to stand on its own and why an American statement was necessary at all, unless perhaps to prevent the Roman directions from becoming known and implemented in the United States.

Three years before the appearance of "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations," Pope Paul VI issued his encyclical on the Holy Eucharist, *Mysterium Fidei*, September 3, 1965. Strangely, the American document has no reference to the encyclical even though its chief concern is with the Mass. In fact, it contains several statements quite contrary to the clear teaching of the encyclical. Pope Paul wrote in *Mysterium Fidei*:

Having safeguarded the integrity of the faith, it is necessary to safeguard also its proper mode of expression, lest by the careless use of words, we occasion (God forbid) the rise of false opinions regarding faith in the most sublime of mysteries. St. Augustine gives a stern warning

about this in his consideration of the way of speaking employed by the philosophers and of that which must be used by Christians. "The philosophers," he says, "who use words loosely and in matters very difficult to understand have no great fear of offending a religious audience. We religious, however, have the obligation of speaking according to a definite norm lest the license of our words give rise to an impious opinion about the matters which are signified by these words."

The norm, therefore, of speaking which the Church after centuries of toil and under the protection of the Holy Spirit has established and confirmed by the authority of councils, and which has become more than once the watchword and standard of correct belief is to be religiously preserved and let no one at his own good pleasure or under the pretext of new science presume to change it... We are not to tolerate anyone who on his own authority wishes to modify the formulae in which the Council of Trent sets forth the mystery of the Eucharist for our belief.⁸

In the light of the words of Pope Paul, the statement of the Music Advisory Board seems to be wanting in clarity and even to be expressing false opinions. One might wonder why an advisory board in the area of music should put out a theological statement at all, and especially this paragraph:

The eucharistic prayer is the praise and thanksgiving pronounced over the bread and wine which are to be shared in the communion meal. It is an acknowledgment of the Church's faith and discipleship transforming the gifts to be eaten into the Body which Jesus gave and the Blood which he poured out for the life of the world, so that the sharing of the meal commits the Christian to sharing in the mission of Jesus. As a statement of the universal Church's faith, it is proclaimed by the president alone. As a statement of the faith of the local assembly it is affirmed and ratified by all those present through acclamations like the great Amen.⁹

The authors of "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations" use the word "transform" to describe the effect of the words of consecration and avoid the word "transubstantiation" as commanded by Pope Paul. They employ the term

“meal” twice in a short paragraph, and the term “sacrifice” is not found once in the entire document of over six pages, while in *Mysterium Fidei* Pope Paul uses it repeatedly and has occasion only once to employ the word “meal.” The term “president” is used instead of “priest.” The document clearly was intended to be an expression of theological ideas quite different from those taught by Pope Paul, including such questions as the purpose of prayer, the distinction between the hierarchical priesthood and the common universal priesthood, the nature of Christ’s presence in the Holy Eucharist and His presence among us, and the very purpose of the Mass itself. In a variety of issues, the document of the Music Advisory Board offends against the clear teaching of the encyclical. What is obvious from such a comparison is that the theological convictions of the progressive liturgists and the thinking of the *Universa Laus* group are closely associated with doctrinal deviations that the council fathers voted to reject but which surfaced after the council not only in theological writings but in such practical applications as these published for musicians.

But “The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations” is not confused only in doctrinal matters. It fails in musical questions to conform to directives from the Holy See. *Musicam sacram* says: “The distinction between solemn, sung and read Mass, sanctioned by the instruction of 1958, is to be retained.”¹⁰

But the Music Advisory Board says: “While it is possible to make technical distinctions in the forms of Mass...there is little distinction to be made between the solemn, sung and recited Mass.”¹¹ *Musicam sacram* uses the long-standing terminology of “ordinary” and “proper” parts of the Mass; but the Music Advisory Board says that “the customary distinction between the ordinary and proper parts of the Mass with regard to musical settings and distribution of roles is irrelevant.”¹² The Music Advisory Board says that “the musical settings of the past are usually not helpful models for composing truly contemporary pieces.”¹³ But *Musicam sacram* says:

Musicians will enter on this new work with the desire to continue that tradition which has given the Church a truly abundant heritage. Let them examine the works of the past, their style and characteristics, but let them also pay careful

attention to the new laws and requirements of the liturgy, so that new forms may in some way grow organically from forms that already exist.¹⁴

The chief error to be found in the American document, however, is concerned with the very purpose of sacred music, and this error lies at the root of most of the problems that have arisen since the issuing of the unfortunate statement. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy repeats the centuries-old position of the Church: "The purpose of sacred music is the glory of God and the sanctification of the faithful."¹⁵ But the Music Advisory Board says:

Music, more than any other resource, makes a celebration of the liturgy an attractive human experience. Music in worship is a functional sign. It has a ministerial role. It must always serve the expression of faith. It affords a quality of joy and enthusiasm to the community's statement of faith that cannot be gained in any other way. In so doing, it imparts a sense of unity to the congregation.¹⁶

With the purpose of sacred music reduced to the "creating of a truly human experience," one can easily explain the secularization of wedding music, the introduction of various combos, show-tunes, folk-music, ballads and much of the newly composed religious pieces that lack all artistic merit. The criterion has become "We like it." The requirements of sanctity and good art have been replaced. Music is no longer *pars integrans*, as the council fathers called it, but it has become entertainment at worship.

The Music Advisory Board's document teaches that there are now four principal classes of texts: readings, acclamations, psalms and hymns, and prayers. This comes directly from "Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship" by Father Joseph Gelineau.¹⁷

Because these theories were imposed on the church musicians of the United States, the various instructions of the Holy See failed to get a hearing. The liturgists refused to accept the sixth chapter of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy as well as the instruction, *Musicam sacram*, and in their place they promoted the tenets of *Universa Laus* as expressed in "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations."

One may ask how such a body as the Music Advisory Board could impose its opinions on the musicians and clergy of the United States. What was their legal foundation? The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy says: "It is desirable that the competent ecclesiastical authority, mentioned in article 22, set up a liturgical commission, to be assisted by experts in liturgical sciences, sacred music, art and pastoral practice."¹⁸ Advisory boards were set up in other areas besides music. Their capacity was seen as exclusively advisory to the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy.

