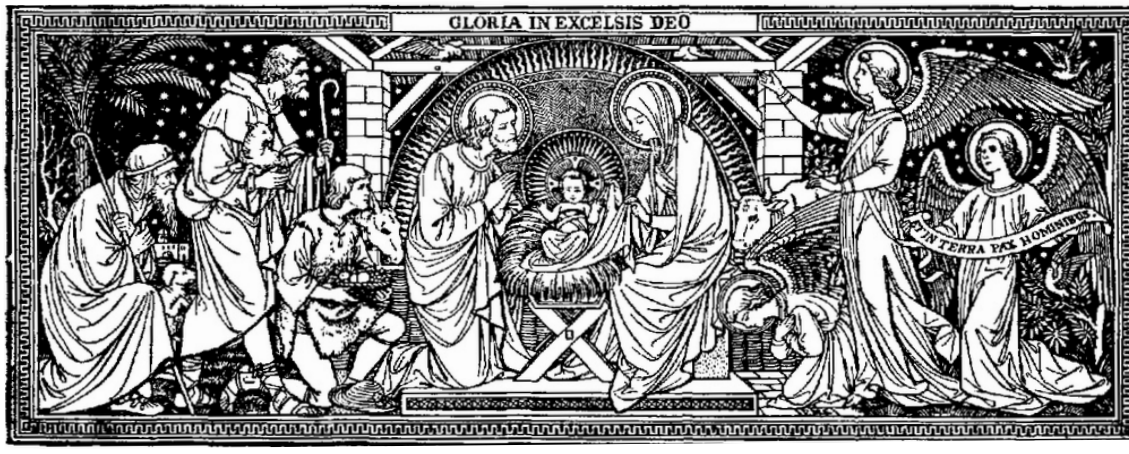
SACRED MUSIC

WINTER 2009
VOLUME 136 NO. 4



SACRED MUSIC

Winter 2009

Volume 136, Number 4

SACRED MUSIC

Formed as a continuation of *Caecilia*, published by the Society of St. Caecilia since 1874, and *The Catholic Choirmaster*, published by the Society of St. Gregory of America since 1915. Published quarterly by the Church Music Association of America. Office of Publication: 12421 New Point Drive, Harbour Cove, Richmond, VA 23233. E-mail: sacredmusic@musicasacra.com; Website: www.musicasacra.com

Editor: William Mahrt
Managing Editor: Jeffrey Tucker
Editor-at-Large: Kurt Poterack
Editorial Assistance: Janet Gorbitz and David Sullivan. Special help on this issue was provided by Andrew Bellenkes, Austria
Typesetting: Judy Thommesen
Membership and Circulation: 12421 New Point Drive, Harbour Cove, Richmond, VA 23233

Membership in the Church Music Association of America includes a subscription to the quarterly journal *Sacred Music*. Membership is $36.00 annually. Parish membership $160 for six copies of each issue. Single copies are $8.00. Send requests and changes of address to *Sacred Music*, 12421 New Point Drive, Harbour Cove, Richmond, VA 23233. Make checks payable to the Church Music Association of America. Online membership: www.musicasacra.com. *Sacred Music* archives for the years 1974 to the present are available online as www.musicascra.com /archives.

LC Control Number: sf 86092056
Sacred Music is indexed in the Catholic Periodical and Literature Index, Music Index, Music Article Guide, and Arts and Humanities Index.

ISSN: 0036-2255

Periodicals postage paid at Montgomery, Alabama.

SACRED MUSIC is published quarterly for $36.00 per year by the Church Music Association of America
12421 New Point Drive, Harbour Cove, Richmond, VA 23233.
Periodicals postage paid at Richmond, VA and at additional mailing offices. USPS number 474-960.
Postmaster: Send address changes to SACRED MUSIC, 12421 New Point Drive, Harbour Cove, Richmond, VA 23233.

EDITORIAL

Viennese Classical Masses?

by William Mahrt

The present issue includes several articles touching upon the sacred music of Viennese classicism. This provides an opportunity to reflect upon questions that arise concerning that repertory. These have been persistent questions, asked in their own time, in succeeding generations, and even in the present.

The fundamental question is one that pertains to the church music of our own time as well: to what extent can the music of the church adopt the idioms and procedures of the surrounding secular musical world? We read complaints from the eighteenth century that the church music had become too operatic, that it did not respect the conventional distinctions between music of the church, chamber, and theater. Yet masses of Haydn and Mozart particularly, but also of other composers—Schubert, Michael Haydn, Weber, and even Beethoven—have had a stable place in the repertories of certain large city churches, particularly in Europe, but also in the United States; so it will be useful to consider the issues surrounding these works to come to an understanding of their use in the sacred liturgy.

The focus should be upon the normative works, not the curious exceptions. For example, there are certain masses of the type *missa brevis* in which the texts of the longer movements, particularly the Credo, are "telescoped," the text is divided among the four voice parts, which then sing four successive lines of text simultaneously, resulting in a very brief setting of the complete text, but one for which it is difficult for any listener to discern just what is being sung. At the opposite extreme are extended compositions with ample space for the development of each movement; perhaps the most obvious example is the *Missa solemnis* of Beethoven, a work whose music alone totals a duration of well over an hour. (Recordings show durations of about seventy-two minutes; contrast this with nineteen minutes for Mozart's *Missa brevis*, K. 275, or his *Missa longa*, K. 262 at twenty-seven minutes.) The liturgy which included such a work would be quite long, but more important, the music would most likely dwarf the other parts of the liturgy. Whether such works are remotely conceivable for liturgical use is not the point here; rather the question is, are the standard works often sung for the sacred liturgy appropriate for this use?

To take a contrasting example: my choir frequently sings masses of Orlando di Lasso; these are mainly parody masses—masses based upon the polyphonic materials of a pre-existing piece, a motet or a chanson. I usually choose a mass based upon a motet, since the borrowed material is more securely sacred. Some of Lasso's masses use a borrowed chanson so transparently as to raise the question of whether their sacred character is compromised by it. Yet, others show striking differences from the secular piece. For example, Lasso's *Missa Il me suffit*: the chanson is a simple piece, very homophonic with considerable repetition. The mass uses the tune of the chanson, but incorporates it into a relatively complex contrapuntal texture. For anyone who knows the chanson, the difference between the secular and sacred versions is quite clear; the elements of the secular have been transformed into a sacred work, have been set aside to sacred purposes and distinguished from the secular by a remarkable change in musical style.[1]

William Mahrt is editor of *Sacred Music* and president of the CMAA. mahrt@stanford.edu

[1] A similar transformation of this tune happened in the realm of the Protestant chorale, for *Il me suffit* became *Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit*, a chorale used in numerous works of J. S Bach and others.

The questions are similar for the Viennese classical masses: are there distinguishing features that set off the style of orchestrally accompanied solo, vocal, and choral music sufficiently to maintain the sacred character needed for use in the liturgy? First, a fundamental issue should be cleared up. These works are often called "concert Masses," placing them in a category of works such as the *War Requiem* of Benjamin Britten or the *Mass* of Leonard Bernstein, implying that they were composed for performance in a concert rather than in a Mass.

Nothing could be farther from the truth; they were composed for and regularly performed for the liturgy. The confusion may come from a misreading of the term *style concertato*, from the early seventeenth century. It pertains to sacred music, performed in the liturgy, and it means that there are independent instrumental parts playing together with vocal and choral parts; it was distinguished from a style designated by *da cappella*, meaning that instruments doubled the choral parts. Clearly, then, the masses of Mozart and Haydn were in a "concerted style," but intended for liturgical performance. To avoid this confusion, it is probably better simply to refer to them as "orchestra Masses."

By the eighteenth century, Latin was received as a sacred language.

For the orchestra masses of the Viennese classical composers, what, then, are the hallmarks of the sacred that distinguish their style from that of operatic or symphonic music in general? I would identify four.

1) The text of the Latin ordinary. By the eighteenth century, Latin was certainly received as a sacred language; its principal usage was liturgical, though it retained some academic currency as well. Moreover, the texts of the orchestral masses were (with the exception of Requiem masses) always the same; congregations could be expected to grasp these texts in performance. Today, the use of Latin is even more exclusively liturgical. Curiously though, the average congregation of today has a better chance of comprehending the text of the Latin ordinary than congregations before the council could. Since most of the congregation has had ample opportunity to say and sing the texts in the vernacular, this familiarity is an aid to their comprehension of the same texts in Latin. In the case of my own congregation, which sings the Latin ordinary in Gregorian chant on normal Sundays, while the choir sings a polyphonic ordinary on major feast days, the congregation has an intimate familiarity with the Latin text through having sung it and are ready to hear a beautiful setting of it sung by others. A slight complication has been created, however, by espousing a principle of translation which did not value the use of a specifically sacred language; instead, our vernacular translations were the result of an attempt to use everyday language to express eternal verities, very often quite unsuccessfully. One hopes that the new translations will be better at this, though it seems likely that in another generation, we will need yet another and better translation.

2) Simultaneous choral declamation. These masses have prominent passages in which all four choral parts declaim the text simultaneously. A notable example is the Credo of the Mass in G Major by Franz Schubert. Unison singing, such as of chant, represents and even effects a concord of hearts; when all sing the same thing together, the beauty of the music persuades them to do it exceptionally well, and this unifies not only their singing but also their intentions. Similarly, when all four vocal parts singing a mass declaim the text together they represent to the congregation that same kind of unity of intention on the part of all singing. This kind of singing is not characteristic of opera, where each singer carries a separate role; operatic ensembles represent the opposite of a unified intention—they are most often a melange of conflicting individual purposes held in dramatic tension.

3) Contrapuntal style. The tradition of sacred music from the Renaissance was to set sacred texts in an imitative style: each voice imitates the initial voice in turn, and then they come to a cadence together. Throughout the Baroque era, this style was known as the *stile antico*, or the *stile ecclesiastico*. Though this imitative style was characteristic of much vocal music of the Renaissance, sacred or secular, in the Baroque it came to be set aside for sacred purposes. The epitome of this sacred style comes at the conclusion of the Gloria and Credo movements of many of these masses, where a grand fugue sets the texts "In gloria Dei Patris. Amen," and "Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen." Such fugues occur rarely in opera, and when they do they are in fact ironic references to fugues as a sacred topic.

4) The avoidance of *da capo* repeats. Operatic arias frequently make use of an ABA form, in which the first and more substantial section of the aria is repeated after a contrasting B section. This makes a somewhat closed form, in which vocal virtuosity can be displayed, especially in the repeat, which can be ornamented heavily. The closed character of the operatic aria does not suit liturgical texts: the integrity of whole movements does not allow smaller parts to be so separated off. This *da capo aria* form is most characteristic of opera arias of the Baroque era, though it persists in later operas as well. I have remarked on the distinction this employment makes in the case of the music of Antonio Vivaldi: Vivaldi's operas routinely make use of such arias; his sacred music, notably the Vespers music, does not; rather the sequence of psalm verses required an ongoing formal procedure that precludes the use of *da capo* repeats.[2]

So what is all the fuss about operatic elements in Viennese masses? It must be acknowledged that the elements are there—particularly in prominent vocal solos. The question is not whether the elements are there, but, as in the case of Lasso masses, whether these elements are transformed into a sacred whole, making them worthy means of expressing the sacred function of the Mass. Just as in the case of the Lasso mass, these hallmarks of the sacred style help to create a distinction between the liturgical and the operatic.

It is not that there should not be secular elements in the music for the Mass—that has often been the case. It is that the secular elements should be incorporated into a larger whole which is sacred. In fact there is an important purpose in the incorporation of secular elements: it symbolizes the simple fact that though we live in the world, we still address our lives toward God; we assimilate the secular into a larger sacred whole. It has always been a characteristic of sacred things that they may be made of secular elements, which, by being placed into a larger context, are subsumed into the service of the sacred.

For sacred services, it seems to me that whatever is used must have two essential criteria: it must be excellent, and it must be suitable to its sacred purpose. Kurt Poterack in the "Last Word" contrasts suits and jeans to wear to Mass: both are secular, but suits are suitable, jeans are not. Clearly, the masses of Mozart and Haydn are excellent; their thoroughgoing use of the four hallmarks discussed above demonstrates their suitability to sacred purpose.

How does this differ from the present-day use of songs based upon current popular idioms (or at least idioms that were current in the seventies)? Their only connection with the sacred is in their texts, and that is sometimes tenuous. Their musical style is indistinguishable from their popular models, and so they have no particular musical suitability to the sacred, quite distinct from the Haydn and Mozart examples. Moreover, in comparison with their popular models, they do not match up even to the quality of the models; they lack the quality of excellence, even in the most basic sense. They are musical jeans, not worthy of incorporation into the temple.

[2]See my "Antonio Vivaldi and His Sacred Music," *Sacred Music*, 105, no. 4 (1978), 7–19.

ARTICLES

Between Tradition and Innovation: Sacred Intersections and the Symphonic Impulse in Haydn's Late Masses

by Eftychia Papanikolaou

> With respect to composition, Catholic Church music up until several years ago still had much of its own special character. But nowadays operatic music also forces its way into churches everywhere, and, what is worse, [it is] the insipid Italian opera music of the new style. In Vienna, too, I found it all too conspicuous. During many a Credo or Benedictus I knew not whether perhaps I was hearing music from an Italian *opera buffa*.[1]

This colorful anecdote, with slight modifications, may apply to a number of contexts in western music history when church music was under indictment for its divergence from accepted musical practices and traditions. In this case, the description refers to music performed during Mass at a Viennese church in 1781. By the end of the eighteenth century, as this eyewitness account illustrates, composers had adopted styles and modes of writing for the church that, more often than not, alluded to a strong cross-fertilization between instrumental and operatic genres, in defiance of the little-observed eighteenth-century separation among church, theater, and chamber music styles. Viennese composers, in particular, had cultivated a hybrid music style, the so-called concerted mass,[2] whose musical language and formal procedures pioneered a symphonic outlook. Haydn's last six masses simultaneously encapsulate and usher in stylistic changes that helped redefine the mass as a genre in the beginning of the nineteenth century and, as a result, influenced the musical language of the romantic mass. This essay explores this little-researched line of inquiry and considers the implications of Haydn's style—which blurs the boundaries between sacred and secular, the church and the concert hall—for sacred music aesthetics in the long nineteenth century.

Eftychia Papanikolaou is Assistant Professor of Musicology at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. Her lectures and publications (from Schumann and Brahms to Liszt and Mahler's *fin-de-siècle* Vienna) focus on the interconnections of music, religion, and politics in the long nineteenth century, with emphasis on the sacred as a musical topos. Other research interests include music and film (*The Last Temptation of Christ*, *Mahler*, *Battlestar Galactica*) and dance studies. She is currently writing a monograph on the genre of the romantic symphonic Mass.

[1]The description comes from Friedrich Christoph Nicolai, a Prussian book dealer, who visited Vienna in 1781 and recorded his impressions in his *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781* (Berlin: Stettin, 1784). The translation is cited in Bruce C. Mac Intyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986), 54. Cf. Cornell Jesse Runestad, *The Masses of Joseph Haydn: A Stylistic Study* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970), 40.

[2] The typology and nomenclature of mass types used in older and recent writings may be extremely confusing and occasionally misleading. In this study I use the term "concerted mass" to refer to masses written for voices (soli and chorus) and an orchestral ensemble, while I reserve the use of the term "symphonic mass" for similar works that, in addition, show a conscious approach on the part of the composers to integrate symphonic principles of tonal and formal organization in their mass compositions.

THE MASS

Classicism inherited from previous eras the High Mass, a genre that was closely bound up with the church, a musical setting of the ordinary for liturgical use. Since the early Renaissance, the text of the Latin ordinary has constituted the most frequently-set sacred text, with the added peculiarity that it has remained unchangeable in its overall form over the centuries. For over four hundred years, ever since the first polyphonic mass settings, the liminal space between the sacred and the secular had often been crossed. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century, however, that the previously distinct three areas of church, chamber, and theater music, started to mesh, as composers appropriated modes of writing for the church associated with secular genres, resulting in church music that exhibited little distinction between secular and sacred styles.

Late-eighteenth century "abuses" in church music (a term used throughout history whenever church music was at odds with the established aesthetics of the time) were linked to the infiltration of operatic practices and elaborate instrumental music. In his pioneering work on the early concerted mass, Bruce Mac Intyre rightly surmised that churches may be viewed as the first concert halls in Vienna. The musical activity of concerted pieces for church functions became so extreme that a later writer called them "church concerts with liturgical accompaniment."[3] Such an indictment against contemporary musical practices reflects the threat that church music was perceived to face against a traditional *status quo*, and compelled major theorists of the eighteenth century to redefine the role of church music as an edifying force, and as a facilitator of prayer. In his major theoretical work *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725), Viennese Hofkapellmeister Johann Joseph Fux asserted that the chief purpose of church music during service was "to arouse devotion" ("zur Erweckung der Andacht").[4] In his *Critischer Musikus* of 1737, Johann Adolf Scheibe argued that, "The chief purpose of church music is principally to edify the listeners, to encourage their prayer so as to thereby awaken in them a quiet and holy reverence before God's presence."[5] More than fifty years later, in 1790, theorist Johann Georg Albrechtsberger concurred that "the aim of church music is not amusement, but prayer and the honor of God."[6] Thus infiltration of operatic practices and elaborate instrumental music, only two of the culprits that had entered previously accepted performance practices, were naturally regarded as qualities that hampered religious *Andacht*. Even as astute an observer as Charles Burney viewed "modern" practices with suspicion, especially when applied to church music:

Late-eighteenth century "abuses" in church music were linked to the infiltration of operatic practices and elaborate instrumental music.

[3]Mac Intyre, *Viennese Concerted Mass*, 19.

[4]Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad parnassum, oder Anführung zur regelmäßigen musikalischen Composition*, tr. Lorenz Mizlern (Leipzig: Mizlerischen Buchverlag, 1742), 181–182.

[5]"Es ist aber der Hauptendzweck der Kirchenmusik vornehmlich, die Zuhörer zu erbauen, sie zur Andacht aufmuntern, um dadurch bei ihnen eine stille und heilige Ehrfurcht gegen das göttliche Wesen zu erwecken." Johann Adolf Scheibe, in an article of October 15, 1737 in the *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745), 161. Translation cited in Mac Intyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass,* 41.

[6]"Andacht und Ehre Gottes"; Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1790), 378.

