

# CAECILIA

*A Review of Catholic Church Music*



**Classical Polyphony  
In Catholic Worship . . . . . Francis A. Brunner, C. SC. R.  
The Roman Choirs . . . . . Rev. Richard J. Schuler**

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## **CAECILIA**

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Zeitdauer: 1  $\frac{3}{4}$  Min.

FLOR PEETERS, Op. 64 II

**Moderato assai** (♩ = 60)

*mf*

Sopran  
Sub tu - um prae - si - di - um con - fu - gi - mus san - cta

Alt  
Sub tu - um prae - si - di - um con - fu - gi - mus san - cta

Tenor  
Sub tu - um prae - si - di - um con - fu - gi - mus san - cta

Baß  
Sub tu - um prae - si - di - um con - fu - gi - mus san - cta

**Reductio**  
(Zusammenfassung)

*mf*

De - i Ge - ni - trix: no - stras de - pre - ca - ti - o - nes

*mf*

De - i Ge - ni - trix: no - stras de - pre - ca - ti - o - nes

*mf*

De - i Ge - ni - trix: no - stras de - pre - ca - ti - o - nes

*mf*

De - i Ge - ni - trix: no - stras de - pre - ca - ti - o - nes



HERMANN SCHROEDER: REX PACIFICUS

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Motette für Weihnachten und Christ-König

Zeitdauer 2½ Min.

Hermann Schroeder, Op. 19II

**Festlich (quasi alla breve)**

Sopran *f* 5  
 Alt *f*  
 Tenor *f*  
 Baß *f*

Rex pa - ci - fi - cus, pa -  
 Rex pa - ci - fi - cus, pa - ci - fi - cus,  
 Rex pa - ci - fi - cus, pa - ci - fi - cus,  
 Rex pa - ci - fi - cus, pa - ci - fi - cus, rex pa -

10

ci - fi - cus, rex pa - ci - fi - - cus ma - gni - fi -  
 rex pa - ci - fi - cus, rex pa - ci - fi - - cus ma - gni - fi -  
 rex pa - ci - fi - cus, rex pa - ci - fi - - cus ma - gni - fi -  
 ci - fi - cus, rex pa - ci - - - fi - - cus

15 *ff*

ca - - tusest, ma - gni - fi - ca - - tusest, ma - gni - fi - ca - tus est. Rex pa -  
 ca - - tus est, ma - gni - fi - ca - - tus est, ma - gni - fi - ca - tus est. Rex pa - ci - fi -  
 ca - - tusest, ma - gni - fi - ca - - tus est, ma - gni - fi - ca - tus est. Rex pa -  
 magni - fi - ca - - tusest, magni - fi - ca - - tus est, ma - gni - fi - ca - tus est. Rex pa - ci - fi -

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# CAECILIA

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Bruges, Belgium

Dear Sir:

It is with great pleasure that I received the last two issues of *CAECILIA* which you kindly sent me. I rejoice in the new orientation of your Review.

I read the good study of Dom Murray in the issue of February, 1957, with great pleasure. I had already read it in the *Downside Review* and I am glad that you have presented it to the American public. The objectives brought forth by Dom Murray appear to be serious to me. I could not say that I am as well satisfied with the reply to this article which appeared in the issue of May, 1957, under the title "The Forest and the Trees," signed by J. Robert Carroll. I may be wrong, but it seems to me that your distinguished correspondent does not answer with precision or in a relevant manner. In my opinion he remains in the realm of vague generalities. Contrary to what this distinguished correspondent may think, it seems evident that everyone has the right to blame any theory if it is lacking in logic and becomes rather inconsequential; and, it rests rather upon the defenders of this theory to prove their logic, especially on the points which appear to be at fault. It matters little whether or not points appear to be details or not; but, in the ensemble of the problem are they really only details?

I do not think I should linger on this particular question. There is another point upon which I would call your attention if you permit. Your same correspondent, J. Robert Carroll, takes it for granted that between the theories of Dom J. Jeannin on Gregorian rhythm and those generally taught in our time, there is no mean level; if one does not adopt the first, he must necessarily choose the latter. Can this be true? Perhaps your correspondent does not know that there exist also other hypotheses which take place between the two theories mentioned, and which are positively different from both. It is true that this is generally little known and it is particularly the case of one of them about which I would like to write to you.

I refer to the concept of Gregorian rhythm brought forth by l'abbé Joseph Vos, a Belgian musicologist of the Diocese of Liège, who devoted almost fifty years to this question. He died in 1945 without having the opportunity to complete his work. He willed me all his manuscripts, asking me to revise them. I am now engaged in this work. I have already published a few sketches on this subject in specialized reviews. The last of these studies to date appeared in the *Acta Musicologica*, vol. XXVIII, fasc. IX, 1956,

under the title "The Problem of Gregorian Rhythm." I could hardly give the details of these studies; I will only say that l'abbe Vos unhesitatingly takes a place among the mensuralists, separating himself, however, from the concepts of Dom Jeannin, which he deems to be too much of a simplification.

In order not to leave the reader in doubt, I join to my letter a small example of this theory. It is a rhythmic restoration (made up according to the principles of the author with some slight changes)

Can-tá-bo et  
 psal-mum Di-  
 cam Do-  
 mi-no.

of the Communion of the Sixth Sunday after Pentecost. Of course, such musical translation should be verified in the manuscripts, which I did not do as yet; but, it seems to me that there will be little need for serious changes. This melody is neither more nor less interesting than many others, and I could send you a larger number of samples. I send you this particular chant because it is the most recent upon which I have worked. The ending reminds one of a kind of cadence which I have met in other places of the Gregorian repertoire. It is



rather a solemn conclusion of a piece of the sixth mode. Now a few short remarks on the structure of the melody and first on its notation. The staves connected by vertical bars do not represent a polyphonic piece, but are used exclusively to bring the structural characteristics of the melody into relief. In the writing I superimpose the musical motives that they may be seen immediately, so that their relative importance may be seen at first sight.

The key to the restoration is found in the tones which I call "modal functions." These tones are as it were the head (central point) of the various measures. The whole problem of the restoration lies in searching for these tones. The structure of the whole piece is made up of feet or measures which are grouped into motives which again are grouped into melodic verses, also called "distinctions" or musical members. The melody that I send includes two melodic verses (I am using ancient terminology): the first two staves form a single verse; the last three staves also form a single verse. The first verse is a *trimetre*; the second verse is called a *pentamètre iambique égalment catalectique*. I do not feel that I should explain these terms here; they are often met with in medieval theorists, as well as in the works of ancient authors.

You will notice feet of special structure: a quarter note with two periods followed by two eighth notes, the second of which also receives a period. To have arrived at such a formula demanded very long research. This formula will be of a very frequent usage in Gregorian Chant as we restore it, and we find in it the famous *dactyles cycliques* of antiquity which have been the object of so much discussion. They are found ultimately in Gregorian Chant. They are the *dactyles* or *pseudo-dactyles* inserted in a series of ternary feet with the exact duration of the measure or ternary feet.

The sequences of feet forming this piece are illuminating in many ways. They represent approximately all the species of feet (at least ternary style) which are found in Gregorian Chant according to the conclusion which our research has reached. This melody is therefore very interesting in many respects.

Lastly I should mention (and this is perhaps the essential point) that the musical propositions which are found between the motives (which according to my views are the foundation and the essence of the rhythm) are the following: In the first verse—proportion 2, 2, 3; in the second—proportion 3, 3, 3. This means an equal proportion between the three motives.

The piece must be sung in a rather slow movement (approximately a second for each measure); other pieces adopt a line movement, but in this particular case we are facing an ending of a solemn

character.

I call the attention of the reader and still more of the listener to the importance of the modal points found in the initial notes of the measure. They should be sung very delicately.

I will gladly give further explanations to the reader who might want it, and even would pass on the text of the other studies which might interest him.

Sincerely and gratefully yours,

Dom Francis de Meéus, O.S.B.

Abbaye de Saint-Andre

Bruges 3, Belgique

Cre- do in De- um  
Pa- trem om-ni-po- tén- tem Fac-  
to-rem cae-li et ter- rae, Visi-  
bí- li- um omni- um et  
in- vi- si- bí- li- um.

Fig. 2

P. S. Because in the article of Dom Murray the writer speaks at length of the Credo I, it should not be without interest to give here the first two phrases rhythmically restored according to the principles of the interpretation which I have presented. (figure No. 2)

One may see at first glance the simplicity and the regularity of the structure, also all the musical motives correlated to each other. We superimpose them in order that this may be well seen. One may notice also the rhythmic impulses at the beginning of each measure always affecting the notes with modal function. The whole problem of the restoration consists in finding these tones and in bringing them into relief. One will see also how the difficult question of reconciliation between musical and word accent which is so much argued upon is thereby perfectly solved. Lastly, we mention the many *dactyles cycliques* which are of a constant usage in this melody. Here is the second phrase. (figure No. 3)

The image shows a musical score for the second phrase of the Credo I. It consists of three staves of music. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 4/4. The lyrics are: "Et in unum Dominum". The second staff is a middle staff with the lyrics: "Je-sum Chris-tum". The third staff is a bass clef with the lyrics: "Fi-li-um De-i U-ni-gé-ni-tum." The music is written in a simple, rhythmic style with various note values and rests.

Fig. 3

This phrase forms a *hexamètre iambique catalectique*. The proportions are 3, 3, 5, (6). To count these proportions it is sufficient to count the number of impulses on the initial modal notes in each motive. The verse is *catalectique* because the twelfth foot is replaced by a rest.

One may perhaps take exception to the principle of the first beat indivisible so often insisted upon in the matter of ancient rhythm and Gregorian rhythm. We answer: the first beat remains indivisible as a measure. Every measure always contains a number

of first beats; this does not change the fact that in the measures themselves tones of a varied duration may be found. This is the case of the notes which are a part of the *dactyle cyclique*. In a further study we will give our interpretation of this mentioned *dactyle cyclique*.

---

St. Louis, Mo.

To the Editor:

A close friend of mine recently uttered the understatement of the year, after reading the past two issues of *Caecilia*: "They don't seem to agree with Solesmes, do they."

Freedom of the press and forthright statement of one's views are wonderful things—things that interested church musicians have needed for years. Till the appearance of the new *Caecilia*, however, printed expression of opposing views in matters of chant and sacred music was all but impossible. There is no doubt about it: we have urgently needed an independent journal where the democratic process of debating pro and con might find outlet.

Yet, somehow or other, the precept of Christian charity must be part of the picture too. I am perfectly aware that the condescending attitude which the protagonists of Solesmes have shown towards those who disagree with them is irksome. But on the other hand, as much as I have learned and profited from Dom Murray's articles and from the editorials, I have felt somewhat embarrassed while reading them. As Alec Robertson, the well-known British writer stated in *The Musical Times* of August, anent the recent writings of Dom Murray,

"It is open to every man to change directions completely, but the ungenerous attitude to the past taken up in these pages—ill befitting a monk—gives an unpleasant tone to what is said."

And I think many readers of *Caecilia* will agree with this sentiment.

By all means, continue to publish readable articles, continue to publish both sides of the question. But I think we can do without the *ad hominem* approach that has appeared so often in the past three issues. Readability in a Catholic publication ought not to depend upon such a factor.

Sincerely,

Francis J. Guentner, S. J.

## EDITORIALS

### *A Plea for Twelfth Night*

It is no longer the fashion to trumpet the astounding spectacle of the high middle ages. Indeed we have been enveloped by an opinion that almost everything since the seventh century has been a kind of devolution. Yet the Twelfth Night for which we plea here is the one that spilled over into the streets to be caught up by a society which had a small "s". It is something of the notion that Mr. Chesterton had about St. Francis scattering what St. Benedict stored. It is the feeling that our sturdier forebears had for the idea of celebrating the twelve days prior to the arrival of the star, and the kings. The notion that if the Romans could revel (by Saturn!) when Messer Sun resumed his northward course, then thrice more we (by the Trinity)! For the rebirth of Messer Sun is but shadow and symbol of that wondrous Birth wherein the Word took flesh of Mary, and wherein all spirit and all flesh are perforce inebriately exultant.

What will dictate one's Twelfth Night Celebration? If one must presume a deep drenching in the liturgy of the whole Christmas cycle, he must also cross out the prig who sees nothing carnal in the Incarnation. He must have had an imaginative reading of the things that were, and an initiative about things that can be. Into the pot of festal punch might go precious old trifles like boy bishops, stoning a Stephen (*any* Stephen). Let there be houses where innocents rule for a day, and let there be the wail of Rachael, and unsophisticated gaming. One might stage a miracle play, or an honest, utterly uncharitable, burlesque on his fellows. Do not forget the Court of Un-Reason, where Lords of Mis-rule pass sentence on the persistent cheerless and the professional rationalist.

The *Verbum*, says St. Bonaventure, was uniteable to flesh as a word to a voice. And so when the great glad tidings return us again to the nursery of Christian living, let us sing softly and loud: in our church and our home and our neighbor's, and all other places, especially where they might not like singing. Sing with a faith simple and strong. For on this day of defiance of the mighty, when God became an infant, what child would not believe that there really did appear in the heavens of the east a resplendent star in which was seen the form of the infant, a cross shining on his forehead; that on Capitol Hill in Rome, at mid-day, the emperor and the Sibyl really did see a golden circle next to the sun, and within it a beautiful virgin and child; that in Judea brute animals really did speak a kind of bovine cant over the recreation of the universe,

that in the cave the ox and ass did genuflect; (why should they not?) that in the east three suns slowly grew tiune, while in Rome a fount of oil gushed up and ran to the Tiber because the fount of holiness and mercy had been born, and the oil of gladness. It were stranger, perhaps, had all these things not happened than if they had.

*Hodie! Hodie!* Here all of us may take fresh heart. Because there are no rules that are not broken a hundred times. The Infant-God, The Virgin Mother. Hilarious angels thundering through the *silentium magnum* of the night—not psalms prescribed, but the first and loudest of all the new songs of the Church. At the dying of the year, our minds and hearts have strained sorely toward the final liturgical reminder of the fearful heavens above, when suddenly the heavens are no longer there: “’Twas once look up, ’tis now look down to heaven.” Gratefully, CAECILIA sends high Twelfth-Tide wishes to its readers, associates and friends.

F. P. S.

### *Vidimus Stellam\**

This Antiphon is the last gem found in the eucharistic treasury of the Christmas-season. Its pure radiance is nowhere surpassed; and its melodic originality makes us almost forget that it is still subservient to the general pattern followed by the melodies of the fourth mode. Let us admire its graceful lines, step by step.

The first incise A1 immediately rides over its own impulse; and that impulse is sufficient to carry a sequence of tone-groups which, knit together, make up a very spontaneous theme. The theme of what? The illustrated word answers to this “vidimus,” we have seen. We no longer anticipate the vision; we have seen its light in the manifestation of the Infant. This explanation is not the result of a delusive search for musical description; for the melodic line is precise in its lyric content. It begins with an ascending ternary group MI-fa-sol, immediately followed by three descending groups LA-so-la, SO-fa-sol, MI-fa-re. The whole design is thus made up of the symmetrical assembling of four tone-groups of perfectly equal length, flowing into each other with uncanny gracefulness. A melodic progression which characterizes the word, and at once locates a scene and releases a corresponding sentiment. Should its development grow according to the same amplified and symmetric pattern, the melody thus started on its course runs the risk of becoming loquacious and perhaps watery. Fortunately, this pitfall is adroitly avoided by the composer who now resorts to a quasi-recitative pro-

\* See chant diagram on page 294.

cedure with the incise A2. The originality of "stellam ejus" is truly a master-stroke, the like of which is seldom duplicated in the history of melody, and never met with again in all Gregorian literature. The contour is made up of the following tone-groups; the ascending SI, the descending Do-so; one the compact effort of the major third, the other the open fall of the fourth. If one now binds the two intervals into a single pattern, he will get the closest approach to a descriptive definition of the vision of a providential star; especially if he should consider this incise as the natural sequence of the pattern found in the word "Vidimus." Yet, this extraordinary melodic "discovery" is completed by another one in no way inferior. There is now a return, but somewhat amplified, of the initial So-Si, which has become fa-SO-la-SI on the word Oriente. Then a temporary suspension on the group So-la-mi, reminiscent of the long descending line of "Vidimus."

The incise B1 is obviously patterned after the incise A2, but in the form of a progression. The latter is constructed on two tone groups MI-fa-la, LA-si-do, which is not too far-fetched to interpret as a fitting formula of intense adoration. This progression more or less continues the recitative style earlier adopted in order that an obviously descriptive melody may not fall into puerile mannerism. Thus, the melodic line preserves a strong objectivity, wherein there is no weakening either in purity or in form. The ending of the incise is inspired by the ending of "Vidimus," made up as it is of the same pattern somewhat enlarged. This minor pattern MI-fa-RE, amplified as MI-fa-mi-re-mi-RE, introduces an excellent element of contrast and repose amid the florid expansions of the melody, thus combining in discreet strokes joyful enthusiasm and reverential adoration. The latter characteristic is the one which the incise B2 definitely assumes, using the same tonal elements which are found in the word "muneribus." Again the composer resorts to amplification in order to make this characteristic more obvious and sufficiently solid as the counterpart to the words "stellam in Oriente." We thus have passed gradually from an elated movement to a sense of calm repose. The vision of the star has prompted us to adore. Thus ends one of the short but classic gregorian melodies.

D. E. V.

## Of Note

The Board of Directors of the German Cecilian Societies (ACV), at a meeting held at Bensberg, near Cologne, last September, passed the following resolution regarding the insertion of texts from the new psalter into the *Graduale Romanum*:

In the corpus of Gregorian chant the texts of the *Psalterium Romanum* were retained instead of introducing the *Psalterium Gallicanum*. Texts and melodies of Gregorian chant form, from their very origins, one inseparable unity. The corpus of the *Graduale Romanum* ought to be preserved unadulterated and authentic both in text and melody. If for new feasts texts are chosen that are to be found elsewhere in the corpus of the *Graduale Romanum*, then the traditional form of the text ought to be kept. Otherwise there would be in the corpus of the *Graduale Romanum* two melodically and textually different versions for the same text—resulting in difficulties for the artistic reproduction and above all for practical singing. At the present time the gradual *Audi filia* is found on the feast of St. Cecilia in its traditional form and on the feast of the Assumption in a new form. The tract *Beatus vir* has the traditional form in the *Commune unius Martyris Pontificis II*, in the *Commune Confessori Pontificis I and II* and also in the *Commune Abbatum*, while on the feast of St. Joseph the Worker a new version is found. Such duplications not only hinder the precision of the liturgical text form but, because of the incorrect adaptation, they present a caricature of the genuine chant melody.

The retention of the traditional text form at the missa cantata preserves the unity with the liturgy that has been handed down, just as it was retained in the corpus of the *Graduale Romanum* even though the Missal of Pius V altered some of the texts. If for new feasts texts are selected which are not in the corpus of the *Graduale Romanum* but are contained in the traditional manuscripts, they should be used in their traditional form, textually and melodically. Insofar as adaptation cannot be avoided, they can be undertaken only by a gremium of experts both for texts and melodies. In so doing not only must the formal laws of style be observed, but the beauty and strength of the artistic exposition must be kept alive. But this is possible only if, in accordance with the original model of the liturgia as liturgia cantata, the text and melody are shaped together at the same time.

F. A. B.



## CLASSICAL POLYPHONY IN CATHOLIC WORSHIP

Francis A. Brunner, C.S.S.R.

*"Since the Church always held this polyphonic song in the highest esteem, it willingly admitted this type of music even in the Roman basilicas and in pontifical ceremonies in order to increase the glory of the sacred rites."*

POPE PIUS XII, Encyclical *Musicae Sacrae*

This evaluation of classical polyphony, the vocal music of the fifteenth, sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, demands on our part not only the reverential resurrection of these treasures but their frequent use in the more solemn services. More than this, it requires our earnest study, for it ought to be of importance to know why this particular type of music is thought worthy of a place in the service of God, why it should be given such unequivocal commendation.

It is not only sad but also rather strange that those in charge of music in our churches make so little use of this music, with the exception perhaps of a few works by one or the other later composers—Palestrina or Victoria. And even these are heard only sporadically. The main reason for this neglect is not that the music is not liked, it is because it is practically unknown to anybody except the scholars who have made it their business to explore it. Few of these compositions are made available to the average person in concerts or over the radio, and little if any of the music is ever heard in church. Behind Palestrina, of whose thousands of compositions only three or four are performed, a few names emerge from the darkness like ghosts, but no note of music is associated with them.

This is a sad state of affairs. And it has lasted over fifty years.

When Pope St. Pius X, in his *Motu Proprio* of November 22, 1903, presented to the world his reflections on the state of church music, the world was hardly conditioned to accept them. True, the reform movements begun in the nineteenth century had taken up the struggle against the vapid and shallow music that passed for church music at the time, but the efforts were in large measure unsuccessful. The traditions in which the musical culture of the nineteenth century were rooted were left undisturbed by the reform movement. Having arisen in large measure in concert hall and theater, these

traditions were often quite estranged from the liturgy. Even well-intentioned reformers were often at a loss to decide the validity of living traditions. The past, the idealized past, seemed to offer the only helps.

This was the atmosphere when Pius wrote "Fra le sollecitudini." Here the Holy Father set down certain characteristics to be sought in all honest church music—holiness, artistry and universality. Not the least of these was the note of "true art;" for the period in which the Motu Proprio appeared this was the characteristic that was subject to the most misunderstanding and consequently demanded the greatest consideration. For the Caecilians, it seems, conceived of church music as an art somehow divorced from the current creative impulses, remote from contemporary art. A catalog filled with stiff and often unimaginative imitations of a bygone style—somehow considered as essentially ecclesiastical!—could no longer be considered basically valid.

Not satisfied with presenting norms and rules, the Motu Proprio also gives us two exemplifications of its own norms and rules: Gregorian chant and ancient classical polyphony.

To exemplify what is meant by church music that is truly in accord with the needs of the liturgy, the Pope first suggests the study and use of Gregorian chant. And he adds a note of great practical value for composers: "The more closely a composition for church use approaches the Gregorian form in its movement, spirit, and feeling, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; on the contrary, the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple." Here we have a standard for evaluating a composition meant for church use — an objective standard.

It is on the basis of this standard that the sainted pontiff recommends ancient classical polyphony. Of Palestrina and his school the Motu Proprio says: "The above-mentioned qualities [holiness, artistry and universality] are also possessed in an excellent degree by classical polyphony, especially of the Roman school, which reached its greatest perfection in the sixteenth century owing to the works of Pierluigi da Palestrina, and subsequently continued to produce compositions of excellent quality liturgically and musically."

What is it in these compositions of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century that renders them fit to take a place side-by-side with plainsong? Surely not the style. The mistake the Caecilian reformers of the late nineteenth century made was to equate the musical idiom of the sixteenth century with the essentially eccle-

siastical style, and so consciously or unconsciously, to imitate it. No, it is not the style, the idiom, the technique that makes classical polyphony an ideal medium for liturgical service. Rather it is its attitude towards the liturgical text, its reverence for the service which it accompanies, that makes it "worthy of a place side by side with Gregorian chant."

Time has erased the stylistic differences in polyphonic composition so that they are appraised as ecclesiastical whether they are linked thematically to Gregorian chant or, like the parody Masses, based on secular madrigals and chansons. In the sixteenth century, however, the distinction was understood and led to a rejection of the secularized art. But the *Motu Proprio* pays no heed to the difference, since the melodies utilized in the parody-compositions are no longer recognized as such.