The Bishops' Committee finds its purpose and description in a document from the Holy See, an instruction for the proper implementation of the constitution on the sacred liturgy, dated September 26, 1964:

The territorial authority may, as circumstances suggest, entrust the following to this commission:

- a) studies and experiments to be promoted in accordance with the norm of article 40, 1 and 2 of the constitution;
- b) practical initiatives to be undertaken for the entire territory, by which the liturgy and the application of the constitution of the liturgy may be encouraged;
- c) studies and the preparation of aids which become necessary in virtue of the decrees of the plenary body of bishops;
- d) the office of regulating the pastoral-liturgical action in the entire nation, supervising the application of the decrees of the plenary body, and reporting concerning all these matters to the body;
- e) consultations to be undertaken frequently and common initiatives to be promoted with associations in the same region which are concerned with scripture, catechetics, pastoral care, music and sacred art, and with every kind of religious association of the laity.¹⁹

The question arises concerning the fact of how many of these functions have been entrusted to the committee by the territorial authority. But presuming that all of them have been so entrusted, it still remains a fact that in each of the cases enumerated in the instruction from the Holy See, the commit-

tee is concerned only with studies and experiments, with regulating what the plenary body has already decreed, with preparation of aids and consulting learned societies and individuals, and with practical initiatives to promote the constitution on the sacred liturgy. Committees are normally set up by a plenary body and are responsible to that body that has created them; they report their findings to that body which then, having received or not received the report, may or may not determine to take action on the subject in question. Thus the "legislative" authority in liturgy in this country as a whole remains the "territorial authority," the plenary body of bishops, subject always to the Holy See.²⁰

An interesting note appeared in the Newsletter of the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy when "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations" was issued:

The following statement was drawn up after study by the Music Advisory Board and was submitted to the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy. The Bishops' Committee has approved the statement, adopted it as its own, and recommends it for consideration by all.²¹

The question is obviously just what authoritative value does this document possess, and therefore, what respect and even obedience does it demand? Can it be construed as the basis for local diocesan legislation on musical matters, as has in fact so often been done?

The answer must be that it has no legal binding force, since it is merely the opinion of a board that is only advisory to a committee that in itself has no legislative authority but is constituted to report to the full body that empowered it, an act that doubtfully was ever done at all. In addition, when the opinions of an advisory board are found to be in contradiction to authoritative Roman instructions, then they clearly must be rejected.²² But, in fact, they were not, and "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations" became the basis for great activity in most dioceses where many musicians in good faith accepted the propaganda delivered to them by *Universa Laus*, acting through the Music Advisory Board.

Two national meetings were arranged in order to launch "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations," one in Kan-

sas City, Missouri, December 1 and 2, 1966, when the Music Advisory Board met, reorganized itself to be free of members who would likely oppose the projected statement, and then appointed a committee to write the desired document. Members of the committee were Fathers Eugene Walsh, S.S., and Robert Ledogar, M.M., and Dennis Fitzpatrick. The other major meeting was in Chicago, Illinois, November 20 to 23, 1968, jointly attended by members of diocesan music and liturgy commissions from across the nation. Under the watchful eye of Father Frederick McManus, papers were given by Rev. Joseph M. Champlin, Rev. Robert Ledogar, M.M., Rev. Eugene Walsh, S.S., Rev. Neil McEleney, C.S.P., Bishop John J. Dougherty, Rev. Gary Tollner and Rev. William A. Bauman. Statements made and left unchallenged included these: "Without faith, there can be no sacrament; community faith is necessary; it exists in the community before it exists in the individual." "The faith of those present accomplishes the marvelous change called transubstantiation." "The primary sign of the Eucharist are (sic) people gathering together, not the bread and wine or words."

With only a few objections, which were quickly disposed of, the document, "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations," was considered approved, although it had scarcely been considered by the assembly and little or no discussion was permitted or encouraged. But the true colors of those who were manipulating the reforms of music and liturgy in the United States became crystal clear in Chicago. The practical application of the principles set forth in the document was presented at the Mass celebrated by Rev. J. Paul Byron at Old Saint Mary's Church, November 21, at which the folk-music of Phil Ochs and Pete Seeger was performed.²³ Present at most of the sessions and the Masses were many members of the hierarchy, members of the Bishops' Committee on Liturgy, none of whom raised any objections to the statements made or the music performed.²⁴

With the document now enjoying an "official" position, taken by some to be even legislative and authoritative and equal if not surpassing Roman legislation, the disintegration of church music across the country began in earnest. "Beat" music, so called folk-music, combos, jazz and rock groups,

country Western and ballads became the accepted music for parish liturgies, weddings, graduations and even ordination. The Catholic and the secular press have recorded the aberrations.²⁵ With the introduction of profane and trivial compositions and performances, good music became ever more disused, as choirs were disbanded and even prohibited. Seminaries, novitiates and colleges led the way, and little official effort was expanded to curtail it.²⁶ In some dioceses the bishops did speak up forcefully against abuses.²⁷ Writers in Catholic periodicals generally backed the revolution, but others expressed caution and concern.²⁸ As music for "special groups," originally intended for college and high school students, came to mean music for elementary pupils too, so that they could participate more fully, some liturgists promoted the writing of music by grade school children for performance at their Masses. "Living Worship," a publication of the Liturgical Conference, assured church musicians that the piano had at least four advantages over the organ as a liturgical instrument, and that ukeleles are amazingly simple for young children to learn to play.²⁹ In a more learned idiom, "Worship" published an explanation of the entire reform: "The hootenanny Mass can give explicit eucharistic and christological specification to youth's intense involvement in the movements for racial justice, for control of nuclear weapons, for the recognition of personal dignity."³⁰

With the very purpose of sacred music undermined, the repertory of centuries set aside, the language of the Church even outlawed, choirs disbanded and a rash of secular compositions and ensembles put in the place of a thousand-year tradition, there is little wonder that church musicians were baffled and disheartened. The hope and development promised by the council fathers had not materialized in this country, chiefly because what came from Rome never reached the United States.

Endnotes

1. Cf. *Notitiae*, 195-196 (October-November 1982), p.466.

2. This writer once was asked by a priest if the Latin *Missale Romanum* that he was unfamiliar with was a translation into Latin from the English missal! It demonstrates how the Latin missal was kept from

the American priests.

3. See *Sacred Music*, Vol. 102, No. 4 (Winter 1975), p. 31-35; Vol. 103, No. 3 (Fall 1976), p. 3-6.

4. See *Sacred Music*, Vol. 103, No. 4 (Winter 1976), p. 19-28; Vol. 104, No. 1 (Spring 1977), p. 21-25.

5. In 1966, Pope Paul VI warned religious communities bound to the singing of the office that, "if this language, noble, universal and admirable for its spiritual vigor, if the Gregorian chant that comes from the depths of the human soul - if these two things be remodeled, then the choir will become like an extinguished candle which no longer illuminates or attracts the attention of the minds of men. The Church introduced the vernacular among the faithful for pastoral reasons; but she looks to you to preserve the ancient beauty, gravity and dignity of the divine office in both language and chant." Quoted in the *Wanderer*, Oct. 6, 1966.

6. For a partial list of dioceses in the United States with regulations against the use of Latin, see Johannes Overath, ed. *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II*, Rome 1969, p. 22-23.

7. Newsletter of Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy. Vol. 4, No. 1-2 (January-February 1968).

8. Paragraph 23,24.

9. IV, B, 1, A.

10. Paragraph 28.

11. II, B, 1.

12. II, B, 3.

13. II, B, 3.

14. Paragraph 59.

15. Article 112.

16. III; III, B.

17. Joseph Gelineau, *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship*, Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1964.