> [But] by *Musica di Chiesa*, properly so called, I mean grave and scientific compositions for voices only, of which the excellence consists more in good harmony, learned modulation, and fugues upon ingenious and sober subjects, than in light airs and turbulent accompaniments.[7]

In other words, the "true church style" incorporated a strict, learned style, based on archaic idioms (in the manner of Palestrina, for example), a *stile antico* (for lack of a better term) that worked in opposition to the progressive elements adopted in secular music. Sacred music, even under the influence of galant practices, needed to make use of the time-honored topos of counterpoint—the austerity of the contrapuntal technique was deemed best suited for encoding tradition, sanctity, spirituality, and *Andacht*. But, as author, composer, and critic E.T.A. Hoffmann would later assert, that "glorious age lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century."[8]

On the political front, Joseph II reacted to the crisis by instituting wide ecclesiastical reforms. It has often been observed that the decrees that Joseph II promulgated in the 1780s concerning the church, including those that limited the performances of elaborate music in churches, were responsible for the scarcity of church compositions at the end of the eighteenth century. Joseph's decrees, however, did not eliminate concerted music from the service, but rather regulated it for financial purposes.[9] Even if Joseph's reforms discouraged the composition of concerted mass settings for the church, a ruling that aimed more at the clergy than church composers, that decree was not long-lived. Archduke Leopold II, his brother and successor to the throne in 1790 (until 1792), reinstated the performance of orchestral church music. It may not be a coincidence that in 1802, at the dawn of the nineteenth century, a major music theorist such as Christoph Koch wrote in his *Musikalisches Lexicon* that, "church music may appear in whatever form it wants so long as it maintains the character of solemnity and devotion" ("Feierlichkeit und Andacht").[10]

The two principal composers of eighteenth-century Viennese classicism, Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, did not write profusely for the church.

JOSEPH HAYDN

It is true that the two principal composers of eighteenth-century Viennese classicism, Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, did not write profusely for the church—a fact that may be attributed primarily to institutional reasons. Although sacred music consistently permeates their output, their contributions in the realm of secular music overshadow those for the church.

---

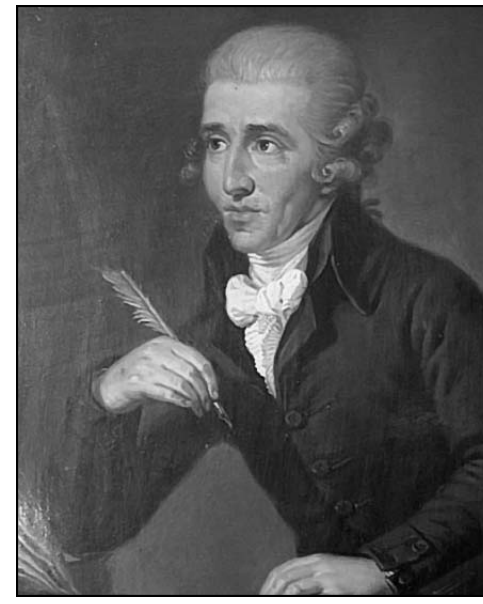
[7]Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (1775) I, 226–7, quoted in Neal Zaslaw, ed., *The Classical Era* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 106.

[8]"Old and New Church Music," in *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism*, tr. Martyn Clarke, ed. David Charlton (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 360.

[9]See Reinhard G. Pauly, "The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II," *Musical Quarterly*, 43 (1957), 372ff.

[10] Heinrich Christoph Koch, "Kirchenmusik," in *Musikalisches Lexicon* (Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann der Jüngere, 1802), col. 832; translation in Mac Intyre, *Viennese Concerted Mass*, 42, 690, n. 80.

Their mass settings, in particular, constitute a short but impressive oeuvre that traces the different styles employed in various church establishments in the Hapsburg lands and the composers' attempt to put their own stamp on those compositions. Ranging from short works of the *missa brevis* style to works that look toward the musical and expressive expansiveness associated with Romanticism, those masses represent a summation of stylistic elements that had become commonplace in church music practices of the eighteenth century. Of the thirty or so mass settings by Mozart and Haydn, only a small number irrevocably broke stylistically with the past: Mozart's incomplete Mass in C minor, K. 427 (1782–83), his Requiem, K. 626 (1791), and Haydn's six late masses.



Joseph Haydn painted by Ludwig Guttenbrunn ca. 1791. Depicting Haydn ca. 1770.

As Vice-Kapellmeister for the Esterházys, Haydn's duties did not include the composition of church music—a task reserved for the Kapellmeister, Gregor Joseph Werner. After Werner's death in 1766, at which point Haydn was elevated to the post of Kapellmeister, he embarked on a systematic exploration of sacred music. Until 1782, he composed a number of masses that honored tradition (see his *Missa brevis Sancti Joannis de Deo* of 1777) and at the same time he explored an ambitiously innovative style in large-scale sacred compositions that now entered his musical oeuvre, such as the *Missa Sancti Nicolai* of 1772, a hybrid of *missa brevis* and *missa solemnis* styles.

After a hiatus of almost fourteen years, when he did not compose any masses, Haydn returned to the genre in 1796. His international triumphs and renewed association with the Esterházys coincided with an impressive exploration of the principal large-scale genres for voices and orchestra of the time: oratorio and mass.[11] Haydn put an indelible mark on the former (with *The Creation* [1796–98] and *The Seasons* [1799–1801]) and categorically transformed the latter. Haydn incorporated into his last six masses diverse elements that cohere to create a new genre: Baroque ritornello structures, *stile antico* passages, Italianate arioso passages, solo quartet and chorus alternations, choral fugues, and, most importantly, symphonic procedures—all characteristics that would propel the genre forward into the nineteenth century.

Table 1. Haydn's last six masses.

Missa Sancti Bernardi von Offida [Heiligmesse] in B flat (1796)
Missa in tempore belli [Kriegsmesse; Paukenmesse] in C (1796)
Missa [Nelsonmesse; Imperial Mass; Coronation Mass; Missa in angustiis] in D minor (1798)
Missa [Theresienmesse] in B flat (1799)
Missa [Schöpfungsmesse] in B flat (1801)
Missa [Harmoniemesse] in B flat (1802)

[11]Landon refers to the "fascination with combining voices and instruments" that Haydn experienced on his return from England. He contends that Haydn saw in the mass a "form . . . that went further than the symphony." H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works,* Vol. IV: *The Years of "The Creation," 1796–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 109.

Haydn's six late masses (written between 1796 and 1802, see Table 1) were probably intended for the name-day celebrations of Princess Marie Hermenegild (née von Liechtenstein), Prince Nikolaus Esterházy's wife, and great admirer of Haydn. They would have been performed at the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt with Haydn conducting. The celebrations surrounding the Princess's name-day served, in Jeremiah McGrann's words, "as much to display and confirm the economic, political, and cultural prestige of the Esterházy family as to honor the princess herself."[12] McGrann has also convincingly suggested that the last three masses unequivocally form a separate group, whereas the first three cannot be linked to that occasion with any certainty.[13] When Prince Nikolaus extended an invitation to Beethoven to compose a mass for the same occasion in 1807, he composed his first Mass in C, Op. 86, a work that Beethoven felt uneasy about since he wished it to conform to Haydn's style. Unlike Haydn's masses, which were always favored by the Prince, when this work was first performed in Eisenstadt on September 13, 1807, it was received with utmost dislike. Prince Nikolaus reportedly described it as "unbearable, ridiculous, and detestable" ("unerträglich, lächerlich, und scheußlich"),[14] possibly unconsciously voicing an inevitable comparison with Haydn's masses, works which the Prince greatly admired.[15] One might be hard-pressed to find extreme stylistic differences between the two composers' settings to the degree that the Mass in C should have caused the Prince's negative reaction. We can only hypothesize that this Mass, which manifested tendencies emblematic of the *new* "symphonic" style and inner subjectivity, betrayed an allegiance with the emerging romantic ideals.

Haydn's late masses were published between 1802 and 1808, and were afterwards frequently performed in Viennese churches.

Haydn's late masses were published between 1802 and 1808, and were afterwards frequently performed in Viennese churches. The Hofkapelle, however, and its Hofkapellmeister Salieri, happily endorsed Emperor Franz's conservative spirit by practically ignoring contemporary liturgical music, including Haydn's masses, as well as Mozart's Requiem and Beethoven's Mass in C. Salieri's opposition to "modern" practices meant the exclusion of all major contemporary composers' music, including Beethoven's, from the court chapel. He called Haydn's masses a mishmash ("*mescolanza di tutti generi*"), and contended that Mozart's Requiem did not follow the rules (of counterpoint).[16] It is only natural that Salieri would object to this type of

[12]Jeremiah W. McGrann, "Of Saints, Name Days, and Turks: Some Background on Haydn's Masses Written for Prince Nikolaus II Esterházy," *Journal of Musicological Research*, 17 (1998), 197.

[13]McGrann, "Of Saints, Name Days, and Turks," 195–210.

[14]In a letter to the Countess Henriette Von Zielinska, the Prince wrote: "Beethoven's Mass is unbearable, ridiculous, and detestable, and I am not sure that it can ever be performed properly. I am angry and mortified." ("Die Messe von Beethoven ist unerträglich, lächerlich und scheußlich, ich bin nicht davon überzeugt, daß sie überhaupt anständig aufzuführen wäre; ich bin deshalb wütend und beschämt.") In Johann Harich, "Beethoven in Eisenstadt," *Burgenlaendische Heimatblaetter*, 21 (1959), 179. Original letter in French.

[15]Beethoven himself also feared such a comparison. When he wrote to Prince Esterházy in the summer of 1807 informing him that the mass was almost complete, he closed the letter by adding: "[W]ith much fear I shall hand to you the mass, since you, most serene prince, are accustomed to hear the inimitable masterpieces of the great Haydn." ("…ich Ihnen mit viel Furcht die Messe übergeben werde, da Sie d. F. gewohnt sind, die unnachahmlichen Meisterstücke des großen Haydn sich vortragen zu lassen.") In *Ludwig van Beethovens sämtliche Briefe*, ed. Emerich Kastner (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975), 108. Translation in *Beethoven's Letters*, tr. J. S. Shedlock (New York: Dover, 1972), 70.

[16]Josef Braunstein, *Musica Æterna: Program Notes for 1961–1967* (New York: Musica Æterna, 1968), 38.

contemporary *musica sacra* which, in this case, also included Haydn's masses—works at odds with that establishment's status quo.

Haydn's six late masses may be viewed not as an outgrowth of, but as partners to, the London symphonies. They have even been referred to as the composer's "symphonic legacy," because they appropriate idioms typically associated with symphonic music: recurrence of thematic ideas, use of symphonic forms, thematic development, breadth, and continuity. H. C. Robbins Landon has even claimed that "the late Haydn masses are in their fundamental construction symphonies for voices and orchestra using the mass text."[17] Since they helped pioneer a "symphonic" outlook that influenced the musical language of the romantic Mass, they deserve a much closer examination than they have been given so far, as harbingers of a new musical and historical era. Although Landon's view is not shared by everyone,[18] this bold statement should be interpreted not in the context of a formulaic structural paradigm, but rather based on the wide variety of stylistic features that the term "symphonic" encompasses—namely (and this is not an exhaustive list):

- Increasingly demanding symphonic writing
- Use of thematic development and recapitulation
- Alternation of contrasting sections, usually not only across but also within the movements
- Sophisticated and imaginative use of orchestral and vocal forces
- Abandonment of the Baroque texture that emphasized polarity between the two outer voices, for the sake of more homogeneous texture
- Structural coherence and cyclical processes
- Stylistic expansion and compositional breadth
- And, demand of enhanced intellectual experience and subjectivity beyond *Andacht.*

To be sure, bravura violin passages, elaborate choral fugues at the end of the Gloria and Credo movements, and developmental procedures had been staples of most of eighteenth-century Austrian church music. But it was Haydn's late masses that consistently (although, not always) treated the text using symphonic principles, in a manner that Beethoven and other nineteenth-century composers would later bring to an apex. The tendency to combine elements that belong to the church as well as to the concert hall culminated in the inevitable fusion of the two by the end of the nineteenth century. This synthesis of the sacred and the secular—a process that Carl Dahlhaus has eloquently called "the secularization of the religious and sanctification of the profane,"[19] would have far-reaching implications, including the move of the mass from its liturgical setting onto the concert stage.

---

[17]H.C. Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition, 1955), 595.

[18]In his *Grove* article on Haydn, James Webster contends that, "Although Haydn's late masses indubitably reflect the experience of the London symphonies, their symphonic character has been exaggerated." See James Webster and Georg Feder, "Haydn, Joseph," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford Music Online), (accessed August 3, 2009), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44593pg8#S4459>.

[19]Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, tr. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 184.

Haydn abandons the traditional structure for the sake of symphonic processes.

The *Missa in tempore belli* (whose title comes from Haydn's autograph score) exhibits several such traits. In spite of the menacing drum rolls that prevail in the Agnus Dei (for which this mass is also known as *Paukenmesse*), symphonic ideas are in evidence right from the beginning of the work. In the opening Kyrie, the tripartite structure of the text ("Kyrie eleison"–"Christe eleison"–"Kyrie eleison") lends itself to a large ternary-form musical treatment—a common approach by numerous composers. In the *Missa in tempore belli,* however, Haydn abandons the traditional structure for the sake of symphonic processes. The Kyrie opens with a slow introduction that occasionally hints at C minor, followed by a symphonically-oriented exposition, development, and recapitulation structure. The middle "Christe eleison" text, which usually contrasts with the outer "Kyrie eleison" utterances, is here not emphasized at all, but rather absorbed in the continuous thematic development of the movement.[20] The festive Gloria movement features an extensive, cantilena-like melody for solo cello in the "Qui tollis" section; that theme is later picked up by the bass soloist, is treated dramatically against the chorus's interpolations of " Miserere," modulates to minor, and concludes that part of the movement with a triumphant return—all that while the persistently soloistic part of the cello gives it a concertato aura, an additional emphasis on the instrumental part of the texture. Griesinger's story that Haydn reportedly was working on the mass when he received news that Napoleon's troops were in Styria only adds to the composer's personal approach to the genre.[21]

Whether or not that was the reason he added the war-like drum rolls in the Agnus Dei, a subjective impulse is in evidence in this mass, another novel characteristic that this work shares with other masses written by later composers. In the *Harmoniemesse*, the last mass of the set, the symphonic impulse is seen not only in the formal and thematic organization of the movements, but also in the treatment of the text. In large parts of the mass, and particularly in the Kyrie, the orchestra interacts freely with the soloists, sharing and expanding on each other's thematic ideas, "listening" (to use a post-modern expression) to each other, while the text is treated with equal freedom of repetition in all voices. Voices and orchestra thus become part of an organic whole, where the text serves not as a structural element but is rather treated according to symphonic principles.

E.T.A. Hoffmann

"Old and New Church Music"

Even E.T.A. Hoffmann failed to reconcile Haydn's compositions for the church with the tendencies of the times. In what ushered in a longer debate about the state of religious music in the nineteenth century, Hoffmann offered a famous *exordium* into the politics and aesthetics of sacred music in his 1814 article titled "Old

[20]A similar process may be seen in his *Missa in angustiis* (also known as *Nelsonmesse*) and the *Theresienmesse*. In the Kyrie of the *Missa in angustiis* the "Christe" is treated as the second theme in a sonata-form structure, while in the *Theresienmesse* the "Christe" section (given to the solo voices) becomes part of the development section.

[21]Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1810), tr. Vernon Gotwals in *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 62.

and New Church Music" ("Alte und neue Kirchenmusik"). When Hoffmann lamented the decline of church music after 1750, he was less concerned with the state of affairs in individual church establishments, and more interested in the thrust of sacred output of major artists of the time. After an overview of religious music of all periods, he concluded:

> In the last half of the eighteenth century increasing enfeeblement and sickly sweetness finally overcame art; keeping step with so-called enlightened attitudes, which killed every deeper religious impulse, it eventually drove all gravity and dignity from church music. Even music for worship in Catholic churches, the masses, vespers, passiontide hymns etc., acquired a character that previously would have been too insipid and undignified even for opera seria. Let it be frankly admitted that even a composer as great as the immortal Joseph Haydn, even the mighty Mozart, could not remain untouched by the contagion of mundane, ostentatious levity. . . . It is clear . . . that Haydn's masses and church hymns cannot stand as models of church style, particularly compared with that truly sacred music of former times which has now vanished from the earth.[22]

Hoffmann acknowledged only two masterpieces of genuine sacred music of "former times": Handel's *Messiah* and Mozart's *Requiem* (both works that Hoffmann must have favored because of their religious aura rather than any strict adherence to his own aesthetics). Interestingly enough, Beethoven's Mass in C, which had received a glorious review by Hoffmann in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* just one year before the appearance of the aforementioned article, was not included in this canon of great sacred works. Unlike the masses of Haydn, Beethoven's Mass in C—according to Hoffmann—manifested individuality and subjectivity, qualities that Hoffmann excessively praised.[23] One year later, however, Hoffmann wears his conservative cap and launches into what may count as an indictment against contemporary musical practices, quite possibly, because its novel idiom could not make his case for the implementation of parochial styles in church music.

Haydn, even the mighty Mozart, could not remain untouched by the contagion of mundane, ostentatious levity.

The Mass in C, a work that, according to Hoffmann, showed Beethoven's indebtedness to Haydn's late masses but also displayed certain new, nonconformist attitudes, is here conspicuously ignored. Actually, Beethoven's name is mentioned only once, alongside Haydn's and Mozart's, in an attempt to attribute the triumvirate's unorthodox style of their masses to the

[22]"Old and New Church Music," in *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, 370–371.

[23]"C-Dur Messe, Op. 86," in *E.T.A. Hoffmann, Musikalische Novellen und Aufsätze*, Band II: *Musikalische Aufsätze*, ed. Edgar Istel (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1921), 76–95, esp. 81. Translated as "Review of Beethoven's Mass in C [1813]," in *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, 325–341, esp. 329.

"frivolity and ignorance" of the eighteenth century.[24] Not even Hoffmann, one of the chief exponents of Beethoven's music, was able to foresee the thrust of Beethoven's transformative power on the genre—a remarkable foreshadowing of the perplexity with which the *Missa solemnis* was later received.