Contemporary historical research has uncovered a wealth of polyphonic materials from an earlier period—materials more allied to the Gregorian melodies than the classical polyphonic compositions, only a small proportion of which was actually linked with plainsong. The earlier works of the Leonin and Perotin type really amounted to a sort of vertical troping of the Gregorian melody, and the technique of Dunstable and his school consisted largely in paraphrasing the chant. The subsequent idealization of the polyphonic style tended to obliterate any distinction between works based on Gregorian themes and those based on secular motifs or freely created. The nineteenth century, in fact, lost sight of the facts almost completely, and bunched all the techniques of classical polyphony together as an ideal a cappella style. The *Motu Proprio* is, to some extent, influenced by this false assumption, but its conclusions are not thereby invalidated. For the polyphonic music not only of the classical era but likewise of the centuries that precede and follow possesses a character peculiarly ecclesiastical, peculiarly suited to divine service.

Karl Gustav Fellerer, in his *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirchenmusik*, has tried to pinpoint the relationship between liturgy and music during the various epochs of church history, using it as a gauge for the evaluation of the church music produced in each epoch. The music of the earlier epoch, when plainsong which developed with the liturgy held the field, he rightly styles "Music of the divine service." The music of the last few centuries, beginning with the Baroque, he calls "Music at the divine service," music which emphasized the individual and the subjective often at the expense of liturgical laws and churchly proprieties. But to the music of the classical polyphonic era, the music that began with Binchois

and Dufay and reached a climax in Palestrina and diLasso and Victoria, he gives the appropriate title "Music in the divine service." This division is eminently practical, for it establishes a yardstick for appraising the liturgical fitness of a composition. After all problems of style and technique can only be understood in relation to their own period and are closely linked to the general spirit of their age. It is only against such a background that the liturgical value of styles and techniques can be assessed.

If, then, as Pope Pius XII says in his encyclical on church music, "the church always held this polyphonic song in the highest esteem," setting it up as a sort of standard and model, we must understand that this judgment concerns not the style of classical polyphony but rather the liturgical inspiration which is indeed manifested in an outstanding degree in this style but does not necessarily require this style for manifestation. Classical polyphony is presented as an ideal not in a retrospective historical sense but because the essentials of what is called "liturgical" have been realized in this art in such a pure form. Liturgy is the Church's worship of God, and all three elements in this definition are equally important: God, Church and worship. Liturgy is a God-ward activity, an act of *worship* or adoration, but involving not the individual as such but the assembled *church*. This last element is the one most often overlooked, yet it stands out clearly even in the very word "liturgy" itself: *λειτουργία*, from *λειτουργ*, belonging to the people *λαος*, and *ἔργον*, a work or service. Liturgical prayer—of which liturgical music forms a part—is the official and representative prayer of the people of God, the Church. The community of the faithful, however, is not something abstract, but a community of individuals. The Church, as a body, does not absorb the individual, but "incorporates" him. Consequently there is, and always will be, the possibility of a clash between the individual and the community, but in the liturgy, in the official service of God, the individual must bow to the community. This holds true of the composer. He must know how to subordinate the product of his creative fantasy, his knowledge of art, his musical ability, to the laws of the community. The work of the individual must find its justification in its fitness for the community.

The nineteenth century somehow sensed the liturgical fitness of the Palestrina style, just as it sensed the essential churchliness of a Bach. But it mistook the reasons why. The lilt and flow of polyphony was contrasted with the song-like homophony of the contemporary composition. The diatonic power of the one was set against the flabby chromatics of the other. The largeness of

conception, even in smaller works, against the childish shallowness that apparently characterized so much of contemporary work. What nineteenth century idealists conceived to be the positive values of Palestrina they contrasted—favorably—with the negative of their own century. That they talked so often of the balance and homogeneity of classical polyphonic art is perhaps an indication how little the Victorian era understood the Renaissance. The same musical expression which in sacred songs awed the nineteenth century, was also used in worldly chansons and madrigals. The objectivity of the music was not a stylistic feature but rather the result of factors the nineteenth century seemed not to understand.

What was this objectivity in reality. Not a style, not a technique. In the Palestrina period—and the same holds good also for the century before and after Palestrina—what was decisive, it seems, was an adherence to a norm that subordinated the individual, and his will to express himself, to the needs of communal worship. If Palestrina could remodel a bawdy street-song into liturgical music, this was due, in part at least, to the common vocabulary in which both profane and sacred music were embedded. It was not until later that the break occurred, with the reduction to major and minor tonalities, with homophony and isometry. The church modalities alone were merely features of the period, a merely historical item. Of course these modes, especially when they did not employ the half-step leading tone, could contribute to the desired objectivity of the liturgical forms. But this is not an essential. The essential is something quite different. What is at the very bottom of this liturgical objectivity is the principle of subordination—subordination of creative fancy to the purposes of worship, subordination of individual strands in the web to the pattern of the whole. This it is that makes ancient classical music so extraordinarily contemporary. This is not a false historicism, for we refer not to the stylistic methods but to the liturgical attitude and its objective representation in a work of art. This it is which, in a sense, gives ancient classical polyphony its perennial youth.

Of course when Pius X and Pius XII single out classical polyphony for special commendation, they do not thereby exclude other musical endeavors. In fact they encourage their development, but a development in line with the ideals which classical polyphonic music exemplified so well. There is no paradox in this return to the past as a guide to the future. Although music is among the youngest of the arts in Western civilization, it has undergone spectacularly rapid changes in its short span of existence. As a consequence the wonderful accomplishments of the past have often

fallen quickly into oblivion. Change followed change and what was gone was easily forgotten. At the present time, it is true, musical life is rather stubbornly geared to the past, even to the extent of haughtily ignoring present-day products, but it is the immediate past that is held dear, the nineteenth century and the late eighteenth. The music of the more distant past is equally excluded, although a better acquaintance with it would not only be rewarding in itself, but would also serve to open ears and minds to the message of the modern composer. There are many aspects of contemporary music which are more akin to concepts of the medieval and renaissance mind than to those of the period immediately preceding our own. Therefore to unveil the features of an older religious music will not only add to the glory of the Church but also broaden our own perceptive capacities. But this can happen only if, following the lead of the two popes who commend it, we allow polyphonic music to come to life.

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## INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORGANISTS

Nearly a thousand organists from the United States, Canada and Great Britain joined in the International Congress held in London July 27 till August 2. Into less than one week were crowded an enormous number of recitals, receptions, visits to organ works and lectures. The first organ recital was given in Westminster Abbey by Francis Jackson of York Minster who included in his program, besides music by American, Canadian and British composers, the *Aria* by Flor Peeters. It would be impossible to list all the other recitals but four outstanding ones deserve special mention.

At the Temple Church, Robert Baker from the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, played, among other works, a charming *Carnival Suite* by Robert Crandell, two chorale-preludes by Searle Wright, a pretentious piece by Hermann Berlinski and Liszt's Prelude and fugue on Bach. Two recitals of music for organ and orchestra were given in Westminster Abbey, one by Marilyn Mason of Ann Arbor University, Michigan, the other by Gordon D. Jeffrey. Dr. Mason's program was specially interesting and included a finely-written *Classic Concerto* by Leo Sowerby and a light, completely secular *Connecticut Suite* by Seth Bingham.

At Westminster Cathedral Gerald Bales from Calgary, Ontario, played a program including Bach's *Trio-Sonata in E flat*, Franck's *Choral No. 3* and Healy Willan's *Introduction Passacaglia and Fugue*.

In Cambridge, on the recently rebuilt organ of St. John's College Chapel, the New York player John Huston gave an outstanding performance of Sowerby's *Symphony in G minor*.

Among non-organ concerts, visitors to the Congress were able to hear in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, the Golden Age Singers, an instrumental ensemble and George Malcolm (harpsichord) in music selected from the various publications of *Musica Britannica*. On July 30, the Martin String Quartet played music by Haydn to guests at a reception by the President of the Congress, Dr. John Dykes Bower (St. Paul's Cathedral, London) in the splendid Goldsmith's Hall in the City of London.

From the large number of lectures given it is only possible to mention two—Dr. Leo Sowerby, from America, on *Composition in Relation to the Church and Allied Fields in America* and Sir George Dyson, a former director of London's Royal College of Music on *The Place of the Organist in British Musical Life*.

Yet at some time during the week almost every aspect of the work of the organist and choirmaster seems to have been touched upon. On the lighter side members of the Congress were entertained at a garden party in Westminster Abbey Garden (somewhat spoiled by rain), to a reception at Messrs. Novello's in Wardour Street and by a visit to Greenwich.

Although it was a tiring week, but none the less stimulating from the intellectual point-of-view, it is to be hoped that British organists now have a much clearer idea of what goes on in the organ world of the United States and Canada.

In order to preserve a permanent record of the congress Hinrichsen Edition has arranged to publish the texts of all the lectures given in a single volume.

John Lade

## ECCE VENIT

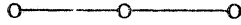
The hills caught up  
The rhythm of her feet,  
The hills of Eden,  
Everlasting hills  
Caught up the singing rhythm  
Of her feet  
Where wisdom played  
Before the world began.  
And all the hills on earth  
Have caught it up,  
The rhythm of her feet,  
The everlasting singing rhythm  
Of her feet.

She comes  
Across the hills,  
Across the singing hills,  
She comes, and lo!  
The word like music spills  
Over the earth,  
and over the hills,  
She comes,  
Maria!  
Over the hills!

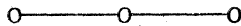
Her feet are strong,  
The Queen of Heaven walks on  
fleet-shod feet  
And strong;  
The haughty hills are levelled,  
Flooding valleys for her feet,  
And for their feet  
Who follow where she walks.  
Her feet are strong,  
For she is Queen  
Where Holiness  
Is King;  
For she is Bride of Everlasting  
Rest,  
Of Everlasting Fruitfulness the  
Bride.  
Mistress of earth,  
And she is quick with Life,  
Pregnant with Light.  
Maria!

Sister Chrysostom, O.S.B.





A feature of the Congress of Church Music held in connection with the 30th General Assembly of the Caecilian Societies at Münster i. W. in June of this year was the performance of a new Mass written for the occasion by Hermann Schroeder, *Missa Gregoriana cum Populo Activo*. This Mass employed as a basis Gregorian pieces in the phrygian tonality, all of them syllabic and therefore easily sung by the congregation: Kyrie XVI, Gloria XV, Credo I, Sanctus and Benedictus X and Agnus X. Commenting on the work, the composer himself pointed out the difficulty encountered in trying to write a Mass that would artistically combine the resources of a choir, schola and congregation. "The problem," as he said, "is without doubt the musical unity between the Gregorian melody and the four-part setting." In classical polyphony the contrast between the plainsong and the broadly sweeping measures of the polyphony was not too disturbing. But we today must ask ourselves how our contemporary rhythm, our harmonics and the melodic lines that have embraced a twelve-tone scale, can be reconciled with the chant. Schroeder tries to solve the rhythmic problem by using the quarter-note—equivalent to the Gregorian punctum—as the basic note in the polyphony. Much more difficult is it to reconcile the harmonies, bound up as they are in our cadential system, with the seven-step scales of the plainsong. As for melody, Schroeder seeks not so much to cite the original plainsong as to approximate it. Whether this Mass has solved all the problems remains to be seen. But surely it is a necessary step towards achieving a solemn Mass with active participation by the congregation.



Msgr. Domenico Bartolucci, who was named *Direttore Perpetuo* of the Sistine choir, is forty years old, having been born in Borgo S. Lorenzo (Florence) on May 7, 1917. But already he has accomplished much in the world of music. At the age of 14 he was appointed first organist of the cathedral of Florence. Then he was successfully choirmaster at the Florence cathedral and vicemaestro of the Pontificia Cappella Pia at the Lateran. In 1947, when he was but thirty, he succeeded Refice at St. Mary Major. He is a prolific composer. His Mass *Tu gloria Jerusalem* has been heard time and again at St. Peter's on the occasion of a canonization. He composed a *Te Deum* for the sacerdotal jubilee of Pope Pius XII. He also wrote several oratorios including *The Nativity*, *The Seven Words of the Savior* and *L'Ascensione* (which was performed for the first time at Assisi in 1953).

# FEAST OF EPIPHANY

A1  
Vi-di-mus

A2  
stel-lam e-jus in O-ri-en-te

B1  
et ve-ni-mus cum mu-ne-ri-bus

B2  
a-do-ra-re Do-mi-num.

The musical score consists of four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notes are represented by black squares on the staff lines, with a wavy line indicating the melodic contour. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The staves are labeled A1, A2, B1, and B2. The lyrics are: Vi-di-mus stel-lam e-jus in O-ri-en-te et ve-ni-mus cum mu-ne-ri-bus a-do-ra-re Do-mi-num.

*We felicitate:*

- Dom Ermin Vitry, O.S.B., Editor Emeritus of *Caecilia*, on his golden sacerdotal jubilee. While this occurred some time in 1957 we have not been able to pin it down!
  - Father Clarence Corcoran, C.M., on his highly successful project with Gaston Litaize. He booked the French organist (first U.S. tour) without benefit of agency.
  - Rene Desogne, on affiliating the DePaul University with the Pontifical Institute.
  - His Excellency Leonard Cowley, who for many years has participated in and patronized church music in the Archdiocese of St. Paul, on being elevated to the episcopacy.
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*We would like to call this music to your attention:*

- Noel Nouvelet, in an arrangement by Alexander Peloquin, just off the Harold Flammer Press.
- To The Christ Child, by Regina Holmen Fryxell; H. W. Gray Co. (1954).
- Psalm 116, by Noel Goemanne; McLaughlin & Reilly Co. (1956).

## CITATION

“The sixth annual presentation of the Boys Town Saint Caecilia Medal is made to Professor Flor Peeters, Organist at the Cathedral of Mechelen, Belgium, Director of the Royal Flemish Conservatory, Antwerp, Belgium, Christian Gentleman, Patriot of his country and of the world.

“In our generation there is no one more distinguished in his contribution to the music of the Church than he; nor one who through his compositions and his mastery of the ‘king of instruments’ has so well conveyed the music of the Church to the world at large. In this he continues and complements the tradition of the Flemish School. In history, this tradition holds a primacy and holy artistry second to none.”



*Archbishop Gerald T. Bergan of Omaha presents the Boys Town Medal of St. Caecilia to Prof. Flor Peeters, noted Belgian organist and composer, at the close of the 5th annual liturgical music workshop held at Boys Town recently. Prof. Peeters played the organ accompaniment for his new Mass in Honor of St. John Baptist which was given its world premiere at the Pontifical Mass celebrated by Archbishop Bergan to close the workshop.*



## CHAPTER V

### THE CHANTS BETWEEN THE LESSONS

Between the lessons from Holy Scripture which follow the *Oratio* of the Celebrant, there are inserted two chants, which were performed by the soloists with repetitions, like a refrain sung by the choir of singers. They thus belong to the class of the *Cantus responsorius*. The first is called *Responsorium Graduale*; the second is the *Alleluia*, which in times of penitence and in Lent is replaced by the *Tractus*. There are always *two* chants. This is striking, and the reason of it is that in earlier times more than two lessons were read. First came a prophetic lesson; after it a chant was prescribed; the *Epistle* followed, after which another solo was performed, and then the *Gospel*. Thus the three lessons were separated by two chants. Later the first, the prophetic lesson, disappeared, probably in the 5th century, in the Roman liturgy as in the Byzantine,<sup>1</sup> but not without leaving traces behind. Until the 12th century some MSS. preserved three for certain feasts: for example, at the Masses of Christmas, of S. John Evangelist, of S. Silvester, and of the Epiphany; this survival moreover is attested also by the medieval ritualists.<sup>2</sup> On certain days in Lent and in the four Ember-week masses they are retained up to this day. Now it is very significant that both chants have been preserved, although the real reason for them no longer exists. The regulator of the Roman liturgy sanctioned the twofold chant, and the Church has not abolished it to this day, as a proof of the regard which she bears towards the chant.

All three lessons are to be found in the Mozarabic liturgy: the chant between the two first, the *Lectio Prophetica* and the *Apostolus*, is called the *Psallenda*. In the Milanese liturgy there were usually two lessons before the Gospel, and between them was sung the *Psalmellus* or *Psalmellus cum versu*. In Africa it was usually called *Psalmus*. All these names

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<sup>1</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*. 168, 195.

<sup>2</sup> Gerbert, *De Cantu* I. 387.

indicate the contents of the chant, which was a psalm, while the Roman name *Responsorium* points to the method of performing it.

### THE GRADUAL RESPONSORY

The *Responsorial Solo* in the Mass is of apostolic origin, the most ancient of all the chants of the Mass. We know how, in imitation of the Jewish liturgy, a solo from the psalmist was inserted between the readings from Holy Scripture in the Christian assemblies, to which the celebrant and those present listened in silence.<sup>1</sup> The chant of the *Responsorium* of the Mass is, from the first, present on its own account, in contrast to the Introit, Offertory and Communion, which were introduced later, with the object of filling up the time taken up by the ceremonies.<sup>2</sup>

That the *Responsorium* of the Mass at first comprised a whole psalm, is shown beyond doubt by several statements, particularly some of S. Augustine. The *precentor* sang in turn the verses of the psalm for the day, and the congregation answered each verse with the refrain. In his sermon 176, S. Augustine explains:<sup>3</sup> 'We have heard the first lesson . . . then we sang the psalm in which we mutually incited one another by singing with one voice and one heart, *O come let us worship.*' The last words formed the refrain sung by the congregation to the part of the soloist. He is still more explicit at the beginning of his exposition of ps. 119:<sup>4</sup> 'It is a short psalm which we have just heard sung and to which we have responded.' Longer psalms were also sung in their entirety, as may be concluded from his exposition of ps. 138, which he begins thus:<sup>5</sup> 'I had arranged that a shorter psalm should be sung by the *lector*; but he, as it appears, in a moment of perplexity performed another, and I preferred to follow the will of God shewn in the error of the *lector* rather than my own. Accordingly, if I have detained you somewhat by the length of the psalm (ps. 138 has 24 verses), you must not blame me for it, but perceive that God does not put a strain upon us without benefit.'

From this and other passages it seems to follow that the refrain of the congregation always comprised a whole verse. In his exposition of psalm 42,<sup>6</sup> Augustine mentions as the refrain *Inimici mei dixerunt mala mihi,*

1 *Ap. Constitut.* II. 57.

2 Duchesne, *Christian Worship.* 169.

3 *Patr. Lat.* xxxvij, 950. A passage in sermon 176 mentions the same thing: 'audivimus *Apostolicam lectionem*, audi *psalmum*...audistis *Evangelium*' (*ibid.* 927).

4 *Patr. Lat.* xxxvij, 1596.

5 *Ibid.* xxxvij, 1784.

6 *Ibid.* xxxvij, 444.



*quando morietur et peribit nomen ejus* (v. 6): in the *Enarratio* 2 of ps. 29: *Exaltabo te Domine quoniam suscepisti me, nec iucundasti inimicos meos super me*<sup>1</sup> (the opening verse); in the exposition of psalm 25: *Ne perdas cum impiis animam, et cum viris sanguinum vitam meam.*<sup>2</sup> This refrain is taken from the last part of the psalm (v. 9), and confirms the above statement that the psalm was sung in its entirety.

The evidence also shews that in the Roman Mass, before its regulation by Gregory the Great, the soloist performed a whole psalm. In the 3rd sermon on the anniversary of his accession, Leo the Great (440-461) says: 'We have sung the Davidical psalm (the 109th), not for our own exaltation but to the glory of Christ the Lord.'<sup>3</sup>

As we have seen, the number of the Introit-verses, until long after the Mass-reform of Gregory, depended upon the time taken up by the accompanying ceremonies and the prayers of the Pontiff; the shortening of the psalm did not come in until the simplification of the rites, adapted in the first instance for the Papal Mass, was an established fact. But in the case of the Responsory of the Mass, as far as we can trace back the Gregorian Mass, we find it in its present form, i. e. as *an introductory chant with a single verse*. The Gregorian Sacramentary<sup>4</sup> prescribes simply the *Grad(u)ale*, and all the known MSS. without exception, beginning with books of Rheinau and Monza in the 8th century,<sup>5</sup> indicate in the chant which is marked *Ry.* only one verse, and that is marked *Ψ*; they never, as at the Introit, indicate a psalm (Ps.). The *Ry. Ecce quam bonum* is the only one which has two verses.

The question has not yet been solved, at what date the abbreviation of the Mass-responsory took place, and yet it is one of the most important in the history of Plainsong. I do not either pretend to be able to give a definite answer, but an attempt to solve it cannot be avoided here. On considering the rich melodic garment which clothes the Gradual-responsory in all MSS., the conclusion suggests itself that the abbreviation and the highly melismatic form are closely connected,—that the shortening took place at the time when the melismatic style came in for this Chant, and in order to avoid extending it to an excessive length. A psalm performed in this way would probably have made this part of the Mass immoderately long. If this supposition be correct, it is only necessary

1 *Ibid.* xxxvj, 216.

2 *Ibid.* xxxvj, 191.

3 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 25.

4 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 25.

5 Gerbert, *Monum. vet. lit. Alem.* i, 362, and Tommasi, *l.c.* xij, 214. foll.

to determine the date of the abbreviation in order to be able to put a date to the *introduction of this rich melismatic style into the responsorial Mass-chant*. As the Graduals of Monza and Rheinau, containing the texts of the chants, equally with the later noted MSS., only know of the one Gradual-verse, the alteration of style cannot have taken place after 700.

But there is more to be said as to the abbreviation of the responsorial chant. The fact that in all MSS., without exception, only one verse is marked, forces one to conclude that the melodic extension of the Mass-responsory belongs to the medieval Roman Order of the Mass from the beginning; later alterations of this Order may always be recognized by deviations and variations in the MSS. As it is certain that the founder of the before-mentioned Order was Gregory I., the abbreviation of the Mass-responsory from a psalm to one verse of a psalm, cannot have been carried out later than 604, the year of Gregory's death. The study of the texts of the Gradual offers support to this conclusion. It would agree well with the character of Gregory's reform, if he himself had given the impetus to the abbreviation.

But one must go back still further. The documents of the non-Roman Latin liturgies know only the shortened form. The old Order of the Mass of S. Germanus of Paris (†576) mentions the responsory as being performed by boys<sup>1</sup>, but not as a psalm; so that—granting the connexion of the richer form of melody with the abbreviation—the richer solos must be claimed as existing in the Gallican Church by the middle of the 6th century. Now since Pope Leo the Great is shown to have been accustomed to the whole psalm, we must place the abbreviation of the text and the introduction of the full melismatic style in the Mass-responsory *between 450 and 550*. It is quite unnecessary to look to Graeco-Byzantine influences for the explanation of the event: the *Alleluia* had already for a long time represented the rich melismatic chant in the Mass, and it was natural similarly to elaborate the other solo-chant. Moreover the Gradual-psalm was far advanced beyond a form of simple recitation and was tending towards a richer style of composition by 400, as Augustine teaches us (*cf.* p. 28). And in this connexion the very important fact must not be left out of sight that in the Latin liturgy the melismatic style and the solo-chant always appear together, just as the antiphonal psalmody always wears a simple form of melodic dress.

Another possibility is that the abbreviation of the psalm and the rich elaboration of at least the first part which precedes the verse, and is at

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1 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 194.

the same time the refrain, arose out of the appropriation by the choir of the response of the congregation. The history of the *Ordinarium Missae* proves that, from the moment when the people, or the priests assisting at the altar, resigned their singing functions to the choir, the liturgical text exchanged its syllabic dress for a richer one. Thus it would not be inconceivable that, when the congregation left off singing the refrain to the responsorial psalm, the *Schola* made it more ornate. In this case it is possible that the solo part had already a richly developed melismatic form, and that the abbreviation of the psalm was caused by the elaboration of the refrain melody alone. But as there had been a choir of singers in Rome, at least ever since Celestine I, the appropriation by them of the refrain, and therefore the transformation of the responsorial style, must again be placed in the second half of the 5th century.