18. Article 44.

19. Paragraph 45.

20. Cf. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (June 28, 1969). No bishops' conference can delegate any of its legislative authority to any of its committees.

21. Vol. 104. No. 1-2 (January-February 1968).

22. See Richard J. Schuler, "By Whose Authority?" *The Wanderer*, April 4, 1968, p.3

23. The official program of the meeting prints the texts for Oh, Had I a Golden Thread by Pete Seeger; When I've Gone by Phil Ochs; and This Little Light of Mine.

24. Members of the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy were Most Rev. Leo C. Byrne, Coadjutor Archbishop of Saint Paul and Minneapolis, Most Rev. John L. Morkovsky, Most Rev. James W. Malone, Most Rev. Francis J. Furey, Most Rev. Aloysius J. Wycislo and Most Rev. John J. Dougherty.

25. Some of the "top ten" of the liturgical hits in the late sixties were: Michael, Row the Boat; Blowing in the Wind; Gypsy Rover; and Kum-bay-a. Often these had newly composed works whose literary worth was worse than liturgical value of the melodies. Others were totally secular in both words and music, e.g., Hush Little Baby; There is a Ship; Try to Remember; This Land is Your Land, etc.

26. For example, in a letter to this writer, dated March 31, 1966, Archbishop Hallinan of Atlanta, Georgia, said: "I am sympathetic to the adaptation of popular music in church to include the use of folk songs. I would not want the bishops' commission to take a strong stand against such folk music. Rather, I prefer the free development of it, with of course, proper care and exercise of caution at all times."

27. For example, Archbishop Cousins in Milwaukee and Bishop Gorman in Dallas both spoke out against the abuses.

28. Cf. Michael D. Cordovana, "Perspective of Change," *Musart*, September-October 1967, p. 10-11, 41; Robert F. Hayburn, "Music for Special Groups," *Musart*, September-October 1967, p. 16, 33-38.

29. William Flanders, "Music for Children's Liturgies —Practical Excerpts from a New Book," *Living Worship*, Vol. 6 No. 7, September 1970.

30. Patrick Regan, "The Change Behind the Changes," *Worship*, Vol 40, No. 1, January 1966.

PART VI: Music in Catholic Worship

The seventies were a decade of unrest for the whole world. In the United States the effects of the cultural revolution that began in China and spread through Europe caused protests and strikes on college campuses that echoed down into high schools and other educational institutions generally. The protests associated with the war in Viet Nam involved nuns and priests in activity not formerly a part of the religious life. The concept of authority in the Church was challenged in every area: education, liturgy, catechetics, religious vows, the role of the laity. Much of the ferment was justified by the activists in their own minds as being an expression of the "spirit of Vatican II." The progressivists pushed far beyond the intentions of the council fathers in an effort to establish a church

that reflected their own specifications rather than the directives that came out of the council and the Curia. Since few among the laity and even among the clergy actually had ever read the writings of the council fathers or the papal and curial documents that followed on the close of the council, most of the activity that was promoted so feverishly in the seventies, supposedly to implement the council's directives, was based on opinions rather than on facts, on newspaper accounts of interviews with the statements by *periti*. Church music was among the first areas to suffer devastation under the attacks of the reformers.

On an international level, the *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae* continued its efforts to implement the decrees of the council in accord with the commission given to it by its founder, Pope Paul VI. It organized and sponsored the Sixth International Church Music Congress, held in Salzburg, Austria, in August of 1974.¹ Special efforts were made there in the practical order to foster new compositions. New works in a variety of languages, many from areas under Communist domination, were presented along with Gregorian chant and music from all periods of the Church's treasury of polyphony. Before and after the congress, several symposia were organized by the *Consociatio* in various areas of music that were opened up for study as a result of conciliar statements. In Rome, in 1975, ethnomusicologists from all the continents met to consider the place of native music in missionary lands as ordered by the council.² In 1972, the subject of music for cathedral churches was studied in Salzburg,³ and in 1977, at Bolzano in the South Tirol, questions confronting composers for the revised liturgy were discussed.⁴ An international house for the study of hymnology, ethnomusicology and Gregorian chant was established at Maria Laach in West Germany in 1977 with the purpose of aiding musicians and bishops from all parts of the world in carrying out the music reforms of Vatican II. The *Consociatio* published a volume of chants common to all peoples, the *Liber Cantualis*,⁵ containing a basic repertory to be sung by all Catholic congregations, and four years earlier, in 1974, Pope Paul VI sent a booklet of chants, entitled *Jubilare Deo*,⁶ to all the bishops of the world as his special Easter gift to them and their people. Despite constant opposition to its

work from the progressivists who wished to impose a "spirit of the council" in place of the decrees of the council, the work of the *Consociatio*, coupled with the academic activity of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome, advanced clearly if somewhat slowly.

During the first part of the decade, the officers of the *Consociatio*, appointed by papal letter, were: Jacques Chailley of France, president; Monsignor Johannes Overath of Germany and Monsignor Richard J. Schuler of the United States, vice-presidents; Canon Renè B. Lenaerts of Belgium, Joseph Lennards of The Netherlands, Monsignor Fiorenzo Romita of Italy, Rev. Jean-Pierre Schmit of Luxemburg and Monsignor Ferdinand Haberl of Germany were consultors. During the second half of the decade, the praesidium of the *Consociatio* was: Monsignor Johannes Overath, president; Monsignor Richard J. Schuler and Canon Renè B. Lenaerts, vice-presidents; Joseph Lennards, Monsignor Jean-Pierre Schmit, Rev. Gerard Mizgalski of Poland and Edouard Souberbielle of France, consultors. Rev. Robert A. Skeris was appointed consultor after the death of Mons. Mizgalski.

In the United States, the Church Music Association of America continued its efforts to carry out the wishes of the council. Meeting in Boston, Massachusetts, April 1-3, 1970, church musicians from all parts of the United States considered the challenges presented to them by the reform, but the influence of the progressivists was very apparent at the meeting, both in discussions and in practical demonstrations.⁷ The previous national convention at Detroit, Michigan, April 16-19, 1968, had been a financial disaster because racial tensions in the city had kept many from attending.⁸ The Boston meeting did much to help recoup the monetary losses incurred in Detroit, but a clear direction for the Association in the turmoil of the liturgical and musical reforms was not forthcoming. Later meetings of the association in Saint Paul, Minnesota, in December 1973,⁹ and in Pueblo, Colorado, January 31 to February 2, 1975,¹⁰ were poorly attended and of little significance. Cost of travel and lodging and adverse economic conditions prohibited many musicians from attending national conventions at great distances from their homes. The meeting in Saint Paul marked the centenary of the establishment of the

Society of Saint Cecilia of America and the founding of the journal *Caecilia*. The event was observed with pontifical Mass at the Church of Saint Agnes, a blessing from the Holy Father and the presentation of medals from the Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verband für die Länder deutscher Sprache. After Pueblo, the Church Music Association of America has confined its activity to the publication of its quarterly journal, *Sacred Music*.