In the first part of his essay, Hoffmann repeatedly praises the music of Palestrina and other composers of the Renaissance and Baroque periods whose sacred music exudes "devout simplicity" and dignity. His critique of contemporary sacred music (that is, music written after the middle of the eighteenth century) is pungently caustic. He condemns the secularization of music intended for worship, "because such music is worship itself, and this seems like a Mass celebrated in a concert, or a sermon preached in a theatre."[25] Hoffmann would have wholeheartedly agreed with Novalis, whose *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (*Christianity or Europe*, 1799) highlighted the "harmonic nobility" of Palestrina's music and blamed the "hatred of religion that came with the Enlightenment" for reducing "the infinite creative music of the universe to the monotonous rattling of an infernal mill."[26]

At the time, Hoffmann could not have known Novalis's essay, since it was not published until 1826, but he was well aware of the ideas represented in the Romantic writings of the time. Although Hoffmann comes from an apparently different perspective, with his emphasis on the musical decline of church compositions, he would have agreed with Friedrich Schlegel's critical attitude toward "the deep collapse of the present time" which precipitated "the transformation in music to the most extreme irreligiosity."[27] Schlegel's attack must have been more on the lack of subjectivity exhibited in those works rather than on any specific musical practices.

Romantics looked upon Haydn's masses with suspicion.

HARBINGERS

Romantics looked upon Haydn's masses with suspicion, as examples of an era that viewed doctrine and the word of the Catholic Church through rationalist lenses, a result of the Enlightenment's emphasis on reason rather than feeling. Haydn has been accused of writing "cheerful" masses, church music that belonged to the theater and even the dance hall![28] Griesinger, his early biographer, observed that, Haydn's faith was "not of the gloomy, suffering sort, but rather cheerful and reconciled."[29] As recently as thirty years ago, musicologist Charles Rosen described

---

[24]"Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven have evolved a new art, whose earliest beginnings can be traced only to the middle of the eighteenth century. It was not the fault of these composers, in whom the spirit was so gloriously manifest, that frivolity and ignorance squandered the wealth that had been so hard won, and that finally counterfeiters tried to give their tinsel productions the semblance of authenticity." In "Old and New Church Music," 372.

[25]"Old and New Church Music," 375.

[26]Glenn Stanley, "Bach's 'Erbe': The Chorale in the German Oratorio of the Early Nineteenth Century," *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 11 (1987), 144, n. 10.

[27]In his *Philosophische Vorlesungen*, cited by Stanley, "Bach's 'Erbe,'" 144, n. 10.

[28]H. C. Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, Vol. IV: *The Years of "The Creation," 1796–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 125.

[29]Cited in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, IV, 124.

Haydn's masses as "uncomfortable compromises,"[30] thus echoing centuries of similar criticism. Haydn himself reportedly admitted that he thought more about the " Qui tollis" (salvation) than about the "peccata" (sin) in the text.[31] It is justifiably true that almost no attempts have been made to decipher Haydn's religious impulse as manifest in the musical choices for the setting of the Latin ordinary (as, for example, the case has been with Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*). But it is also clear that Haydn's faith was unequivocally grounded in the doctrinal aspects of Roman Catholicism. Thus, it may be futile to make an effort to interpret the composer's personal "credo" as filtered through the doctrinal "credo." As most of the homorhythmic treatment of the articles of faith in his Credo movements reveal, Haydn was intent on proclaiming his faith in the doctrines outlined in that movement clearly, fervently, and irrefutably. For the composer who wrote before large compositions on the score "In nomine domini" (In the name of the Lord) and ended with "Laus Deo" (Praise be to God) or "Soli Deo gloria" (Glory to God alone), optimism rather than despondency, joy rather than struggle, faith rather than questioning before the divine characterize Haydn's religious attitude.

Under the influence of Romantic aesthetics, the mass as a musical genre lost its strictly liturgical place in the church.

When we consider the flood of mass settings that composers of previous generations created for centuries before Haydn, the dearth of such works in the output of major composers after Haydn (especially those not associated institutionally with the church) becomes increasingly curious. It is certainly not for lack of interest in church music. On the contrary, written debates frequently attempted to define the *Kirchenmusik der Zukunft*—to look into the future for the new, as well as into the past for venerable models to imitate. With the further appropriation of secular styles and symphonic principles, and the maturation of tendencies already latent in works such as Haydn's masses, the mass as a genre was gradually redefined in the nineteenth century. Eventually, under the pervading spirit of Romanticism, the boundaries between sacred and secular, the church and the concert hall, began to blur. Gradually under the influence of Romantic aesthetics, the mass as a musical genre lost its strictly liturgical place in the church, as music principally intended for worship; it became "aestheticized," and its musical setting now served as much to glorify God as it revealed the composer's subjective approach to the text.

Haydn occupies a not-so-enviable place in the middle. His six late masses are firmly rooted in the learned style (see the lengthy and involved closing fugues in many of the Gloria and Credo movements), while at the same time they exhibit progressive elements associated with the galant style—in other words, they become a *mishmash* (to quote Salieri again), the ultimate manifestations of a *stylus mixtus* that would serve as the foundation of the new style of symphonic mass in the nineteenth century. It may not be a coincidence that Salieri's very term, which translates as *Mischung*, was also used positively by German-speaking writers to denote the mixture of poetic types (such as lyric, epic, and dramatic), a notion particularly manifest in the writings of early romantics such as Friedrich Schlegel. According to Schlegel's theoretical approach, romantic poetry exhibits, in the words of John Daverio, a "constant play of 'Mischung' and 'Verschmelzung,' mixture and fusion, which is the hallmark of all works that

[30]Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 369.
[31]Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, IV, 124.

adhere to the romantic imperative."[32] Similarly, the mass seems to have appealed to Romantic composers for its universality and canonic status, but also the fusion of styles and "genre-bending" at the heart of Romanticism's norms.

CONCLUSION

To offer a universally accepted definition of late eighteenth-century church music, one that would pertain also to Haydn's masses, would mean ignoring the allusiveness of a genre on the verge of dramatically changing forever. Haydn's late masses are as much a product of the Enlightenment as of the emerging Romantic movement, and it is pertinent to examine this repertory in its wider context as a reflection of, and at the same time a reaction to, the various ideologies of the time, ranging from strictly religious to political. Because they were written during the composer's last creative years, it may even be tempting to view them as reflections of his late style—to the degree that such a category can be applied to Haydn's output. Theories of late style are difficult to apply to Haydn, at least with the same canonicity afforded other artists and, notably among musicians, Beethoven. Negative theoretical constructions of late style that tend to denote decline and "absence of aesthetic worth" in late works certainly do not apply in Haydn's case. In an alternative model suggested in his *Maximen und Reflexionen*, Goethe bestows metaphysical, transcendental quality to late works. According to this notion, as Anthony Barone explains, "late artworks needed no longer be consigned to the fate awarded the aged by nature, and could instead be endowed with values that *transcended* nature."[33]

Haydn's late masses are as much a product of the Enlightenment as of the emerging Romantic movement.

Or, to use a trope on Kantian aesthetics, Haydn's late masses are boundless, unrestricted, and for that reason they unequivocally partake of the sublime, an aesthetic category that James Webster has discussed extensively in relation to Haydn's vocal music.[34] As the margins between sacred and secular, the church and the concert hall began to blur, Haydn's late masses literally and metaphorically transcended musical boundaries, as works that belonged equally to both. What the emergence of the symphonic mass exemplified did not simply concern the move from the church to the concert hall. It also epitomized a move from private to public, a symbolic gesture of private subjectivity entering the public sphere.

[32]See Friedrich Schlegel's *Fragmente zur Literatur und Poesie* (1797), cited in John Daverio, "Brahms's *Magelone Romanzen* and the 'Romantic Imperative,'" *Journal of Musicology*, 7 (1989), 351.

[33]Anthony Barone, "Richard Wagner's *Parsifal* and the Theory of Late Style," *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 7, no. 1 (1995), 44.

[34]James Webster, "The *Creation*, Haydn's Late Vocal Music, and the Musical Sublime," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 57–102.

"Requiem per me": Antonio Salieri's Plans for His Funeral*

by Jane Schatkin Hettrick

Antonio Salieri composed a Requiem Mass in 1804 for his own obsequies twenty-one years before his death in 1825. Advance preparation of funeral music by a composer for himself is an unusual act. One other composer who did this was Guillaume Dufay, who left instructions in his will for the performance of his *Requiem pro defunctis*[1] on the day after his funeral. Of course, there are examples of a Requiem commissioned by a patron, which, because of circumstances, took on a personal meaning for the composer.

Here, we think of Mozart and possibly Michael Haydn. As Haydn composed his Requiem for Count Schrattenbach, who died in December, 1771, he surely thought of his only daughter, who had died earlier that year before reaching the age of one.

Salieri's reasons for writing his death mass at this point in his life are unclear. Rudolph Angermüller believes it to be "his way of withdrawing from public life as a composer,"[2] citing the end of his operatic work and his turn to church music and more intimate forms. So, did a retirement from the hurly-burly world of opera prompt him to contemplate his own mortality and think about his funeral service? Possibly. At the same time, religious faith may have motivated Salieri to anticipate his departure from the temporal world and to prepare for his entry into the next world. Evidence for this is examined below.

He also may have had in mind the fate of Florian Leopold Gaßmann, his mentor and predecessor as *Hofkapellmeister*. Gaßmann died prematurely, like Mozart, leaving his Requiem Mass incomplete. It has been suggested that Gaßmann, who had been ill for at least a year before his death, was thinking of it for himself.[3] One can also believe that Joseph Eybler's masterful setting of the Requiem, written in 1803, affected Salieri as well. Eybler, who became Vice-*Kapellmeister* in June 1804, enjoyed the special patronage of Empress Marie Therese, who commissioned numerous works from him. She requested the Requiem for a commemoration of the death of Emperor

---

Jane Schatkin Hettrick, professor emeritus, Rider University, has edited the complete masses, symphonies, and organ concerto of Salieri, as well as works by other eighteenth-century composers (published by A-R Editions, Doblinger, Hildegard, Vivace, GIA, and in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*). Her writings have appeared in *The American Organist, Fontes Artis Musicae, Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Eighteenth-Century Music, Gottesdienst, The New Grove, MGG, Encyclopedia of Christian Civilization*, and other journals. She holds the DMA in organ, and, as an active church musician, served on the final editorial committee of the hymnal *Lutheran Worship* (1982).

*This study is part of ongoing research for a critical edition of Salieri's Requiem Mass (to be published by A-R Editions). The present article, focusing on Salieri's religious thinking, is based on a paper delivered at a meeting of the Forum on Music and Christian Scholarship (University of Notre Dame, February 2009). Another version of this paper, examining the role of Count Haugwitz in the history of Salieri's Requiem, was read at the joint meeting of the Mozart Society of America and the Society for Eighteenth-Century Music (Prague, June 2009). An article based on the Prague paper will be published in 2010, in an issue of *Hudební vìda*, the journal of the Department of Music History, Institute of Ethnology, and Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic.

[1]This work, which is not extant, is believed to be the earliest polyphonic setting of the complete Requiem; Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, rev. edition (New York: Norton, 1959), 76.

[2]Rudolph Angermüller, *Antonio Salieri: Sein Leben und seine weltlichen Werke unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner 'großen' Opern*, Part II, 1, *Vita und weltliche Werke* (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1974), 264.

[3]Franz Kosch, "Florian Leopold Gassmann als Kirchenkomponist," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 14 (1927), 221.

Antonio Salieri

Leopold II (d. 1792). Salieri, whose music seemingly did not interest the Empress, probably attended the performance of this work. Eybler's masterwork perhaps inspired him, although the lack of favor by the Empress must have pained him. While Eybler was the more experienced composer of church music, Salieri was, after all, the imperial *Kapellmeister*.

In this capacity for thirty-six years, Salieri probably directed the liturgy of the *Todesmesse* numerous times. The court celebrated not only actual funeral Masses, but kept a regular cycle of memorial *Seelenmessen*, that is, anniversary Requiem Masses commemorating late monarchs, their families, other royal personages and dignitaries, as well as members of knightly orders, such as the *Stephansordensritter* and *Sternkreuzordensdamen*.[4] The annual liturgy of *Allerseelen* on November 2 also called for a Requiem Mass. Between 1820 and 1900, Requiem Masses were performed in the *Hofkapelle* 641 times.[5]

Although comparable records for most of Salieri's tenure as *Hofkapellmeister* are not extant, we may be sure that this practice was equally common, if not more so. Court music collections include a great number of Requiem settings by musicians affiliated with the *Hofkapelle* and also by "outside" composers. Among the former are Georg Reutter (at least four), Giuseppe Bonno (four), and Josef Krottendorfer (one). "Local" non-court composers included Leopold Hoffmann, Joseph Preindl, Johann Hasse, and Christoph Sonnleithner.[6]

The one-year anniversary *Seelenmesse* for Gluck, whose actual funeral had been conducted in silence, took place in 1788 under Salieri's direction.[7] For this important service, the newly-appointed *Kapellmeister* chose the Requiem by Niccolò Jommelli, perhaps because it was the most widely performed Requiem setting of the time. Another Requiem produced by Salieri took place during the Congress of Vienna, for which, as *Hofkapellmeister*, he had charge of the musical activities. On January 21, 1815, Salieri conducted Sigismund Neukomm's Requiem in St. Stephan's Cathedral for the "feyerliches Seelenamt," to commemorate the death of Louis XVI, who was beheaded on that date in 1793.[8]

Salieri was concerned that Requiem celebrations be conducted with every possible solemnity. In the spring of 1816, he requested that official *Trauerkleider* be made up for the *Sängerknaben*. Apparently prompted by the funeral of Emperor Franz's third wife Maria Ludovica (1787–1816), he wrote to *Musikgraf* Kueffstein: "The appearance in colorful clothing at such *Hoftrauerdienste* will present an undignified sight." The Emperor agreed, and allocated funds for uniforms for the *Kapellmeister*, his representative, and up to ten *Sängerknaben*.[9]

---

[4]Richard Steuerer, *Das Repertoire der Wiener Hofmusikkapelle im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998), 94, 195, 255.

[5]Among these, Eybler's was heard thirty-two times, almost all as memorials to Empress Marie Therese; Michael Haydn, twenty-eight times; and Peter Winter, fifty-nine times. Mozart's Requiem was introduced in 1822, and was used fifty-one additional times. Steuerer, *Repertoire*, 106.

[6]Reutter—*Hofkapellmeister*, 1746–1772; Bonno—*Hofkapellmeister*, 1774–1788; Krottendorfer—tenor in the *Hofkapelle*, 1772–1798; Hoffmann—*Domkapellmeister*, 1772–1793; Preindl—*Domkapellmeister*, 1809–1823; Hasse—well known in Vienna, but no fixed position; Sonnleithner—a lawyer and a favorite composer of Joseph II.

[7]David Ian Black, *Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music, 1781–91* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1997), 346.

[8]Franz Patzer, ed., *Wiener Kongresstagebuch 1814/1815: Wie der Rechnungsbeamte Matthias Franz Perth den Wiener Kongreß erlebte* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1981), 82–83.

[9]Franz Josef Grobauer, *Die Nachtigallen aus der Wiener Burgkapelle* (Horn, N.Ö: Verlag Ferdinand Berger, 1954), 122.

Salieri's grave in Vienna; Salieri died in 1825

Thus, in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Vienna, the rites of death and the music that accompanied them were ever present in the life of the church musician, especially one who presided over a major ecclesiastical institution. In this context, a composer might well reflect on his coming funeral mass.

Salieri's plans for his funeral developed over a period of almost twenty years. I believe that these plans, along with further evidence in the composer's life, show Salieri to be a man of faith and a believing Catholic. They suggest that in writing a Requiem Mass for himself, Salieri offered an act of sacrifice, intended to invoke the mercy of God on his soul after death.

Literally from the beginning of his life in Vienna in 1766, Salieri connected with a particular congregation, the Italian National Church (Minoritenkirche). On the day after his arrival in the imperial city, his mentor, Gaßmann, took him to that church to "say his devotions." In his autobiographical notes he recalled that Gaßmann said on that occasion: "I thought we should begin your musical education with God."[10] Salieri maintained a life-long affiliation with the Italian Congregation, for which he wrote several motets and conducted a number of liturgies. Exactly fifty-nine years later, on June 22, 1825, the *Congregazione italiana* honored its native son by presenting his Requiem Mass as a memorial *Seelenmesse* for him. This Vienna rendition was almost certainly the first performance of Salieri's Requiem.

In addition to his beginning with prayer at the Minoritenkirche, there is evidence that Salieri lived his entire life in faith, as a believing Christian and practicing Catholic. In the years before he became Hofkapellmeister (1788), which position required his presence in the Hofkapelle most Sundays and holidays, he went to church regularly: "On Sundays, I was accustomed to attending the afternoon service in the Cathedral."[11] At home, there were family devotions with his wife and children.[12] Mosel sums up Salieri's religious character as follows: "To him, unbelief was an abomination. When he was at fault, he willingly confessed it, and even when he was in the right, but the fight did not concern his honor or the honor of another, he freely accepted the appearance of [having been] wrong, out of a love of peace. He feared pain and suffering, but when it happened to him, he took refuge in religion and bore unflinchingly whatever was ordained for him. . . . From time to time a sadness that he could not explain came over him, and he cried, without knowing why. In this kind of mood, he often thought about death, although not fearing it, and he could not look at any picturesque group of trees on some hill or other, without the wish rising in him to be buried there."[13]

The autograph score of the Requiem bears the date and place of composition: August 1804, Vienna.[14] As if to insure the proper use of his work, Salieri inscribed a long heading in the top margin of folio 1r: "Picciolo Requiem composto da me, e per me, Ant. Salieri, picciolissima creatura."

---

[10]Ignaz Franz Edler von Mosel, *Ueber das Leben und die Werke des Anton Salieri* (Vienna: J. B. Wallishausser, 1827), 20. Modern edition, ed. R. Angermüller (Bad Honnef: Verlag Karl Heinrich Bock, 1999), 18.

[11]Mosel, *Ueber das Leben*, 52; Angermüller/Mosel, ibid., 45.

[12]Alexander Wheelock Thayer, "Half a Dozen of Beethoven's Contemporaries," II, "Antonio Salieri," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, 24, no.12 (Sept. 1864), 297. Modern edition, *Salieri: Rival of Mozart*, ed. Theodore Albrecht (Kansas City: Philharmonia of Greater Kansas City, 1989), 122.

[13]Mosel, *Ueber das Leben*, 207–208; Angermüller/Mosel, ibid.,174.