The shortened chant is no longer called *Psalmus responsorius*, but simply *Responsum*, *Responsorium*, or *Responsorius* (*sc. cantus* or *versus*). Besides these, there are the names *Gradualis* (*sc. cantus* or *versus*), or *Graduale* (*sc. responsorium*<sup>1</sup>), which refer to the place from which the soloist performed his office. This was called the *Ambo* (ἀμβώ, from ἀναβαίνειν to mount), or *suggestus*, or *pulpitus*, and was reached by steps (*gradus*<sup>2</sup>). The *reader* of the Gospel placed himself on the topmost step, the *singer* of the Gradual on one of the lower ones; also the *lector* whose duty it was to perform the other lessons.

The original custom, allotting the performance of the Gradual to a single singer, was soon given up. Isidore of Seville<sup>3</sup> as early as the 7th

1 The *Gradual* has nothing to do with the Gradual psalms. (Ps. 119—133).

2 Such *Ambones* are still preserved in the Churches of S. Maria in Cosmedin and others; in S. Clemente in Rome, the *Ambo* has two desks, one turned to the west towards the Altar, presumably for reading the Epistle, and the other standing lower and turned to the east, probably for singing the Gradual and Alleluia; for Durandus (4. 20. 8) says the Alleluia is to be sung towards the east (Tommasi, *praef.* p. 15, in vol. xij of the *Op. S. Greg.*). Where there was no *Ambo*, the Gradual was sung at the steps of the Choir, as at Reims (Tommasi, *ibid.*). Walafrid Strabo thus explains the word: 'Ambo ab ambiendo dicitur, quia intrantem ambit et cingit,' an explanation which clearly owes its origin only to his ignorance of Greek. In Gerbert (*De Cantu* ij, p. 534, *Tab.* iy.) an *Ambo* is figured. The *Ambo* of the basilica built by Constantine on the Vatican in honour of S. Peter, bore the inscription: 'Scandite cantantes Domino, Dominumque legentes; Ex alto populis verba superna sonent.' (de Rossi, *Inscript. Christ. Urb. Rom.* vol. ij).

3 Isidore, *De Off. Eccl.* i, 9: 'Responsoria hoc vocata nomine, quod uno canendo chorus consonando respondeat: antea autem id solus quisque agebat, nunc interdum unus, interdum *duo vel tres* communiter canunt, choro in plurimis respondentente.' (*Patr. Lat.* lxxxiiij, 744).

century teaches us that in his time it was sometimes sung by two or three singers. But in Rome the old custom lasted on for a long time. According to *Ordo Rom. I.*, before Mass, announcement is made to the Pontiff while still in the sacristy, which singer will execute the solo;<sup>1</sup> and in like manner it says later: 'The *Cantor* ascends the *Ambo* with the *Cantatorium* (the book with the chants of the Mass), and sings the *Responsorium*; if he can perform it by heart, he need not take the *Cantatorium* with him.'<sup>2</sup> Amalarius, who is a witness for the use of Rome in the 9th century, knows only a single singer of the Gradual.<sup>3</sup> We first meet with two Gradual singers in Rome in the 12th century, as prescribed in the eleventh *Ordo Romanus* for the Masses of Maundy Thursday and of Easter Day.<sup>4</sup>

In Rome, according to the passages quoted from the *Ordines Romani*, the senior members of the *Schola* always officiated as singers of the Gradual; in other places simply the *psalmists*, or in the Church of S. Germanus at Paris, boys, or in other Gallican Churches, deacons.<sup>5</sup> In North Italy also it was a favourite custom to train boys for the work; in Milan it was also sung by subdeacons, deacons and archdeacons, and on Easter Even by the Archbishop himself, as is shown in the *Ordo* of Beroldus of the 12th century.<sup>6</sup> Gregory the Great considered it an abuse that the office of singer should be executed by deacons: they ought to concern themselves more with preaching and the distribution of alms. By a decree of 595 he ordained that in future only subdeacons, and when they were not to be had, members of the minor orders, should officiate as *Cantors*.<sup>7</sup> But this regulation did not long remain in force, for in many liturgical books of later date we see not only *clerici minores* and subdeacons, but also

1 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviiij, 940.

2 So I understand the expression 'sine aliqua necessitate' of the *Ordo Rom. II.* 7. Amalarius, *De Eccl. Off.* iij, 16. (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1123) speaks of *Tabulae* which the singer held in his hand: by this must be meant the cover of the binding of the *Cantatorium*; and in fact e.g. the S. Gall *Cantatorium*, *Cod.* 359, has a valuable binding of ivory tablets. Cf. note 6.

3 Amalarius, *ibid.* cv, 1117.

4 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviiij, 1040 & 1044.

5 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 196.

6 Beroldus: 'Finita lectione puer magistri scholarum acceptis tabulis eburneis de altari vel ambone positus per clavicarium hebdomadarium, vestitus camisiolo ascendit pulpitem, ut canat psallendam. Et hoc semper, excepto in Quinquagesima et in dominicis diebus Quadragesimae, in quibus lectores canunt, et in Annuntiatione S. Mariae, quando duo subdiaconi et totidem notarii cantant, si archiepiscopus adfuerit. Si vero defuerit, duo notarii et duo lectores cantant.' *Ordo* of Beroldus, *ed.* Magistretti, p. 49. foll.

7 *Patr. Lat.* lxxvij, 1335.

deacons and even priests invested with the office of *Cantor*. In the nunneries of France the Gradual was not infrequently sung by the nuns, a practice combated by Pope Zacharius in a letter to the Major-domo Pippin. <sup>1</sup>

According to the liturgical documents of the earlier Middle Ages the execution of the Gradual was as follows: the *Cantor* sang it from the beginning as far as the verse; the First *Ordo Romanus* contains the rubric 'The Gradual-responsory is sung to the end by him who begins it.' <sup>2</sup> The choir repeated the part of the *Cantor*. After this came the verse, performed by the *Cantor*, after which the responsory was repeated. For a long time the repetition of the beginning part was observed wherever the Roman rite was used, as may be seen from Amalarius: <sup>3</sup> 'After the verse is ended, the *Succentors* (the singers who responded to the *Precentor*, the first singer) repeat the *responsorium* for the second time from the beginning and sing it to the end.' The *Consuetudines* of the Cluniac Order gave the same directions; also Bishop Sicardus of Cremona (†1274). <sup>4</sup> In England the repetition of the first part of the Gradual by the choir before and after the verse was still customary at the same period, as the rubrics of the chant-books there show. <sup>5</sup>

But before the 13th century the custom had already begun of leaving out the repetition after the verse if another chant followed, such as the Alleluia or Tract; it was only when this did not happen that the old use was retained. The *Rituale* of the Canons of S. Peter's, Benedict (*Ordo Rom. XI.*), <sup>6</sup> a valuable witness to the Roman use in the first half of the 12th century, directs the repetition in Lent, but only for week-days if no Tract follows. On other days accordingly it was omitted. The Premonstratensians and Carmelites followed this use down till recent times. <sup>7</sup> Elsewhere however, the repetition was soon universally abandoned; and the Missal of the Council of Trent sanctioned the performance of the Gradual-responsory <sup>8</sup> which was general in the later Middle Ages, *i. e.*

1 Tommasi, *l. c.* xi, *praef.* 11.

2 *Ordo Rom.* i. 26. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 950).

3 Amalarius, *l. c.* iij, 11. (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1118).

4 Tommasi, *l. c.* xij, *praef.* 13.

5 *Cod. Brit. Mus. Addit.* 17001. Cf. above, p. 59, note 5.

6 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 1039. This *Ordo* is addressed to Cardinal Guido de Castello, who ascended the Papal throne in 1143 as Pope Celestine II.

7 Tommasi, *l. c.*

8 As a result of this, there was a verbal *non sequitur* in the Gradual and Missal. The Gradual-responsory of the Mass of S. John Baptist runs: 'Priusquam te formarem in

without any repetition. This circumstance has conduced most of all to the suppression of the old name, and to the bringing in of the appellation 'Gradual,' which gives no indication in regard to the musical form of the piece. To-day the Gradual is started by one or two singers, after which the choir takes it up. As a conclusion by the soloist alone sounds unsatisfying, it is always the custom for the choir to join in with the soloist again at the end of the verse. This practice dates from the later Middle Ages: it is already mentioned in the above-named English MS., which adds that after the intonation of the precentor the choir begins again from the beginning, thus repeating the intonation.

If the Gradual had, as an exception, more than one verse, it was repeated after each verse. To this category there belong, besides the *R̄. Ecce quam bonum*, some chants which early acquired the name of *Traçt*, although the witness of ritualists leaves no doubt that, properly speaking, they are Gradual-responsories; for they clearly prescribe the repetitions which are characteristic of responsories, and which the *Traçt* has never had. But as the chants in question all fall in Lent, the use of the name *Traçt* is easily intelligible. Among them is to be reckoned the *Domine exaudi orationem* of Wednesday in Holy Week, which is called *Gradale*, in the oldest MSS., e. g. those of Rheinau and Monza,<sup>1</sup> or else *Responsorium*, as in Amalarius, who in his exposition of the ceremonies of that day expressly mentions the *Responsorium*, and ascribes five verses to it.<sup>2</sup> After each verse, the first part was either partly or entirely repeated, as befits a *Responsorium*. This is proved by the *Consuetudines* of the Monastery of Corbie,<sup>3</sup> which call the chant *Traçtus*. The same

utero, novi tē: et antequam exires de ventre, sanctificavi te. *Ÿ*. Misit dominus manum suam et tetigit os meum, et dixit mihi.' It is thus logically incomplete. Originally the first part was repeated after the verse, and completed the sense. A Leipsic MS. Gradual (in the Library of S. Thomas' Church) expressly prescribes the repetition after the verse for this Gradual.

1 Gerbert, *Monum. vel. lit. Alem.* i, 381, and Tommasi, *l. c.* xij, 219.

2 Amalarius, *De Eccl. Off.* i, 11 (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1009): 'quarta feria post Palmas, quae habet varietatem et adjectionem unius lectionis et unius responsorii cum quinque versibus,' and towards the end of the chapter: 'Responsorius secundus quinque versus habet.'

3 *Consuet. Corbeiens. Mon.* (See Martene, 3, xij, 32): 'Feria iv sequenti cantabunt duo monachi *Traçtum* ad magnam missam *Domine exaudi*; mox ut cantaverint primum versum, conventus repetat eundem versum et cantabunt; et post praedicti duo monachi alium *Ÿ*. et conventus repetet *tractum* in medio, sc. *Et clamor meus*, et sic usque in finem praedictus *tractus* cantabitur. Et post praedicti duo monachi iterum incipient principium primi versus de dicto *tractu* et conventus cantabit eundem versum.'

holds good of the chant *Domine audivi auditum* of Good Friday, which has also been called *Tractus* since the 10th century. Before that, it was called *Responsorium* or *Graduale*, e. g. in the Gelasian Sacramentary, in the Antiphoners of Rheinau and Monza, and in Amalarius. The *Rituale Corbeïense* directs as to this, that after each verse the whole of the first part shall be repeated, or the second half of it. Both chants were later called *Tractus*, only because by that time the proper Gradual had lost all but one of its verses, and these, being longer, seemed to bear a likeness to the Tract. The Antiphoner of Monza also calls the responsory *Beata gens* a Tract.

If now these Tracts are properly responsories, then all those also which use the same melody or its *motif* in the MSS. (and printed books) are only in an improper sense called Tracts,—that is all the Tracts of the 2nd Mode. In their structure and true manner of performance they are Gradual-responds; and in them there is preserved a valuable relic of the early medieval method of singing; for here, as in general, Lent proves to be still very rich in ancient traditions.

The Gradual-respond was sung at all Masses in the early Middle Ages, as it is the oldest chant of the Mass. Later it was replaced by an Alleluia in Easter-tide, so that this season has since had two Alleluias. Easter-week itself however has retained the Gradual before the Alleluia. It is a peculiar fact that all the Graduals of this week begin with the same piece, *Haec dies*, and that all their verses are taken from the 117th Psalm. These Graduals accordingly are all connected, and no doubt they formed at first a single chant with several verses, which was performed in full on Easter-Day; later however, when the Mass-responds were reduced to one verse, it was distributed over the days of Easter-week. <sup>1</sup>

The Antiphoner of the Mass in the S. Gall MS. 339 contains 118 Graduals including those later called Tracts. They are distributed over 181 Masses, some of which, e. g. the Ember Masses, on account of the unusual number of Lessons, have several Graduals each: others, especially the Masses of the saints, frequently use the same Gradual. 104 of the

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1 In early times a copyist wrote for Easter Tuesday the verse *Dicant nunc qui redempti sunt* from ps. 106, an error which appears as early as the books of Monza and Rheinau, and which has survived down to our present books. Only a few books have the original verse from ps. 117: 'Dicat nunc domus Aaron, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius,' e. g. the *Graduale Compendiense* (see *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 678), and a MS. in Tommasi, l. c. xij, 91. The mistake is explained by the similarity of the beginning of the verses. The Gradual in *Patr. Lat.* prescribes for Easter day all the verses of ps. 117, which elsewhere are distributed over the whole week.

texts of these Graduals belong to the Psalter, 13 to other books of Holy Scripture; only one is not biblical, the Gradual *Locus iste* of the *Dedicatio ecclesiae*.<sup>1</sup> It is precisely the oldest Masses of the *Temporale* that have a Psalm-gradual, and consequently those of the *Sanctorale*, and those Masses whose text does not belong to the Psalter, must be of later origin. This conclusion follows naturally from the fact that the Gradual-responsory was originally a responsorial psalm. The feast of the Dedication was established in the year 608 as the *Dedicatio S. Mariae ad Martyres* in Rome:<sup>2</sup> now its Gradual *Locus iste* cannot have had several verses and been shortened; and thus again it follows that the abbreviation of the Gradual-psalm took place before 608.

With regard to the Graduals of the Sundays after Pentecost the MSS. offer an interesting variety: in a very few, a set occurs which deviates throughout from that of the S. Gall MS. 339. This difference appears strangely enough as early as in our two MSS. of the 8th century: that of Monza has the order of the Graduals of the S. Gall MS., that of Rheinau the other; the latter is peculiar, in that the texts follow the order of the psalms, as is the case with the Introit. The second is the later plan, and it is due to an attempt to arrange the Graduals like the other chants of these Sundays, which took their texts from the psalms in turn, following their numerical order.<sup>3</sup>

The Gradual-verse almost always comes from the same book of Holy Scripture as the Gradual, a rule which invariably holds good if the source is the Psalter.

#### THE ALLELUIA

The *Alleluia* is the second piece of chant between the lessons. According to the testimony of S. Jerome<sup>4</sup>, a psalm was sung with Alleluia between the lessons in Bethlehem as early as the 4th century: the Alleluia formed the refrain, by the people, to the psalmody of the soloist. In the Greek Church the *Cherubikon*, as it was called, was prescribed for every Mass, even on Good Friday and in Masses for the dead: the joy of the

<sup>1</sup> The only metrical Gradual text in the MSS. is the distich 'Virgo Dei genitrix, quem totus non capit orbis, In tua se clausit viscera, factus homo,' the verse of the Gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Pontif.* (ed. Duchesne), i, 317.

<sup>3</sup> Both sets of Graduals may be found in the Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> Morin, *Les véritables origines du chant Grégorien*, p. 48.



Church at the death of the righteous seemed to justify the latter. <sup>1</sup> The singing of *Alleluia* was very popular in the Eastern Churches. The Greeks had their own books with joyous melodies for Alleluia, the *Alleluaria*, <sup>2</sup> and the Copts, the Egyptian Christians, still sing it for a quarter of an hour at a time. <sup>3</sup>

The Alleluia-chant was introduced into the Roman Mass by Pope Damasus (368—384) at the instance of his liturgical adviser Jerome, in conscious imitation of a feature in the Liturgy of Jerusalem. <sup>4</sup> At first this innovation was confined to Easter Sunday; <sup>5</sup> soon in the 5th century it was sung during the whole season of Easter, and Gregory the Great extended its use to all Sundays and festivals of the Church's year, with the exception of Lent and fast-days. In the above mentioned letter in which he justifies his order about the chanting of the *Kyrie*, he refers to the custom introduced into the Roman Church by Damasus, and also defends his manner of singing the Alleluia *extra Pentecostes* (*i. e.* outside the time from Easter to Pentecost). <sup>6</sup>

On the basis of the testimony of Augustine and Cassiodorus (*cf.* above, p. 33) it has been already suggested as probable that the Alleluia-chant of the pre-Gregorian Mass was a very long protracted melismatic melody. It cannot be stated with any certainty at what point it became the custom to attach one or more psalm-verses to the Alleluia in the manner handed down in the MSS. But as there is not a single Mass in the Gregorian Liturgy containing an Alleluia without a verse, the custom must belong to Gregory's own settlement of the Mass, *i. e.* it cannot be later than Gregory I. At any rate the Alleluia-verses were introduced first by Gregory (†604), for, while the other chants of the Mass, as far as we can trace them back, in text and melody, are the same in all countries of the Roman Liturgy the MSS. vary in a remarkable manner as regards the choice of the verses for the Alleluia. Even in Easter week they are not uniform, and the same discrepancy is also noticeable in the Sundays after Pentecost, which, as we have seen, had no Alleluia until Gregory's day. These Alleluias with their verses are grouped, not with the Introit, Gradual etc. at the several

1 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 205.

2 Gerbert, *De Cantu*. I, 406.

3 Ortiqne, *Dictionnaire du plain-chant*, p. 109.

4 S. Gregory, *Epist.* ix, 12: 'Ut Alleluia in ecclesia Romana diceretur, de Hierosolymorum ecclesia ex B. Hieronymi traditione, tempore beatae memoriae Damasi traditur tractum' (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvij, 956).

5 Duchesne, *l. c.* 166.

6 *Cf.* above p. 65.

Masses, but stand at the end of the MSS. in an appendix. The text of their verses is also in accord with their late date: for they are taken from the psalms in order, so that the Alleluia for a later Sunday belongs to a psalm which follows later in the order of the Psalter.<sup>1</sup> For other days the choice of the Alleluia was usually left open: thus the Rheinau Gradual has for the Vigil of Christmas, when it falls on a Sunday, the rubric: 'An Alleluia of Advent according to choice.'<sup>2</sup> Fresh Alleluia melodies were composed till late in the Middle Ages, although for other chants of the Mass recourse then was always had to the traditional stock.

This want of uniformity in the Alleluia verses, which is shewn even in the oldest MSS. can only be explained by the fact that the appointment of this chant as a regular constituent part of the Roman Mass by Gregory did not involve the settlement of details. There remained a liberty of selection which still testifies to the later origin of the verses. Accordingly, while the verses to the Introit, Gradual etc. survive in the MSS. as the last remnants of an original psalm, the Alleluia-verses on the contrary are due to a process of accretion. There must have been a reason for adding words to the *Alleluia-jubili*: they were necessitated, no doubt, by the elaborate musical character of the pre-Gregorian Alleluias. The reviser of the Liturgy must have considered these so rich in melismatic beauty that he would not shorten them, but he managed by adding psalm-verses to give them a better liturgical form, without cutting down the luxuriance of the melody.

Even with the verses, and therefore in its less melismatic form, the Alleluia-chant of the Middle Ages gave occasion to the liturgists for exercising their skill in discovering mystical meanings. Amalarius sees in it a foretaste of everlasting bliss: 'The *Jubilatio*, which the *cantors* call *Sequentia*, brings our minds into that state in which we shall no longer need to use words, for one mind will reveal its conceptions to another by the medium of thought alone.'<sup>3</sup> Stephen of Autun follows the same tendency when

1 Cf. *Cod. S. Gall.* 339, p. 126, foll.; *Cod. Einsiedl.* 121, p. 343, foll.; & *Cod. Einsiedl.* 133, p. 199, foll.

2 Gerbert, *Monum. vet. lit. Alem.* i, 365. The Gradual of Monza likewise contains no special directions for the Sundays after Pentecost; the choice of the Alleluia was left open even in Easter week. For the Mass of S. Vitalis the MS. says: '*Alleluia* quale volueris.'

3 Amalarius, *De Eccl. Off.* iij, 13 (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1122): '*Alleluia* quod cantatur per festos dies in recordatione aeternae laetitiae,' and iij, 16 (*ibid.* 1123): 'Haec iubilatio quam cantores *sequentiam* vocant, statum illum ad mentem nostram ducit, quando non erit necessaria locutio verborum, sed sola cogitatione mens mente monstrabit, quod retinet

he explains the shortness of the text and the length of the melody, by the incapacity of the human language to express what the mind cannot so much as put into thought.<sup>1</sup> The overflowing joy of the Alleluia made the Gradual-respond, which immediately precedes it, of less importance to the ritualists. Some even saw in it a chant of penitence and sorrow,—a notion which has no justification and which certainly sprang up rather late. This is so with Abbot Rupert of Deutz (12th century) who says:<sup>2</sup> ‘After the Gradual, the song of grief, follows the Alleluia of joy, and while we strive to express the greatness of the comfort which is laid up for those who now grieve, we jubilate rather than sing, and extend a short syllable over several neums or groups of neums, in order that the spirit may be moved by the beautiful sounds, and may be led thither where the saints in glory shout for joy, where everlasting life prevails and where there is no death.’ ‘In speech the Alleluia is short, but in the neum it is long, for that joy is too great to be expressed in speech,’ adds Durandus (13th century).<sup>3</sup>

The disposition and execution of the Alleluia, which, like the Gradual, belongs to the responsorial chant, is as follows: the soloist begins, and sings the Alleluia; the choir repeats it; the *Cantor* continues the verse or verses, while the choir repeats the same Alleluia after each of them. In the Alleluia, unlike the Gradual, the repetition after each verse remained in use through all the Middle Ages and is the rule to-day, so that the Alleluia is still a true *cantus responsorius*. There certainly were deviations from this rule; thus, as early as the first *Ordo Romanus*<sup>4</sup> it was on ordinary days allowable to omit the repetition of the Alleluia after the verse. The best known example of an omission of this kind is afforded by the Alleluia *Confitemini* of Easter Even and of the Vigil of Pentecost; here after the verse there was no repetition, probably because the Tract *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* followed immediately upon it. This manner of performance was adopted from thence for the similar Alleluia belonging to the days of the *Litania Major*, although on them no chant follows directly upon the Alleluia, but it is succeeded immediately by the

in se.’ To suit this passage *Ordo Romanus II. cap. 7* has been interpolated: for the words ‘sequitur iubilatio quam sequentiam vocant’ appear there only in the printed editions.

1 *De Sacram. Alt.* 12 (*Patr. Lat.* clxxij, 1284): ‘Verbum est breve, sed longo protrahitur pneumate. Nec mirum, si vox humana deficit ad loquendum, ubi mens non sufficit ad cogitandum.’

2 Rupertus Tuitens. *De Divinis Officiis* i, 35 (*Patr. Lat.* clxx, 29 foll.).

3 Durandus, Bishop of Mende, see Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 407.

4 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviiij, 950: ‘Alleluia . . . in quotidianis diebus, si voluerint, tantum prima dicitur.’

Gospel.<sup>1</sup> Originally however the repetition must have taken place on these days, and an old *Ordinarium* still directs this expressly.<sup>2</sup> The Tridentine Missal has established as general the custom of the late Middle Ages.

The singer of the Alleluia had to take off the *planeta* (chasuble) before he ascended the *Ambo*: it was the universal rule for the soloist to perform the solos attired in an alb.<sup>3</sup> On the *Ambo* the highest step was reserved for the reader of the Gospel; the soloist of the Alleluia or of the Gradual stood on a lower one; he sang it turning towards the East.<sup>4</sup>

The Use established for the Roman Church by Gregory I. has in all essentials survived to this day; the only modification of it has been, that when the time from Septuagesima to Ash Wednesday was included in the penitential season, the Alleluia was made to cease with that Sunday. It is also a later arrangement that the Gradual-responds are supplanted by a second Alleluia from the Mass of Low Sunday till the first Sunday after Pentecost, as has been already mentioned.