Officers of the association during the seventies were: 1970-72: Roger Wagner, president; Noël Goemanne, vice-president; Rev. Robert A. Skeris, general secretary; Frank D. Synskie, treasurer; Robert I. Blanchard, Rev. Ralph S. March, Theodore Marier, John McManemin, Rev. Elmer F. Pfeil, Paul Salamunovich, Rev. Richard J. Schuler and James Welch, directors. 1972-74: Roger Wagner, president; Rev. Robert A. Skeris, vice-president; Monsignor Richard J. Schuler, general secretary; Sister Miriam Joseph, C.S.J., treasurer; Mrs. Richard K. Biggs, Arthur F. Edwards, Rev. Ralph S. March, John McManemin, Rev. Elmer F. Pfeil and Paul Salamunovich, directors. 1974-76: Gerhard Track, president; Rev. Robert A. Skeris, vice-president; Monsignor Richard J. Schuler, general secretary; Mrs. Richard H. Dres, Treasurer; Mrs. Richard K. Biggs, Arthur F. Edwards, Rev. Ralph S. March, John McManemin, Noël Goemanne, Mrs. Donald G. Vellek, directors. 1977-80: Monsignor Richard J. Schuler, president; Gerhard Track, vice-president; Virginia A. Schubert, general secretary; B. Allen Young, treasurer; Mrs. Richard K. Biggs, Rev. Ralph S. March, Mrs. Donald G. Vellek, William P. Mahrt and Rev. Robert A. Skeris, directors.

During the seventies, many ecclesiastical organizations ceased functioning, chiefly because of financial troubles caused by inflation in the economy, but also because a clear direction and purpose could not be maintained. Pressure from the progressivist element was too strong. Among the societies that disappeared was the National Catholic Music Educators Association, publishers of *Musart*. The NCMEA was primarily interested in classroom music teaching, but the music of the liturgy always had an important place in Catholic schools. Thus, considerable effort was directed toward Gregorian chant, formation of boys choirs, state-wide festival

Masses and the liturgical formation of students in addition to the usual work of music educators. When Catholic schools and most religious orders of Sisters experienced the turmoil of the seventies and many failed and closed, the teachers' associations also suffered. NCMEA ceased publication of its magazine in the middle of the decade.¹¹

While strictly speaking it is not the successor organization to NCMEA, the National Association of Pastoral Musicians was organized after the demise of the music teachers' society. Its publication, *Pastoral Music*, began in 1976, with Rev. Virgil C. Funk as publisher. The society has the approval of the American bishops, and its journal reflects the position of the music advisors to the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy as well as the National Liturgical Conference, the Federation of Diocesan Liturgical Commissions, and ultimately, *Universa Laus*. *Pastoral Music* publishes current developments in liturgical innovations and musical fads. References to folk-music, combos, dancing, banners and theological trends dominate its pages, and yet a decade after its beginning, it is already becoming passé, tied to the ideas of the sixties and seventies. The true liturgical reforms of the council, as announced by the Holy See, are not clearly set forth in the pages of *Pastoral Music*, although they are slowly beginning to appear on the American scene despite the fads and trendy positions proposed by the Association of Pastoral Musicians. Its conventions and workshops are scheduled in a wide variety of places across the country. They have attracted large numbers of church musicians who truly seek help in bringing to their parishes the reforms sought by the Church, but the number who have found answers to their problems is beginning to dwindle. Basic in the stance of the Association of Pastoral Musicians is a confusion over the nature of the "sacred."¹² Until the requirements as given by the Church in its instructions on music in the liturgy are accepted, viz., holiness and goodness of form, nothing positive toward implementing the wishes of the council will be achieved by the activities of this group. Liturgical music must be sacred and it must be art. So many of the suggested innovations are lacking in one or both of these requirements.

The seventies proved to be the decade of the *piccolomini*, the little men. Church music became the domain of the "do-

it-yourself" composer and performer. In the name of *actuosa participatio*, guitar players, various combos, folk-singers and even grade school children undertook to write and perform music for church, providing both texts and notes. That such ineptitude and ignorance, albeit sincere, could have taken hold of a serious and sacred sector of life, the worship of God, can only be explained by reference to the direction given from the central authority in the country. The phenomenon was witnessed in all parts of the country; it came from a common source. That source was the Music Advisory Board of the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy. The group acted chiefly through the documents issued in its name: "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations,"¹³ and "Music in Catholic Worship," which was released in 1972.

On September 5, 1970, the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship published its third instruction on the orderly implementation of the constitution on the sacred liturgy of the Second Vatican Council.¹⁴ Entitled *Liturgicae instaurationes*, it put an end to experimentation in liturgical matters and called for the careful fulfillment of the instructions given by the council and the curial documents that followed. The decrees contained in *Musicam sacram* of 1967 are repeated, and abuses are ordered to be eliminated. Only a passing reference to this significant document from Rome occurs in "Music in Catholic Worship." Just as with *Musicam sacram*, this Roman instruction was ignored in the United States, and the abuses continued to grow. There is little wonder that the laity objected to many innovations made in the name of the council and the reform, because their very right to have the liturgical reform carried out properly and orderly was being violated. The instruction of 1972 clearly stated that "the priest should keep in mind that, by imposing his own personal restoration of sacred rites, he is offending the rights of the faithful and is introducing individualism and idiosyncrasy into celebrations which belong to the whole Church."¹⁵ The true nature of the liturgical reform was once again clarified:

The effectiveness of liturgical actions does not consist in the continual search for newer rites or simpler forms, but in an ever deeper insight into the word of God and the mystery which is celebrated. The priest will assure the

presence of God and His mystery in the celebration by following the rites of the Church rather than his own preferences.¹⁶

The third instruction repeats the statement of *Musicam sacram* which says that “the Church does not exclude any kind of sacred music from the liturgy.”¹⁷ It says further that “not every type of music, song or instrument is equally capable of stimulating prayer or expressing the mystery of Christ.” True sacred music must have the qualities of holiness and good form, as the Church has been repeating at least since the days of Pope Pius X. Interestingly, “Music in Catholic Worship” omits the word “sacred” in its treatment of this subject, even when it quotes *Musicam sacram* in the Newsletter of the Bishops’ Committee: “In modern times the Church has consistently recognized and freely admitted the use of various styles of () music as an aid to liturgical worship.”¹⁸ The fact is, that the word “sacred” and the very notion of sacredness is usually absent in the American documents, despite frequent use in the Roman ones. The issue of the “sacred” continues to be a basic difficulty between the American and Roman statements. If one eliminates the quality of holiness, then “many styles of contemporary composition”¹⁹ can be employed, and if the quality of good form is overlooked, then “music in folk idiom (can) find acceptance in eucharistic celebrations.”²⁰ But these actions go contrary to the clear Roman instructions.