[14]The autograph score is preserved in the Czech Republic, Brno, Moravské Zemské Muzeum, Oddìlení Dìjin Hudby, manuscript A 17.242.

This inscription makes three points: it establishes authorship ("composto da me"), it gives the purpose of the work ("per me"), and it records the composer's view of himself ("picciolissima creatura"). His choice of the word "picciolo" and its superlative "picciolissima," referring respectively to his composition (small) and himself (the smallest of creatures) bespeak true Christian humility. They represent the attitude of one who knows that he will stand before the judgment seat of Christ, and who asks, in the words of the *Dies irae* "Quid sum miser tunc dicturus"? (What can I say, miserable wretch that I am?). Because the manuscript was not meant for public consumption, the self-effacement of this statement seems far from any false humility.

Apparently, expressions of self-deprecation by great men were not unusual for the time.

Apparently, expressions of self-deprecation by great men were not unusual for the time. For example, F.J. Haydn in 1804 wrote of himself: "I esteem myself most fortunate that God gave me these little talents," and he referred to his monumental oratorio, *The Creation*, as "my little work."[15]

In addition to the autograph score of the Requiem, three other documents shed light on the events relating to Salieri's funeral rites.

1) The earliest of these is his letter dated March 1821 to *Graf* Heinrich Wilhelm von Haugwitz.[16] Seventeen years after composing the Requiem, Salieri wrote to the count: "When Your Excellency receives this letter, God will have called the writer to himself." This wording reveals that, while the letter was written in 1821, it was not intended to be read until after the writer's death, which happened over four years later. Salieri further states that he gives the count the original score of the Requiem, asking only that it be performed in Haugwitz's private chapel as prayer for his soul. He used the word "suffraggio" (suffrage), that is, intercessory prayer, or prayer of indulgence, said for souls in purgatory. The full set of performance parts found in the count's library indicates that Haugwitz did honor Salieri's request, although we do not know when.

Heinrich Wilhelm Haugwitz, who stemmed from an aristocratic Bohemian family, was a patron of music and an accomplished violinist. Later a businessman, he founded a cloth factory in Námìš' nad Oslavou, forty kilometers west of Brno, in Moravia (now in the Czech Republic). As a teenager in the mid-1780s, he studied *Gesang* with Salieri in Vienna, and an enduring friendship between the two men developed. Haugwitz maintained an active concert program on his estate in Námìš', purchasing music from several publishers and copy shops and also relying on musician friends to supply him with new material.

In addition to being a music lover, Haugwitz was a linguist. Possessing knowledge of Italian, French, and English, and even some Swedish, he translated the librettos and texts of numerous operas and oratorios from the original language into German, chiefly the works of Handel, Gluck, and Salieri.[17]

---

[15]H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. V, *Haydn, The Late Years* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 295–296.

[16]This letter is preserved in the Czech Republic, Brno, Moravské Zemské Muzeum, Oddìlení Dìjin Hudby, reproduced in Rudolph Angermüller, *Antonio Salieri: Dokumente seines Lebens*, vol. III: *1808–2000* (Bad Honnef: Verlag Karl Heinrich Bock, 2000), 224.

[17]Michaela Freemanová, "Heinrich Wilhelm Haugwitz, 'Übersetzer der Iphigenia in Aulis,'" *Hudební vìda*, 40, no. 4 (2003), 361–362.

Haugwitz also read Latin, for he also undertook to make a German version of the text of the Requiem, which he entitled "Requiem / von / Salieri / Mit unterlegter deutscher Übersetzung des lateini- / schen Musiktextes, verfasst vom Übersetzer der / Iphigenia in Aulis / 1837."[18] The Latin of the Requiem, a standard liturgical text, must have been well known to Haugwitz—he was a Roman Catholic, and in all likelihood had encountered Requiem settings by other composers. This suggests that it was Salieri's setting that inspired him to make this translation, twelve years after the composer's death. Nevertheless, the idea of translating a familiar text was not uncommon—the first published edition of Mozart's Requiem (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1800) included a German singing translation printed below the Latin text in the score.[19]

2) The second document that bears on Salieri's plans for his funeral is his last will and testament, dated October 8, 1823. Here he specified instructions about the kind of burial he wanted. Paragraph one reads: "My lifeless body should be buried without ostentatious display, and twenty-four holy Masses should be said in the Italian church."[20] There is nothing in the will about what music, if any, should be performed at his funeral and nothing about where the funeral should take place.

Salieri did not intend his own Requiem Mass to be performed at his funeral service in Vienna.

3) The third document in this history is the "Parte-Zettel," that is, the printed announcement of a death. Salieri died on May 7, 1825, and the *Parte-Zettel* appeared the next day, May 8.[21] This document noted in part: "after a lengthy illness, and having received the Holy Sacrament at eight o'clock in the evening of May 7, at the age of seventy-five, he fell asleep blessedly in the Lord." The *Parte-Zettel* further states that "according to testamentary direction, his body be laid out in the Augustiner Hofpfarrkirche at 5:30 in the evening of the tenth [of May]. Since the "testamentary direction" regarding the Augustiner Hofpfarrkirche does not appear in the will, it must be that this direction was communicated orally or in another document. Because of his lengthy association with the Habsburg court, the court church would be the most appropriate venue for his funeral rites. Like the will, the *Parte-Zettel* announces the saying of *Seelenmessen*. Unlike the will, however, it states that "*Seelenmessen* will be said in different churches;" it does not mention the Italian church or specify the number of Masses to be said.

Salieri's letter to Count Haugwitz together with his instructions given in his will and also recorded on the *Parte-Zettel* clearly indicate that (1) he did not intend his own Requiem Mass to be performed at his funeral service in Vienna; (2) that he wished to prevent the celebration of an elaborate funeral; and (3) that he rejected the prospect of rich musical accompaniment, or possibly any

[18]Haugwitz's autograph manuscript is preserved in the Czech Republic, Brno, Moravské Zemské Muzeum, Oddìlení Dìjin Hudby, manuscript B784 (although it could not be located by the library); a manuscript copy, B775, is also extant.

[19]A copy of this publication is found in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Department of Music Manuscripts and Books, in New York City.

[20]The will, dated October 8, 1823, is preserved in Vienna, *Rathaus*, reproduced in Angermüller, *Salieri Dokumente*, III, 258–259.

[21]The *Parte-Zettel* is preserved in Vienna, the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

music at his funeral. Strange as it may seem, a funeral without music, even for a celebrated musician, may not have been extraordinary. As noted above, Gluck's funeral, was conducted in silence.[22]

The *Totengebührenbuch* (book of expenses connected with death and burial) of St. Stephan's Cathedral records that Salieri received a "second class burial," which cost 37 gulden, 6 kreuzer.[23] Funeral regulations instituted in the 1780s by Joseph II and largely still in place under Emperor Franz I in 1825, specified three burial classes. Funerals of the first class were reserved for persons of the highest social class, that is, monarchs and their families and other high-ranking nobility. The choice of funeral class was also a financial matter, often relating closely to the ability or desire of the family to pay the expenses involved. Most of the ceremonial prescribed for a "Begräbnis 2. Klasse" referred to the clergy, their assistants, liturgical objects, and grave diggers. It did allow for certain musical options, including "medium" or "smaller" bell-ringing and singing of the "Miserere" by "the musicians."[24]

St. Steven's Cathedral records that Salieri received a "second class burial."

We do know that one piece of composed music was heard at Salieri's obsequies: his motet *Spiritus meus attenuabitur*. An annotation on the folder containing the performance parts reads: "10 Mai—bey Salieri's Leichenbegängnis." One of his last compositions, it dates from August 1820. The text is Job 17:1 (My breath is corrupt, my days are extinct, the graves are ready for me.), which bespeaks the state of mind of one who senses that his life is ebbing away. Salieri's friend Anselm Hüttenbrenner recorded the composer's words to that effect in his "Kleiner Beytrag zu Salieri's Biographie." During a conversation with Hüttenbrenner on June 8, 1822, Salieri said: "I feel that the end of my days is approaching; my faculties are deserting me, my strength and desire to compose songs is gone."[25]

Spiritus meus is a straightforward setting for four-part choir, with the option of string accompaniment, in homophonic style, and only thirty-eight measures long. Mosel reports that Salieri sang it often together with his pupils.[26] We cannot know exactly the number of persons that made up the ensemble, nor whether it was performed a *cappella* or with instruments. However, the probable size of the group may be gleaned from the set of performance parts belonging to the *Hofkapelle*, which consists of five copies each of the choral parts and one each of the strings and organ parts.

Mosel[27] and other sources[28] report that the entourage that followed his funeral procession included the entire *Hofmusikkapelle*, headed by its administrator, *Graf* Moritz von Dietrichstein, and all *Kapellmeister* and composers present in Vienna, a crowd of outstanding musicians, and a

---

[22]Black, *Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music*, 344.

[23]Angermüller, *Salieri Dokumente*, III, 284.

[24]Werner T. Bauer, *Wiener Friedhofsführer: Genauer Beschreibung sämtlicher Begräbnisstätten nebst einer Geschichte des Wiener Bestattungswesens* (Vienna: Falter Verlagsgesellschaft, 1988), 226–227.

[25]Anselm Hüttenbrenner, "Kleiner Beytrag zu Salieri's Biographie," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 27 (Nov. 1825), cols. 796–799.

[26]Mosel, *Ueber das Leben*,194; Angermüller/Mosel, ibid., 164.

[27]Mosel, *Ueber das Leben*, 207; Angermüller/Mosel, ibid., 173.

[28]See Angermüller, *Salieri Dokumente*, III, 305f.

great number of distinguished music lovers. The official entry in St. Stephan's *Totengebührenbuch* names four other musicians who took part in the *Trauerfeier*: Mosel, Eybler, Treitschke,[29] and Gyrowetz.[30]

The documents pertaining to the probate of Salieri's will list a payment of 95 florins and 36 kreuzer for "das Requiem."[31] For Salieri's funeral, therefore, a priest may have chanted or spoken the Requiem Mass and *Spiritus meus* constituted the only figural music, although a schola may have chanted the *Miserere*. The interment later that evening was in the Matzleinsdorf cemetery, located outside the city walls in Wieden, one of five cemeteries set up by Emperor Joseph II when he banned burials within the city walls.

My death-Mass should be carried out in the Italian church in . . . humble style.

Given the existing funeral regulations, and considering Salieri's stipulation for a funeral without pomp, one can reasonably conclude that he intended his *Picciolo Requiem* to be a *Seelenmesse*, performed at a later service, rather than at the funeral itself. As noted above, the fact that Salieri privately gave the score of the Requiem to Count Haugwitz rather than to a friend in Vienna suggests that his purpose for the work did not include its performance in Vienna.

And yet, there is evidence that he gave thought to just that. He jotted down these thoughts in a one-page, undated, unsigned note. This single sheet survives pasted onto the inside back cover of his autograph score *Scherzi strumentali a quattro in stile fugato*.[32] This manuscript consists of fifteen folios, bound in hard-cover book form. It is doubtful that the composer attached it there himself, but we do not know who may have done so. In this note Salieri wrote:

> My death-Mass should be carried out in the Italian church in the following humble style. The priest should step out to conduct the Mass in a simple manner. At the moment when he begins, the music of my *Requiem aeternam* with the Kyrie that comes after it, continuing one or two minutes later with a piece composed by me, that is called *Audite vocem magnam*. After that, then the chant *De profundis* and at the end, the Agnus Dei from my above-mentioned death mass.

This note poses a number of questions. We do not know when Salieri penned it, whether before or after he made his will. In two aspects it agrees with paragraph one of his will: the emphasis on humility and simplicity and the reference that Masses be held in the Italian church. However, it appears to contradict the will by referring to the use of his Requiem, which is not mentioned in the will.

In addition, one must recall that according to the *Parte-Zettel*, his body was laid out in the Augustinerkirche. It is improbable that a funeral would have progressed from one church to

---

[29]Georg Friedrich Treitschke was a director and poet with the court opera in Vienna.

[30]Adalbert Gyrowetz was *Kapellmeister* of both court opera theaters.

[31]Angermüller, *Salieri Dokumente*, III, 290.

[32]The manuscript is preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, manuscript 16800.

another. Moreover, the route from the Augustinerkirche to the Italian church would have taken the funeral cortege in the opposite direction from the Matzleinsdorf cemetery, where it went after the church service.

It may not be possible to reconcile Salieri's directions in his will with his statements jotted down in this note. Since, however, he requested in his will that twenty-four "Holy Masses" be said for his soul in the Italian church, one may postulate that he may have intended one of the *Seelenmessen* to be held in the Italian church to be carried out as described in his note.

The instructions about music given in Salieri's note leave much uncertainty. He names four pieces: *Requiem aeternam* and Kyrie, *Audite vocem magnam*, *De profundis*, and Agnus Dei. The first, second, and fourth of these are indicated as being his own compositions. Two are from his *Picciolo Requiem*. The *De profundis* is described as "in corale."

The instructions about music given in Salieri's note leave much uncertainty.

The wording of this note suggests that he intended an incomplete performance of his Requiem. First, he referred by title to two movements of his *Messa da Morto*, the first and last parts of the Requiem, which frame the service. Then, he cited two pieces not from the Requiem, specifying a time progression of "one or two minutes" between the Kyrie and the motet *Audite*, and with the words "in seguito," indicating that the *De profundis* follow directly. Curiously, he felt it necessary to prescribe that the priest enter and say the mass in a "stile basso."

Audite vocem magnam[33] is one of Salieri's best-loved offertories, as is evident from the numerous performances in the *Hofkapelle* and the many surviving copies. The text reads: "Hear the great voice saying: fear the Lord and give him honor, because the hour of his judgment comes, and worship him who made heaven and earth, the sea and sources of water." He probably chose it because of the reference to the "hour of judgment."

The *De profundis* mentioned in Salieri's note poses its own questions. He identifies it as being "in corale," that is, in chant. *De profundis* or Psalm 129 is found in Vespers for the Dead, where it is set to psalm tone eight. It is possible that he meant to designate this chant, which was often used at funerals. It is also possible, however, that he meant to refer to one of his own compositions here. Salieri made two settings of *De profundis*. The later of these, in F Minor[34] is based on the *tonus peregrinus*. Alternating unison soprano and alto with unison tenor and bass, the chant line unfolds over an eight-measure basso ostinato played by viola, cello, bass, bassoon, and organ.

It is difficult to determine how this note fits into the history of Salieri's obsequies. We have no record of the program described therein having taken place; nor do we know if anyone was aware of it at the time. Moreover, what we do know about Salieri's funeral services does not accord with the instructions contained in the note.

Salieri's Requiem of 1804 was performed as a memorial *Seelenmesse* in Vienna in the Minoritenkirche on June 22, 1825, six weeks after his actual funeral. There is no doubt that on

[33]The autograph score is preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, HK 2953.
[34]The autograph score is preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, HK 2976.

this occasion the entire Requiem was performed. The event was documented in the archive of the Italian church, as noted by Don Giovanni Salvadori in his history of the Minoritenkirche. He wrote: "In the year 1825 the famous composer Antonio Salieri died, and on June 22, the wonderful Requiem composed by him and awaited with great excitement, was performed for the first time with the participation of the *Hofkapelle and Hofchor*."[35] The performance was conducted by *Kapellmeister* Joseph Eybler. Mosel comments on the crowd in attendance (not less numerous than the group that came to his funeral on May 10th) and the performers (Salieri's students and many other musicians).[36]

Salieri thought much on eschatological matters.

The performance of the Requiem on June 22 apparently did not include the two additional pieces mentioned in Salieri's note. The performance parts of *Audite vocem magnam* and *De profundis* contain no record, either in the official listing on the cardboard cover of the set or in the form of a musician's annotation, of having been performed in connection with the June 1825 rendition of the Requiem.

In conclusion, we may observe that Salieri thought much on eschatological matters. It would seem that early intimations of death and concerns about the fate of his soul in the next world impelled him to compose a Requiem Mass. Although Requiem masses were regularly called for in the *Hofkapelle,* he did not allow his composition to be performed during his lifetime. He apparently got his wish of having an unpretentious funeral service and burial. But the imperial *Kapellmeister* may have looked down from heaven with pleasure when his Requiem was performed by an ensemble of distinguished musicians and adoring students in the Italian Church six weeks after his "simple funeral." ℒ

[35]Don Giovanni Salvadori, Die Minoritenkirche und ihre älteste Umgebung (Vienna: Verlag der italienischen Nationalkirche, 1894), 306.

[36]Mosel, *Ueber das Leben,* 207; Angermüller/Mosel, ibid., 173.

Haydn's *Nelson* Mass in Recorded Performance: Text and Context

By Nancy November

In his 1995 article on editions of Haydn's "Nelson" Mass (*Missa in Angustiis*, Hob. XXII:11, 1798), Denis McCaldin observes: "It may not be over-extravagant to suggest that the twentieth-century revival of interest in Haydn (the so-called Haydn Renaissance) has come about more through recordings than by any other process."[1] The present case-study of the recording history of the "Nelson" Mass starts to examine McCaldin's suggestion. It provides snapshots of this work's recording history by means of a study of two influential recordings of the early 1960s, and two important period-instrument recordings from the mid-late 1990s. The four recordings of Haydn's "Nelson" Mass that are considered here are listed below. The focal question for the study of these was as follows: what do these recordings have to say about our revived interest in Haydn's music in terms of our attitudes to historical text and context?

1. Sylvia Stahlman (soprano), Helen Watts (mezzo-soprano), Wilfred Brown (tenor), Tom Krause (bass baritone), Simon Preston (organ); choir of King's College, Cambridge and London Symphony Orchestra conducted by Sir David Willcocks. King's College Chapel, Cambridge, 1962; re-released on Decca 480 1907 (2009).

2. Judith Blegen (soprano), Gwendolyn Killebrew (mezzo-soprano), Kenneth Riegel (tenor), Simon Estes (bass); Westminster Choir and New York Philharmonic conducted by Leonard Bernstein. Recorded in the Philharmonic Hall, now Avery Fisher Hall, Lincoln Center, New York, January 17, 1963. Originally released 1969, Sony Music Entertainment; re-released on Sony LC 06868 (2009 compilation).