In the Milanese Church the *Versus in Alleluia* was performed before the Gospel<sup>5</sup> as in Rome, but in Spain after the Gospel.<sup>6</sup> Here the Alleluia-chanting was called *Laudes* or *Laudem canere*. The Spanish bishops kept watch over the position of the Alleluia which was peculiar to their Liturgy, and defended it against the intrusion of the Milanese (or Roman) use in the Council of Toledo<sup>7</sup> (633). They also fought against the custom of singing Alleluia during Lent, which probably was imported from the Greek Church.

The MSS. as a rule affix to the Alleluia a single verse; two are

1 In similar cases, as pointed out on p. 77 the repetition was also omitted after the Gradual verse.

2 An *Ordinarium Canonic. Regular. S. Laudi Rotomag.* (see Tommasi xij) *praef.* 18.

3 Amalarius, *De Eccl. Off.* iij, 15 (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1122).

4 *Ordo Rom. II.* (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvii, 971). Also *Ordo VI.*, 5 (*ibid.*, 991).

5 On the manner of its performance cf. Beroldus: 'Notarius iussu primicerii sui tollit tabulas (cf. above, p. 76) de altari vel de ambone; indutus camisio canit *Alleluia* in pulpito bis ante *versum*, et magister scholarum incipit, et lectores deinde canunt *Alleluia* et *versum* et *Alleluia* similiter. Post *versum* vero idem notarius dicit *alleluia*. Tunc magister scholarum canit melodias cum pueris suis, tacentibus lectoribus. Et notandum, quia notarius semper canit *Alleluia* in dominicis diebus, excepto in Natale domini et in Epiphania et in Resurrectione et in Pentecosten, et in Dedicatione maioris ecclesiae, in quibus diaconi cantant, praecedentibus eos notariis . . . excepto die carnevalis, in qua pueri cantant.' *Ordo* (ed. Magistretti), p. 50.

6 Isidore, *De Off.* i, 13 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxxiiij, 750). Cf. above p 32.

7 Gerbert, *De Cantu* i, 404.

exceptional. The Gradual of Rheinau adds to the All. *Ÿ. Pascha nostrum* of Easter Sunday also the *Ÿ. Epulemur in azymis*; the *Cantatorium* of Monza also to the All. *Ÿ. Tu es Petrus*, the *Ÿ. Beatus es Simon*. In *Cod.* 339 of S. Gall the following have two verses: All. *Ÿ. Laetatus sum* and *Ÿ. Stantes erant*; All. *Ÿ. Nimis honorati sunt* and *Ÿ. Dinumerabo eos*; All. *Ÿ. Te decet hymnus* and *Ÿ. Replebimur*; All. *Ÿ. Venite exultemus* and *Ÿ. Praeoccupemus*. In *Cod.* 121 of Einsiedeln there are also the All. *Ÿ. Angelus Domini* and *Ÿ. Respondens angelus*; All. *Ÿ. Lauda Hierusalem* and *Ÿ. Qui posuit*; All. *Ÿ. In exitu Israel* and *Ÿ. Facta est Judea*; All. *Ÿ. Laudate pueri* and *Ÿ. Sit nomen domini*. Some of these retained their verses throughout the Middle Ages: they are still to be met with in the oldest printed books, *e. g.* in the Graduals of Strassburg (1510) and Basle (1511). The Mass book of the Council of Trent has struck out all second verses, and since then all Alleluias of the Mass have only one verse.

The above-mentioned S. Gall MS. 339 has in all 95 different Alleluia-chants (the All. *Ÿ. Laudate Dominum* comes twice with different notation). The texts of 70 Alleluias come from the Psalter; and of 14 from the other books of Holy Scripture, only 11 are of non-Biblical origin.<sup>1</sup> The lion's share here also falls to the Psalter. Special consideration should be given to the fact that in the oldest MSS. the Alleluias are divided into two groups; one group occurs within the book in such a way that each Alleluia is given after the Gradual of the Mass to which it belongs; the other group stands at the end of the book as an Appendix, and comprises, besides the Alleluia-chants for the Sundays after Pentecost, which again follow the order of the Psalter,<sup>2</sup> some collections of those which might be chosen for the various classes of Saints,—for Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins etc. The former group must be the older; the latter gave the

<sup>1</sup> These are 1. All. *Ÿ. Veni domine* (Christmas Eve) the first half of which agrees with Habak. ij, 3. The whole may be a translation from the Greek. This is more than probable in the case of 2. All. *Ÿ. Dies sanctificatus* (Third Mass of Christmas). Others not drawn from the Bible are 3. All. *Ÿ. In Resurrectione* (Octave of Easter) and 4. All. *Ÿ. Surrexit altissimus* (Wednesday in Easter-week). 5. All. *Ÿ. Benedictus es Dei filius* (3rd Sunday after Easter). 6. All. *Ÿ. Dilexit Andreas* (Feast of S. Andrew, a connexion of the words *Dilexit Andream Dominus* with the phrase which is very frequent in the books of Moses, *in odorem suavitatis*). 7. All. *Ÿ. Elegit te dominus* suggests Deut. vij, 6 or xiv, 2. S. All. *Ÿ. Iustus germinabit* is based on Isaiah xxvij, 6 or Hosea xiv, 6. Further 9. All. *Ÿ. Te martyrum candidatus* is taken from the *Te deum*. 10. All. *Ÿ. Egregia sponsa* is an independent composition. 11. All. *Ÿ. Salve crux* (S. Andrew) is the same, or is taken from the *Acta* of the Saint.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in the Appendix the series of Alleluias of *Cod.* 339. of S. Gall, etc.

impetus to the formation of the *Commune*, for subsequently not only the Alleluias of each class of Saints, but also the other Mass-chants were thrown together. The very numerous new Alleluias which appeared in the 14th and 15th centuries in the MSS. are chiefly new compositions both in text and melody; they shew the decay of liturgical composition, in their systematic rejection of the Church's official book for prayers and chants—viz. the Bible, and more especially the Psalter: <sup>1</sup> melodically they are entirely confined to those modes which are akin to modern keys.

### THE TRACT

On days of mourning and penitence and on Ember Saturdays the Alleluia is replaced by the Tract. 'The *Cantor* ascends the *Ambo* with the *Cantatorium* and sings the Responsory: next follows, according as the season [of the Church's year] directs, the Alleluia or else the Tract;' so says the first *Ordo Romanus*.<sup>2</sup> Alleluia and Tract thus are mutually exclusive. According to the 3rd *Ordo* the Cantor of the Tract (or of the Alleluia) is to be a different person from the Cantor of the Gradual.<sup>3</sup> As far as our knowledge goes, the Tract is always a solo chant, which is interrupted neither by antiphonal nor by responsorial additions, but goes on from beginning to end in one flow. Tommasi connects the name with *tractim*,—in one draught, without interruption.<sup>4</sup> This explanation is supported by Amalarius who distinguishes the Tract from the Gradual-respond by the fact that in the latter the choir answers the soloist, while in the former nobody responds.<sup>5</sup> At any rate the name was given in very early times to the performance of the chant thus designated, which had to be slow, dragging and protracted, corresponding to the penitential character of the day on which it was sung. Bishop Durandus of Mende finds in the fact that the Tract never comes together with the Alleluia (except *ob specialem causam* on Easter Even) a proof that the Tract is more a chant of mourning than the Gradual.<sup>6</sup> According to Hugh of S. Victor, the Tract signifies

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the texts given by W. H. Frere in his Introduction to the *Grad. Sarisb.*

<sup>2</sup> *Patr. Lat.* lxxviiij, 942.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 979.

<sup>4</sup> Tommasi, *l. c.* xij, *praef.* 19. The word *tractim* is also used in the sense of simple recitation, and is then opposed to the modulated chants; thus it is said of a monk Rudulpho in the Belgian Monastery of S. Trudo (12th century) that he 'zealously kept the night and day hours in choir 'et de psalmis *tractim cantandis et cantu dulci aequè modulando*.' Gerbert *De Cantu*. I, 576. *Cod.* 359. of S. Gall has the rubric *Tractus Cantus*.

<sup>5</sup> Amalarius, *De Offic.* iij, 12 (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1121): 'Hoc differt inter *responsorium*, cui chorus respondit et *tractum*, cui nemo.'

<sup>6</sup> Gerbert, *De Cantu*. I, 403.

that 'which expresses sighing and songs of lamentation, the tears of the Saints. It is so named because the Saints *drew forth* sighs and lamentations from the depths of their hearts.' <sup>1</sup>

This explanation does not satisfy the facts; for it has been shewn already that most of the Tracts were really Gradual-responds, and that it was only when the existence of Graduals with more than one verse had been forgotten that they were designated as Tracts, although they long retained the manner of performance characteristic of the Gradual-respond. There is one Tract moreover, *Laudate Dominum*, which contains the very opposite of a lamentation. The real meaning of the word *Tractus* is shown by comparing it with the Greek *εἰρημός*. <sup>2</sup> The word *Hirmus*, as used by the Greeks of the Middle Ages, means a melody written at the head of a long text, to which its various sections were to be sung,—a kind of typical melody, which was adapted to the various parts of a longer hymn in accordance with definite rules taught in the song-school. It is easy to see how the Latin Tract could acquire this designation if we bear in mind that the melodic material available in all the Tracts is very uniform. All the Tracts belong, as will be shewn in detail in the second part of the INTRODUCTION, either to the 2nd or 8th Ecclesiastical Mode, and by preference use the same melodies. A Greek influence over the Tract may be seen in the fact that, according to a statement in the *Ordines Romani*, <sup>3</sup> on Easter Even the Tract, with the prophetic lessons between which it is inserted, was performed first in Latin and then in Greek.

The Tracts with their verses are among the most prolonged chants of the Mass: in particular the Tr. *Qui habitat in adiutorio* of the first Sunday in Lent recalls the complete psalm of early days. It comprises all the verses of psalm 90 and is the only chant of the Mass which has preserved the whole psalm. The Tr. *Deus, Deus meus, respice* of Palm Sunday comprises the greater part of ps. 21. All the rest are shortened and have only three verses, two, or even one. The length of the Tract is a proof of its great antiquity; in fact when one considers the close relation in which it stands to the Gradual-respond, one is tempted to believe that the Tract of the Medieval MSS. exhibits the last remnants of the original Gradual psalm.

<sup>1</sup> Hugo of S. Victor, *Spec. Eccl.* 7 (*Patr. Lat.* clxxvij, 359).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Christ, *Über die Bedeutung von Hirmos, Troparion und Kanon in der griech. Poesie des Mittelalters* (*Sitzungsber. der Münchener Akademie* 1870, ij, p. 75, foll.). It is important to keep in mind that the name *Tractus* does not appear for the first time in the 9th or 10th century (like that of 'sequence,' which has a similar history), but it already appears in the MSS. of the 8th century, in the Gradual of Monza as well as that of Rheinau.

<sup>3</sup> *Ordo Rom. I.*, 40 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvij, 955).

Its present melodic form must be that which belonged to all Responsorial psalms before their abbreviation. It is then probable that the Tract melodies are extremely old and venerable monuments of the Chant of the Latin Church, and that they preserve *the melodic forms of the solo-psalmody of the Mass* in the shape in which they were used *up to the 4th and 5th centuries in Italy*, when the solo-singers began to deck them out with richer *melismata* than before, and by this innovation brought on the abbreviation of the psalm.

This suggestion is specially borne out by the fact that far on into the Middle Ages all the texts of the Tract without exception come from the Psalter or the biblical canticles. In *Cod.* 339 of S. Gall out of the 20 chants entitled *Tract* (deducting the 3 Gradual-responds *De necessitatibus*, *Domine audivi*, and *Domine exaudi*) 17 are psalm-texts (including the Cant. *Sicut cervus* in ps. 41) and the other 3 canticle-texts. When the Gradual-psalm was shortened, the forms of the original Gradual-psalmody were prescribed for penitential seasons only. Our oldest chant-books contain Tracts only for the Sundays from Septuagesima to Palm-Sunday, for Ash Wednesday, the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of Holy Week, and also for those feasts of Saints which usually fall within this season: thus the Gradual of Monza has for the Feast of S. Valentine Tr. *Desiderium* and of S. Felix Tr. *Beatus vir*. Later it was the custom to sing the Tract also on week days in Lent. However in this case nothing new was composed, but the existing material was made to serve.

#### THE CANTICLE 'BENEDICTUS ES.'

In the same series with the chants named Tracts is to be included a Canticle which as regards melodic composition, has many analogies with the Tract melodies.

The chant of the Three Children in the fiery furnace certainly belongs to the oldest form of the Latin liturgy. In the Mozarabic liturgy it was an integral constituent part of the Mass; the 4th Council of Toledo<sup>1</sup> was induced to lay particular stress on the obligation to use it on Sundays and Feast-days, and threatened all priests who neglected it with excommunication. The Council issued this direction not only for Spain but also for Gaul. In accordance with this the liturgy of S. Germanus of

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<sup>1</sup> The Council lays stress on 'Hymnum . . . quem ecclesiae catholica per totum orbem diffusa celebrat.' Gerbert, *De Cantu*, I. 400.



Paris also directs the *Benedictio* after the second lesson,<sup>1</sup> a name which is taken from the frequent recurrence of the word *Benedicite*. Later it was not used so much, and the Mozarabic Mass-book of the Middle Ages prescribes it only occasionally, e.g. for the First Sunday in Lent.<sup>2</sup> In the Gallican lectionary it is marked for Christmas Day, after the prophetic lesson, and likewise on Easter Even,<sup>3</sup> on which day Amalarius heard this chant in Tours.<sup>4</sup> In the Roman Mass it is only to be met with on Ember Saturdays, and this practice gradually supplanted the others.<sup>5</sup> In the early Middle Ages it was sung to two different melodies.

### THE CREED

To the chants between the lessons from Holy Scripture is added the Creed.

The Niceno-Constantinopolitan<sup>6</sup> Creed first entered the Mass in the East. From the Greek Church it was adopted into the Mozarabic liturgy in 589 by the Spanish bishops assembled in Council at Toledo.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Patr. Lat.* lxxij, 91. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 195. The word *Benedictio* is also to be so understood in Isidore (*Epist.* 25, 1). 'Ad psalmistam pertinet officium canendi, *dicere benedictiones*, laudes, sacrificium, responsoria et quidquid pertinet ad peritiam canendi.' This has nothing to do with the *Benedicamus Domino*, as Durandus supposes. *Rationale.* ij, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 401.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Amalarius, *De Off.* iv, 17. (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1195).

<sup>5</sup> Walafrid Strabo supposes that the Romans sang the hymn of the Three Children only on the 4 days with 12 lessons 'propter multipliciter officiorum.' *De Reb. Eccles.* 22 (*Patr. Lat.* cxiv, 947).

<sup>6</sup> The Apostles' Creed was probably not used in the Mass, but it certainly was on other liturgical occasions. It is to be found in some MSS., e.g. *Cod.* 381 of *S. Gall*, *Cod.* 97 of Rheinau, in the Cantonal Library at Zürich, and in English MSS. (*cf. Winchester Troper*, Henry Bradshaw Society, p. 60) in the Greek language, but written in Latin characters and supplied with neums; this shows that it was not simply said like the Mass-Creed, but was sung. In the above-mentioned Rheinau MS. it runs thus (p. 36): 'Pisteuo is theon patera, pantocratora, piitin uranu ke gis. Ke is ison christon, ton yon autu, ton monogeni Kyrion imon. Ton sillisthenta ek pneumatos agiu, genithenta ek marias tis parthenu. Pathonta epi pontiu pilatu, staurothenta, thanonta ke taphenta, katelthonta is ta katotata, triti ti imera anatanta apo ton necron. Anelthonta is tus uranus, katezomenos en dexia theu patros pantodinamu. Er ki then erchomenon krine zontas ki nekrus. Pistheuo is to pneuma to agion, agian ecclesian katholikin, agio kenonian, aphesim amartian sarkos anastasin, zoin eunion, amen.'

<sup>7</sup> 'Secundum formam orientalium ecclesiarum' says the Council in *Can.* ij, Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 4, 26.

Here it was precented, not after the Gospel, but after the turning round of the Priest holding the holy Host in his hand, and it was continued by the clergy and all the people. <sup>1</sup> It found an entrance into the Ambrosian Mass, in the old Order of which it is called *Symbolum Dominicale*. Here it stands after the Offertory; the Ambrosian Mass has another chant besides, after the Gospel, which is not found in other Latin liturgies, the *Antiphona post Evangelium*. <sup>2</sup> Beroldus, a Milanese author of the 12th century, describes its performance as follows: 'The Archbishop or Priest precent it, and the choir continues it as far as *Et homo factus est*, from which point the *Magister scholarum* with his boys sing it to the end.' <sup>3</sup> In Gaul and Germany the Creed was likewise known in the Mass, as we learn from the conference which the envoys of Charles the Great held with Leo III in Rome, wherein they appealed for the express permission of the Pope to sing the Creed in the Mass. <sup>4</sup> According to Amalarius, <sup>5</sup> in Gaul all the people took part in chanting the Creed. As regards the Roman Mass, this is evidenced by the 2nd *Ordo Romanus* <sup>6</sup> and by Walafrid Strabo for the time about 800. <sup>7</sup> Shortly after, it seems to have disappeared, until it was definitely incorporated into it under Benedict VIII. The way in which this came about is recorded by an eye-witness, Berno, abbot of the Monastery of Reichenau, <sup>8</sup> who was in Rome in 1014 with the Emperor Henry II. In the second chapter of his book *De quibusdam rebus ad Missam pertinentibus*, in which he sets forth his view of the *Gloria*, he shows that in Rome the Creed did not exist before his time. The Romans, when asked why they did not sing it, answered the Emperor that the Roman Church had never been tainted by heresy, and therefore other churches sooner needed to sing the Creed, such as might have been at times tainted by false belief. The Emperor however urgently besought the Pope to have the Creed sung in the public Mass thenceforth, and the Pope

1 Gerbert, *ibid.*

2 Ceriani, *Notitia Liturgiae Ambros. ante saec. med.* XI, (Milan 1895) p. 5.

3 Beroldus, *ed. Magistretti*, (Milan 1894). p. 53.

4 Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 427.

5 Amalarius, *Ecloga de officio Missae (Patr. Lat. cv, 1323)*: 'Postquam Christus locutus est populo suo, fas est, ut dulcius et intentius profiteatur credulitatem suam; sicque convenit populo, post Evangelium intentionem credulitatis suae praeclaro ore proferre.'

6 *Patr. Lat. lxxviii, 972*: 'post lectum evangelium . . . ab episcopo *Credo in unum Deum* cantatur.'

7 Walafrid Strabo, *De Reb. Eccles. 22 (Patr. Lat. cxiv, 947)*.

8 *Patr. Lat. cvlij, 1056. cf. above p. 80.*

complied with his wishes. In spite of this, or rather on account of its late introduction, the Creed has always been considered merely as a more decorative part of the Mass. The 6th Roman *Ordo* leaves it to the Bishop to have a sermon after the Gospel, or, if he does not wish to do this, to start with a loud voice the *Credo in unum Deum*,<sup>1</sup> which is to be continued by the whole choir (the clergy at the altar). The chanting of the Creed was not a function of the singers, as is shown by the 11th *Ordo*, which prescribes for the Mass of Christmas—‘The Pontiff intones the Creed and the *Basilicarii* respond and sing on. The *Primicerius* and the *Schola* then sing the *Offerenda*.’ The *Basilicarii*, here distinguished from the choir, are the retinue of the Celebrant, who are at the altar.<sup>3</sup> With this agrees the statement in the exposition of the Mass by Innocent III (13th century),<sup>2</sup> that in the solemn Papal Mass the Creed was not sung by the singers of the choir, but by the sub-deacons at the altar.

As the *Gloria* to the present day does not appear at every Mass, so it is with the Creed. It is included only in the Masses of Sundays and Feast days. Like the *Gloria*, it was also sung in Greek, even late into the Middle Ages. In some MSS. of S. Gall it occurs in Greek, but written in Latin characters, as has been already mentioned.

The melody to which the Creed was sung in the Middle Ages, and which the MSS. have handed down, is a simple syllabic recitative without melodic embellishment. The same formula of recitative is repeated for most of the verses, so that it was very easy to learn. Such a style of performance was of course necessary, since it was not the *Schola*, but the whole body of priests assisting at the altar that were bound to sing it. In the later Middle Ages besides the simple melody there arose others with ‘broken notes,’ *i.e.* with quicker note-values. In the strict Orders, *e.g.* among the Carthusians, the old recitative was adhered to: and while for the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and the other parts of the *Ordinarium Missae*, the later Middle Ages composed a considerable number of different melodies, for the Creed we find in the MSS., and even in the oldest printed books, very seldom more than one melody, the old recitative.

It seems that towards the end of the Middle Ages in some churches, especially in Germany, the length of the Creed was felt to be burdensome. Some MSS. (*e.g.* the *Cod. S. Gall* 546), as well as printed books, (*e.g.* the Augsburg Gradual printed at Basle in 1511), contained a shortened form

1 *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 992.

2 *Ibid.* 1033.

3 Innocentius, *De myster. Miss.* II. 52 (*Patr. Lat.* ccxvii, 830).

of music to the Creed side by side with the complete chant. This is remarkable, because it was Germany rather than Italy and France, both at this time and later, that preserved intact the Gregorian Chant. In the same way it is strange that such abbreviations should be found in a S. Gall MS. which does not come from outside (like *Cod.* 383 of the same library), but was made to the order of an abbot (Franz Gaisberg) by a member of the monastery, as a record in the MS. informs us. Of the three Creed-melodies comprised in *Cod.* 546, the third simply adds Amen at the words *et homo factus est*. The Augsburg Gradual has several shortened Creeds: the first ends like the one at S. Gall just mentioned; the second goes on one verse further, and ends with *passus et sepultus est. Amen*; the third leaves out the whole portion from *crucifixus etiam* to *confiteor*. It is unnecessary to point out that such a proceeding, which moreover went on far into later centuries, bears extremely bad testimony to the liturgical instinct of that time. It is one of the harbingers of the storms which from the second half of the 16th century onwards were to spring up against the liturgical chant of the Middle Ages.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CHANTS OF THE ANAPHORA

After the lessons are ended, the offering of the Sacrifice begins, and with it the Mass proper. After the salutation *Dominus vobiscum*, the celebrant exhorts those present to pray with him,<sup>1</sup> and then begins the ceremonies prescribed for the rite of the Offering. Meanwhile the Choir sings

### THE ANTIPHON TO THE OFFERTORY

The chant accompanying the offering is very old: it existed in the first half of the 5th century. S. Augustine, as he himself relates,<sup>2</sup> introduced into the African Church 'the custom of singing hymns out of the book of psalms before the offering of the sacrificial gifts, and during the distribution of the Sacrifice to the people.' It cannot be proved with certainty that Augustine in so doing adopted a Milanese or Roman rite, but it is very probable; on the other hand the absence of the Offertory chant from the Roman Mass for Easter Even<sup>3</sup> shows that the Roman

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1 It is difficult to say when the prayer introduced by *Oremus* disappeared out of the Mass. Perhaps when the words of the chants first began to be said at the Altar. From that time the celebrant had two texts before him, and may have decided in favour of the later one. But it is remarkable that the *Oremus* remained, although the text of the Offertory following has none of the character of prayer except in a very few cases, as *e.g.* in the Offertory of the Mass for the dead, *Domine Jesu Christe*.

2 A certain Hilarius resisted the innovation, and thus gave Augustine an opportunity for justifying his conduct in a dissertation (*Contra Hilarium*), which is unfortunately lost; it certainly contained much valuable information about the history of Ecclesiastical Chant. Augustine, *Retract.* ij, 11 (*Patr. Lat.* xxxij, 634).