As was the case with “The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations,” so the most unfortunate part of “Music in Catholic Worship” is its theology. Why a document on music needs such theological reflections is not clear, unless a new theology is being taught, something until now unknown to the Catholic musician. In the chapter entitled “The Theology of Celebration,” we read such nebulous statements as these:²¹

We are Christians because through the Christian community we have met Jesus Christ, heard his word in invitation, and responded to him in faith. We gather at Mass that we may hear and express our faith again in this assembly and, by expressing it, renew and deepen it. We come together to deepen our awareness of, and commitment to, the action of his Spirit in the whole of our lives at every moment. We come together to acknowledge the

love of God poured out among us in the work of the Spirit, to stand in awe and praise.²²

Catholic truth is not based on feelings. The divine life in a baptized person redeemed by the sacrifice of Christ is a deeper reality than that expressed in "The Theology of Celebration." The purpose of the Mass for the Catholic is inadequately expressed in the words quoted above. Such watered-down statements cannot be the basis for liturgy or for music that forms an integral part of liturgy. The taint of a false ecumenism with its roots in Modernism can be detected in this statement on celebration. It is only a partial truth and not a good or adequately complete expression of Catholic faith. Where is there in it any reference to transubstantiation, or the consecration, or the real presence of Jesus, all essential to a Catholic understanding of the Mass? Truly, the Mass is more than a mere prayer, more than even the greatest prayer.

"Music in Catholic Worship" is the work of liturgists, not of church musicians. It was drawn up by a committee of the Federation of Diocesan Liturgical Commissions. In the seventies, a new class of "expert" emerged.²³ Despite limited theological study, historical knowledge and artistic achievement, the liturgist acquired command of parish worship, including virtual control of the clergy, musicians and the laity in their separate roles. Selection of music, scheduling of cantors and lectors, decisions on vestments, decorations, ceremonial movement and even the hours of choir practice came under the jurisdiction of a new type of bureaucrat. Trained at Notre Dame University and at Catholic University in Washington, the first liturgists were able to find employment and command significant salaries, and thus many other schools and colleges added courses to train liturgists. With "creativity" as a basic principle of action, the liturgist is constantly seeking the innovative despite the warning of the Sacred Congregation of Divine Worship which insists that "the effectiveness of liturgical action does not consist in the continual search for newer rites or simpler forms."²⁴ Most of the difficulties between liturgists and church musicians arise precisely because of this problem. Musicians need time to develop repertory, and once repertory is built, opportunity to use it frequently is necessary. The very construction of the Roman liturgical books assures this repeti-

tion with the recurring cycles of the liturgical texts and the Gregorian melodies. Thus the musician asks only for the right to carry out the liturgy according to the directions of the Roman books. Indeed, the third instruction of 1970 says: "One should not add any rite which is not contained in the liturgical books."²⁵

Thus, by the end of the decade, fifteen years after the promulgation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, the state of church music in the United States had so deteriorated that serious observers began to question what had gone wrong with the reform. The *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae* conducted a survey of musicians in all parts of the world seeking to ascertain if current practices in liturgical music actually corresponded to the requirements of the conciliar decrees and the post conciliar instructions.²⁶ It asked if there was greater *actuosa participatio* now than before, if Latin and Gregorian chant were truly being fostered as the council had directed, if church music was being taught in seminaries and novitiates, if congregational singing was improving, if the organ was being given its legitimate role in liturgical services. For each question, the proper quotation from the official documents was given. The survey proved that far from a new springtime for church music, the hoped-for reform had come to ruin, and even the achievements of the past seventy-five years since the *motu proprio* of Pope Pius X had been for the most part lost. A new beginning would have to be made, based on a renewed understanding of the "sacred" and a re-established system of education in liturgical music at all levels from grade schools through seminaries and novitiates. By the beginning of the eighties, it was becoming clear that the next generation would have to correct what had been wrought in the sixties and seventies if it wished to implement the directives of the Second Vatican Council and continue the reform originally begun by Saint Pius X.

Endnotes

¹. Johannes Overath, ed. *Conservare et Promovere: VI. Internationaler Kongress für Kirchenmusik. Salzburg, 26. August bis 2. September 1974*. Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1975. American participation in the congress included the presence of two choirs, the Dallas

Catholic Choir, directed by Father Ralph S. March, and the Twin Cities Catholic Chorale, directed by Monsignor Richard J. Schuler; new compositions commissioned for the occasion by American composers, Noël Goemanne and Paul Manz; and lectures presented by William Peter Mahrt and Monsignor Schuler.

² J. Kuckertz – J. Overath, eds. *Musica Indigena: Musiketknologisches Symposium, Rom, vom 14. bis 22. November 1975*. Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1976. See also R. J. Schuler, "Native Music for the Missions," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 102, No. 4 (Winter 1975), p. 27-30.

³ Johannes Overath, ed. *Magna Gloria Domini, Die liturgische Musik in den Kathedralen, Abteikirchen und Ecclesiae minores nach dem Vaticanum II: Symposion der Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, vom 4. bis 8. April 1972 in Salzburg*. Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1972.

⁴ Johannes Overath, ed. *Confitemini Domino: Internationales Komponisten-Symposion, Bolzano dal 13 al 17 aprile 1977*. Maria Laach: Haus der Kirchenmusik, 1977.

⁵ *Liber Cantualis*. Sablé-sur-Sarthe (France): Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1978.

⁶ *Jubilate Deo*.

⁷ See *Sacred Music*, Vol. 96, No. I (Spring 1970), p. 42-43, for Father Ralph S. March's comments on the convention.

⁸ Cf. Theodore Marier, "National Convention in Detroit," *Sacred Music*, Vol. 95, No. I (Spring 1968), p. 3-4.

⁹ See *Sacred Music*, Vol. 101, No. 1 (Spring 1974), p. 41-42.

¹⁰ See *Sacred Music*, Vol. 102, No. 1 (Spring 1975), p. 35-36.

¹¹ Published from 1948 to 1976.

¹² *Pastoral Music*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (April-May 1983), contains several articles on the question of sacred and secular music.

¹³ *Newsletter of Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy*. Vol. 4, No. 1-2 (January-February 1968). See Part V of "Chronicle of the Reform" for a treatment of this document, pages 373/85. above.

¹⁴ See *Documents on the Liturgy, 1963-1979: Conciliar, Papal and Curial Texts*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1982, p. 159-167.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Musicam sacram*, No. 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 4.

¹⁹ "Music in Catholic Worship," Revised edition. Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, 1983. No. 28.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Compare these statements with *Liturgicae instaurationes*, the third instruction, No. 1, which says: "Liturgical reform is not at all synonymous with so-called desacralization and is not intended as an occasion for what is called secularization. Thus the liturgy must keep a dignified and sacred character."