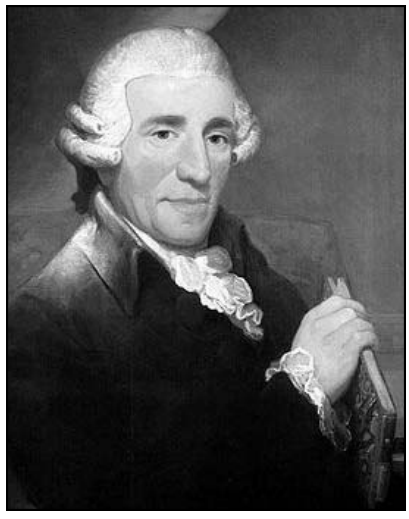
3. Juba Orgonasova (soprano), Elisabeth von Magnus (mezzo-soprano), Deon van der Walk (tenor), Alastair Miles (bass baritone); Arnold Schoenberg Choir and Concentus Musikus Wien conducted by Nikolaus Harnoncourt. Recorded in Vienna, Casino Zögernitz, June 1996. Teldec 0630 17129 2 (1998).

4. Donna Brown (soprano), Sally Bruce Payne (mezzo-soprano), Peter Butterfield (tenor), Gerald Finley (bass); Monteverdi Choir and English Baroque Soloists conducted by John Eliot Gardiner. Recorded in The Colosseum, Watford, November 22–25, 1997. Philips 470 286–2 (Decca 2002 release).

Thirty-five years separate the first and last of the recordings surveyed here. It was during this time—the 1960s through to the 1990s—that what one might call the "Haydn Renaissance" really took shape. In terms of Haydn scholarship, particular impetus was provided by the work of H. C. Robbins Landon and Jens Peter Larsen. In 1963, for instance, Landon produced a new edition of the "Nelson" Mass, which was the first to pay close attention to the rich source material available

Nancy November is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. n.november@auckland.ac.nz

[1]Denis McCaldin, "Haydn's 'Nelson' Mass: Its Decline and Rise," *South African Journal of Musicology*, 15 (1995), 29.



Joseph Haydn painted by Thomas Hardy 1792

for the work; indeed, it was the first edition to be based on the autograph score. Landon removed many of the editorial interventions that are to be found in the original 1803 Breitkopf & Härtel edition, including editor August Müller's arrangements of Haydn's trumpet and timpani parts.[2] Two other important editions followed: in 1965, Günther Thomas's edition for Joseph Haydn *Werke* appeared, which was the first to incorporate the clarinet and horn parts that were omitted in the Breitkopf edition; the edition also added, in small print, the wind parts that are found in the Esterházy archives, which are thought to derive from Johann Nepomuk Fuchs, one of Haydn's successors. In 1996, McCaldin produced an edition that contained both the original version (based on the autograph) and the version with Fuchs's wind parts.[3] We shall consider whether this scholarship seems to have had any impact on the recordings surveyed. In other words, we shall explore the extent to which the scholarly Haydn Renaissance has had an impact on the Haydn revival that McCaldin conjectures has been so strong in the sphere of performance.

We can also ask: who or what, exactly, is being revived in these performances of Haydn's music? Together with McCaldin, James Webster and Leon Botstein have considered, respectively, reasons why Haydn's sacred vocal works were championed in his day and why a problematic eclipse of his music took place in the nineteenth century.[4] To summarize some of the most relevant findings: around 1800 there was a particular appreciation and celebration of the aesthetic category of the sublime in Haydn's music, and of his skill at crafting expressive vocal music and vocally-inspired instrumental music. These positive aspects of reception tended to be overshadowed or overlooked in the nineteenth century, owing to factors such as the sublime in Beethoven's music, the perceived problem of "operatic" style in the masses of Haydn and Mozart, and the fact that Haydn's vocal music was not so widely disseminated as his instrumental music. James Garrett observes that Haydn reception in the nineteenth century is not straightforwardly negative; in particular, the critical discourse does not reflect the popularity, in the sphere of performance at this time, of many of his pieces.[5] Yet the nineteenth-century eclipse of Haydn is particularly pronounced when we consider his sacred vocal music.

To what extent, then, do recordings in the post-World War II Haydn Renaissance manage to recapture aspects of Haydn's music that (a) inhere in the original text for the work, and (b) first struck those listeners who championed the composer in his day? My points of departure for

---

[2]*Mass in D Minor* [Edition 10808], ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Schott, 1963).

[3]Joseph Haydn, *Werke*, ser. XXIII, vol. 3, *Messen*, Nr. 9–10, ed. Günther Thomas (Munich: Henle, 1965); "Nelson" *Mass* (*Missa in Angustiis*) [for chorus and orchestra], ed. Denis McCaldin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); *Messe à 4 Voix avec accompagnement*, No. 3, ed. August E. Müller (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1803).

[4]McCaldin, "Haydn's 'Nelson' Mass"; Leon Botstein, "The Consequences of Presumed Innocence: The Nineteenth-Century Reception of Joseph Haydn," in *Haydn Studies*, ed. W. Dean Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–34; James Webster, "The Creation, Haydn's Late Vocal Music, and the Musical Sublime," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 57–102.

[5]James Garrett, "Haydn and Posterity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 226–238.

[6]Friedrich Rochlitz, review of Joseph Haydn, *Messe à 4 Voix avec accompagnement*, in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 6 (1803), 8–10.

locating these aspects will be the original performing materials, and a review of the first edition of the work by Friedrich Rochlitz from the early nineteenth century.[6]

Thomas argued that Haydn regarded the simple orchestration as a temporary measure.

A significant aspect of performance practice in these recordings is instrumentation. To understand this aspect, we need to step back to consider the circumstances of the work's composition. In 1795, Haydn returned to the service of Prince Nikolaus II Esterházy, following his highly successful and musically inspiring London visits. Now a culture hero, Haydn was appointed to what was essentially an honorary role, of *Kapellmeister*, a position that would demand little more from him than the production of a mass every year for the name day of Nikolaus II's wife, Princess Maria Josepha Hermenegild Esterházy. The "Nelson" Mass is the third of the so-called Hermenegild masses, which were written annually from 1796 to 1802. The anxious political scene in the Austro-Hungarian empire, linked to the Napoleonic invasions and the seemingly uncontrollable inflation of the time, led Nikolaus II, among other members of the Austro-Hungarian nobility, to make substantial household economies. One of Nikolaus II's economies was the dismissal of his *Feldharmonie* wind octet, which meant that in 1798 Haydn had to settle for a small string orchestra, three trumpets (specially brought in for the first performance on September 23), two timpani, and an organ.

On the one hand, he arguably made up for this deficit in variety of instrumentation by exploiting the colors and virtuosity of the forces that he did have to hand, especially in the soprano part (possibly originally sung by Barbara Pilhofer, who had made her debut in Haydn's *Missa in tempore belli* in 1797), the obbligato organ (first performed by Haydn himself), and the string writing. The difficulties of the vocal and string parts were pointed out by Rochlitz in his early review of the work. He noted that the mass would "present more difficulties in performance than the previous one [*Missa in tempore belli*, Hob. XXII: 9]," indicated several tricky passages, especially for the soprano in the Kyrie, and observed that "the violin parts, written in all the brilliant movements, require trained and experienced players."[7]

In his edition of the work, Thomas argued that Haydn regarded the simple orchestration as a temporary measure, which could be rectified when circumstances would allow.[8] He supported this claim by reference to a letter from Georg August Griesinger to the publisher Breitkopf in Leipzig, reporting that the composer had "given the wind parts to the organ, because at that time Prince Esterházy had disbanded the wind players. He advises you, however, to transfer all the obbligato material of the organ part to the wind instruments, and to have the work printed in this form."[9] Thomas reports, further, that in 1800 the musical forces were once again augmented and a complete wind section was available.[10] The fact remains, though, that Haydn did not rewrite the organ part for winds for his own late performances of the mass. It may be that Fuchs's parts served this purpose. On the other hand, he may have wished to preserve the lean scoring, which arguably contributes significantly to the overall sound world of the mass, to the sense in

[7]"Zwar glauben wir, dass diese Messe mehrern Schwierigkeiten in der Ausführung unterworfen ist, als die vorhergehende. . . . Die Violinen, immer in glänzenden Sätzen geschrieben, erfordern geübte und erfahrne Spieler," Rochlitz, Review, 10

[8]Thomas, ed., Preface, Haydn, *Messen* 9–10, vi.

[9]Thomas, Preface; the letter is translated in Edward Olleson, "Georg August Griesinger's Correspondence with Breitkopf & Härtel," *Haydn Yearbook*, 3 (1965), 40.

[10]Günther Thomas, "Griesingers Breife über Haydn," *Haydn-Studien*, 1, no. 2 (1966), 91, 66.

which it is of and about "straitened" or "distressed" times (*in Angustiis*). Thus, as Laurence Schenbeck puts it, "here is a circumstance in which the most economical presentation also offers the best (i.e., most characteristic) sound-portrait of the piece."[11]

The only recording to incorporate the Fuchs wind parts in the set of four surveyed here is that by Harnoncourt. Certainly the oboe is used to wonderfully expressive effect in the "Qui tollis" (m. 124ff.) in this recording, but a similar effect is achieved in the other three recordings through the obbligato organ part, as Haydn originally intended. Willcocks does not incorporate all of the organ obbligati. The high register runs, nicely depicting "Cum Sancto Spiritu" (mm. 187–192) in the Gloria, for example, are omitted. Yet we see from the above-mentioned letter by Griesinger that Haydn evidently considered these as essential. Part of his inspiration for the organ part might have been the new organ that had been installed in the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt in 1797; in the event, a last minute change of plan meant that the premier was actually given in the Stadtpfarrkirche. Gardiner evidently considers Haydn's original lean scoring as effective, turning to this, rather than the three scholarly editions with wind parts that were available to him in 1997. These editions were not, of course, available to Willcocks and Bernstein.

The "Nelson" *Mass is arguably calculated precisely, texturally speaking, to exploit Haydn's original "chamber" forces.*

The Willcocks recording is unusual and path breaking for its time in terms of the use of a comparatively small (chamber-sized) orchestra; this allows for the relatively clear articulation of the string textures in particular, which, as noted above, are quite complex and intricate in most movements. The Benedictus is a fine example. The resonant acoustic in which the recording was made detracts from this clarity somewhat, but not to the same extent as the massive forces deployed in the Bernstein recording, which are much more typical of 1960s choral performances.

In terms of 1790s performances, we do know that Haydn was greatly impressed by the giant Handel performances that he heard in London at Westminster Abbey, and that these performances were a direct source of inspiration for his large-scale late vocal works. Yet, as scholars were starting to discover in the 1960s, Haydn's orchestra was never greater than around twenty to twenty-five players, and his choir would have been sized to correspond to this. The "Nelson" Mass is arguably calculated precisely, texturally speaking, to exploit Haydn's original "chamber" forces. Rochlitz implies as much in his 1803 review, where, having just commented on the difficulty of the violin parts, he states: "It would also be quite possible, for this very reason, that the effect of this music in a large temple would not always be the same as that of the first one in C [the *Missa in tempore belli*]."[12]

The relatively small performing forces adopted in each recording except for the Bernstein need not necessarily detract from the "fiery bold style" (*feurigen, kühnen Styl*), that Rochlitz found characteristic of the work. More important for the realization of this style is attention to such factors as dynamics and articulation. With regard to these aspects, the Breitkopf score that Rochlitz

[11]Lawrence Schenbeck, "*Missa in angustiis* by Joseph Haydn," *Choral Journal*, 25, no. 9 (1995), 19.

[12]"Auch wäre es wohl möglich, dass eben deswegen in einem grossen Tempel die Wirkung dieser Musik jener erstern aus C nicht immer gleich käme," Rochlitz, Review, 10.

had before him in 1803 has done many past and present-day performers a disservice. This score has served as the basis for performance well into the twentieth century, and indeed after the Landon edition of 1963 and the Thomas edition of 1965. Peters had issued a supposedly new edition of the work in 1931, but Wilhelm Weissmann's editorial work for this amounted to little more than a re-issue of the Breitkopf original, with some attempt to ensure that expressive markings were more congruent within the orchestral parts.[13]

One example of a persistent problem with respect to dynamic markings in these editions occurs in the Credo, immediately after the "Crucifixus," at the statement "sub Pontio Pilato" (m. 114, beat 3ff.). Here Breitkopf inserted *piano* in place of Haydn's *forte*. This is observed in the Willcocks recording, but not the Bernstein. In the former, the effect is one of a smooth, gentle transition to the low register after the violence of "Crucifixus etiam pro nobis." In the Bernstein recording, the much more palpable sense of Christ's suffering in the face menacing authority—a sentiment that would have had profound resonance in Haydn's Austria—is underscored by the persistent *forte* as the timpani enter with an ominous pulse. This passage foreshadows the climactic explosion of the tympani at the work's emotional high point in the Benedictus (mm. 122–136). Gardiner's rendition reverses this effect, with a gentle transition at m. 114 not unlike that of Willcocks, and a further decrescendo (mm. 115–119). Harnoncourt sustains the menacing tone, only effecting the decrescendo (which is, however, nowhere marked by Haydn) at the end of this passage.

The Willcocks recording is also revolutionary, but only to a certain degree.

The Willcocks recording is also revolutionary, but only to a certain degree, in terms of the approach to articulation. Unslurred notes in the string parts tend to be performed "off the string" (i.e., in a highly articulated style), especially in loud passages and where the affect tends towards the violent or disturbed.

What is significantly missing in the Willcocks recording, but present in the Bernstein, is the forceful articulation, by trumpets and drums (and winds in the Harnoncourt recording), of the third beat in mm. 1 and 3 of the Sanctus. This effect is muddied in the Breitkopf edition, where *forzati* are added on the first beats of these measures. Willcocks does not follow the Breitkopf reading, but does undermine the full rhetorical force of the three-fold declamation of "Sanctus," since the off-beat accents in mm. 1 and 3 are weak. Gardiner pays great attention to the articulation that we find carefully notated Thomas's edition for the Haydn *Werke*. One can compare the treatment of slurs in the "Quoniam" in this recording with that in the earlier recordings: Gardiner's performers release the (bow or wind) pressure at the end of a slur, producing a *messa di voce*, rather than sustaining the tone. The effect is one of nuanced inflection, well suited to the intricate violin lines. However, the singers in this recording do not quite match this period performance style—of which more below.

Choice of tempo is a crucial aspect of performance practice, which can have a substantial impact on listeners' perceptions of a work. Citing Haydn's letter concerning the "Applausus" Cantata, A. Peter Brown notes that Haydn's preference was for relatively fast tempi, such that when he made alterations to tempi in a movement or aria his tendency was to increase them.[14]

---

[13]Joseph Haydn, *Nelsonmesse*, ed. Wilhelm Weismann (Leipzig: C.F.Peters, 1931).

[14]A. Peter Brown, *Performing Haydn's The Creation: Reconstructing the Earliest Renditions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 71.

In Table 1, we can observe a comparative similarity overall in the movement timing data for the Gardiner, Harnoncourt, and Willcocks recordings. The Bernstein recording is the outlier in this set, in that it is much more variable, and in that the tempi are generally much slower overall. The greatest deviations are marked by bold type in Table 1: the most significant differences in choices of tempi occur in the Agnus Dei and the "Qui tollis"; the "Et incarnatus" is also appreciably slower than in the other three recordings surveyed. However, Bernstein takes the Kyrie faster than the other three conductors. The net effect is one of greater contrast between sections within the Gloria and Agnus Dei, which is in keeping with the drama and massivity of this performance in general, if not with performance traditions of the mass in Haydn's Austria in particular.

Table 1: Movement timing data (min:sec) for the four recordings surveyed

Conductor:	Gardiner	Harnoncourt	Bernstein	Willcocks
Rec. date	1997	1996	1963	1962
Kyrie	4:40	5:08	**4:15**	5:02
Gloria	3:30	4:08	3:20	3:30
(Qui tollis)	4:28	4:38	**6:23**	4:28
(Quoniam)	2:48	3:14	2:40	2:47
Credo	1:42	1:43	2:09	1:52
(Et incarnatus)	4:06	4:35	**4:55**	4:18
(Et resurrexit)	3:37	4:10	3:36	3:41
Sanctus	2:26	2:21	2:48	2:22
Benedictus	6:31	5:49	5:36	5:57
Agnus Dei	2:48	2:55	**4:05**	3:27
(Dona nobis)	2:40	3:02	2:50	2:47

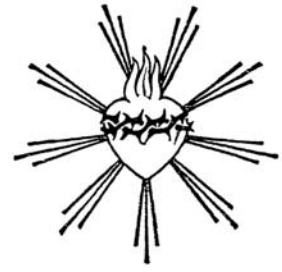
Internal inflections of tempo (i.e., within a movement) can be of greater interest than overall movement timing. These inflections are used with particular effect in the Harnoncourt recording, which flaunts the patently operatic and dramatic elements of this work to a greater degree than the Gardiner recording, especially in the Benedictus. All singers deployed in these recordings have a style that has much more to do with twentieth- and twenty-first-century operatic technique than late eighteenth-century vocal style. Vibrato is, for instance, integral to Orgonasova's voice—an aspect of tone production rather than ornamentation. And yet if one is thinking in terms of the spirit, rather than the letter, of historically informed Haydn performance, the overtly operatic turn of the Harnoncourt recording does satisfy, at least to a certain extent. After all, it was the operatic nature of these works that was considered so provocative and "modern" by early listeners. To be sure, this came to be perceived as a decidedly negative aspect of this music in the nineteenth century. Hoffmann got the criticism of operatic style in Haydn's and Mozart's masses underway in his essay "Old and New Church Music" (Alte und neue Kirchenmusik) for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1814). And in 1844, a Viennese critic of the "Nelson" Mass observed: "I must openly confess that after hearing this mass, I well understood old Werner's objection, for Jos. Haydn took the worldly (operatic) music of his period, put it in the church and made almost a concert hall out of the house of God."[15]

[15]H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works,* vol. 5, *The Late Years: 1801–1809* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 421.

"Haydn said that instead of so many quartets, sonatas and symphonies, he should have written more vocal music."