3 The ritualists tried to explain this in their usual style: *e.g.* pseudo-Alcuin supposed 'quod autem (on Easter Even) post Evangelium non cantatur *offerenda* et cantores tempore sacrificii silent, ad memoriam reducitur sacrificium seu silentium mulierum' (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 379).

Liturgy did not possess it from the beginning.<sup>1</sup> It was desirable to engage the attention of the faithful by a chant during the offering of the gifts, because the rite of the offering in its original form gave occasion for a disturbing noise. Thus all Latin liturgies from the early Middle Ages onwards have a chant at this place in the Mass, to fill up the time while the people are offering their gifts. In Spain it was called *Offertorium* or *Sacrificium*;<sup>2</sup> the documents of both the Italian liturgies, the Milanese and the Roman, call it *Offerenda* and *Offertorium*, either with or without an indication of the antiphonal method of performance (such as *Antiphona ad Offerendum*, or *ad Offertorium*). In the old Gallican liturgy of S. Germanus of Paris, the chant accompanying the Oblation was called *Sonus* or *Sonum*,<sup>3</sup> and comprised nothing but the *Alleluia*.

The ceremony of the offering by the people was at first universal. It soon disappeared from the Oriental liturgies, but was retained in the Latin ones for a long time. As the *Ordines Romani* show, the people at Rome offered bread and wine, and the clerks and priests as well. Even the officiating Pope had to bring his gift; the singers brought only the water which was mixed with the wine.<sup>4</sup>

Surrounded by bishops and priests, the Pope received the bread, and the Archdeacon the wine. The gifts were thereupon divided into two parts: one was delivered to the Pope and afterwards consecrated. It was possible to judge approximately from the number present how much was necessary for Consecration and Communion, and what remained was specially blessed after the Consecration. The formula for this has been preserved in the Canon of the Mass up to the present time and is even said over the consecrated species, although they need no further blessing. The rite of the Offertory was concluded by the washing of the Celebrant's hands, which also is still to be found in the present Mass.

The melodic character of the Offertory chant was fixed by its liturgical position: like all the chants which accompany ceremonies it was at first a

1 Berno of Reichenau has no exact knowledge of the introduction of the Offertory: 'quamvis a prioris populi consuetudine in usum Christianorum venisse dicatur, tamen quis specialiter addiderit, aperte non legimus.' *De quibusdam ad missam pertinentibus*, i. (*Patr. Lat.* cxlij, 1058).

2 Thus Vasæus, *Chronicon Hisp.*: see *ad. ann.* 717. Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 431.

3 *Patr. Lat.* lxxij, 92.

4 *Ordo Rom. I.* 13 and 14. (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviiij, 943), cf. also *Ordo V. 8.* (*ibid* 988). It was retained in France also: Amalarius, *De Offic.* iij, 19 (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1131): 'Cantores propter instantem necessitatem cantandi non habent licentiam huc illucque discurrendi, ut singuli offerant cum caeteris . . . Populus offert vinum, cantores aquam.'

psalm, which was performed antiphonally by the two halves of the choir. It was necessary to have a chant lasting as long as the rather lengthy offering, and the singers themselves had to offer their gifts; and therefore very soon, and certainly before Gregory the Great, the character of the chant came to be modified. It was found convenient to leave the execution of the verses, not to the choir, but to a soloist. In view of the strong tendency in the Middle Ages for liturgical matters to react on the music, it was very natural that there should accompany this change an enrichment of the melody. Thus from a choir-chant the Offertory<sup>1</sup> became a highly developed solo-chant, like the Gradual and Alleluia; the Gregorian Offertories were richly decked out, and all the art of the soloist was lavished especially on the verses assigned to the soloists. We therefore meet with MSS. which contain Offertory-verses along with the other solo-chants: e.g. the *Cod. S. Gall* 378 and 380, and the *Cod.* of the National Library at Paris, *Fond. Lat.* 1134, 1135. Only the first words are given, as a rule, of the preliminary antiphons to be performed by the choir, together with the cue from which the antiphon was to be repeated after the verses. From the time when the soloists took to singing the Offertory-verses, and the choir sang only the antiphon in between, either completely or in part, the Offertory changed from an antiphonal chant into a *responsorial chant*. But the title *Antiphona* was kept as before.

Besides the solo character of the Offertory verses there is another peculiarity of this chant to be noted. The Offertory-chant is the only one of all the liturgical chants of the Mass and of the Office which occasionally repeats suitable words, or combinations of words, without being directed to do so by the liturgical text of the chant. In all other cases the melody is wedded to the words of the text ordered by the Church, without altering their arrangement, or repeating any part; and thus the liturgical chant grew up and developed in the closest connexion with the liturgical text. The repetition of a word, where the Liturgy does not order it, implies a sort of revolt from it: it denotes the triumph of a subjective conception of the liturgical words. However there is no need to judge the repetitions in the Offertory so severely: they were, it may be said, of a more simple nature, and were demanded by the length of the ceremonies at the offering. The value which the repetition of a word or thought may have, viewed from a purely artistic standpoint, was shown later by the

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<sup>1</sup> It is the same with the Ambrosian Offertories, the execution of which was the function of the *Magister Scholarum* and his singing boys, according to the ritualist Beroldus (12th century). *Ordo Beroldi* (ed. Magistretti), p. 52.

composers of harmonized vocal music, for they made of it one of their most forcible methods of expression. Artistic considerations are not the cause of the repetitions in the old Offertories. This is clear on looking more closely into them. The *Graduale Rhenaugiense* at the end of the Offertory of Christmas Eve, *Tollite portas*, repeats the first thought: *Tollite portas principes vestras et elevamini portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae, tollite portas principes vestras*. On Quinquagesima Sunday, the opening sentence *Benedictus es Domine, doce me iustificationes tuas* is sung twice.<sup>1</sup> The repetitions are more numerous in other MSS., e.g. in *Cod. S. Gall* 339: the Offert. *Jubilate Deo* of the 1st Sunday after Epiphany has the opening words *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* twice: the Offert. *Jubilate Deo* of the 2nd Sunday after the Epiphany likewise repeats the opening words *Jubilate Deo universa terra*, and the same part of verses 1 and 2: the Offert. *Benedictus es Dominus* here and in the Rheinau Gradual does the same in  $\Psi$ . 3: the Offert. *Precatus est Moyses* of *Fer. V. post Dom. II. Quadrag.* repeats the opening words *Precatus . . . et dixit*, and does the same in  $\Psi$ . 3.

It is no doubt possible that these sentences were sung the first time by the soloist as an intonation, and then repeated and continued by the Choir: but there are other repetitions in the same S. Gall MS., which cannot be so explained.  $\Psi$ . 1 of the Offert. *Domine exaudi* of Wednesday in Holy Week runs: *Ne avertas faciem tuam, ne avertas faciem tuam a me*.  $\Psi$ . 2 of the Offert. *Domine deus in simplicitate* of the Feast of Dedication runs: *Fecit Salomon solemnitatem in tempore illo, fecit Salomon solemnitatem in tempore illo, et properatus est et apparuit ei Dominus*.  $\Psi$ . 1 of Offert. *Exultabunt sancti* on the Feast of SS. Basilides, Cirinus, Nabor and Nazarius begins by repeating the words *Cantate domino canticum novum*.

Among the most strange are the repetitions in Offert. *Vir erat* of the 21st Sunday after Pentecost. The  $\Psi$ . 1 of this runs: *Utinam appenderentur peccata mea, quibus iram merui, quibus iram merui, et calamitas, et calamitas, et calamitas, quam patior haec gravior appareret*.  $\Psi$ . 2 *Quae est enim, quae est enim, quae est enim fortitudo mea, ut sustineam, aut quis finis meus, ut patienter agam, aut finis meus, ut patienter agam*; and in  $\Psi$ . 4: *Quoniam non revertetur oculus meus, ut videam bona*, the first word is even sung three times, and the last three words nine times. Amalarius points to the condition of the illness of Job, whose groans must have been repeated, as an explanation

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<sup>1</sup> Gerbert, *Monum. vet. lit. Alem.* I, 372, omits the repetition, but it is to be found in the original (*Cod. XXX. Rhenaug.* in the Cantonal Library at Zürich).



of this repetition of the words. <sup>1</sup> For the Offert. *Domine in auxilium* the above mentioned MS. indicates by the word *Domine* the repetition of the first part after the words *auferant me*.

The chronicler Sigebert remarks, at the year 772, that the repetitions were ordered by Pope Hadrian; <sup>2</sup> but this is not very probable. Not only do they bear the stamp of antiquity, but, more important still, they exist in the Ambrosian chant also, and in precisely the same pieces, e.g. in Offert. *Jubilate Domino Deo universa terra* (Sexagesima Sunday) and *Precatus est Moyses* (1st Sunday in Lent). <sup>3</sup> It is therefore to be concluded that they go back to a very distant age. Some were sung throughout the Middle Ages, and they are still to be found in pre-Tridentine printed Graduals. The Tridentine Commission for the reform of the Mass-book struck out most of them: only two Offertories recall the old peculiarity, *Domine in auxilium* and *De profundis clamavi*, for the 16th and 23rd Sundays after Pentecost. <sup>4</sup>

The number of the Offertory-verses was fixed by the length of the offering: two or three is the rule, and there are never more than four. The Rheinau Gradual does not specially mark them, but this is not noteworthy, considering the distinctly rubrical character of the MS. <sup>5</sup> The verses however were known at the date to which the MS. belongs (c. 750), as is clear from the repeated words in Offert. *Tollite portas*, which are merely the repetition by the choir after the (unrecorded) verse. The Offertory verses are often carefully written down in a great number of books,

<sup>1</sup> *De Off.* iij, 39 (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1157): 'In Offertorio non est repetitio verborum in versibus est. Verba historici continentur in Offertorio, verba Job aegroti et dolentis continentur in versibus. Aegrotus, cuius anhelitus non est sanus neque fortis, solet verba imperfecta saepius repetere. Officii auctor, ut effectanter nobis ad memoriam reduceret aegrotantem. In Offertorio, ut dixi, non sunt verba repetita, quia historicus scribens historiam non aegrotabat.

<sup>2</sup> *Patr. Lat.* clx, 147: 'Hic in Offertoriis et Offertorium versibus, quod geminatum est, geminavit.'

<sup>3</sup> See the oldest Ambrosian chant-book, of the 12th century, which is published in vols. v. and vj. of *Paléographie Musicale*, in phototype and in modern translation, at vj, clxi and 197.

<sup>4</sup> The texts still run: 'Domine, in auxilium meum respice: confundantur et reveantur qui quaerunt animam meam, ut auferant eam: Domine, in auxilium meum respice,' and 'De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine: Domine, exaudi orationem meam; de profundis clamavi ad te, Domine.'

<sup>5</sup> As a rule the Rheinau MS. contains only the texts of the chants, not the melodies, and those only in a shortened form adapted to simple circumstances, even though its Roman origin is unmistakably shown by the entry of the Stations.

and especially in the S. Gall MSS. <sup>1</sup> Moreover they are found in the Ambrosian Mass. <sup>2</sup>

If we leave out of sight the responsorial character which the Offertory-antiphon, even in the oldest MSS., unmistakably exhibits, its performance has many points of likeness in detail to that of the Introit-antiphon. The choir began with the first part, and repeated it, either completely or in part, after the verses of the soloist. In this case also the Pope gave the sign to the singers when to break off. <sup>3</sup>

There are MSS. as early as the 11th century which do not mark the Offertory-verses: from this we must conclude that from that time the offering of the people fell into disuse. They are wanting in most MSS. after the 12th century, but they were still sung in German Churches in the 13th century, on some feasts even in the 15th and 16th centuries, especially on Christmas day. <sup>4</sup> Durandus of Mende considers the reason for the omission of the verses to be the need of greater brevity, and the endeavour to make both clergy and people devote themselves more to the prayers. <sup>5</sup> Ralph of Tongres gives the important information that, since their omission, the Offertory itself was performed more slowly. <sup>6</sup> The use of the organ to accompany the chant seems to have had an influence in the same direction; at any rate it is certain that the harmonized music called 'Organum,' which was connected with a use of the organ, had the effect of retarding the *tempo* in the performance of the liturgical chant.

Like the repetitions, the verses also were removed from the Tridentine Mass-book. It is only the Mass for the dead (in which, even at the present time, a kind of offering often takes place), which still recalls the medieval usage by the *Ÿ. Hostias et preces*, and the repetition after it of the concluding part of the Offertory.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in *Cod. S. Gall.* 338, 339, 340, 374, 375 (of the 12th century), 376, 378, 380, and 382. Further in *Cod. Einsiedl.* 121 and numerous MSS. of the Paris Bibl. Nat.

<sup>2</sup> The Ambrosian Antiphoner of the *Paléographie musicale* has verses to the following Offertories: Off. *Alienigenae* (3rd Sun. in Advent), Off. *Benedixisti* (4th Sun. in Advent), Off. *Confortamini* (5th Sun. in Advent), Off. *Ecce apertum* (Christmas Day) Off. *Stetit angelus* (S. John Ev.), Off. *Visi sunt gressus* (Sun. after Christmas), Off. *Orietur in diebus* (Epiphany), Off. *Scapulis suis* (*Domin. in cap. Quad.*), Off. *Precatus est Moyses* (1st Sun. in Lent), Off. *Haec dicit* (*Domin. de Lazaro*), Off. *Eripe me* (Palm Sunday). All however have only one verse, except the Off. *Haec dicit*, which has two.

<sup>3</sup> *Ordo Rom. II.* 9 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 973).

<sup>4</sup> Two MSS. of the City Library of Trier, of the 13th century, have all the verses still.

<sup>5</sup> Durandus, iv, 27.

<sup>6</sup> *De can. obs.*, *prop.* 23. Gerbert, *De Cantu I*, 432.

Only about half the Masses of the Church's year have Offertories of their own in the MSS. The *Cod.* 339 of S. Gall has 102 different ones for 203 Masses. Their texts are taken principally from the Psalter (82), some are from other books of Holy Scripture (16); the origin of four is doubtful. <sup>1</sup> In the Sundays after Pentecost we again find texts following numerically the order of the Psalter. <sup>2</sup>

### THE SANCTUS

The Greek Liturgy has a double 'Thrice Holy:' in addition to that which corresponds to the *Sanctus* and is usually called *Epinikion* (song of triumph), it has the *Trisagion*, which in the Latin Liturgy is sung in the *Improperia* of Good Friday in Latin and in Greek: *Agios o Theos*, and *Sanctus Deus*, etc. Both occupied an important position in the Liturgy of the first centuries. <sup>3</sup>

In the Latin Liturgy the *Sanctus* forms an immediate continuation of the Preface. According to a notice in the *Liber Pontificalis*, <sup>4</sup> it was added to the Roman Mass by Pope Sixtus I. (c. 120). This is not impossible, for prayers like the Preface belong to the primitive elements of the Latin liturgy, and the Latin Mass-Preface always leads into the *Sanctus*. Moreover the further statement of the *Liber Pontificalis*, that the above-mentioned Pope had the *Sanctus* preceded by the celebrant, and continued by the whole congregation, certainly describes the original execution of the chant; for the Preface concludes with the summons to those present to raise their voices to the Thrice-Holy, together with the heavenly hosts. In the Gallican Church it was likewise in use from the first, at least at solemn Mass; the council of Vaison (529) ordered it for

<sup>1</sup> These are Off. *Oratio mea munda* (S. Lawrence, probably from his *Acta*), Off. *Protege Domine* (*De exalt. S. Crucis*, probably translated from the Greek), Off. *Domine Jesu Christe* (*In Agenda mortuorum*) and Off. *Benedictus sit* (*de S. Trinitate*).

<sup>2</sup> Quite singular, and certainly not of Roman origin, is the custom, noted by Gerbert in an *Ordo* of the monastery of S. Gregory in the Diocese of Basle, of having psalms performed by the clergy after the Offertory and before the Preface, (e.g. Pss. 19, 24 and 50), and followed by versicles sung by the people. Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 439. These versicles were known to Amalarius, but by hearsay only, from which we see that they were not in use everywhere (*Patr. Lat.* cv, 1132).

<sup>3</sup> Numerous proofs of this in *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 272. The *Apost. Constit.* (viii, 12), order the *Epinikion* to be sung by all the people.

<sup>4</sup> 'Constituit ut, Missarum actionem sacerdote incipiente, populus hymnum decantaret *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*,' etc. See *Lib. Pontif.* i, 128.

private Masses also. <sup>1</sup> It was moreover a congregational chant in Gaul, as is shown by a sermon of S. Caesarius of Arles, who complains bitterly of the bad habit of leaving the church after the Lessons, and asks: 'To whom is the priest to address the *Sursum corda*, and how are all to sing the *Sanctus* congregationally, if they are idling about in the streets, and are absent both in body and spirit?' <sup>2</sup> In the Gregorian Mass the clergy assisting at the Altar are sometimes the representatives of the congregation: thus the Roman *Ordines* direct that the *Subdiaconi Regionarii*, *i.e.* the Subdeacons of the different districts who minister to the Pope in the Station-church, should sing the *Sanctus*: when they have finished, the Pope begins the Canon. <sup>3</sup> In Gaul the congregational chanting of the *Sanctus* was not abolished even after the introduction of the Gregorian Liturgy. The Frankish kings were very well acquainted with the symbolical value of this beautiful practice, and it is urged in various ways in their capitularies. <sup>4</sup> In one of these it is ordered that the priest shall not go on with the *Te igitur*, the opening words of the Canon, until the angelic song of praise is quite finished. The priests were clearly bound to join in singing the *Sanctus*; and this is also attested by an order of Bishop Herardus of Tours in 858. <sup>5</sup> At least this obligation of the priest shows a deep understanding of the organic structure of the Sacred Rite.

We still possess the oldest *Sanctus* melody, which is merely the continuation of the Preface melody. When the choir of singers usurped, in addition to their own, those singing functions which till then had been performed by the congregation, this simple melody seemed too poor; other richer ones were then composed, and the primitive melody was degraded to ordinary days and to Masses for the dead, where it is still sung. <sup>6</sup> But the Carthusians even in the 18th century sang the old melody only. <sup>7</sup>

1 Canon 3: 'Ut in omnibus Missis, seu matutinis seu quadragesimalibus, seu in illis quae pro defunctorum commemoratione fiunt, semper *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* eo ordine quo ad Missas publicas dicitur, dici debeat.'

2 *Hom.* 12 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvii, 271).

3 *Ordo I.* 16 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvii, 945). The *Ordo* of the Canon Benedict calls them the *Basilicarii* (*Patr. Lat.* lxxvii, 1033).

4 *Capit.* i. 66; vj, 170.

5 *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii, 272.

6 In order to convince oneself that the *Sanctus* of ferias and of the Mass for the dead is the continuation of the Preface, one must consult an edition that contains the Gregorian plainsong like the *Liber Gradualis* of Solesmes: in other editions the connexion is often obscured, as they give the *Sanctus* melody at a different pitch to the Preface (*i.e.* a tone lower).

7 Soullier, *Plain-chant*, Tournai, p. 118.

The *Benedictus* was originally, and is still to-day in the mouth of the Celebrant, not an independent piece, but the conclusion of the *Sanctus*. Under the influence of the composers of the later Middle Ages, who often so extended the *Sanctus* in their harmonized Masses that the *Benedictus* could only be sung after the consecration, the singers gradually lost sight of the fact that the *Benedictus* belonged closely to the *Sanctus*. In the 15th and 16th centuries in Rome the *Sanctus* was sung at Solemn Masses no longer in plainsong, but always in harmony; and the custom of singing the *Benedictus* only after the consecration gradually became the rule. <sup>1</sup>

### THE AGNUS DEI

The *Agnus Dei* is unknown to the Gelasian Sacramentary, as it is also to the Milanese Order of the Mass; moreover the very ancient Gregorian Mass of the night before Easter, which to-day is said on Easter Even, does not contain it. <sup>2</sup> It is therefore shown to be a later addition to the Latin Mass. The text must have been taken from the *Gloria*; at any rate it was a Greek Pope, Sergius I, (678-701) who naturalized it in Rome. He ordered, so says the *Liber Pontificalis*, that, at the breaking of the Body of the Lord, the *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis* should be sung by the people and clergy. <sup>3</sup> In the Papal Mass, as described

1 As however this rule rests on the performance of a harmonized *Sanctus*, and presupposes this, one need not perhaps necessarily take it to mean that the *Benedictus* is to be sung after the consecration in the case of a plainsong *Sanctus* also. The custom accords ill with the common sense principle that the choir should always follow closely the order of the liturgical action; it spoils the connexion between Altar and Choir, for the *Benedictus qui venit* in the mouth of the Priest before the consecration has quite another significance from that which it has in the mouth of the singers after the consecration; to the latter the word *venit* is a perfect, while to the Priest it is a present with a future meaning.

A Mass *Ordo* in *Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 249 has the rubric that (after the Celebrant has begun *Te igitur*) the assisting deacons and subdeacons should sing the psalms *Exaudiat te Dominus, Ad te Domine levavi, Miserere mei Deus, Qui habitat in adiutorio*, with the verses (*precibus* probably stands for *versibus*); *Salvum fac servum tuum, Desiderium cordis, Vitam petiit a te, Oculi Domini super iustos, Fiat misericordia, Domine exaudi orationem*. As p. 99 points out, these pieces were sung at an earlier date in other Churches. But they were never in general use, and soon disappeared from the Liturgy.

2 A few monastic *Ordines* have the *Agnus Dei* also in this Mass, e.g. an *Ordo* of *Einsiedeln* of the 9th century. Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 455.

3 *Liber Pontif.* (ed. Duchesne), I, 376.

by the first Roman *Ordo*, the singers of the *Schola* are entrusted with it, and the assisting Archdeacon gives the sign to begin it. <sup>1</sup> In Gaul the original custom was preserved longer than in Rome, in that all the clergy officiating at the Altar, and sometimes all the people as well, performed the *Agnus*, not the singers only. Rhabanus Maurus orders it to be sung during the ceremony of the kiss of peace. <sup>2</sup>

It cannot be decided whether the *Agnus Dei* was sung at first as often as the length of the ceremony demanded, or only three times, as directed in all our documents. The former is probable, for, e.g. in the Papal Mass, the ceremony might occupy a considerable time. At any rate the alteration of the *miserere nobis* to *dona nobis pacem* at the end of the *Agnus Dei* was only carried out later, no doubt with reference to the kiss of peace and the prayer of the Canon following, *Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti Apostolis tuis, Pacem relinquo vobis etc.* In the Lateran Church 'the Mother of all the Churches,' *miserere nobis* is still sung at the third *Agnus*.

Like the melody of the *Sanctus*, that of the *Agnus Dei* was at first a simple recitative melody. This is still sung at ferial masses and at Masses for the dead. It can easily be understood that the singers of the Roman *Schola* would not be contented permanently with the simple melody; so they composed other melodies more effective and more ornate. In a Rheinau manuscript of the 12th century, besides the older melody (*minor*) a richer one (*major*) is mentioned, which was to be sung on high festivals, and on less important festivals at the third *Agnus*. <sup>3</sup> The *Agnus Dei* translated into Greek and written in Latin characters is found, though rarely, in the MSS., e.g. in a Troper of Montauriol of the 11th century. <sup>4</sup>

#### THE COMMUNION ANTIPHON

Almost all Eastern and Western liturgies, so far as we can follow them, the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII, 13) the liturgy of S. James, the liturgy of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, the Armenian, the Celtic, the Mozarabic,

<sup>1</sup> *Ordo Rom. I.* 19 (*Patr. Lat.* lxxviii, 946).

<sup>2</sup> *De Instit. Cler. I.* 33 (*Patr. Lat.* cvij, 324). In the Gallican Mass the kiss of peace was given before the Preface and was accompanied by a responsory (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 212). The same was the case also during the fraction of the holy Host, at which point the Ambrosians sang the *Confractorium*. Later, in the Mozarabic Liturgy, the Creed was said at this place (Duchesne, *ibid.* 220).