²² "Music in Catholic Worship," No. 1, 2.

²³ Cf. Editorial statement, "The Liturgist," *Sacred Music*; Vol. 108, No. 3 (Fall 1981), p. 19-21.

²⁴ *Liturgicae instaurationes*, No. 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ The questions made reference to particular articles of the constitution on the sacred liturgy, the instruction *Musicae sacram* of 1967, and the *Institutio generalis* of the *Ordo Missae*. Cf. *Sacred Music*, Vol. 104, No. 4, p. 5-12.

Part VII: Documents on the Liturgy

By the end of the seventies, the condition of church music in the United States had so far deteriorated that the very purposes of the reform set in motion by Pope Pius X eighty years before had all but disappeared. Just what the Church intended as reform, and how it was to be accomplished was so confused in the minds of church musicians that aberrations worse than the abuses decried by Pius X were even being promoted as reforms.

To catalog the abuses would take volumes. When the nadir was thought to have been reached, the next day produced even greater and more unfortunate disorders. The problems were based in a disregard for the two elements required of church music, qualities clearly called for by Pius X and by every document issued since, including the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy from the Second Vatican Council: holiness and goodness of form. Church music must be sacred and it must be true art. In nearly everything that in recent years was promoted by publishers, performing groups, musical congresses and conventions, one or both of these essential qualities was lacking. With the basic requirements wanting, the incidental and peripheral innovations had no foundation, and utter confusion resulted. Educated musicians and many

Catholics with a *sensus ecclesiae* asked openly what had happened. Could it be that what we have experienced in the past twenty years is what the Church, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in a general council, intended the worship of God to become?

The answer was hard to arrive at, because the vast number of documents, papal, conciliar and curial, that had come forth since the opening of the Second Vatican Council lay beyond the grasp of most musicians and clergy. Even those who had attempted to become acquainted with every decree were not sure that they had really seen them all. No orderly compilation of the documents of the reform had as yet appeared. Monsignor Robert F. Hayburn had collected the historical documents on church music, but his work was concluded with the Second Vatican Council.¹ Need for an orderly collection, that showed the intentions of the law givers, the direction of the reform, and the purpose behind the art of music as a part of liturgy was finally met by the publication of a monumental work, *Documents on the Liturgy, 1963-1979, Conciliar, Papal and Curial Texts*.²

In studying this volume the first idea that strikes the reader is the order and plan behind the on-going decrees from the Holy See and the conciliar bodies. The goal of reform was clear and the means of attaining the goal were likewise fully laid out. The purpose of sacred music is given: the glory of God and the edification of the faithful, not the creation of a truly human situation, as the Bishops' Advisory Board on Music stated.³ Music for use in church must be sacred, a requirement that is called for again and again in the Roman documents, but hardly ever in statements from Americans. Music for the liturgy must be true art, a judgment that belongs to well-trained professional church musicians, despite the abundance of well-meaning but uneducated amateurs in composition, performance and criticism of church music in this country. In reality, what the documents of the council, the Pope and his Curia spelled out in the past twenty years does not differ significantly from the original directives given by Pope Pius X. In a way they are a kind of capstone placed on the top of a structure that has long been building. Now the view of the whole is apparent and those who have strayed from the plan can return to the clearly outlined goal.

Not all the reform has been contained in decrees and documents. More important from a practical standpoint has been the publication of new liturgical books. In these newly revised and edited volumes what has been ordered for liturgical use in the universal Church is definitely set down. While all the liturgical books issued since the council are important, at least remotely, to the church musician, those that are specifically musical are of the utmost concern. Those that have been published and are available for use in the Latin liturgy are:

Graduale Romanum (1974). Contains the proper of the time, common of the saints, proper of the saints, ritual Masses, Masses for various occasions, votive Masses, the liturgy of the Dead and the ordinary of the Mass.

Graduale simplex (1975). Intended for use in small churches, it contains simplified settings for the texts of the Mass.

Jubilata Deo (reprinted 1974). A collection of chants for Mass and other occasions.

Lectionarium (1970-72). In three volumes, the readings in Latin for the whole church year in all cycles, together with the responsorial psalm and verse before the gospel (without musical settings).

Liturgia horarum (1980). In four volumes, the divine office (without musical settings).

Missale Romanum (revised edition, 1975). Originally published in 1969, this is the *Novus Ordo Missae* of Pope Paul VI, containing what is needed by the priest at the altar and the chair. Some musical indications are given.

Missale Romanum cum lectionibus ad usum fidelium (1977). In four volumes, all the prayers and readings for the whole year for use as a hand missal for the faithful. Musical settings include some chants for the Mass.

Ordo Missae in cantu. The priest's chants at the chair and the altar, including the opening prayers, various intonations, all the prefaces, the four Eucharistic prayers, concluding chants. Notation is provided for all the texts.

Pontificale Romanum and Rituale Romanum. Still in preparation, containing rites performed by bishops and by priests. There will be musical notation.

From these books that have appeared in an *editio typica* from the Libreria Editrice Vaticana, the official publishing house of the Holy See, all the various vernacular translations have been made. But the Latin originals have been printed for use not simply as sources of translations.⁴ When the council ordered that the Gregorian chant books be revised and extended, it was the intention of the fathers that the chant should be sung within the Latin liturgy. They were not merely promoting musicological research; they were directing the faithful to the means of Catholic worship in song. Other books are in progress, including the musical settings of vespers and an updated *Liber usualis*, containing the most commonly used chants for Mass and vespers. The revision is the work of the monks of Solesmes, and their publications in the past decade include not only the official chant books, but they have also issued research volumes indicating their musicological methods.⁵

With the publication of the official books and decrees emanating from Rome and from the Abbey of Solesmes, the long process of implementing the wishes of the council fathers for a liturgical reform takes shape and gains momentum throughout the world. Unfortunately in the United States it has scarcely begun, chiefly because an anti-Latin propaganda was so effective among both clergy and laity that the use of Latin is still thought to be forbidden. The official liturgical books in Latin have hardly been seen in this country even in the seminaries, contrary to explicit legislation ordering candidates for the priesthood to be trained in Gregorian chant and Latin, and other rules commanding that the liturgy celebrated in seminaries be done in Latin as the usual procedure. As long as a disobedience to these commands persists in the seminaries, the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council will not be accomplished in the United States. Without the solid foundation of the Latin liturgy, the aberrations found in so many vernacular celebrations will continue and increase.

From June 19 to 22, 1983, an international Gregorian chant symposium was held in Washington, D.C., sponsored jointly by the Catholic University of America, the Dom Mocquereau Foundation, the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome and the *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae*

Sacrae. Over five hundred participants came from all over the world to study, sing and learn about Gregorian chant.⁶ The significance of this gathering lies in the demonstration that Gregorian chant is alive and prospering in some parts of the world in accord with the Church's wishes, and secondly, that in the United States, for the most part, the wishes of the Church have been ignored.