It is fitting that recordings in today's Haydn Renaissance should return to an aspect of Haydn's music that Haydn and his champions celebrated: vocal music, and vocally-based aesthetics. These were a matter of personal and professional identity and pride to Haydn throughout his career.[16] He consistently placed his vocal works ahead of instrumental works in public statements about his oeuvre, and, as Griesinger reported, Haydn recognized his own skill in vocal music and lamented that he had not written more: "Now and then Haydn said that instead of so many quartets, sonatas, and symphonies, he should have written more vocal music, for he could have become one of the leading opera composers."[17]

For modern performers interested in what we might call "affectively informed Haydn performance," one of the important messages in this early reception is to pay closer attention to Haydn's vocally-based aesthetics. This can be done, for example, by adopting the approach to vocal delivery and ornamentation of the Italian bel canto style of Haydn's day, and by trying out the original vocal parts that Haydn wrote. After the 1798 premier of the "Nelson" Mass, Haydn set about modifying the vocal parts, specifically the soprano and tenor parts, to accommodate less capable singers. Clearly he did not consider these changes as ideal, since when he subsequently sent out parts for the work he did not incorporate all of them. The later vocal versions are considered inferior by modern commentators; yet they are incorporated into just about all editions and performances of the work. Landon notes: "Almost every change is for the worse . . . Although we have dutifully incorporated these readings in the main text of our new edition, we can see no particular reason for condoning them."[18] McCaldin's edition and 1999 recording are exceptions.[19] Further approaches to Haydn's vocal ideals are awaited, in recorded and live performances of his sacred music.



[16]On this topic see Nancy November, "Instrumental Arias or Sonic *Tableaux*: Voice in Haydn's Early String Quartets," *Music & Letters*, 89 (2008), 348–351; Jessica Waldoff, "Sentiment and Sensibility in *La vera costanza*," in *Haydn Studies*, ed. W. Dean Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 70–71, 78; and James Webster, "Haydn's Sacred Vocal Music and the Aesthetics of Salvation," in *Haydn Studies*, 36–39.

[17]Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1810), 118; trans. Vernon Gotwals, *Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth-Century Gentleman and Genius* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 63.

[18]Landon, *The Years of "The Creation,"* 429.

[19]*Haydn:* "Nelson" *Mass, The Storm, Missa Brevis in F*, Haydn Society Chorus and Orchestra of the Golden Age, conducted by Denis McCaldin. Meridian: B00000HZUH (1999).

Sunday Vespers in the Parish Church

by Fr. Eric M. Andersen

Sunday Vespers in the parish church is still part of the living memory of Americans who came of age in the decades before and after World War II. Up through the middle of the twentieth century, "Vespers were a part of regular Sunday observance in virtually every parish church."[1] The liturgical movement of the twentieth century helped formulate a theology of liturgy which became defined at Vatican II as "full public worship . . . performed by the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ, that is, by the Head and his members."[2] Liturgy, so defined, includes both the Mass and the Divine Office. In 1963, the first constitution promulgated at Vatican II encouraged the continuation of a long-standing liturgical practice. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* stated: "Pastors of souls should see to it that the principal hours, especially Vespers, are celebrated in common in church on Sundays and on the more solemn feasts."[3] By the end of the 1960s, however, liturgists were lamenting that Vespers had all but disappeared from parish life. Why did this form of full public worship fall out of widespread practice? There may be no complete answer. It is hoped that by looking at the history, theology, and practical application of Sunday Vespers in the parish, this practice may experience a revival in the weekly life of Catholics.

HISTORY

In 1791, Bishop John Carroll assembled the first Synod of Baltimore and issued decrees regarding the regulation of the Divine Office and the observance of feasts:

> Statute 17 mandated that on Sundays and holy days, the Missa Cantata was to be celebrated, where possible; the Litany of the Blessed Virgin was to be sung or recited; the Asperges was to begin the Missa Cantata on Sunday; the Sermon at Mass was obligatory; Vespers and Benediction were to be celebrated in the afternoon; and vernacular hymns were to be used by the people.[4]

Catholic life in the early years of the United States was admittedly different from other parts of the world. This was mainly due to an undeveloped infrastructure of parishes and priests owing to the fact that the original thirteen states were officially Protestant. By the mid-nineteenth century, Catholic parishes in which the priest resided were becoming more common and "lay Catholics could for the first time internalize the rhythms of week-to-week religious practice,"[5] which

---

Fr. Eric M. Andersen is a newly ordained priest for the Archdiocese of Portland, Oregon. ericandersen1@me.com. This article is based upon a paper presented at Mount Angel Seminary for his Master of Divinity degree. Fr. Andersen was inspired by regularly attending Solemn Vespers and Benediction, sung by members of *Cantores in Ecclesia*, before entering the seminary.

[1]W.A. Jurgens, *Sung Vespers* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1968), vii.

[2]*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, tr. Joseph Rodgers, in *Vatican Council II* (Northport, NY: Costello, 1998), ¶7.

[3]*Sacrosanctum*, ¶100.

[4]John Gurrieri, "Catholic Sunday in America: Its Shape and Early History," in *Sunday Morning: A Time for Worship*, ed. Mark Searle. (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1982), 85–86. Cf. Second Plenary Council of Baltimore ¶379; Third Plenary Council ¶118.

[5]James M. O'Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 74.

included Mass in the morning and Vespers in the afternoon. Vespers was "in most places offered at three in the afternoon during the summer and at two in the winter."[6] The parish *schola cantorum* would sing the music for both, probably using the book *The Morning and Evening Service of the Catholic Church* published by a Boston firm in 1841. This book contained "almost fifty pages of psalms for use during Vespers."[7]

It is hard to gauge the attendance at Sunday Vespers in these parish churches. By the late nineteenth century, there are reports boasting of large numbers attending as well as others which complain of just the opposite:

> attendance was often thin, to the consternation of the clergy. "People who habitually stay away from Vespers for apparently no reason," one priest complained in 1897, "understand little what the divine law demands of them . . . and can hardly lay any claim to the name of good Catholics." It was discouraging, he thought, "where at Vespers you meet only the school children and a few pious women."[8]

If regular attendance was sometimes sparse, the liturgy itself was certainly known and experienced by many, at least on special occasions. An article in *The New York Times* dated June 1886 reports on the blessing of new churches in which "the evening vesper office was sung in the Gregorian style by the boys and men of the choir" in the new church of St. Lawrence in Manhattan. While "over 2000 people [attended] . . . The solemn vespers were sung in the chapel of the female department" of the Catholic Protectory. Afterwards, "there was a procession of clergy and children through the grounds of the institution."[9]

If regular attendance was sometimes sparse, the liturgy itself was certainly known and experienced by many, at least on special occasions.

On solemnities, church buildings were prepared with Vespers in mind in addition to the Mass. Another article from the *New York Times*, dated 1890, remarks on the decorations of several Catholic churches in the city and the services that would be held. At the parish of St. Vincent de Paul, it was reported that "Solemn high mass will begin at 5 in the morning. . . . In the evening at 8 o'clock there be will solemn vespers." Likewise at the church of St. Anthony, "the first high mass will be held at 4 o'clock in the morning . . . [and] In the evening there will be solemn vespers."[10] Other special events that attracted large numbers were Knights of Columbus gatherings. An article from May 1912 reports that "Nearly one thousand members of the Knights of Columbus attended communion, breakfast, and military vespers in New Rochelle to-day. . . . The vespers service was held in the Church of the Blessed Sacrament at 4 o'clock."[11]

---

[6]O'Toole, *The Faithful*, 76.

[7]O'Toole, *The Faithful*, 81.

[8]O'Toole, *The Faithful*, 122.

[9]"Special Catholic Services," *New York Times*, June 28, 1886, 2. (accessed November 4, 2008), <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res= 9C02E3DB1438E533A2575BC2A9609C94679FD7CF>.

[10]"In the Catholic Churches," *New York Times*. Dec. 25, 1890, 8. (accessed November 4, 2008), <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9903E5D71E3BE533A25756C2A9649D94619ED7CF>.

[11]"Knights March to Church," *New York Times*, May 6, 1912, 7. (accessed November 4, 2008),<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9F05E0DC153CE633A25755C0A9639C946396D6CF>.

If nothing else, such articles show how it would have been at least part of the festal experience for many Catholics to take part in Sunday or Festal Vespers. A letter to the editor in 1903 corroborates this familiarity:

> If any one desires to make a proper census regarding the attendance at Catholic churches they must remember that Catholic churches throughout the world are open 365 days in the year, during which time there are morning and evening services; that in addition there are six strict holy days of obligation, and that vespers is always celebrated in Catholic churches either Sunday evening or Sunday afternoon; there are also special services at least five times a week.[12]

Hundreds of archived articles from *The New York Times* include various accounts of festive gatherings for Vespers up through the middle of the twentieth century.

THEOLOGY

If one were to speculate on reasons Vespers was abandoned after Vatican II, it could be that Vespers came to be regarded as a popular devotion at odds with the so-called spirit of Vatican II. After the council,

> a number of traditional devotions disappeared from American Catholic practice. Vespers and Benediction, for example, staples in churches on Sunday afternoons since the early nineteenth century, were abandoned nearly everywhere. Some liturgists thought that these services distracted from the Mass itself . . .[13]

Vespers was abandoned after Vatican II.

Such a misunderstanding of Vespers as merely a popular devotion is at odds with its place as public worship,[14] a true form of liturgy which all clerics in major orders are obliged to pray entirely every day.[15] It is also a misunderstanding to exclude the faithful from such public worship.

From the earliest days of the church, it is evident from the writings of the fathers that the faithful participated in the Divine Office as it developed. In more recent centuries, in the days of the Counter-Reformation during and after Trent, confraternities and sodalities included praying the Divine Office as an integral part of membership. Tridentine-era luminaries such as St. Philip Neri are known for having involved the laity in communities to pray the Divine Office.

---

[12] Americus, Letter to the editor, "Figures for Church Attendance Discussion," *New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1903, Business and Real Estate, 29. (accessed November 4, 2008), <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/ abstract.html ?res=9E0DEEDE1539E433A25755C0A9649D946297D6CF>.

[13] O'Toole, *The Faithful*, 222–223.

[14] Public worship is public even when prayed individually, because it is liturgical and therefore an act of worship of the entire church. Popular worship is that which is not properly liturgical and rises up from the popular devotion of the people. This distinction was defined in a series of documents beginning with Pius X's Motu Proprio *Tra le Sollecitudini* in 1903 and legislated by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in the 1958 instruction *Sacred Music and the Sacred Liturgy*. Such documents and definitions provide an objective context for the liturgical reforms of Vatican II.

[15] *Code of Canon Law Annotated*, ed. Ernest Caparros et al., 2nd ed. (Chicago: Midwest Theological Forum, 2004), can. 276.

St. John Vianney, in post-Revolutionary France, filled his parish church on Sundays and feasts for Vespers followed by Compline. Attendance was voluntary: "the Curé took good care not to proclaim those services as binding in conscience."[16] The people came "solely by the fervour of a more perfect love."[17] Likewise, Pope Pius XII wrote that "the laity have no obligation in this matter,"[18] but he still recommended it.

While clerics and religious are bound under obligation to pray this official prayer, it is not meant for them alone. Referring again to the laity, Pius wrote: "it is greatly to be desired that they participate in reciting or chanting Vespers sung in their own parish on feast-days."[19] He recommended this because the Divine Office is a means by which the worship of God "reaches all aspects and phases of human life" in the course of liturgical time.[20]

Liturgical time is measured, first of all, by the liturgical day which is comprised of the Office and the Mass, beginning with First Vespers and ending with Compline. It continues throughout the temporal and sanctoral cycles of the liturgical year. The Office, then, is so united to the life of the Church and her worship, that it cannot be considered to be merely another form of popular prayer that "distracts from the Mass."[21] The Mass is central, as it is the renewal of the redemptive sacrifice of Jesus Christ, but "as the central redemptive act of Christ's life was enshrined with prayer, so the renewal of that sacrifice is prepared for and followed up with the official prayer of the Church."[22] The church, as the spouse of Christ, united to her Bridegroom in one flesh by means of the Holy Eucharist, "is the continuation of Christ."[23] Because the church is bride, "she merits always to be heard."[24] When we, her children, pray the Divine Office, we "do not go before God as individuals with solely private interests and purely human praise."[25]

The Mass is central, as it is the renewal of the redemptive sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

Rather, it is divine praise that we pray. It is Christ's prayer, echoed by his bride. For this reason, from ancient times, the office and Mass together have been called the *opus Dei*, meaning the work of God: "a work of praise that comes from God through the Incarnate Word and is offered by the church in Christ's name."[26] It is "full public worship . . . performed by the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ, that is, by the Head and his members."[27] Liturgy is so important for the "sanctification of humanity," that Canon Law decrees that "The Church fulfills its sanctifying function in a particular way through the sacred liturgy, which is an exercise of the priestly function of

---

[16] Francis Trochu, *The Curé D'Ars: St. Jean-Marie-Baptiste Vianney* (1927), tr. Ernest Graf (Rockford, Ill.: Tan, 1977), 224.
[17] Trochu, *Curé D'Ars*, 224.
[18] Pius XII, *Mediator Dei* (1947), *Selected Documents of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII* (Washington DC: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1958), ¶150.
[19] *Mediator Dei*, ¶150).
[20] *Mediator Dei*, ¶138.
[21] cf. O'Toole, *The Faithful*, 223.
[22] John H. Miller, *Fundamentals of the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides Press, 1964), 291.
[23] Milles, *Fundamentals,* 292.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Miller, *Fundamentals*, 292–293.
[26] Columba Marmion, *Christ the Ideal of the Priest* (1952; San Francisco: Ignatius, 2005), 300.
[27] *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶7.

In the late 1950s, Pope Pius XII allowed for Mass to be celebrated in the evening, for the sake of those who work on Sundays.

Jesus Christ."[28] If, therefore, due to a misunderstanding of theology, "liturgists thought that these services distracted from the Mass itself";[29] this grave misunderstanding could be a factor explaining the disappearance of Vespers from the parish church.

Other factors may have contributed to the decline in afternoon participation. In the 1960s and 70s, more and more families moved from the cities to the suburbs. They could no longer walk to Vespers and they did not drive across town to attend. Further, in the late 1950s, Pope Pius XII allowed for Mass to be celebrated in the evening, for the sake of those who work on Sundays. When this happened, the Sunday evening Mass, and the later the Saturday evening anticipatory Mass, probably replaced the Vespers service as an evening liturgy for festal gatherings.

Another reason might be that as Latin liturgy was phased out in most places, there was nothing to take its place. The reformed Liturgy of the Hours, as the Divine Office came to be called, was not promulgated until 1971. Even then, it was promulgated only in Latin. The English version was not approved and published until 1975.

By that time, twelve years had passed since *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was promulgated, and it is likely that few parishes had continued Latin choral vespers during the interim. In addition, one of the criticisms of the new office, at least in the vernacular, is that it was not written for choral celebration. No definitive choral office has been promulgated in the English language. There have been attempts to codify particular psalm tones, such as the Gelineau tones, but they have not been universally adopted. The most recent attempt is *The Mundelein Psalter,* published in 2007 by Hillenbrand Books in Chicago. The editors have applied simplified Gregorian psalmtones to the official English texts approved for use in the United States.

Pastoral Application Today

Some priests lament that when they offer Vespers, nobody shows up. This shows that not much has changed from the nineteenth century. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the Divine Office holds no appeal for the modern Christian. In Seattle, Washington, St. Mark's Episcopal Cathedral has celebrated Solemn Compline every Sunday evening at 9:30 since 1956. The website for the Compline Choir explains that "a group of men chant the Office of Compline, the last monastic office of the day" and claims that "it has become something of a phenomenon, with upwards of 500 people (many in their teens and early twenties) attending the service."[30] Listening to a recording of the service, one will hear English polyphony interspersed with chant and recitations in a traditional Anglican manner.

A Catholic group that has successfully maintained the tradition of Sunday Vespers is the St. Ann Choir in Palo Alto, California, directed by Dr. William Mahrt of Stanford University. Founded in 1963, the mixed choir of twenty men and women chant the Gregorian propers each Sunday morning at Mass; a smaller group chant traditional choral Latin Vespers later in the afternoon.

---

[28]*Code of Canon Law* (1983), can. 834.

[29]O'Toole, *The Faithful*, 223.

[30]St. Mark's Cathedral. Seattle, Washington. *The Compline Choir website*. (accessed November 4, 2008), <www.complinechoir.org>.

The enthusiastic response of one parish in Chicago to the pastor's introduction of sacred music in the Mass and Divine Office has led to one of the most successful new religious communities in the United States: The Canons Regular of St. John Cantius. They celebrate the Mass and chant Matins, Lauds, Sext, Vespers, and Compline in choir every day in the parish. On Sundays and feasts they celebrate Solemn Vespers according to the 1960 *Breviarium Romanum*. They alternate between the ordinary and extraordinary forms of the Roman Rite, while embracing many musical genres from Gregorian chant and Renaissance polyphony to the Viennese classical and French romantic schools.

Morning Prayer can be seen, however, as a way of incorporating the Divine Office into the life of a parish community.

Among the cathedrals in the United States in which Solemn Vespers is regularly celebrated on Sunday are St. James Cathedral in Seattle, Washington; the Cathedral of the Madeleine in Salt Lake City, Utah; St. Cecilia Cathedral in Omaha, Nebraska; Holy Family Cathedral in Tulsa, Oklahoma; St. Cecilia Cathedral in Mobile, Alabama; the Cathedral Basilica of St. Louis, Missouri; and The Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Boston, Massachusetts.

The Cathedral of the Madeleine provides a model for liturgical renewal concerning public celebration of the Divine Office. This cathedral celebrates Lauds and Vespers seven days a week in the church with a priest celebrant. On Sundays, beginning with First Vespers on Saturday evening, these liturgies are celebrated solemnly with a *schola cantorum* and a priest or bishop presiding. Lauds is celebrated between the Masses at 10 a.m. Sunday morning. Vespers with Benediction is offered at 5 p.m. Sunday evening. The cathedral of Salt Lake City began this liturgical renewal by expanding its liturgies involving sacred music in the mid-1990s, concurrent with the founding of the Madeleine Choir School. The school was founded in order to provide a Catholic education for children that included a focus on the musical arts. The children become versed in both instrumental and choral disciplines including Gregorian chant, Latin polyphony, and modern vernacular church music. The liturgies at the cathedral regularly incorporate all of these genres at Mass and in the office.

Many other models could be drawn upon, but looking at these models, one can begin to categorize some options that might be considered by a priest today who wishes to implement *Sacrosanctum Concilium* ¶100 ("Pastors of souls should see to it that the principal hours, especially Vespers, are celebrated in common on Sundays and on the more solemn feasts"). It is most common today to see its implementation in parishes during weekdays, particularly at Morning Prayer. It is usually prayed by a stable group of daily Mass attendants, some of whom belong to a third-order religious community or a confraternity dedicated to the daily praying of the Divine Office. This is an encouraging growth in lay spirituality since the council, but it does not fully answer the council's decree, which is specific to Sundays and solemn feasts. Morning Prayer can be seen, however, as a way of incorporating the Divine Office into the life of a parish community and leading to more solemn celebrations on Sundays. Vespers is easier on weekdays because it need not involve trained musicians or a master of ceremonies and acolytes.