<sup>3</sup> Gerbert, *l. c.* I, 457.

<sup>4</sup> Daux, *Deux Livres Choraux monastiques des Xe et XIe siècles*, (Paris, 1899) p. 103.

the Milanese, and the Roman, prescribe for the communion of the people the chanting of the 33rd psalm, especially v. 8, *Gustate et videte*.<sup>1</sup> It was the unvarying Communion-chant which in all Masses accompanied the administration of the Holy Eucharist. In the African Church the Communion psalmody was introduced at the same time as the Offertory psalm, as we know from the statement of S. Augustine (*cf.* p. 93). In the Mozarabic-Gallican Mass the Communion-chant was called *Trecanum*:<sup>2</sup> in the 7th century it still consisted of verses of ps. 33 with *Gloria Patri*. In Milan the oldest liturgical records call it *Transitorium*; in the Roman Mass it is called *Antiphona ad Communionem*. Many MSS. of Gallican and German origin have a second Communion-chant for the Easter Mass, the celebrated antiphon *Venite populi*, e.g. *Cod.* 262 of the library of the City of Reims, *Cod. Bohn* of the library of the City of Trier, also the S. Gall MSS. etc. It was sung before the third *Agnus Dei*, as a summons to the reception of the Holy Communion (see the MS. of Reims).<sup>3</sup>

As early as the oldest Roman chant-books the Communion-chant varies for each Mass: the 8th Sunday after Pentecost alone has retained the text *Gustate et videte* in its original position: otherwise all the Masses have other texts. They are always psalm-verses performed alternately with an antiphon, which was repeated, either entirely or partially, after each verse; and thus the Communion with its verses is like the *Antiphona ad Introitum*. The number of the verses was decided by the time occupied with the administration of the Holy Eucharist. In some MSS. up till the 13th century they are specially indicated, e.g. in *Cod. Einsiedeln* 121, at the end, *Cod. S. Gall* 381, etc. As at the Introit, so here, there are the verses called *versus ad respondendum*, or *repetendum*, or *prophetales*. The *Cod. Einsiedeln* 121 gives the proper cue of the part of the antiphon to be repeated after each verse. A close study of the texts reveals a noteworthy contrast between the Communion-antiphon and the other Mass-chants of the *Proprium*. For the 201 Masses of the Church's year *Cod. S. Gall* 339 has only 147 different Communions: 56 Masses thus possess none peculiar to themselves. Out of the 147, the texts of 64 are taken from the Psalter, the texts of 80 from other books of Holy Scripture; only 3 are not taken from it.<sup>4</sup> In the case of the other chants, as we

1 There are many proofs of this given in *Paltographie Musicale* vj, 22.

2 *Patr. Lat.* lxxij, 94.

3 As to this chant *cf.* *Paltographie Musicale* v, *Avant-propos*, and Daux, *Deux Livres Choraux*, pp. 137 foll.

4 These are Comm., *Ecce Dominus veniet* (Ember Friday in Advent), *Qui me*

have seen, the Psalter has yielded by far the greater number of texts: here it is in the minority, and in the proportion of exactly 4 to 5. A comparison with the old Gospel capitularies and lectionaries shows that the choice of Communion-texts was confined to the books in which were written the Gospel and Lessons for each day, and especially the Gospel and Lesson of the Mass, although there are some exceptions which perhaps belong to a later arrangement. <sup>1</sup>

For the Sundays after Pentecost the numerical order of the psalms is again followed: the Communion of the first Sunday begins with ps. 9; then follow pss. 12, 16, 17 etc., as may be seen in the Appendix. There are only a few exceptions; but from the 17th Sunday onwards this arrangement is abandoned altogether. Generally the law of the numerical succession of the psalms governs all the chants of the Sundays after Pentecost, at least up to the Sunday mentioned, excepting the old Gradual series. The texts of the week-days of Lent are similarly arranged: they follow the order of the psalms, from the 1st to the 26th. The Sundays and Thursdays interrupt the succession: we shall learn the reason of this later.

As to the relation of the Communion-verse to the antiphon, when taken from a psalm, the same rules hold good as at the Introit; viz. if the Communion is the beginning of a psalm, the first verse of the Communion is the one immediately or almost immediately following: if the antiphon is taken from the middle of the psalm, the first Communion-verse is the first verse of the psalm. But if the antiphon is not taken from a psalm, its verses are from the same psalm as those of the Introit. Many MSS. simply give a reference to this: the note *psalmus ut supra* is found in this case. <sup>2</sup> To take a couple of examples: The Comm. *Erubescant* of the Friday before the 2nd Sunday in Lent comes from psalm 6, and forms verse 11 of it. The first Communion-verse runs *Domine ne in furore*, and is the first verse of the psalm. The Comm. of the following day, *Domine Deus meus*, forms the beginning of psalm 7, and the first Communion-verse *Nequando rapiat* follows immediately upon it in the psalm. On the other hand the Comm. *Mitte manum* of Low Sunday comes from S. John xx, 27, and has the verses *Exultate Deo* and *Sumite psalmum*, the opening verses of ps. 80,

*dignatus est* (S. Agatha, probably drawn from her *Acta*) and *Dona eis Domine* (Mass for the dead).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Lectionaries (also called *Comites*) and the *Capitulare Evangeliorum* in *Tommasi, l. c. XII.*

<sup>2</sup> *E. g.* in the Gradual printed in *Patr. Lat.*, vol. lxxviii.



just like the Introit *Quasi modo geniti*, which is taken from the 2nd chapter of the 1st epistle of S. Peter.

The practice of general communion at the Masses of solemn days must have gone out from the 11th century onward, as from that time the MSS. begin to leave out the verses. Those of the 12th century very seldom have them. As with the other chants, so with the Communion, the original form was preserved longest in Germany: the library of the church of S. Thomas at Leipzig contains a MS. of the 13th century, which gives the Communion-verses for all the days of the Church's year. At that time they were still sung in some parts of Germany, like the Introit-verses and those of the Offertory. From the 14th century onwards they disappeared everywhere; the only Mass which still adds a verse to the Communion-antiphon is the Mass for the dead, the Communion of which, *Lux aeterna*, has the verse *Requiem aeternam*; after it the conclusion of the antiphon, from *cum sanctis*, is repeated.

The execution of the Communion-antiphon was the same as that of the Introit-antiphon. We learn in detail from the Roman *Ordines* that it was started as soon as the celebrant began to administer the Holy Communion. The singers sang the psalm-verses which were necessary, antiphonally with the Subdeacons, in double chorus. When the administration of the Holy Communion was ended, the Pontiff gave the District Subdeacon a sign: he on his part gave the *Prior Scholae* to understand that the *Gloria Patri* was to be sung: there was yet to follow the *Versus ad rependum*, and, for the last time, the antiphon. <sup>1</sup>

For a long time the Communion-antiphon has been sung after the communion of the priest: at least this is the rule. This has perhaps come about through the fact that the antiphon only very seldom contains any longer any reference to the Holy Communion.

With respect to its musical composition the Communion stands on the same ground as the Introit. They even have, both of them, the same psalm-form.

It only remains now to deal with the lessons of the *Epistle* and *Gospel*, with the *Preface*, the *Pater noster*, and the other prayers which concern the celebrant and his assistants at the Altar,—those liturgical pieces, in fact, for which there arose in the later Middle Ages the not very aptly chosen designation *Accentus*, as opposed to *Concentus*,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ordo Rom. I. 20 (Patr. Lat. lxxviii, 947), and Ordo III. 18 (ibid 982).*

which was the name given to the melodically developed Antiphons and Responds. However, they interest us here only for their melody, and for this reason the description of them and of the analogous parts of the Office is deferred to the 'Gregorian Scheme.'

In order to enable the reader to get a survey of the music that accompanied the early Medieval Mass, there is appended to this chapter a collection of the variable texts of the chants of the Easter Mass, based upon *Cod. S. Gall* 339 of the 10th century : for the *versus ad repetendum* of the Introit and the Communion *Cod. 381* (11th century) of the same library has been utilized.

#### THE CHANTS OF THE EASTER MASS

##### *Antiphona ad Introitum*

*Ant.* Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia : posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia : mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia.

*Ps.* Domine, probasti me et cognovisti me : tu cognovisti sessionem meam et resurrectionem meam.

*Ant.* Resurrexi et adhuc, etc.

☩. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto : sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum, amen.

*Ant.* Resurrexi et adhuc, etc.

☩. *ad repet.* Intellexisti cogitationes meas de longe : semitam meam et funiculum meum investigasti.

*Ant.* Resurrexi et adhuc, etc.

##### *Responsorium Graduale*

R̄. Haec dies, quam fecit dominus : exultemus et laetemur in ea.

☩. Confitemini domino, quoniam bonus : quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.

R̄. Haec dies, quam fecit, etc.

##### *Alleluia* <sup>1</sup>

Alleluia. ☩. Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Alleluia.

☩. Epulemur in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis. Alleluia.

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<sup>1</sup> A manuscript of the 11-12 century (see Tommasi, *l.c.* xij, 89) has the Alleluia ☩. 'Ego dormivi et somnum coepi, et resurrexi, quia dominus suscepit me.'

*Antiphona ad Offertorium*

*Ant.* Terra tremuit et quievit, dum resurgeret in iudicio deus, alleluia.

Ÿ. Notus in Iudaea Deus, in Israel magnum nomen eius, alleluia.

*Ant.* Dum resurgeret, etc. <sup>1</sup>

Ÿ. Et factus est in pace locus eius, et habitatio eius in Sion.

*Ant.* Dum resurgeret, etc.

Ÿ. Ibi confregit cornu, arcum, scutum, gladium et bellum : illuminans tu mirabiliter a montibus aeternis, alleluia.

*Ant.* Terra tremuit, etc.

*Antiphona ad Communionem*

*Ant.* Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus, alleluia : itaque epulemur in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. <sup>2</sup>

*Ps.* Domine probasti me et cognovisti me : tu cognovisti sessionem meam et resurrectionem meam.

*Ant.* Pascha nostrum, etc.

Ÿ. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto : sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum, amen.

*Ant.* Pascha nostrum, etc.

Ÿ. *ad repet.* Intellexisti cogitationes meas de longe : semitam meam et funiculum meum investigasti.

*Ant.* Pascha nostrum, etc.

Ÿ. *ad repet.* Expurgate vetus fermentum : ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi.

*Ant.* Pascha nostrum, etc.

Ÿ. *ad repet.* Adducite vitulum saginatum : et occidite et manducemus et epulemur.

*Ant.* Pascha nostrum, etc.

Ÿ. *ad repet.* Comedite et bibite, amici mei : inebriamini, carissimi.

*Ant.* Pascha nostrum, etc.

Ÿ. *ad repet.* Quotiens calicem hunc bibetis : mortem domini adnuntiabitis, donec veniat.

*Ant.* Pascha nostrum, etc.

<sup>1</sup> The repetition is shown in *Cod. Einsiedeln 121*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cod. Einsiedeln 121* has as first Ÿ. Confitemini domino, quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius : and as the only Ÿ. *ad repet.* 'Lapidem, quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli' (*cf.* the manuscript quite at the end, on p. 422 of the reproduction in *Pal. Mus.* iv).

*Antiphona ad Communicandum*

*Ant.* Venite, populi, ad sacrum et immortale mysterium, et libamen agendum : cum timore et fide accedamus ; manibus mundis poenitentiae munus communicemus ; quoniam Agnus Dei propter nos Patri sacrificium propositum est ; ipsum solum adoremus, ipsum glorificemus, cum angelis clamantes alleluia.

## CHAPTER VII

### A SURVEY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OFFICE

The oldest constituent part of the Ecclesiastical Hours is formed by the night assemblies, the *Vigils*. The difficulty of coming together at any other time than at night gave rise to them. At first the *Vigil* was only the Vigil of Sunday: <sup>1</sup> especially distinguished was the Vigil of Easter, which clearly was dictated by the idea of spending the moment of the Resurrection in watching. It lasted moreover the whole night, whence came its Greek name *παννυχίς*. But as a rule the Sunday Vigil normally began after midnight, when the cock began to crow, *i. e.* in the early morning. Nevertheless it was the custom, perhaps in imitation of the Easter Vigil, to spend in prayer the beginning of the night, the time of the setting of the sun, when the lamps were first lit. Hence this hour of prayer was called *Lucernare* (*λυχνικόν*) or *Hora incensi*. Here we have the primitive form of Evensong, which accordingly in the earliest days represents the beginning of the night Vigil, until S. Benedict made it a day office. In the Syrian Church of the first half of the 4th century a third constituent part of the Vigil was known, a *morning office*, that later called *Laudes*. Thus Evensong, Nocturns (later called *Mattins*) and Lauds are the foundation of the office.

At the Vigils which always preceded the Eucharistic assembly, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the Holy Scriptures were read, prayers were

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny the younger gives early testimony concerning them in his *Epist.* x, 97. 'Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem (in the night of Saturday and Sunday) convenire. As the Eucharist took place at the close of the nocturnal worship, and this went on into the Sunday, so this day gradually became the day of the Eucharistic celebration, and in the practice of Christians soon replaced the Sabbath as the festival of the week. Cf. Cabrol, *La Prière antique* (Paris. 1900), p. 231.

said, and psalms were sung, <sup>1</sup> as at the Jewish hours of prayer, from which the Christians borrowed many rites.

Mass and the celebration of the Vigil in three parts, the liturgical forms of the first centuries, were soon extended from Sundays to the feasts of the Martyrs. On each memorial day of a saint, Mass was preceded by a Vigil: the existence of this *Cætus antelucanus* may be shewn as early as the middle of the 2nd century. <sup>2</sup> While the Sunday Vigil was held at the usual places of assembly, the Vigil and Mass in memory of a Martyr on the contrary were celebrated at the place of his tomb. <sup>3</sup>

To Sundays and the Feasts of Martyrs there were also added the Station days, the fast days of the week (Wednesday and Friday), which were taken over from the Jewish Church: only in some churches it was the Vigils alone, in others the Mass alone that was celebrated on them. <sup>4</sup>

The further development of the liturgical Hour-service was especially promoted by the reunions of the Ascetics, who from the 4th century onwards flourished everywhere in the East. They kept the Vigil not only on the official days, but daily. Moreover they not only applied themselves to prayer in the evening, after midnight, and in the morning, but they assembled together also at the *third, sixth and ninth hours* for pious exercises. Here also Jewish example must have influenced them, for these hours of prayer were well-known to the Jews; they were besides sanctified by the memory of the chief occurrences of the Passion of our Lord: the *third* hour (9 o'clock in the morning) by His condemnation, the *sixth* (noon) by His crucifixion, and the *ninth* (3 o'clock) by His death. Moreover these hours coincided with the division of the ordinary day. They had already been for a long time honoured by private worship, but henceforward the observance of them became the rule.

Towards the middle of the 4th century the Church allowed the daily vigils, which so far had possessed only a private character, to be observed in the churches of God under the supervision and guidance of the Clergy. This innovation sprang up in Antioch about 350, and soon extended over the Greek orient. The account of the travels of Silvia (c. 386) contains

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, *De Anima*, 9. Here we may compare what was said in chapter 1 of the chant of the vigils. In them not only the psalms, but the hymns also found their special home.

<sup>2</sup> By the letter in which the Christians of Smyrna sent word of the death of S. Polycarp. Cf. also Batiffol, *Hist. of the Brev.*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Constitut. Apost.* vj, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Batiffol, *l.c.* 14.

a very beautiful description of the ceremonies of the Vigils and of the other Hours of prayer as held in the Church of Jerusalem. Very edifying also are the descriptions of the Fathers, who speak with enthusiasm and holy joy of the assemblies at which all the people were present to serve the Lord in prayer and psalmody. <sup>1</sup> S. Basil used to visit, one after the other in the same night, the different churches in which his faithful met together to keep the Vigil: and S. Gregory Nazianzen found it a hardship to depart from Constantinople when he thought of the chanting of the psalms by the whole congregation. <sup>2</sup>

The Ascetics withdrew themselves from the world, and organized themselves in regions undisturbed by its tumult, in order to be better able to lead a life dedicated to prayer and self-denial. They naturally continued the whole system of prayer as it had been so far developed: on the other hand, in the secular churches, only the Vigils seem to have been kept up, so that later, as was said, these observed only the *Cursus nocturnus*, while the monasteries observed the *Cursus diurnus* also. The monastic office was completed later. *Prime* was introduced at Bethlehem when Cassian was living there (390-403). The origin of *Compline* is not quite clear; recent investigations seem to prove that it was already in existence in the second half of the 4th century. <sup>3</sup>

Students are not agreed as to the way in which the office developed in the secular churches of the West. *Evensong*, *Nocturns*, and *Lauds* were known in Gaul in the middle of the 4th century, as Hilary proves. <sup>4</sup> It has already been mentioned that the innovations of S. Ambrose (daily vigils with antiphonal psalmody and hymns) were speedily adopted by nearly all the Latin Churches. <sup>5</sup> For the rest, as in the East, the rites of the secular clergy differed from those of the regular, and occasionally friction took place. <sup>6</sup> Soon not only were the Martyrs venerated, but also

1 Compare what has been said in the 1st chapter on Psalmody in general.

2 Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 128 foll.

3 Vandepitte has pointed out that S. Basil introduced it during his stay in Pontus; see *Rassegna Gregoriana* (Rome, 1903), p. 171.

4 Bäumer *l.c.* 131.

5 Cf. pp. 22 and 23. The words of the biographer of S. Ambrose run: 'Cuius celebritatis devotio usque in hodiernum diem non solum in eadem ecclesia (Milan) *verum etiam per omnes paene Occidentis provincias manet.*'

6 The Council of Braga (561) resisted the endeavour to introduce private or monastic practices into the secular churches: 'Ut unus atque idem psallendi ordo in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur, et non diversae ac privatae neque monasteriorum consuetudines cum ecclesiastica regula sint permixtae' (Batiffol *l.c.* 32). As it is the *ordo*

such holy men as distinguished themselves, not by martyrdom, but by a heroic example of virtues. Thereupon the Saints' days were different of course in different churches, and were in no way universal, with the exception perhaps of a very few old feasts, those of S. Stephen, S. John, S. Peter and S. Paul. The *Natalitia Sanctorum* were confined to the churches where the Saint had suffered martyrdom, or where his relics were preserved. Thus the *Natale* of S. John the Evangelist, that of S. Martin, and that of S. Hilary of Tours, were celebrated in the basilica of S. Martin, S. Peter and S. Paul's day in the basilica named after them; the feast of Christmas in the Cathedral Church. In the monastic office the feasts of the Saints were, it appears, first introduced by the Rule of S. Benedict.

In Rome also there were in early times assemblies for prayer independent of the Mass, and first of all the Vigil.<sup>1</sup> It was binding on all the clergy; the people also flocked to it in numbers, so that abuses crept in, which made its retention questionable.<sup>2</sup> Here, as everywhere else, it consisted of psalmody, Scripture-lessons and prayer. Moreover antiphonal singing made its way to Rome after its introduction into Milan. (*cf.* p. 22). For daily Vigils in the Roman Church the first witness we have is the Rule of S. Benedict. But a long time before that there existed *Terce*, *Sext* and *None* and the prayers at sunset (*Evensong*); up till the end of the 4th century however, in the time of S. Jerome, they seem to have had only a private character, and were not publicly celebrated in Church.

The oldest complete order of the office that lies before us is that in the *Rule of S. Benedict*, which goes back to the year 529 or 530: it gives clear and exact directions as to the Hours of prayer, and their composition. As early as the middle of the 6th century there were Benedictine foundations in the neighbourhood of Rome, at Subiaco, Terracina, and Monte Cassino, where accordingly a complete set of Hours for day and night was observed;<sup>3</sup> this comprised *Vigils*, *i. e.* *Mattins* and *Lauds*, then the four lesser Hours of *Prime*, *Terce*, *Sext* and *None*, with *Evensong* and *Compline*. About 580 the monks fled to Rome before the Lombards, who

*psallendi* that is in question, the difference of the *consuetudines monasticae* from the *ecclesiasticae* must have reference to the number and distribution of the Psalms; and the explanation which Batiffol gives to the passages appears to go too far.

<sup>1</sup> See the 38th Canon of Hippolytus, which Batiffol assigns to the end of the 2nd century. The best German patristic authorities assert it to be considerably later (*e.g.* Bardenhever and Funk). *Cf.* Bäumer *l.c.* 51.

<sup>2</sup> Vigilantius wished it to be abolished on this account, but he was condemned by the Roman Church. *Cf.* Batiffol *l.c.* 42.

<sup>3</sup> Bäumer *l.c.* 179.



overran Italy in 568. Here Pope Pelagius (578-590) assigned them a dwelling near the Lateran Church, the parish and cathedral church of the Pope. However it is not impossible that the Benedictines had before this settled down near the Lateran; for Gregory I. in a letter mentions an Abbot Valentinian, a pupil of S. Benedict, who had for many years been at the head of the Lateran Monastery. From that time forward Benedictines were gradually summoned to all the greater churches of Rome, and were entrusted with the celebration of the Office. When the monks of Monte Cassino left Rome and returned to their old monastery, Gregory III. handed over to other monks the Basilica of Constantine near the Lateran, who were 'to keep the day and night-hours as they were observed in the Church of S. Peter.' A monastic foundation in honour of the Apostles Andrew and Bartholomew served similar purposes under Pope Honorius, and was renewed later by Pope Hadrian I. Its inmates, together with the monks of a monastery dedicated to S. Pancratius, had the care of the daily psalmody.<sup>1</sup> In this way it was to be expected that the Roman and Benedictine uses would approximate to one another. These similarities were remarked as early as the 8th century. A distinguished ritualist, Dom Bäumer, defends the view that the Roman Office was in all respects that of S. Benedict,<sup>2</sup> as the Benedictines were throughout the whole of the Middle Ages the pioneers of the Roman liturgy.

However that may be, the external structure of the monastic and of the secular Office was identical throughout the Middle Ages and still is so; both have for a long time been divided into *Mattins* with three *Nocturns*, *Lauds*, *Prime*, *Terce*, *Sext*, *None*, *Evensong* and *Compline*. About 800 *First Evensong* was added, and in consequence the original Evensong of the day became *Second Evensong* and lost much of its liturgical importance.

The order of the prayers, lessons and chants prescribed for the day and night hours of the whole year was called *Cursus*: the name refers especially to the order of the psalms and psalmody, and is therefore the simple equivalent of *Cursus canendi*. In the narrowest sense it was finally used for *Cursus diurnus*, and meant the order of the day hours, Prime, Terce, Sext and None.<sup>3</sup> There must have been a *Cursus* of this kind from the beginning, for as far back as the days of the Synagogue the

<sup>1</sup> Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 92.

<sup>2</sup> Bäumer *l.c.* 182 foll.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* in the Antiphoner of Hartker, *Cod.* 390-391 of S. Gall.

choice and succession of the psalms was not left to individuals. As liturgical practices spread after the 4th century, different *Cursus* sprang up in different countries, which were not unlike each other, in Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, Milan and Rome, *i. e.* in the centres of the liturgical movement. The Rules of the founders of Orders contain in this respect more or less detailed statements, especially that of S. Benedict. While the monasteries were bound by the same Rule to observe the same *Cursus*, in the secular churches unity of liturgical practices was not so easily attained; but it was the endeavour of the principal Metropolitan Churches, each within its own province, to make the Office uniform. Provincial Synods often issued decrees for this purpose, and also endeavoured to introduce unity in liturgical music, *e. g.* the Synods of Vannes (465), of Agde (506), of Gerunda (517), and of Epaon in Burgundy (517).<sup>1</sup> In the Canons of some of these Synods a uniformity in the *Ordo psallendi* is expressly desired. Of special importance is an enactment of the 4th Council of Toledo, which enjoined the same liturgical practices for the whole of Spain and Southern Gaul. An Order, enforced by authority, was also necessary to regulate the psalmody, together with express rules for the distribution of the Psalms, Antiphons, Responds and other pieces composing the Office. Such an Order is ascribed by Gennadius to the priest Musaeus, of Marseilles, who compiled suitable Lessons, Responds etc. for all the feasts of the year.<sup>2</sup> The forms of *Cursus* which ultimately prevailed were those of S. Benedict for the monastic use, and, for the secular clergy, that observed in the Roman basilicas.