In contrast with the chant symposium the several meetings of the Association of Pastoral Musicians show how far astray the reform has gone in the United States. In Saint Louis, Missouri, after the closing Mass of the convention in the cathedral, the archbishop found it necessary to apologize to the people for the liturgy carried on by the delegates.⁷ *Pastoral Music, Aim, Worship, and Modern Liturgy* continue to record the theorizing and the practical applications of the theories that propose to be the implementation of the Church's reform of the liturgy. But a younger generation is arising of priests and people who see the discrepancy between what is being promoted in this country and what the official directives have indicated. They see that what is still being promoted by various publishers, performing groups and national organizations of liturgists and musicians does not correspond to the reality of the present. Rather these groups are passé, tied to the ideas of the sixties when experimentation was widespread. Now that the experiments, for the most part, have been shown to be unfortunate and useless, they continue to hold to them while the Church prepares to implement its well planned reform according to its documents. Only when we are freed of the errors and unfounded innovations of the present liturgical establishment will progress be made in the United States and the reform again be allowed to continue.

Certain distinctions must be learned in this country about music for worship. They are clearly indicated in the documents.⁸ First, the difference between music intended as liturgical music and that intended as *religious* music must be established. When composing for the very words of the Mass or the hours, one is creating music which is itself *pars integrans*, an integral part of the liturgy itself. Whether the texts are Latin or the vernacular, the music must always be in a sacred style and truly and seriously artistic, worthy of the exalted purpose

for which it is intended. It can, indeed, be simple and within the scope of lesser performers, but it must always be holy and of good form. The council itself calls for just that, both in Latin and in the vernacular tongues. The treasures of the past will supply the bulk of such repertory for many years to come, but new composition must surely be encouraged and used.

Secondly, *religious* music, as distinguished from *liturgical* music, truly has a place both within the liturgy and in paraliturgical and extra-liturgical services, as well as in gatherings apart from formal worship. Through the centuries the Church has encouraged such pious activity. The medieval world was filled with compositions in both Latin and the vernacular that were religious and prayerful. Some, indeed, found their way into the liturgy as hymns and sequences. Others remained always as non-liturgical compositions.

We can further distinguish within this *religious* music pieces that might well be used at Masses in which the liturgical texts themselves are not sung.⁹ Hymns constitute the largest body of such music. They must, of course, have sacred texts and they must be composed according to the proper rules of hymn-writing. Since by their very nature they fall within the capabilities of the entire congregation, they are most useful for the promotion of *actuosa participatio populi*. A great body of such music exists, especially from the 16th century, but 19th century hymns and some from our own time may likewise be suitably employed.

Other *religious* music, especially what is known today as folk songs, or pieces in ballad style, music reminiscent of country or western songs but set to texts of a religious nature, has no place in services within the church, either liturgical or non-liturgical. The texts are not taken from the sacred scriptures or from liturgical books as the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy orders.¹⁰ The music is not in a serious artistic style. Rather these pieces, good in themselves, are best used in gatherings outside the church, meetings of youth groups, excellent for singing as part of entertainment.

There are also those great religious works, such as oratorios and cantatas, written on texts from the Bible or on sacred poems, set with melodies of great beauty and harmony of

great value, some with orchestration and both choral and solo sections. Again, these are not intended for liturgical use, but rather for occasions when performances of this genre of religious music can bring the minds and hearts of the audiences to the contemplation of holy things.

In a word, as there exist both secular and sacred compositions, so within the category of sacred one must further distinguish between liturgical and religious works. And often one must further refine the distinction “religious” by determining what is suitable for use within the house of God and what belongs in activity that is good and worthwhile in itself, but not directly a part of God’s worship. It is in the confusion of these forms and styles that many of today’s problems in church music in the United States lie. Most contemporary guitar ensembles, campus ministry combos, folk-singers and religious ballad singers, often very skilled and professional, are not aware of the distinction in forms that must determine the use of all religious music. Frequently criticism is misunderstood when objection is made to the kind of religious music employed in some liturgical services. Ignorance of what the Church wishes for the liturgy and what the Church approves for non-liturgical services, and what it admits and even blesses for activities outside the house of God is widespread.

With composition for liturgical texts at a low ebb, many choirs are resorting to Protestant anthems. Unfortunately the texts are not from the Catholic liturgy, and in singing general religious anthems the richness of the ever-changing liturgical texts of the Roman rite is lost. One Sunday becomes as every other, and feast and ferial, solemnity and memorial, all become the same. The riches of the Roman rite are ignored. The same can happen when hymns replace the texts of the day, even though the hymns themselves may often be varied. The poverty of liturgical celebration experienced in the eighties is caused chiefly by the abandoning of the liturgical texts of the *Missale* or the *Graduale* in favor of general anthems or hymns.¹¹ The true reform intended by the Church lies in the full use of all the liturgical books, the implementation of the directives contained in the post-conciliar documents, and above all, a clear understanding of what divine worship is, particularly its essential characteristics of holiness and goodness of form. Mu-

sic as an integral part of divine worship must share in and clearly exemplify those same qualities.

In conclusion, having traced the liturgical reform from its inception in the work of the second half of the 19th century, through the pontificates of several popes, the high point of the council and the decline that followed, what can one expect will be the course of that reform in the eighties and nineties of this century? One cannot know the future and frequently guesses about it are totally wrong. But by observing present trends one may arrive at probable results.

First, a new expression of Catholic truth in a new theological language is coming from the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II. Signs of a new flowering, the result of the council, are beginning to be apparent, even though many theologians continue to hold to the errors of modernism that surfaced just after the council. But they are living in the past, shackled to the sixties. As a new wind is blowing in theological expression, so in liturgy and church music. So also in the religious life, in catechetics and canon law. The work of implementing the decrees of the council, freed of the dross of those who wished to have their own way, is at last taking hold.

In church music, the renewal can be seen especially in eastern Europe, in Poland, Croatia and in Germany. In the United States such activity has not yet begun, chiefly because the musical establishment is in the hands of those who are living in the past, holding to ideas that have long-since been discarded abroad. The errors foisted on the church musicians of this country twenty years ago are still being peddled by official and semi-official organizations and periodicals.

What must be taken as the basis for putting the reform back on the track in this country? Simply, a full and impartial acceptance of all directives, conciliar, papal and curial.¹² That means the use of Latin as well as the vernacular, the fostering of choirs as well as congregational singing, the acceptance of the distinction between sung and spoken liturgy, the creation of new serious music as well as the use of the great works of the past. Above all it means that the distinction between sacred and profane must be held to, along with the admission that a professional judgment must be made on the artistic

merit of musical composition. In a word, the reform must be put in the hands of educated, professional musicians who are dedicated to carrying out the wishes of the Church as expressed in the documents. The same malaise that afflicted this country when the reforms of Pope Pius X were promulgated still persists. It is still a question of education, an understanding of what the Church wants and a willingness and an expertise to carry it forward.