Sunday Vespers calls for greater solemnity. It is necessary, in order to implement Sunday Vespers in a parish church successfully, to celebrate it solemnly with a priest celebrant, a choir, acolytes, sacred vestments (including surplice, stole, cope, and biretta), and incense. If the parish has a good choir of trained musicians, there are many ways that the liturgy can be enhanced by organizing the choir into subgroups to sing different parts of the office.

For instance, there should be a celebrant (*hebdomarius*), a lector, a cantor or small group of cantors, a *schola cantorum* who chant the psalms on each of two alternating sides, and ideally a mixed choir to sing a choral arrangement of the hymn and the *Magnificat*. It is likely that at least two paid musicians would be necessary to ensure musical accompaniment and at least one cantor. The Sunday office can be celebrated in a variety of styles, but since only authorized liturgical books fulfill the canonical obligation of the clergy,[31] the popularized adaptations found in hymnals or in the *Magnificat* periodical have inherent drawbacks.

The style employed will depend upon the type of congregation and the resources of talent which are available. It seems unlikely that a Sunday liturgy will draw the same group who pray the daily morning office. Since it is offered in the afternoon or evening, it will likely attract persons who are either looking to sanctify the Lord's day with an addition to the Mass or those who are interested in taking a look at the Catholic Church without attending Mass. This is an important point to consider from the ecumenical perspective. Many non-Catholic Christians are attracted to the traditions and ritual of Catholicism but do not understand the sacrificial element of the Mass. For people such as these, it could be easier to approach a Vespers service, in which the psalms are sung and even a homily might be given, rather than to start immediately attending Mass. It is hoped that after discovering the beauty of traditional liturgy, sung in church for the Canonical Hours, that these visitors might be drawn to the Mass also.

Vespers may also attract tourists, especially if the parish advertises the liturgy in the newspaper.

Vespers may also attract tourists, especially if the parish advertises the liturgy in the newspaper or if the church building is historic or has artistic or architectural merit. If the parish is located in a part of town where there is a university with an art school or music school, the level of musicianship and artistic expression will be an especially important consideration. If there is a music department or school nearby, the pastor may take this opportunity to invite faculty from the school and/or students to form a Renaissance or Baroque orchestra and *schola cantorum*. The schedule for Vespers could then alternate between Gregorian chant and polyphonic choral pieces, particularly on major feast days, since so many of the greatest composers have set the office texts to their own form of genius.

If Latin is chosen, there is an ordinary form according to the *Liturgia Horarum* of 2003, and an extraordinary form according to the *Breviarium Romanum* of 1960. The latter choice will be the easier due to the easy availability of the 1962 *Liber Usualis*, newly republished in book form or online as a free PDF download.[32]

The ordinary form is more complicated, due to the fact that one must purchase a variety of books for the musical notation of the 2003 *Liturgia Horarum*. An advantage to using Latin is that, while the music is copyrighted by the Vatican, there are no royalties charged. One may purchase a book or download from the internet and make copies without paying royalties.

One might consider beginning the solemn singing of Vespers during the liturgical seasons of Advent/Christmas or Lent/Easter, so that the liturgy would be seen as a special event for the parish, possibly drawing larger numbers. The General Instruction of the Liturgy of the Hours

[31] *Code of Canon Law* (1983), canons 276, 834.

[32] *The Liber Usualis*, ed. Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai: Desclée, 1961), (accessed December 1, 2008), <http://www.sanctamissa.org/en/music/gregorian-chant/choir/liber-usualis-1961.html>.

calls for the solemn celebration of the Office of Readings in the church before the Midnight Mass of Christmas forming an extended vigil for the solemnity.

This liturgy can be found in the *Liber Usualis* and chanted entirely in Latin according to the extraordinary form, or one can use the texts of the Liturgy of the Hours in the ordinary form and confer with the ancient use as a template for the ceremonial that goes unmentioned in the new form of the rite (cf. Appendix). These celebrations are good opportunities, for those who do not regularly attend Mass or for those in the RCIA, to be introduced to the fuller liturgical life of the church.

It is this fuller liturgical life which should be seen as normative. Together, the Holy Mass and the Divine Office comprise the *opus Dei*. The 1917 Code of Canon Law defined the *Officium Divinum* as including both the choral office and the choral conventual Mass.[33] The decrees which have called for choral Vespers in the parish church reflect this belief about the inseparability of Mass and office.

Certainly, the fathers of the Baltimore synods and councils in the United States considered Sunday Vespers in the parish to be indispensible. Pope Pius XII and the Second Vatican Council affirmed the long-standing practice of Sunday Vespers in the parish. One may ask why this practice has disappeared and spend hours researching it, or one may get to work in fulfilling it. With conviction and motivation on the part of priests and musicians, our parishes can once again fulfill and assist in this work of God for the edification of the faithful and the salvation of souls.

One question remains: how to go about the restoration of this practice? The following appendix is a selective compilation of resources to assist in the restoration of Sunday and Festal Vespers in the parish.

Appendix

Resources for Vernacular Celebrations of the Liturgy of the Hours

Psalters:

Jurgens, W.A. *Sung Vespers*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1968. (This uses the official texts of the 1962 *Breviarium Romanum* in an official English translation approved by the U.S. Bishops for liturgical use.)

Mundelein Psalter, The. Ed. Douglas Martis. Chicago: Hillenbrand, 2007.

Worship: A Hymnal and Service Book for Roman Catholics. Chicago: Gregorian Institute of America, 1986.

Worship: Liturgy of the Hours. Leaders ed. Chicago: Gregorian Institute of America, 1989.

Ceremonials/Rubrics:

Ceremonial of Bishops. New York: Catholic Book, 1989.

Elliott, Peter J. *Ceremonies of the Liturgical Year: According to the Modern Roman Rite*. San Francisco: Ignatius, 2002.

_____. *Ceremonies of the Modern Roman Rite: The Eucharist and the Liturgy of the Hours*. Rev. ed. San Francisco: Ignatius, 2005.

Fortescue, Adrian, J.B. O'Connell, and Alcuin Reid. *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*. 15th ed. New York: Burns & Oates, 2009. (Updated according to current liturgical law since *Summorum Pontificum*).

"General Instruction of the Liturgy of the Hours." *The Liturgy of the Hours According to the Roman Rite*. Vol. I. New York: Catholic Book, 1975.

---

[33] *Code of Canon Law* (1917), canon 413, §2: Divinum officium comprehendit psalmodiam horarum canonicarum et celebrationem cum cantu Missae conventualis, praeter alias Missas vel secundum rubricas Missalis vel ex piis fundationibus celebrandas.

RESOURCES FOR LATIN CELEBRATIONS OF THE LITURGY OF THE HOURS

Psalters:

Ad Completorium. Tr. Seán Finnegan. London: St. Austin, 2000.

Breviarium Romanum. *Editio Iuxta Typicam* (1961). 2 Vols. Boonville, New York: Preserving Christian Publications, 1995.

Liber Antiphonarius. (Propositio Ad) Antiphonale Romanum Secundum Liturgia Horarum. Tomus Prior. Pars Prima. Cologne, Germany: Bonnae, 2002. Dec 1, 2008 <http://www.google.com/searchhl=en&safe=active&client=safari&rls=en&q=site%3Awww.nocturnale.de+Liber+Antiphonarium &btnG=Search>.

Liber Hymnarius. Antiphonale Romanum Secundum Liturgia Horarum. *Tomus Alter*. Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1983; 1998.

The Liber Usualis. Ed. Benedictines of Solesmes. 1953. Great Falls, Montana: St. Bonaventure, 1997. (Published with English instructions and titles over the Latin liturgical texts).

The Liber Usualis. Ed. Benedictines of Solesmes. Tournai: Desclée, 1961. 1 Dec. 2008. <http://www.sanctamissa.org/en/music/gregorian-chant/choir/liber-usualis-961.html>.

Liturgia Horarum Iuxta Ritum Romanum. Editio altera. 4 Vols. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000.

Psalterium Monasticum. Iuxta Regulam SPN Benedicti. Cum Cantu Gregoriano. Paris: Desclée, 1981.

Te Decet Laus. Vesperale Secondo La Liturgia Delle Ore Del Rito Romano. Rome: Basilica di S. Cecilia, 1994.

Ceremonials/Rubrics:

Fortescue, Adrian, J. B. O'Connell, and Alcuin Reid. *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*. 15th ed. New York: Burns & Oates, 2009. (Updated according to current liturgical law since *Summorum Pontificum*).

Websites:

www.ebreviary.com Site provides free PDF files of the English language Sunday Offices in booklet form for easy printing and distribution in a parish.

www.nocturnale.de This is a German site with free PDF downloads of the Latin edition of the Liturgy of the Hours in Gregorian notation. The easiest access for the *Liber Antiphonarius* is to do a Google search for "*Liber Antiphonarius*" and look for the PDF download from nocturnale. de.

www.sanctamissa.org Click on English then on "Liturgical Books and Resources" or "Sacred Music of the Liturgy." There you will find free PDF downloads of the 1962 *Liber Usualis*, *Graduale Romanum*, *Vesperale*, and more.

www.newliturgicalmovement.org Site provides daily updates and photos related to Benedict XVI's "reform of the reform," Vatican news, liturgy, art, architecture, vestments, music, etc. as they are being implemented and celebrated in and around the U.S. and the world. It also provides free downloads of books and links for many downloads and websites.

www.musicasacra.com Site offers free downloads of a wide range of books of Gregorian chant, both Latin and English, including the *Parish Book of Chant,* and *Communio*, communion antiphons with psalm verses, and books about chant, under the sidebar "Chant Resources"; under "Books to Own," hard copies for purchase of many of the same books.

www.musicasacra.com/forum Site offers a forum for discussions on how to implement new liturgical programs such as the Divine Office in a parish church. Very practical discussions occur about what books to use, what songs, which versions, how to train the choir, problems with musicians, etc. Ï

REPERTORY

The Masses of William Byrd

by William Mahrt

The Ordinary of the Mass was a principal genre in the Renaissance, and most Renaissance composers gave it considerable attention. The masses of William Byrd are among the most distinguished of the genre. The first polyphonic mass I ever sang was William Byrd's Mass for Five Voices. The first polyphonic mass I ever sang with the St. Ann Choir—which I now direct—was Byrd's Mass for Three Voices. This choir has sung the Mass for Four Voices at least twice a year for the last thirty-five years and the others occasionally. Having sung the Four-Voice Mass most frequently, I have always been surprised when singing one of the others to notice the close resemblances; I have often thought, "Why, this is the same mass with different notes." While this may be a slight exaggeration, it points to the unique position of the masses among Byrd's works in striking contrast with the works of the other prominent Renaissance composers. While Palestrina wrote over a hundred, Lasso nearly eighty, Victoria nearly twenty, and Josquin at least fifteen, Byrd wrote only three: simply one for each number of voices, three, four, and five. Why? Why not the amazing variety of the continental composers? What difference does it make? What sense does the difference make?

The Renaissance Mass Ordinary is a paradoxical genre; it is comprised of diverse texts bound by a single musical style. This was not the case in the Middle Ages. At that time, each piece of the ordinary was a separate liturgical genre: litanies—Kyrie and Agnus Dei, hymns—Gloria and Sanctus, and profession of belief—Credo. And each of these genres had its own musical style. These movements, whose texts remained constant from service to service, were most likely to have been set to polyphonic music for practical reasons: the settings could be used on any day in contrast with the Propers of the Mass, which could be sung on only one or at most a few days of the year. Yet, there was little integration among the parts of the ordinary when they were set to polyphonic music. Even the mass of Guillaume de Machaut was probably compiled from separately existing movements; some of its movements were based upon chant melodies and some were not, and those that were used different chants for each movement.

In the Renaissance, in contrast, there was a sense of artistic integration among those movements distinguished by polyphonic setting. The five movements of the ordinary were now composed as the pillars of the whole service, integrating and ordering the entire liturgy. They were in a consistent style from movement to movement, despite the diversity of their texts. Being all by a single composer, their consistent style created a kind of rondo-like musical structure in alternation with the other elements of the service, which were mostly chants in diverse styles and modes, written at varying times over the whole history. Since these mass compositions were numerous—Palestrina alone wrote 103—and were all on the same set of texts, there had to be a principle of differentiation. To imagine the difficulty for a composer setting about to write his hundredth mass upon the same texts, yet composing something original that had not been done

William Mahrt is editor of *Sacred Music* and president of the CMAA. mahrt@stanford.edu. This article appeared originally in *A Byrd Celebration: Lectures at the William Byrd Festival*, ed. Richard Turbet (Church Muscis Association of America, 2008).

in any of the previous settings, is to realize the necessity of a principle of differentiation between such numerous masses. How could each of these masses have a unique style and expression? The principle of differentiation was the use of borrowed material: each mass was based upon musical material—chants or polyphonic pieces, sacred or secular—that had its source outside the mass itself, ensuring that the mass based upon it sounded fundamentally different from others based upon other borrowed materials.

Willliam Byrd 1540–1623

There were striking differences in this use of borrowed materials between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, what they borrowed and why they borrowed it. These differences relate to a difference between the aesthetics of the two centuries, a difference of the attitude to affect, or the emotion expressed by the music. For composers of the fifteenth century—such as Du Fay, Ockeghem, and Josquin Des Prez—the musical work is a microcosm of all of creation. The affect of the music is essentially that of wonder, upon the perception of universal order. Universal order is, in the medieval tradition, hierarchical; the parts of the music are ordered by the tenor voice having priority: the borrowed material was the melody carried by the tenor as an authoritative source. The focus of this aesthetic is upon an objective order, and the resulting affect might be called a universal one.

For composers of the sixteenth century on the continent, there was a remarkable shift in music, which is the result of humanism: the more human aspects of the sacred are now represented by focusing upon the quality of the affective response rather than upon the nature of the mystery which elicited it. This can be seen in the dominant school of spirituality of the period, such as in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola—the self-conscious cultivation of a religious affect, albeit as a response to objective aspects of faith. The result of the cultivation of affectiveness of music is that texts are chosen which are capable of expressing intense affections. In the sacred (though not liturgical) realm, these included laments of Old-Testament fathers upon the death of their sons. There may not have been any explicit theology behind the choice of these texts; rather I suppose that the rationale of their being set to music was not primarily theological, but artistic, i.e., expressive: they were the means of expressing intense emotion. Secular music of the same period, likewise, found in the subject of human love, particularly disappointed or frustrated love, the occasion for the most beautiful and intense expression. These intense emotions found a secondary point of expression in setting the mass; the parody mass essentially borrowed the music of a piece with another text, whose expression it was; there was always the possibility that in the mass text was reflected, sometimes indirectly, by the music of the model. This was essentially a manneristic aesthetic, and is represented by the preponderance of the masses of Palestrina, Victoria, and Lasso, the most prominent mass composers of Byrd's era.

Byrd had been the heir of such an affective tradition. He had appropriated the mode of lamentation in many of the works of the three volumes of *Cantiones sacrae* in extended, expansive, and effective expression. But here, the purpose was not the same: the cultivation of intense affects served at one and the same time an aesthetic purpose and as well as an expression of the lamentable situation of Catholics in England, even in particular relation to sacred music. It is thought that many of these *cantiones* were written for those who remembered the splendid location of excellent polyphony in the traditional Latin liturgy, cultivated as late as the final years of the reign of Mary; now they were reduced to singing elegant works of vocal chamber music set to sacred texts, but at the same time lamenting the loss of the proper location of such polyphony.

But something happened when Byrd wrote masses. These were now for liturgical celebration. Some think the Mass for Four Voices was performed by 1586; in any case it was published in 1592–93. In 1593, after decades of being a member of the Chapel Royal, he moved to Stondon Massey, where the masses would have been sung liturgically for the community of Catholics. The Mass for Three Voices was published in 1593–94 and that for Five in 1594–95.[1] Thus Byrd's masses occupy a unique historical position. Palestrina, Lasso, and Victoria composed for major institutional patrons, in the context of the self-conscious cultivation of artistry and of splendor, in each case accompanied by considerable piety as well. Still, the name of the game was variety, a kind of dazzling splendor of a different mass for every special occasion. I do not mean to suggest that a Renaissance ruler, such as the Duke of Bavaria, Lasso's longtime patron, comes in for any blame—to support the talents of one of the world's greatest artists, employed for making divine worship beautiful, is one of the best things he can have spent his money for. How does this compare with how our present-day governments spend our money? I contend, remarkably well. To give the liturgy the optimum human splendor was to approach the divine through the chain of being—i.e., the highest artistic form, the mass, brought the worshipper closer to the highest artist, the Creator.

But something happened when Byrd wrote masses. These were now for liturgical celebration.

Byrd had known such a context in the Chapel Royal, but the context of his masses was entirely different, more intimate and more focused. For the small community of Catholics in Elizabethan England, the Mass was a matter of their identity. They were celebrating the Mass authorized by the Council of Trent—not the old Sarum Rite—as recusants, Catholics who made great sacrifices to remain so. Their principal purpose was to celebrate this Mass, always the same in its essentials, in contrast with continental courts and cathedrals, where the essence of the thing was secure and taken for granted. Thus Byrd's masses stand quite apart from the continental tradition in several ways. First, he is writing the first Mass Ordinary in England in thirty years. Second, while he looked to his English predecessors, John Taverner in particular, but also Thomas Tallis and John Sheppard, he did not base his masses upon any systematically used borrowed material. In this he must have been conscious of a subordinate English tradition, the plain-style masses of Taverner, Tye, Sheppard, and Tallis, which cultivate a more direct and simple expression of the text than the festal masses of these composers, as do Byrd's masses. Finally, Byrd sets the entire Mass text; English composers rarely set the Kyrie, and their settings of the Credo omitted a substantial part of the text. This is clearly a reorientation of Tridentine usages on Byrd's part and a certain departure from English traditions.

But the most important difference lies in the composer's relation to the text. Byrd famously spoke of his relation to the texts of sacred music:

> In these words, as I have learned by trial, there is such a concealed and hidden power that to one thinking upon things divine and diligently and earnestly pondering them, all the fittest numbers occur as if of themselves and freely offer themselves to the mind which is not indolent or inert.[2]

---

[1]Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 188–89.
[2]William Byrd, *Gradualia*, "Dedications and Foreword," in Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History*, revised edition, Leo Treitler, ed. (New York: Norton, 1998), p. 378.