Of great importance were the liturgical movements which resulted in France from the adoption of the Roman rite under Pippin and Charles the Great: they influenced the Roman Office to such an extent, that from the 11th century onward the latter is none other than the Roman-Frankish Office which sprang up in France from the blending of the old Gallican with the Gregorian. We shall return to details of this development, which is especially associated with the names of Alcuin and Amalarius. In the 12th century a simplification of the Office was taken in hand by the Papal Chapel; and this *Officium Curiae Romanae* or *Capellae papalis* gradually spread over the whole Church, especially after the new order of the Franciscans adopted it. This shortened Office became then the starting

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<sup>1</sup> Gerbert, *De Cantu* I, 184, and Hefele, *History of the Church Councils* III, 16, 76, 105, 107.

<sup>2</sup> Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, 79 (*Patr. Lat.* lviii, 1103).

point of the further development of the Hours of prayer up to the reform of the Council of Trent, and beyond.

In this development of the secular Office little recourse was had to the monastic. This went on in contrast to the former, and still exists, as is well known, side by side with the Roman Office. The difference between the two is even now inconsiderable, and does not concern any single form which is of the essence of the Office. In both cases the responsorial and antiphonal psalmody take the largest place; the hymns have never been able to attain more than a modest position. Almost the only difference consists in the number of Responds and Antiphons<sup>1</sup> (and psalms); in other respects the musical form is the same. The monastic Office in use among the older orders, the Benedictines, Cistercians and Carthusians, has in each of the first two Nocturns six Antiphons and psalms, four lessons and as many Responds; in the third Nocturn it has one Antiphon for all the psalms or canticles, but four lessons and four Responds. The secular Office adopted by the Dominicans, Franciscans etc. has for each of the three Nocturns three Antiphons and psalms, three lessons and Responds. Further, the monastic Evensong has only four Antiphons and psalms, while the secular has five; it is only rarely that five Vesper Antiphons are found in the monastic books, *e.g.* in the Antiphoner of Hartker (*Cod.* 390-1 of S. Gall). The examples at the end of the 10th chapter will make these comparisons clear.

According to the idea of its founder, the Office is not intended to be used in private, but sung congregationally in choir. This intention has dictated its structure, and given shape to its formulas. To touch upon only one point: the peculiar alternation of reading and solo-psalmody which fills up a great part of the *Officium Nocturnum* presupposes the reader to be a different person from the singer; if it had been the intention of the founder of the Office to prescribe a form for individual recitation, the Mattins Office would have been differently arranged. But in the same way that the introduction of the Gregorian Order of the Mass had as a result the recitation of the texts of the chants by the celebrant

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1 The Antiphons and Responds which form the chief part of the Office of the day used later to be called *Historia*, an expression which in its liturgical use refers no doubt to the texts drawn from the historical books of Holy Scripture, the Acts of the Martyrs and other sources. The *Codex Hartkeri*, written about 1000 (*Cod.* 390-1 of S. Gall), already inscribes the title of the Office of the Holy Trinity: 'Incipit historia de S. Trinitate.' Otto von Freisingen praises in his *Elogium Hermanni Contracti* his *Cantus historiales plenarios de S. Georgio etc.* Cf. Schubiger, *Sängerschule von S. Gallen*, p. 84, note 5.

at Low Mass, so the custom arose for the clergy who were not bound to the joint recitation of their service to *say* the parts of the Office which were originally *sung*. This development certainly dates from the time of the 13th century; through the transformation of ecclesiastical life in the later Middle Ages, and with the growth of the work of the secular clergy, it became a necessity and received sanction. But it is very characteristic of the traditional spirit which governs the history of the liturgical forms, that the Church has changed nothing in the structure of the Office. She has given up none of the essential forms of the Office. In its extension she has taken account of the altered circumstances. Accordingly in substance the development of the Office has gone on organically throughout; and since the Breviary of the Council of Trent has established and crowned this development, there need be no fear that another spirit will come into the venerable structure.

## THE ROMAN CHOIRS

Rev. Richard J. Schuler

Music has played its part in the liturgy of the Catholic Church from the very earliest times, and nowhere has artistic music to accompany worship been more diligently fostered throughout the centuries of the Christian era than in Rome itself. The famous *scholae cantorum* or *cappelle* of the major basilicas, as well as those of several of the minor basilicas and other large churches of the city, have histories that span centuries, with periods of great musical activity and other years during which a decadence and neglect seem to be apparent. Certain of these musical establishments have achieved greater fame than others, not only because of the importance of the church where they sang, or because of the detail of the historical records that have been kept, but chiefly through the fame that came to them because of the reputations of the musicians who acted as *maestri di cappella* and whose music composed for these Roman choirs has long since become one of the treasures of musical literature and the property of the universal church.

### *Cappella Pontificia*

The most ancient and undoubtedly the most famous of all the musical establishments, ecclesiastical or courtly, throughout all of Europe, is the Cappella Pontificia. This was the model for all the others. It is the Pope's choir. Its early history, like so many events of the first few Christian centuries, is somewhat obscure. It originated in the schools for the preparation of clerics destined for service in the great basilicas of Rome and in the Pope's own household. Tradition says that Saint Sylvester (314-335) established a school for training choristers during his pontificate. We know that Pope Sixtus III (432-440) founded a school *in catacumbas* which is probably near the present basilica of San Sebastian, outside the walls of Rome. Saint Leo the Great (440-461) established a school for this purpose at Saint Peter's, and Pope Hilary II (461-468) founded one at San Lorenzo fuori le Mura.

There seems little doubt that there was a long tradition of training singers before the time of Saint Gregory the Great. The Cantor John in his *Ordo Romanus* states that many popes preceding Gregory supported schools for singers, although John the Deacon, writing in 872, says in his life of Saint Gregory that Gregory himself was the true founder of the *schola cantorum*.

This school of Gregory the Great was called *orphanotrophium* or orphanage. It was endowed with various gifts, including a house

near the Basilica of Saint Peter and another near the Lateran. The establishment was directed by a high ecclesiastical official called the *prior scholae* or *primicerius*. Not a director in the modern sense, his title was changed in 1397 to the more familiar *maestro di cappella*. The *primicerius* was aided by a *secundus*, a *tertius* and a *quartus*, who were also called *archiparaphonista*. The best singers in the *schola* were called the *parafonisti*, and to them fell the solo passages. The number of singers was not fixed. They were recruited from among the young men who came to be educated at the various schools to which the *scholae* were attached. These young men would usually follow ecclesiastical careers.

Few records remain of those years when these Roman singers sang the chants of the Church in a way that so impressed the Emperor Charlemagne that he requested the Pope to send him an instructor together with the Roman books so that the singing as it was done by the Pontifical Choir could be reproduced in France. We know that Guido d'Arezzo taught his musical theories and methods at the Lateran school in 1027 at the invitation of Pope John XIX, and, we know also that from Rome the Gregorian chant spread out all over Europe even to England.

When the residence of the Popes was moved from Rome to France in the fourteenth century, the *schola cantorum* was not moved to Avignon. Pope Clement V organized a new choir there, made up of French singers who showed a decided interest in the new music of the time, the *Ars Nova*. The choir left in Rome continued to function, supported by various benefices assigned to it, although it declined in artistic quality and in influence because of the absence of papal ceremonies, a condition that was true of all activity in Rome during the years of the French residence. This was the period of the decree, *Docta Sanctorum*, of Pope John XXII (1324-25).

When Gregory XI (1370-1378) returned to Rome he brought with him the Avignon choir, which he joined with the Roman choir in 1377. This must have been a remarkable diplomatic achievement. It ushered in an era of renewed splendor for the *schola*, sparked by the French and Flemish influences brought from Avignon. The old title, *primicerius*, is no longer found any more, and the new title, *maestro di cappella pontificia*, continues to designate a high ecclesiastic ranking just behind the cardinals in dignity. The director in our sense did not exist as yet.

At Avignon, Flemish and French musicians served the popes, but we do not know their names. The choir consisted of twelve

singers. About all we know of the musical establishment there is that a record exists of a visit of Phillip de Vitry to Pope John XXII, and Guillaume de Machault received several benefices from that Pope, but whether these men contributed their services to enhance the music of the papal household is unknown.

In 1389, two singers came from the diocese of Liege in Flanders to join the papal choir in Rome. They were Henri Desire and Gilles de Lensi. In 1390, they were followed by Henri Tuepin, and in 1409, by Nicholas Simonis. Eventually other Flemish and French dioceses were represented, and finally between 1420 and 1430, the singers coming from Cambrai surpassed in numbers those from Liege. From 1428 to 1437, Guillaume Dufay was at the papal court.

Before the removal of the papal court to Avignon, it was the custom of the popes to go in procession to the church where the liturgy was celebrated, accompanied by the *schola*. Detailed descriptions of these stational liturgies dating from the seventh century show the role filled by the *schola* both in the procession to the assigned church and in the liturgy itself. At Avignon, however, the papal ceremonies were confined to a single chapel within the papal palace. That custom was brought back to Rome, and no longer did the *schola* or the pope go in procession to the various Roman basilicas. Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) built the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican Palace to be the place for all papal ceremonies, and in 1480, he re-established the Cappella Pontificia as a permanent *cantoria* reserved for papal functions alone. The title, Cappella Sistina, dates from this period, when the choir becomes the musical counterpart of the great Renaissance art, lavishly patronized by the popes. The works of Mino da Fiesole, Signorelli, Beato Angelico, Perugino and Michelangelo among others adorn the setting for the musical expression of the great Flemish and Italian masters whose names are forever associated with the Sistine Chapel. There all forms of art made the papal liturgy the most splendid worship in Christendom.

Immediately after the founding of the Cappella Sistina we find two Flemish musicians associated with the choir. Gaspard van Weerbecke served the popes from 1481 to 1488, and again from 1495 to his death in 1514. The other was Josquin des Pres, who was numbered among the Sistine singers from 1486 to 1494.

But the sixteenth century is the golden age of the Cappella Sistina. The lists of singers show its international and cosmopolitan atmosphere. In 1517, Costanza Festa joined the choir. In 1535

and 1536, the Spaniards, Cristoforo Morales and Bartolomeo Escobedo came, and in 1537, the French singer Leonardo Barre. He was followed in 1538 and 1539 by Ghiselin Danckerts and Jacob Arcadelt, both Belgians. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina served in the choir from January, 1555, until June of 1556, when he was dismissed by Pope Paul IV. The year 1561 brought the French musician Firmin Le Bel, and 1562 found the Spaniard Francesco Soto at the Vatican. In 1563, Cristiano Ameyden, a Belgian, joined the choir.

As the first years of the century had been dominated by the Flemish and French, the final years found the number of Romans increasing. Annibale Zoilo became a member of the *cappella* in 1570, followed by Giovanni Maria Nanino in 1577, Felice Anerio in 1594, Luca Marenzio in 1595, and Ruggero Giovannelli in 1599.

The seventeenth century opened with the coming of Tomas Ludovisi da Vittoria and brought such others as Loretto Vittori, Stefano Landi, Marco Marazzoli, Marcantonio Cesti, Antimo Liberati, and Gregorio Allegri to the papal service. But towards the end of the century, the composers of fame began to grow scarce in the *cappella*, although good singers continued to be found, among them Tommaso Bai and Guiseppe Santarelli.

The eighteenth century produced greater singers than *maestri*. Two of the greatest singers, who were at the same time composers, were Pasquale Pisari who came to the *cappella* in 1752, and Guiseppe Bainsi who joined in 1795. These were difficult years and unhappy times for the Church politically. It was the age of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. All this turmoil was reflected in the music and the organization of the *cappella*. While the nineteenth century saw a renewal, few names stand out. Only that of Domenico Mustafa bears mention. The twentieth century opens with the work of Lorenzo Perosi, who carried out the reforms set in motion by Pope Pius X. At present Domenico Bartolucci is *maestro di cappella pontificia*.

The number of singers employed in the papal choir varied throughout the centuries, depending on the funds available as well as the demands of the music of various styles. In 1057, records show that seven sub-deacons were the cantors. Under Pope Alexander V (1409-1410) there were twelve singers; in 1436, there were nine; in 1462, fifteen; in 1469, twelve. Under Pope Leo X (1513-1521) the papal choir numbered thirty-six; and under Clement VII (1523-1534) in 1533 there were twenty-four singers: seven soprani, seven contralti, four tenori, and four bassi. Pope



Julius II (1550-1555) employed twenty-four, and Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) used twenty-one. There were twenty-eight in 1594; thirty-six, in 1624; and thirty-two in 1625.

In addition to the lists of singers, the names of the Cardinal Protectors, the *maestri di cappella*, and the manuscript and printed holdings of the library of the Cappella Sistina are available. Although many studies of particular periods and aspects of this famous choir have been made, no complete study of the history of the Pontifical Choir has been written. The rich library of the Cappella Sistina, now housed in the Vatican Library, contains many documents and papal directives, together with registers, diaries and financial statements, as well as the correspondence between the singers and the officials, much of it over trivial matters of dispute, usually financial. The best general article on the choir's history is in *Grove's Dictionary* (New York: Macmillan, 1954), under the heading "Sistine Choir" (Vol. VII, pp. 822-5). The *Catholic Encyclopedia* also contains an article. By far the best discussion of all the Roman choirs is found in the *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Vatican City, 1949) under the heading *Cappella Musicale* (Vol. III, pp. 700-706). More specialized studies of the singers can be found in the *Rivista Musicale Italiana* (Vols. 14 and 16). The writing of the complete history of this great musical establishment, fitting together all the work already done, would be a valuable contribution to music history indeed.

### *Cappella Lateranense*

The palace of the Lateran and the basilica attached to it was the residence of the popes from the fourth century until the fourteenth when the Avignon period began. Even today the Lateran Basilica of Saint John the Baptist remains the official cathedral church, the seat of the pope as bishop of Rome. Inscriptions at the entrance proclaim this venerable church to be the mother church of the whole world, *Sacrosancta Lateranensis ecclesia, omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput*.

Saint Gregory the Great founded a *schola cantorum* at the Lateran. Nearby was the school opened by the Benedictine monks from Monte Casino, who fled their abbey in 580 when the Lombards destroyed it. Here were trained the candidates for the priesthood and others destined for service in the basilica, including the singers.

The Cappella Lateranense, as it is known in modern times, was established in its present form by Cardinal G. Dom. de Cupis, archpriest of the basilica. Pope Paul III endowed it and approved it

on June 1, 1543. It is frequently referred to by the name of Cappella Pia, because of a privilege conceded to it by Pope Pius VI toward the end of the 18th century.

Its list of singers and *maestri* reads like a catalog of the great musicians of the Renaissance. The first *maestro di cappella* was Rubino Mallapert, who served the canons of the Lateran from 1536 to 1539 and again from 1548 to 1550. Orlando di Lasso was at the basilica in 1553, and Palestrina worked there from 1555 to 1561. Annibale Zoilo was *maestro* from 1561 to 1570; A. Stabile, in 1575 and 1576; G. A. Dragoni, from 1576 to 1598.

The seventeenth century found Francesco Suriano, Antonio Cifra, A. M. Abbatini and Virgilio Mazzacchi as *maestri* at the Lateran. In the eighteenth century Giuseppe O. Pitoni, di Rieti, Francesco Gasperini, Domenico Scarlatti, G. B. Casali, and P. Anfossi were in charge.

The nineteenth century, as well as the end of the eighteenth, were years of war and persecution for the church, and these political events were reflected in the decline of the musical establishments of Rome. The nineteenth century produced few musicians of note at the Lateran; only Gaetano Capocci and his son Filippo bear mention. A renewal of activity occurred with the reforms of Pope Pius X and the coming of Raffaele Casimiri at the opening of this century. At present Virgilio Virgili is *maestro di Cappella Lateranense*.

The library of the Lateran is kept in the Lateran palace. It includes many significant editions of Renaissance music, among them an autograph of Palestrina. No published catalog of the music is available.

### *Cappella Giulia*

With the building of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican palace for the papal ceremonies and the designating of the Cappella Sistina as the exclusive choir for papal functions, there was need for a *cantoria* to sing in the Vatican Basilica of Saint Peter. On February 19, 1513, when the first plans for the great new basilica were just underway, Pope Julius II issued a bull, entitled *In altissimo militantis Ecclesiae*, founding the Cappella Giulia to function as the musical organization of Saint Peter's.

This choir was to act as a kind of preparatory group for the Sistine choir, and it was to provide an opportunity to the young Italian musicians to practice their art. While the Cappella Ponti-

ficia and the Lateran choir list many French and Flemish musicians among their ranks, the Cappella Giulia, being founded after the period of Netherlandish domination of the musical posts of Italy, is nearly entirely Italian. The great names of the Roman school are found here. Its history is glorious in the names of its *maestri*, but the achievements of this group have never reached the heights of the Cappella Sistina.

Jacob Arcadelt was *maestro dei putti* in 1539, and Rubino Mallapert functioned there for twenty months in 1539 and again for eighteen months beginning in 1550. Palestrina spent two periods with the Cappella Giulia: from 1551 to 1555, and from 1571 until his death in 1594. The period between these two stays found Giovanni Animuccia in charge. Others whose names are on the lists of *maestri* are Ruggero Giovannelli, Asprilio Pacelli (a distant relative of the present pope), Francesco Suriano, Vincenzo Mazzocchi, Orazio Benevoli, Ercole Bernabei, Domenico Scarlatti, and Niccolo Jommelli, who served as an assistant. Less familiar are the names of the later conductors: Pietro Guglielmi, Nicola Zingarelli, Valentino Fioravanti, the two Meluzzi, Ernesto Boezi, and the present *maestro*, Armando Antonelli.

The library of the Cappella Giulia is housed in the Vatican Library. There is no printed catalog of the musical holdings, but one is in preparation. The library is rich in compositions of the Baroque era, as well as being filled with the writings of later choir-masters. Among the treasures of the collection are many polychoral Masses for eight and sixteen voices, often intended to be performed *alla cupola*, with choirs banked up into the great dome of Michelangelo, singing alternately, in what must have been the ultimate in the Baroque concept of sound and space.

Today the Cappella Giulia sings for the regular services of the Basilica, which are usually conducted in the choir chapel on the left side of the great nave of St. Peter's. For greater solemnities it moves to the area near the Altar of the Chair, which is at the rear of the main altar. Here the group is usually increased, but even then it is lost in the vastness of the huge church. Amplification by loud speaker is used sometimes, but this causes a most unhappy effect. Unfortunately, the music usually performed by the Cappella Giulia today is that the composers of the past one hundred and fifty years. One regrets that the great treasures of its library remain unsung in the very place for which they were conceived.

### *Cappella Liberiana*

The last of the four major basilicas of Rome is Santa Maria Maggiore. Here is established the Cappella Liberiana. The Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls has no *cappella*, because the music is provided by the choir of the Benedictine monks attached to the Basilica. The term *Liberiana* comes from the name of Pope Liberius, who established the basilica in the fourth century; it is called often the Liberian Basilica or Saint Mary Major, since it is the largest church in Rome dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Among the famous names connected with this choir is that of Palestrina, who as a boy was a *puer cantus* here. Later, in 1561, he became the *maestro di cappella*. Francesco Suriano was *maestro* for two periods; A. M. Abbatini served for three different periods. Other *maestri* were Annibale Stabile, Orazio Benevoli, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Bernardo Pasquini. In more recent times Licinio Refice and Domenico Bartolucci have held the post.

### *Minor Basilicas*

Among the minor basilicas of the city two were especially noteworthy for their musical establishments: Santa Maria in Trastevere and San Lorenzo in Damaso.

Santa Maria in Trastevere is the first church in Rome dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, being founded in 224 by Pope Calixtus. The period of greatest fame for Santa Maria extended from 1574 to 1709. Among the great musicians who served this church is Girolomo Frescobaldi, who was organist there in 1607. Orazio Benevoli became *maestro* in 1624 at the age of twenty, and it was while he was associated with this church that he composed the famous Mass for the consecration of the Cathedral of Salzburg. Domenico Allegri came to the Basilica in 1609, and Paolo Agostini in 1615. Francesco Foggia served from 1626 to 1709.

San Lorenzo in Damaso, which is the church attached to the Roman chancery, had a *cappella* of note in the years closing the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century. Among the great names of musicians who served there are Rosselli, Abbatini, Foggia, Pitoni, and Bencini. Interestingly enough, Muzio Clementi as a young boy of fourteen served as organist at San Lorenzo, but he remained only nine months before he went off to England.

The choirs of these two Basilicas, like all the others in Rome, suffered during the political troubles of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era and in the difficulties brought about by the

efforts to unify Italy during the nineteenth century. While the musical establishments of the major basilicas have continued, those of these lesser churches can no longer be heard. Today in Rome only the Cappella Sistina, the Cappella Lateranense, the Cappella Giulia and the Cappella Liberiana are active. The others have become but historical names, whose glories remain only on title pages of compositions published by their famous maestri, and, let us hope, in the eternal mind of God.

### *National Churches*

In addition to the great basilicas and the lesser ones, Rome has many churches assigned to serve the various colonies of foreigners who reside in the city. The importance and splendor of these national churches reflect the power and affluence and political conditions of the countries they stand for. Among these national churches three are significant for the musical establishments they maintained at various times during their histories. San Luigi dei Francesi is the church of the French; Santa Maria dell' Anima serves the German speaking; and Santa Maria di Monserrato, the Spanish.

San Luigi was organized in 1514; it is one of the great works of the architect Giacomo della Porta. France in the last part of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth was the great power of Europe. Louis XIV dominated the continent, and his church in Rome was maintained with great splendor. Among the musicians who served at San Luigi were Zoilo, both the Nanini, Suriano, Giovannelli, Ugolini, Benevoli, Abbatini, Bernabei, and Cifra. It was only in recent times that this great musical tradition ceased to exist. Bonaventura Somma was the last *maestro*. In 1948, as part of an economy measure, along with many other famous and historic traditions, the *cappella musicale* of San Luigi was discontinued. It reflects the rise and fall of national powers, as World War II brought France to a lesser influence.

Santa Maria dell' Anima reflected the Caecilian movement in Germany in the nineteenth century. The *cappella* was organized through the work of Franz Witt with Franz Liszt as co-founder. Franz X. Haberl succeeded Witt, and he in turn was succeeded by such men as Ignatz Richterer, Peter Müller, Haberl's nephew Ferdinand, and Franz Zehrer.

Santa Maria di Monserrato, named after the famous monastery near Barcelona, so famous for its musical traditions and its library, is the Spanish national church in Rome. Its musical history

was most significant during the nineteenth century. At that time Aldega and the two Capocci were *maestri*.

### *Other Churches*

Mention should also be made of the choir at Santa Maria in Vallicella, the Chiesa Nuova of Saint Philip Neri. The library, called the Vallicellana, is one of the treasurehouses of Renaissance polyphony in Rome. In the eighteenth century, G. B. Costanzi was choirmaster.

The Gesù, chief church of the Society of Jesus, and the great example of Baroque architecture by Vignola, had a *cappella* of significance in the later Baroque period. Among its musicians were Zipoli, Carpani, Terziani, and Meluzzi.

Santo Spirito in Sassia, a church near Saint Peter's, can boast of Frescobaldi as organist for a time. During the Baroque period it had a *cappella* of some fame. Orazio Benevoli served as *maestro* for a while.

Other churches that for a time supported musical organizations of reknown were San Marco on the Piazza Venezia, the Pantheon, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Sant' Agnese al Circo Agonale, San Girolamo della Carità, San Lorenzo in Lucina, Madonna dei Monti, Sant' Ignazio, and Sant' Apollinare. All these have ceased to function today.