Endnotes

1. *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1979.

2. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1983.

3. "The Place of Music in Eucharistic Celebrations." III; 111, B. Published in *Newsletter of Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy*, Vol. 4, No. 1-2 January-February 1968).

4. Fr. Frederick R. McManus, while head of the secretariate of the American bishops' committee on the liturgy, stated that "it may be that in some areas retention (of Latin) will simply mean employing the Latin texts as the basis for translations into the vernacular, at least in the case of those parts of the Roman rite which are themselves original, such as the collects." *Worship*, Vol. 38, No. 6, p. 351.

5. Cf. *Graduale triplex*: Eugène Cardine, *Première année de Chant grégorien: Sémiologie grégorienne; Graduel neumé: Offertoires neumés*.

6. For accounts of the meeting, see Paul LeVoi, "The international Gregorian Chant Symposium" in *Sacred Music*, Vol. 110, No. 2 (Summer 1983), p. 17-21; Christopher M. Schaefer, "International Symposium on Gregorian Chant" in *The American Organist*, Vol. 17, No. 10 (October 1983), p. 40-42; Msgr. Francis Schmitt, "International Symposium on Gregorian Chant" in *The American Organist* (Vol. 17, No. 10 (October 1983), p. 42-43.

7. *St. Louis Review*, April 29, 1983, p. 4.

8. Cf. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy; *Musicam sacram*, instruction on music in the liturgy, March 5, 1967, Par. 4a, b.

9. *Musicam sacram*, Para. 32.

10. Para. 121. Pope Paul VI spoke to a thousand religious women participating in a convention of the Italian Society of St. Cecilia, April 15, 1971, about a true sense of what is sacred and therefore fitting for the liturgy. For a commentary on his words, see Richard J. Schuler, "Pope Paul on Sacred Music" in *Sacred Music*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (Summer 1971), p. 3-5.

11. "What must be sung is the Mass, its ordinary and proper, not 'something,' no matter how consistent, that is imposed on the Mass. Because the liturgical service is one, it has only one countenance, one motif, one voice, the voice of the Church. To continue to replace the texts of the Mass being celebrated with motets that are reverent and devout, yet out of keeping with the Mass of the day... amounts to continuing an unacceptable ambiguity: it is to cheat the people. Liturgical song involves not mere melody, but words, text, thought, and the sentiments that the poetry and music contain. Thus texts must be those of the Mass, not others, and singing means singing the Mass, not just singing during Mass." *Notitiae*, Vol. 5 (1969), p. 406.

12. These are all readily available in *Documents on the Liturgy*, 1963-1979: *Conciliar, Papal and Curial Texts*. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1983.

The Coat of Arms of Monsignor

Richard J. Schuler

In the quaint language of heraldry, which retains something of the French used at the royal court and in the king's court of law, Monsignor Schuler's arms are described or blazoned as follows:

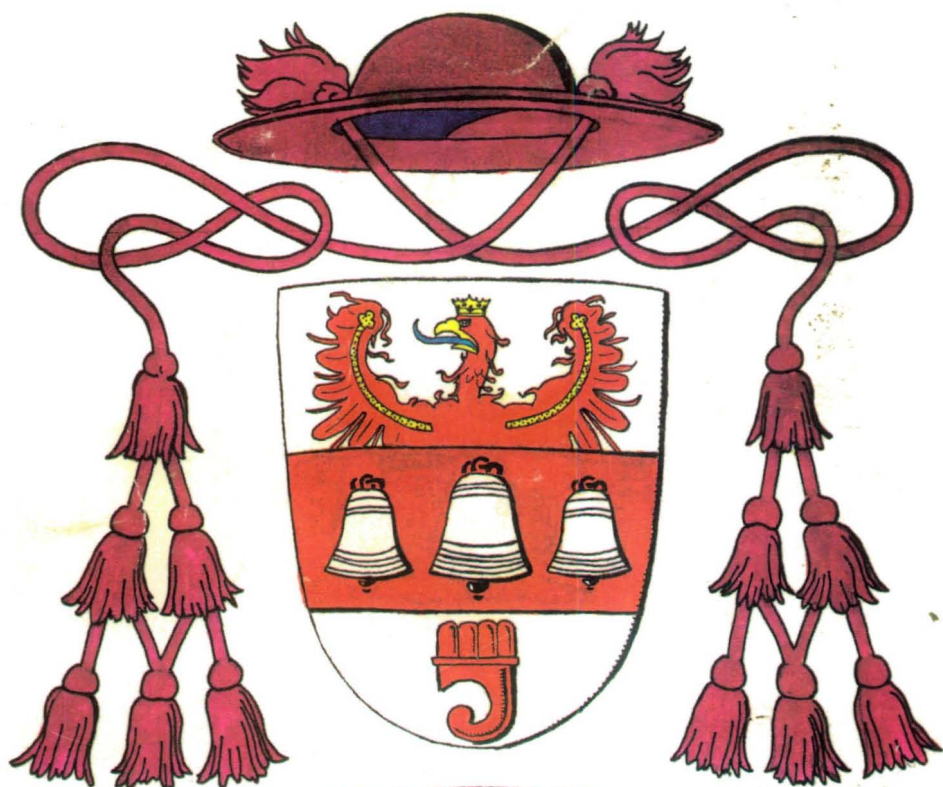
Argent, on a fess between in base a clarion or organ-rest and in chief a demi-eagle displayed Gules, beaked and crowned or, three silver bells, the whole ensigned with a violet prelate's hat from which depend on either side of the shield six violet tassels.

These armorial bearings include several references to Monsignor Schuler's family origins and to his musical interests. The basic charge, the red fess or central horizontal third of the shield on a silver field, recalls (with a reversal of colors) Austria's famous silver fess on a red field. Above the fess here is the red Tyrolean eagle and thus both charges recall the Schuler family's South Tyrolean origins.

The red organ-rest or clarion in the base recalls Monsignor Schuler's interest since childhood in the "queen of musical instruments." It was his organist fees that put him through college and the charge serves to recall his master's degree from the Eastman School of Music and his doctorate in musicology as well as his many years as a teacher and maker of music.

The silver bells on the fess provide further ancestral and musical references. Bells are of great importance in the mountains of Tyrol where natural acoustics permit them to be sounded to great effect to warn of danger and to signal joy. Besides their musical importance, in the Christian dispensation, bells rank as sacramentals. Traditionally when dedicated they were anointed with blessed oil and sprinkled with holy water ("baptized" in the popular idiom), for they summon the faithful to worship and to prayer. They are thus triply apt for the arms of this priest-musician.

The motto *Cum Angelis Canere*, to sing with the angels, is drawn from Cassiodorus and betokens the foretaste of heaven that the sacred liturgy is. Fittingly, it graces the arms of a priest whose ministry has been devoted to the sung liturgy.



CUM ANGELIS CANERE