## REVIEW

### *Masses*

#### MISSA LAUDIS

*Flor Peeters*

McLaughlin & Reilly, 252 Huntington, Boston, Mass.  
SATB and Organ — \$1.00

Flor Peeters' latest Mass, *MISSA LAUDIS in honor of St. John the Baptist* was given an auspicious premiere performance at Boys Town Chapel on August 30th. The Mass was sung by the Choral Workshop Choir under the writer's direction and Mr. Peeters presided at the organ.

This work should be a welcome addition to the repertoire of liturgically-minded choirs. The Mass cannot be termed difficult and it happily fills the gap between the *Missa Festiva* and the simple but effective *Mass in Honor of St. Joseph*.

The themes are melodic and original. The harmonies which move in strong modal progression bear the stamp of Flor Peeters. The composer took great care to maintain word symbolism throughout, a rare quality in the modern composer. There is also vocal economy by doubling the melodic line in order to leave the organ free for more subtle harmonic treatments. By doing this Peeters often realizes an antique sound ideal for liturgical performance. Although a good Credo is usually as rare as a Palestrina manuscript, you will find one here that stands up to the rest of the Mass in strength and quality. What may appear to be chromatic writing in spots proves to be only an extension of tonalities and sometimes bi-tonalities. Even though the Mass can be termed modern writing, the few dissonances heard should be digestible to the most conservative of listeners.

Roger Wagner

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#### MISSA SANCTI BERNARDI

*By C. Alexander Peloquin*

SATB. A cappella.

World Library of Sacred Music, 1846 Westwood Avenue,  
Cincinnati 14, Ohio

Score \$1.15

When an American publishing house releases a new Mass in a modern idiom by an American composer, it is a very happy occasion

indeed. Unfortunately, this is not a very frequent event, a fact which reflects the state of church music in this country. Actually, few first-rate composers have turned their attention to church music; few publishers are interested in a contemporary style; and fewer choirs are willing to sing this "new music". Thus, all the more credit is due Mr. Peloquin for his composition and the World Library for undertaking to publish it.

The Mass is short, with a minimum of text repetition. There is no setting for the Credo. While scored for four mixed voices, there are occasional *divisi* sections in each voice. It is intended for a *cappella* performance, although a piano reduction of the parts is given, and while it is marked "for rehearsal only" it may be highly useful or even necessary for many groups. The printing is clear, if not too handsome a type, and the paper is of a fine quality, a phenomenon becoming rarer each year. The interpretative and dynamic indications are given in English frequently, while many of the consecrated, and therefore more precise, Italian terms are also used.

The Kyrie, marked "pleadingly," opens with a modal melody in the soprano against a sustained chordal harmony in the other voices. The rhythm is very free with numerous changes in time signature (20 in 27 measures!). One wonders whether our system of notation has broken down in its ability to indicate modern rhythm, or whether the composer could have achieved the same results with fewer changes in meter indication. Shifts from 6/8 to 3/4 to 3/8 to 2/4 to 9/8 will cause many choirs some difficulty. However, the range of the voices is very moderate throughout the Mass. One might object to a device that the composer employs that might easily become rather theatrical if not used very discretely. He suggests that the final "n" of *eleison* be hummed, occasionally for as long as two measures, by two voices while the other voices continue with the text. Perhaps to sing on the traditional vowel sound would be more consonant with church performance.

The Gloria, directed to be sung "with great joy," begins with the voices in independent movement developing into alternating passages between the treble and bass voices. Several beautiful climaxes are achieved, and the strong harmonies produced by the use of the fifth and fourth are very welcome. This section is the most difficult one in the Mass. The great challenge for a choir will lie in the frequent use of chromatics and in the complicated rhythmic patterns. These two devices make one feel that the Gloria suffers from being overloaded and over-worked by the composer. Frequent changes of tonality and passages with the voices in parallel move-



ment in fourths and fifths may cause difficulties in pitch and clarity except for the most sensitive groups. While these would be no problem to instrumentalists, in choral singing problems of texture and variation in pitch are created. The chief rhythmic problem lies in the repeated use of the triplet.

The restraint of the Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei gives these sections a great dignity and a freshness truly beautiful. A much greater economy of means and simplicity of style mark these sections as different from the Kyrie and Gloria. They appear to be much more spontaneous and moving. The composer suggests that the Sanctus be sung "with deep reverence;" the Benedictus, "with affection;" and the Agnus Dei, "with sorrow." It seems that Mr. Peloquin has found his idiom in these last three sections; he appears to be so much more at ease with the simple diatonic scale than he does with the excessive use of the accidental.

This Mass was performed at the Fifth Annual Liturgical Music Workshop at Boys' Town this summer under the direction of the composer himself. It was enthusiastically received by the participants and applauded by those who heard its premiere performance. It certainly is to be hoped that Mr. Peloquin will continue to write in a modern idiom and that his Masses and motets will keep multiplying.

Richard J. Schuler.

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### *Other Music*

#### MAGNIFICAT

*Hermann Schroeder*

Schwann, Dusseldorf. World Library of Sacred Music,  
1846 Westwood Ave., Cincinnati 14, Ohio

Mixed Choir, Organ and Brass

Hermann Schroeder, contemporary German composer who lives in the great city of Cologne, has written a *Magnificat* which is powerful. This tightly woven work (5 minutes to perform) is scored for chorus of mixed voices with occasional *divisi* and organ or brass.

There is great unity in this 23-page score since most of the music is derived from one modal theme. Mainly the contrast is obtained by the organ part which either uses fanfare-like figures, indulges in augmentation or uses passage work in sixteenth notes.

This is not to say that the organist never helps the voices by some duplication of the vocal writing. It does this but subtly.

The four-measure introduction is the work of a master craftsman who knows that both pitch and psychological preparation must be given to the singers without destroying the impact of the choral entrance on the word *Magnificat*.

The meter is not four-four throughout. If for expressive or cadential purposes the composer uses an occasional variation in 3-5-9 beat measures, it must be said that he maintains a naturalness in all this which gives the piece its inevitability—the mark of a work of art!

Schroeder groups the voices in many contrasting arrangements—a knowledge which he undoubtedly learned at the school of Palestrina. There is soprano versus alto-tenor-bass in slower motion; soprano-tenor unison versus alto-bass unison; all parts independent or all parts in unison, etc. Many phrases start in easy unison (for pitch purposes) only to divide after a few eighth notes. There is consideration for the singer!

Although the melodic lines have a strong modal color, the music possesses a contemporary quality which in the main part is produced by parallel fourths and fifth and a linear or horizontal thinking which produces bold effects. But one must remember that the Virgin's Canticle is the song of one that has been exalted by God! *Deposuit potentes de sede* are stronger words of faith, and composer Schroeder has not passed over them without achieving a stroke of genius. Here there are eighth notes in augmented fourths and diminished fifths tumbling down the scalar precipice both in vocal and pedal-board vociferation while the manuals calmly and surely ascend to remind us of *et exaltavit humiles*.

Equally astonishing is the manner in which the passage starting like *Quia respexit humilitatem* with Gregorian-like flowing quality in the soprano line and alto-tenor-bass parts in quasi-homophonic block whips into a contrapuntal agitation at *ex hoc beatam me dicent* (thematically derived from the *Quia* theme) and explodes into a massive rhythmic homophony that is overwhelming at *omnes generationes*.

The more gentle lines of the *Magnificat* have been set without organ. A real surprise occurs when the a capella chorus suddenly modulates at the *Gloria Patri* and a chorale-like peacefulness leads directly into a blazing *Sicut erat* in which imitation, inver-

sion, perpetual motion, etc., combine to recall the powerful modal theme in brilliant array.

There is a chaste boldness about this writing. Hermann Schroeder has created a magnificent work either for church or concert hall.

C. Alexander Peloquin

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## MAGNIFICAT

By Jan Smit

TBB (with organ)

van Rossum, Utrecht, Holland

(World Library, 1846 Westwood Ave., Cincinnati 14)

Score \$1.00

The *Magnificat* by Jan Smith, contemporary Dutch composer, is written in a grand and majestic style that fits the tremendous implications of this Canticle of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This reviewer has used it as an effective recessional on festive occasions. Performance time for the work is approximately 4 minutes. There is an economy of design with the verses averaging 8 measures in length. The 12 verses of the text follow one another so naturally, yet with such individuality, that the total effect is very impressive. This closely-knit structure also accounts for much of the vitality and movement that are outstanding characteristics of this composition.

The opening verse, *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*, is a majestic announcement in unison, a free statement of the Gregorian Solemn Tone 4 A. For the remainder of the composition solidly harmonic sections alternate with unison passages relegated either to the tenors or to one or both of the lower voices. The unison passages contain some of the finest writing and most effective portions of the entire piece. The harmonic material, while far from radical, has the same refreshing directness found in much of the music coming from the Netherlands. The composer shows genuine facility in exploring the almost limitless possibilities of chord and key relationships—with a special pre-dilection for harmonies built on the lowered 2nd degree of the scale.

There are no rhythmic problems, and only occasional, brief changes in meter. The independent organ part, not overly difficult, is responsible for most of the composition's dissonance. One final remark. Jan Smit's *Magnificat* wears very well!

Rev. Elmer F. Pfeil

## SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR CHRISTMAS\*

With the re-assembling of his choir in September, the choir-master turns his attention to preparing something new, usually for Christmas, which by mid-September is only about ten rehearsals away. The musical literature for Christmas is extensive, but so often a choir's Christmas music consists only of the usual carols or hymns, without any of the real treasures of Catholic music honoring the Incarnation and Birth of the Son of God. Here are a few settings of Christmas texts that can well be used on into Epiphany as supplementary offertories or motets during communion time.

Anton Bruckner. *Virga Jesse Floruit*. E. C. Schirmer. \$0.18. SATB. Here is a beautiful setting that can be used for any feast of the Blessed Virgin as well as for Christmas. It is rather difficult, because of the chromaticism of the voices, but for a choir that likes to work it is a very rewarding challenge.

A. Willaert. *O Magnum Mysterium*. Annie Bank: World Library. \$0.20. SATB. This very human text about the animals watching the Lord lying in the manger attracted scores of Renaissance composers. Willaert's *a cappella* setting would be a bright polyphonic gem in the repertory of any choir. While a tenor part goes fairly high, it is not beyond the scope of any group that will work. It would be a fine offertory for mid-night Mass.

G. Gabrieli. *O Magnum Mysterium*. Annie Bank; World Library. \$0.20. SATB-TTBB. For a larger and more accomplished group this double choir setting of the same text is most effective indeed, particularly if the male choir can be placed at a distance from the mixed group in order to achieve that Baroque relationship of space that the Venetians began.

G. P. da Palestrina. *Dies Sanctificatus*. Annie Bank: World Library. \$0.20. SATB. This motet that Palestrina used for his parody Mass with the same title is one of the famous compositions for Christmas. It is not too difficult for a group that reads and is willing to work. Once learned, it will be much appreciated. Palestrina's voice leading sings easily; the time is not difficult; the challenge to a group that has never done *a cappella* polyphonic music is, of course, the independence of the voices. Nevertheless, the style is easily assimilated just by performing music of this type.

G. B. Nanini. *Hodie Nobis Caelorum Rex*. Schwann: Helicon Press. \$0.20. SATB. This is a most effective composition,

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\* For 1958, alas! But happy the choir-master who plans his work a year in advance.  
The Editor.

and not too difficult. With the post-Palestrina writers a more chordal style, fostered by the Council of Trent, prevailed. The voice ranges are moderate; the soprano part splits into first and second for one section of twelve measures. This would be an excellent composition to introduce your group to a *cappella* polyphonic writing.

Bartholomaeus Gesius. *Parvulus Nobis Nascitur. Puer Natus in Bethlehem.* Schwann: Helicon Press. \$0.22. SATB. These two compositions, published on one sheet, are in chorale style, easy and effective. One regrets, however, that only one verse of Latin text is supplied, but several German verses.

Melchior Franck. *Heu, Quid Jaces Stabulo.* Schwann: Helicon Press. \$0.20. SATB. Here is another chorale setting, easy and beautiful, fitted for a modest group. Franck was a seventeenth century composer. The text asks the question of the newborn Saviour: "If you are King, then where is your purple, and where is your following, and where is your royal palace?" There is one Latin verse and two in German.

G. P. da Palestrina. *O Gloriosa Virginum.* Schwann: Helicon Press. \$0.20. SATB. This text is suitable for any feast of the Blessed Virgin, and of course, for Christmas. It is easy, with modest demands on the voices. If you want to sing Palestrina, this is one of the simplest motets.

Hans Leo Hassler. *Angelus ad Pastores Ait.* Schwann: Helicon Press. \$0.25. SATB. This is a little more difficult, with some syncopations and a little more demanding voice ranges. The Alleluia section forms a delightful finale. For a group accustomed to a *cappella* music this is a worthwhile addition to the repertory.

Orlando di Lasso. *Quem Vidistis Pastores?* Schwann: Helicon Press. \$0.25. SSATB. Here is a famous Lassus motet in his characteristic five-part style. For an accomplished group this can be a fine offertory for Christmas. The last quarter of the composition develops the Alleluia exquisitely.

William Byrd. *Viderunt Omnes.* Annie Bank; World Library. \$0.10. SATB. A simple setting of the communion verse for the Third Mass of Christmas, this should cause no difficulty for a group that will practice. The soprano lies low, and the tenor is not high.

Josquin des Pres. *Gaude Virgo.* Annie Banks; World Library. \$0.40. SATB. The delicate style of Josquin is very apparent here. While scored for four mixed voices, much of the

singing is actually only between two voices. For a group familiar with Palestrina or the Roman School, and not yet acquainted with the Flemish masters, this is a fine introduction to their writing. As in all Renaissance polyphony, it is not the diatonic intervals or the time that demands work; rather it is the independence of the various voices that must be developed.

Staf Nees. *Alleluia*. World Library. \$0.35. SATB, organ. The text is simply "Alleluia." This is suitable nearly any time of the year. It makes a fine Christmas piece, which the choir will take to readily. Mr. Nees is a Belgian carillonneur; the bells can be heard ringing throughout this composition.

For male choirs, here are some worthwhile pieces, all *a cappella*:

C. Porta. *Dies Sanctificatus*. Annie Bank: World Library. \$0.20. TTTB. While the three tenor parts may frighten one, their range is not too demanding. There are so few fifteenth and sixteenth century polyphonic compositions for male voices, that this is a valuable publication.

J. Gallus. *De Coelo Veniet*. World Library. \$0.18. TTBB. The text is for Advent, but it might also be applied to Christmas. The range of the voices is not extreme.

J. Gallus. *Natus Est Nobis*. Annie Bank: World Library. \$0.20. TTBB. This is a very effective piece, suitable for an average group. The range of the voices is moderate.

G. Asola. *Omnes de Saba*. Annie Bank: World Library. \$0.20. TTBB. Asola has done a fair amount of equal voice writing. It is valuable for seminary choirs. This is not a difficult setting, and the range does not tax the voices at all. It could be a real contribution to the solemnity of the Epiphany feast.

G. Asola. *Quem Vidistis Pastores?* Annie Bank: World Library. \$0.40. TTBB-TTBB. Here is an ambitious setting for a double choir of male voices. The ranges are demanding, and the tessitura is high. But the effect achieved by the alternating choirs is most captivating. If one has tenors and two choirs, this is a must.

For three equal voices, one might mention the following:

G. de Binchois. *A Solis Ortus Cardine*. Music Press. \$0.15. TBB or SSA. This is a fifteenth century setting of the hymn of Sedulius. The Gregorian theme is in the middle voice. It seems especially useful for convent choirs.

Mar. de John. *Quem Vidistis Pastores?* Musica Sacra: World Library. \$0.30. SSA. In a modern idiom, this *a cappella*, contra-

puntal setting is most effective. The alto sings G, but it could be used most effectively with a convent choir.

For two unequal voices, Rance's *Tui sunt Coeli* has proved most useful. It has organ accompaniment.

This is only a sampling of what is ours to choose from. Why not go Christmas shopping for yourself and your choir? Remember, there aren't many days left!

Richard J. Schuler.

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## Organ

### ARS ORGANI

By Flor Peeters

C. F. Peters Corp., 373 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.  
Vol. I—\$3.00, Vol. II—\$2.50, Vol. III—\$3.50

*Ars Organi* by Flor Peeters is a modern theoretical and practical method for organ playing contained in three volumes. It is the result of twenty-five years of teaching experience coupled with a lifetime of irreproachable scholarship and first hand knowledge of the composing of great music as well as the performance of music in worship service and in concert hall. This monumental work of Mr. Peeters has been hailed as the most complete organ method, both technically and aesthetically. *Ars Organi* is an inspiring guide to the art of the organ.

After an incisive preface, Mr. Peeters introduces the classical organ to the beginner. He describes the instrument, its mechanical workings, its pipes and various stops, giving insight into the components and the use of the instrument.

In detail Mr. Peeters then approaches the subject of practice. Here he gives invaluable advice for systematic practice and acquisition of habits to insure thorough mastery of the instrument and of the music. Also included in this chapter is an unusually clear presentation of methods memorization.

In Part One of *Ars Organi* there is a complete chapter on rules for performance of organ music. Mr. Peeters gives basic principles conducive to accurate and distinct organ playing. He also includes a very fine study on ornamentation. This is a summary of the ornamentation attributed by modern musicologists to Bach and his contemporaries. The reviewer is very sorry that Mr.

Peeters did not have more room for an even more complete coverage of this vital subject.

Technically, in Part One of this treatise, Mr. Peeters gradually builds the student's proficiency in different parts of organ playing starting with manual playing, progressing to two parts, then pedal, and finally in this volume, manual and pedal. Elementary manual exercises cover the problems of attack, legato, legato and staccato, crossing the thumb, finger stretching, finger crossing, substitution and glissando. In his two part manual writings, Mr. Peeters does a great service to the student by including his own compositions created especially for this work and by selecting suitable compositions of the Old Masters to enrich the student's musical experience while at the same time providing sound technical exercise. Elementary exercises for the toe are prefaced by a short discussion of pedal technique and consist of both purely technical exercises and short compositions for the pedal alone.

In the final chapter of this volume Mr. Peeter's exercises for combining manuals and pedal are mechanically and stylistically an extremely beneficial introduction to organ playing for the student.

To this reviewer, Part I is indeed the finest of all organ studies. It is a solid and complete introduction to organ playing, and it is possible for the judicious teacher to proceed directly from it into other organ repertoire. (Mr. Peeters includes a suggested list of organ repertoire and study plan at the end of Part III.)

Part II of this work continues to build the student's technique as well as his taste and style. Mr. Peeters covers three part playing, pedal exercises for toe and heel, three part manual and pedal playing and pedal exercises (scales and arpeggios.) Here every piece is a work to study and also a work that can be used in services or small recital programs. While gaining technique, the student is also gaining repertoire from the best of organ literature ranging from the earliest period of the most modern. Fortunately, many of Mr. Peeters' own works are included.

In Part III Mr. Peeters presents sections on the distribution of solo passages between hands, four part manual playing, and four and five part manual pedal playing again illustrated with works of artistic as well as technical value. It is too bad, however, that so many of the examples here are fragmentary. The advanced exercises for pedal, and for manual and pedals are exceedingly difficult, but extremely advantageous for the development of a superior technique.

The chapter on general aesthetics is an outstanding treatise in itself and summarizes many problems of the organist. It contains



many noteworthy concepts not only valuable to the beginner and intermediate student, but also, invaluable to advanced players and teachers of organ. Mr. Peeters' comments here on style are without doubt unexcelled.

As a sort of appendix, Mr. Peeters has included a chronological survey of specifications illustrating the development of the instrument by specific example from a 1511 Schlick organ to a Marcussin and Aeolian-Skinner of today. This is of great value to the student in understanding the interpretation and style of compositions in relation to the type of organ that was in existence when the works were composed. Though there is no major section of *Ars Organi* devoted specifically to the art of registration, the student cannot help but absorb a great deal of knowledge on this subject by information such as these examples and above all by actually using the registration Mr. Peeters sets forth in these three volumes.

*Ars Organi*, a quadri-lingual work, is truly an international organ study. Organ art all over the world is indeed deeply indebted to Mr. Peeters for taking time from his regular composing to prepare this illustrious method of acquiring skill and insight as an organist and as a musician.

Arden Whitacre

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**LITTLE ORGAN BOOK**  
*For Beginners in Organ Playing*

*Flor Peeters*

(McLaughlin & Reilly Company, Boston. \$3.50)

Here is still another splendid work from the pen of the great Belgian organist Flor Peeters. Just off the press, this organ study-book falls in with the long line of remarkable works by this world-renowned composer, performer and teacher.

Those of us who have been fortunate enough to hear the master many times at the organ, who have seen him teach and heard him lecture, and then observed the chronology of his many concert tours must wonder where Mr. Peeters could possibly have found time to write some 200 organ works, some 100 songs, so many Masses and motets, cantatas, piano works and much else!

Here is a book for both student and teacher, refreshing and rewarding in its contents and entirely clear in its presentation. There

is nothing of the "manufactured" material that is so often found in many "methods" for the organ student . . . here is nothing but worthy music! The cover states that it "Includes Graded Exercises on Well-known Hymn Tunes" and we have about 50 very lovely works based on such chorals as O Sacred Head, Veni Creator, Vom Himmel hoch, and Holy God We Praise Thy Name. These are works entirely suitable for use in church and range from the very simple to the rather difficult, and are drawn from both the classic literature (Pachelbel, Bach, Cabezón, Buxtehude, Couperin, Kerckhoven, and others) and the contemporary. The intermingling of the classic and the modern idiom throughout is, to me, a work of sound pedagogy.

The volume opens with a *Foreword* in which the master presents a clear analysis of the instrument: the wind mechanism, the action, the pipework, combination-action, a classification of organ stops, etc., all of which well serves the serious student. There is a discussion of elementary rules for organ playing and proper practice, and sound suggestions on registration for both choir accompaniment and organ literature.

The body of the work is thus graded: Elementary examples for manuals; Two-part manual playing; Elementary pedal exercises; Three-part manual playing; Pedal exercises for toe and heel; Two-part manual and pedal playing Three-part manual and pedal; Four-part manual; Four-part manual and pedal.

As the student progresses, he finds numerous examples of the technical matter at hand, interspersed with clear and brief directions for proper legato playing, articulation, meticulous phrasing, ornamentation, fingering and pedaling, and always specific suggestions for registration. Add to all this the fine and highly readable make-up on the part of the publisher and we have a very valuable addition to our American catalogue.

Paul Koch

## *Records*

Records of Christmas music are in demand at this time of the year, and here is one that deserves recommendation. Under the title of *Grailville Sings* (Audio-Fidelity AFLP 1820) has been gathered together a collection of folk songs, spirituals, chant, polyphony, and other choral compositions performed especially for Advent and Christmas by the students of Grailville Community College of Loveland, Ohio.

The work of Grailville is too well-known to need to be repeated in this short review, but it may be said that the students sing with a warmth and ease that is very likely an outcome of the effort and love which is characteristic of so much of the work of their general program of apostolic formation. True, it is the work of amateurs; but it is work of superior quality with a depth of feeling and evidence of real musicianship that would make the record good music for a music appreciation class of secondary or collegiate level or for a parish choir exploring the wealth of Christmas music for profitable material.

A few imperfections must be expected; and in the first two selections, there seems to be a little lack of clear enunciation. This, however, may have been due to faulty technique in the process of recording for it disappears as the program progresses.

Consciousness of pitch as well as an effort to blend the voices well and to phrase well has been productive of the fine qualities which make the record "easy" listening and puts the reviewer in a very hopeful frame of mind. The record is definitely an enrichment of the music material in the educational field.

Sister M. Casimer, O.P.



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