With his three masses, each for a different number of voices, he needed no further principle of differentiation; rather, I would suggest, each mass is the ideal setting of this text for this number of voices, in the manner which he describes. There is no systematic use of borrowed material; rather, each mass addresses its text in the most direct, succinct, and yet expressive way. These masses show clear evidence that Byrd was aware that they might be sung many times: their construction and expression is so tight and concentrated that they repay repeated performance. My experience in singing the *Gradualia* bears this out.[3] The pieces of the Gradualia, mostly to be sung once a year, as beautiful as they are, do not have the intense concentration that the masses do: they can be sung once a year and retain great interest. The masses, however, can be sung quite a bit more frequently and sustain the repetition very well. The most extensive and intensive discussion of these works is in Joseph Kerman's *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*.[4] In what follows I will address a few specific points about the masses that relate to Byrd's treatment of the genre as a whole. The discussion may best be followed with access to score and recording.[5]

Byrd's focus upon the text can be seen in the manner in which the music represents the rhythm of the text. Especially in the movements with longer texts, the Gloria and Credo, much of the setting is syllabic—a single note per syllable: characteristically a phrase is set one note per syllable, with the accented syllables receiving the longer notes and higher pitches; the last accent of the phrase then receives a short melisma leading to a cadence. That Byrd focused upon the rhythm of the text may be illustrated by comparison of the rhythm of the beginning of his three settings of the Gloria [see example below, p. 48]. My experience of "the same piece with different notes" is shown in how similar the rhythms for all three settings are.

The sensitivity to text is also seen in the rhetorical treatment of phrases.

The sensitivity to text is also seen in the rhetorical treatment of phrases. For example, in the Gloria of the Four-Voice Mass, beginning with "Laudamus te," each of the four short acclamations is stated in a very brief duet, alternating low and high voices; at first it seems scarcely an adequate expression of these potentially expressive texts. However, upon the fourth acclamation, "Glorificamus te," the rhetoric begins: the lower voices answer back the same text, and then, beginning with the highest voice, all enter in imitation leading to a strongly emphatic four-voice cadence. This cumulative ending pulls together the four acclamations in a splendid climax that gloriously emphasizes the culminating phrase, "We give thee glory."

Another highly expressive rhetorical treatment of the text is at the beginning of the Agnus Dei of the Mass for Four Voices. This is a duet between soprano and alto in close imitation; such close imitation is essential to the rhetoric of the duet: after an initial somewhat conventional imitation (the head motive for the whole mass, identical with the first measures of the Gloria), the alto rises to a high note on "qui tollis," after which the soprano imitates it a step higher and leads

[3]Kerry McCarthy directed a cycle of the twelve major feasts provided by the *Gradualia* for celebrated Latin Masses on the proper days, one singer to a part, at St. Thomas Aquinas Church in Palo Alto, California, in the Jubilee Year 2000.

[4]Chapter 4, "The Mass," (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 188–215.

[5]Scores for the masses can be found in *The Byrd Edition*, Philip Brett, ed., Vol. 4, *The Masses* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981); scores of all three masses are also available online at www.cpdl.org. Many recordings are available; among them is: William Byrd, *The Three Masses*, Byrd edition, Vol. 5; The Cardinall's Musick, Andrew Carwood, director (London: ASV, 2000; CD GAU 206 ASV).

to the highest note so far in the passage; the alto begins "miserere nobis," upon its lowest note, repeating the phrase twice, each time at a higher pitch, while the soprano imitates this at a higher pitch as well. This beautiful and highly rhetorical duet establishes a point of departure for the whole movement, which then has its greatest cumulation at its ending.

The basic language of the masses is imitation—each voice taking a subject in turn, but this technique is used in extraordinarily varied ways and often in very concentrated ways. An example is the Kyrie of the Four-Voice Mass:

> It beings with a subject and a tonal answer—a fourth is answered by a fifth, the two comprising a complete octave, the theoretical range of the mode, or tone. The alto begins, answered by the soprano; the tenor then answers, but before the bass can enter the soprano states the tonal answer, a fifth lower than its original entrance; then the bass enters, giving the illusion of five voices in imitation, each entering at a measure's distance. Once the bass has entered, though, the other voices being to enter at quicker successions, creating a stretto with fourteen entrances in the course of the whole ten-measure section. These entrances have all been on the tonally correct beginning notes, D and G.
>
> The Christe introduces elements of considerable variety: the second voice enters after only a whole note, the third after a half, but the fourth after two wholes. This eccentric time interval is corroborated by eccentric pitches: D–G–D–G–G–C–E-flat–B-flat–B-flat–F–B-flat–F, but cadencing back to D.
>
> The final Kyrie has a double subject, tenor and soprano beginning by each stating its own subject; there follows a separation of the two subjects, each being stated separately and on a variety of pitches, for a total of twenty-two entrances in the course of eighteen measures, a splendid proliferation of melody in counterpoint.

Byrd's use of imitation is highly original and varied, sometimes even illusory. The Agnus Dei of the Four-Voice Mass shows a long-term use of illusion in imitation. It begins with the two upper voices in close imitation for the first complete sentence of the text. The second sentence is taken first by the two lower voices, also in close imitation, at the time-interval of only a half-note. But after three whole-notes' duration, the soprano enters, causing the listener in surprise to re-evaluate the composer's strategy: instead of a texture of paired duets—two high voices answered by two lower voices—there is now a texture of increasing voices—two voices answered by three voices. Then the outer voices answer the alto's entrance with an imitation in parallel tenths that proceeds for four-and-a-half whole notes, long enough for the listener to assume that this will be the texture for this sentence; but, again, there is a surprise: the fourth voice enters also in imitation, and this then leads to one of the most elegant suspensions, effectively depicting the peaceful state for which the text prays.

Byrd's use of imitation is highly original and varied, sometimes even illusory.

Each of the three masses has its own character and its own unique features, many of which are explored by Joseph Kerman. The basic differences derive from the difference in the number of voices, which was decisive for Byrd's decisions concerning texture. The texture of each mass optimizes the number of voices and what is possible with that number. Thus the Four-Voice

The mass for three voices is in what I would call a "risky" texture: three equal voices in full triadic sonority.

Mass has as a principal texture paired duets: soprano and alto sing in close imitation, and this is followed by tenor and bass taking up the same material in their own duet. Four-voice imitation is prevalent, occasionally in juxtaposition with familiar style—simultaneous text in simultaneous rhythms, sometimes called homophony, as, for example, "Gratias agimus tibi," following the imitative section on "Glorificamus te," which then gradually breaks out into imitation on "propter magnam gloriam tuam."

The mass for three voices is in what I would call a "risky" texture: three equal voices in full triadic sonority. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, three-voice writing was the norm, but it was not in equal voices: soprano and tenor formed a self-sufficient, consonant, mainly conjunct counterpoint, while the contratenor supplied the third tone that usually completed the triad; the contratenor skips around picking off the notes for the triad, not obliged to maintain a conjunct melodic style. In Byrd's three-part writing, however, all three voices have melodic coherence and proceed in full triads. Anyone who has studied harmony knows that four voices contain the means for good voice-leading, for doubling one of the notes of the triad allows some flexibility in how the voices move from chord to chord. In only three voices, there is no leeway, every note has to count, and every progression is naked and unprotected. In my opinion, of the masses, that for three voices represents the greatest compositional skill, since it works within such strict limitations. The inclusion of imitation poses further challenge, but the solution lies in the use of parallel tenths, usually between the outer voices. The harmonization of these by a third voice, then, makes possible smooth voice-leading and full triads. Anyone can do it. Hardly anyone can do it in a fashion that is interesting for more than a few phrases, not to mention for a whole mass, anyone, that is, except for Byrd.

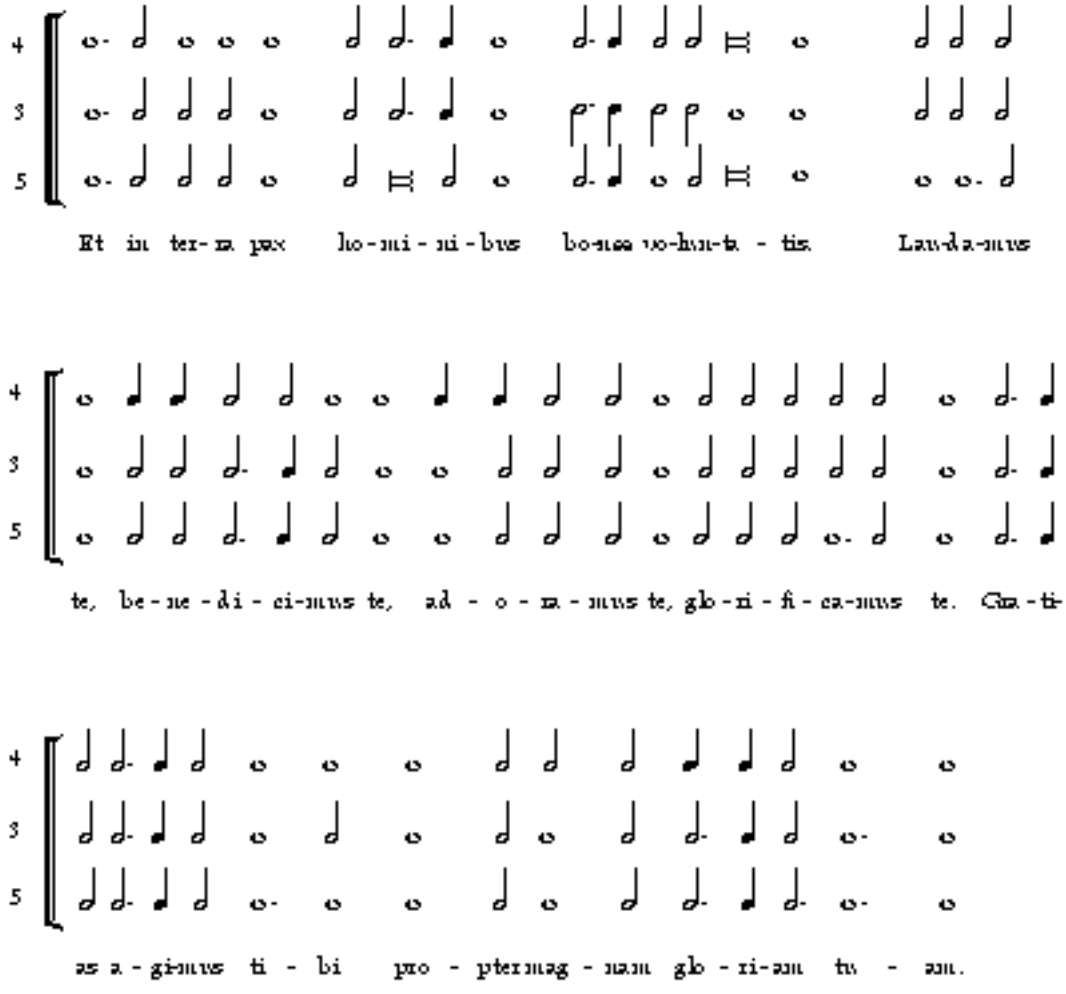
The Five-Voice Mass has the greatest contrapuntal leeway, and being the last composed, benefited from the greatest experience in setting the text. Here reduced textures are more often in three voices, and the five-voice sections, in a couple of notable passages, are supremely forceful. Two of these passages are on "Dominus Deus Sabaoth" in the Sanctus and on the beginning of the third Agnus Dei. In both of these instances the full five-voice chordal texture is expressed very forcefully and constitutes a dramatic high point of the movement.

The overall shape of each mass also represents a sensitive approach to the texts. In the absence of the usual borrowed material to integrate the five movements, a traditional technique is still used—the head motive: the movements begin with the same melodic or contrapuntal figure, which serves to signify the integration of the movements. The Sanctus, however, stands outside this scheme, and this is part of its sensitive treatment. In a very important sense, the Sanctus is the centerpiece of the Mass liturgically. It is during the Sanctus and Benedictus that traditionally the Canon of the Mass is said silently and that the consecration of the Sacrament occurs, a most sacred and hieratic moment. The hieratic is best represented by something archaic, and this applies first of all to the text of the Sanctus itself. The text harks back to the Old Testament (Isaiah 6:3) and to the most hieratic phenomenon, the Seraphim before the face of God crying out each to the other "Holy, Holy, Holy!" The Three- and Five-Voice Masses begin the Sanctus with a reference to a *cantus firmus* style—one voice holds long notes while the others embellish it. This derives from the fifteenth-century technique of setting the authoritative borrowed melody in the tenor in long notes, a cantus firmus. For Byrd it is only an allusion, but it is enough to recall the style of past generations, thus alluding to something ancient, and in turn evoking a hieratic

effect. The Four-Voice Mass does a similar thing by imitating the Sanctus of John Taverner's *Meane Mass*, by the 1590s a work from the distant past.

Byrd's three masses are thus a unique phenomenon in the genre, being original and direct expressions of the Mass texts, eschewing the conventions of continental composers who differentiated one mass from another by borrowing musical material from outside the Mass. Rather they meet the practical need for a mass for three different voice dispositions, but they do so with the highest art and with the most loving attention to the text of the Mass itself, so that they remain perennial standards of the liturgical repertory.

Declamation of the Gloria in Byrd Masses
For Four, Three, and Five Voices



COMMENTARY

Seeking the Living: Why Composers Have a Responsibility to be Accessible to the World

by Mark Nowakowski

It is a sad fact that during nine years of primary school music education and almost ten years of higher education in composition, it never once occurred to me that I could function as a composer within the Catholic Church. Despite being a cradle Catholic, I never was given the idea that the church either needed or wanted new music to add to her liturgy. Frankly speaking, such information was poorly advertised, and the academic establishment was not entirely keen on encouraging careers in sacred music.

In my current work as Music Curator for the Foundation for Sacred Arts (thesacredarts.org), one of my responsibilities is to locate and support new compositional talent with the church. I remember the great excitement I first brought to this task, figuring that only some well-placed Google searches stood between me and the organization of the church's greatest compositional talent. Yet modern sacred composers, I have found, are notoriously secluded. I often have names of "great" or "very promising" composers dropped my way, only to find that they have virtually no public profile. I have found this to be a worldwide phenomenon, among both lay and ordained composers.

In his call for a new evangelization, Pope John Paul the Great cited the new media landscape as prime real-estate in the battle for souls. If this is truly the case, the lack of public presence among modern composers is most unfortunate. The problem becomes increasingly baffling when one considers that the Foundation for Sacred Arts has no such problem with established visual artists; in the absence of support in established art journals and magazines, they tend to be rather savvy about using available technologies to promote their work. Amongst performers and conductors, the internet has become a valuable tool for disseminating music while building an international community for liturgical reform. Given the well-developed artistic and musical communities worldwide, why are composers so absent from the internet? The very act of creating art as a vocation implies a public presence; art is not strictly a private matter. Certain creative personalities may be reclusive, yet work inspired by God and written for his liturgy cannot be allowed to remain hidden or underutilized.

Thankfully there exist many free (or highly affordable) services that can provide an online presence. For instance: free music profiles—with sound samples—can be created via services such as Lastfm, Myspace, and Facebook. Serious composers should join professional organizations such as the American Composers Forum and the American Music Center. The ACF offers personal websites which potential performers and commissioning parties frequently browse, as

Mark Nowakowski is an emerging composer garnering performances internationally. He completed his studies at the Cleveland Institute of Music (where he was composer-in-residence with the Canton Symphony Orchestra), Illinois State University, and the University of Colorado. Most recently he served as a guest instructor at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. He currently serves as the Curator of Music for the Foundation for Sacred Arts. More about Mark can be found at www.marknowakowski.com

well as listings of numerous compositional contests and professional opportunities worldwide. The AMC allows members to upload pdf scores and mp3 sound samples into a cross-referenced musical database. If there is indeed somebody in the world who is looking for your sacred work for soprano, baroque organ, and amplified bass clarinet, this is the probably the best place to find such an original musical combination.

It is also highly desirable for composers to create and host a website. Free websites can be obtained through services such as Yahoo Geocities (geocities.yahoo.com) or Google Sites (search: "Google Sites"). Blogs can also be a free tool with which to create sharp-looking personal pages, as can be seen through services such as *blogger* and *wordpress*.

For those who wish a more personal and professional level of representation, numerous companies (such as *Network Solutions* or *Godaddy*) exist to fulfill every level of such a service. These companies will register your domain name (such as www.theworldsbestcomposer.com) and host your actual website, all for a single yearly charge. If you do not have the technical savvy (or good friends) to build your own website, these services also offer affordable web-design services as part of their package. Another route to web design is to search for free website "templates," which are pre-fabricated and often beautiful looking sites that can be customized to fit your wishes.

I can personally attest to the benefits of maintaining an online presence. My various websites and profiles have led to numerous small commissions, while my profile on Myspace (of all things) has earned me the opportunity to interface with musicians and establish several projects internationally. I know that between forty and one hundred new people visit my official website every week, which is much better than no exposure at all. Finally, I know that if somebody drops *my* name, I am the very first "Mark Nowakowski" to appear on Google. (That market, at least, is cornered.)

In a world of thinning compositional opportunities and meager profits—and increasing liturgical need—modern composers cannot afford to ignore the tools of digital exposure. More so, it is the *responsibility* of serious Catholic composers to make themselves accessible. The Lord does not bestow artistic talent on his people in order for it to remain hidden. Perhaps our Lord's parable of the talents has particular resonance with modern artists: "What have you done with the talent which I have bestowed upon you?"

Websites such as musicasacra.com have taken full advantage of globalization and new mediums of communication to ingeniously spread their very necessary artistic message. Rather than simply preaching about quality, they are providing easy access to it. Liturgical renewal, at the click of a mouse; only a generation ago, it would have been difficult to imagine.

God clearly wants new music for his flock, as he continues to call new composers with every passing year. New music, in turn, deserves a place in the culture of the liturgical renewal. The people involved in this renewal are bright, informed, and very excited about the work they are doing. What a shame, then, that so few composers are willing to join in the fun.

In a world of thinning compositional opportunities and meager profits—and increasing liturgical need—modern composers cannot afford to ignore the tools of digital exposure.

The Role of Beauty in the Liturgy

by Fr. Franklyn M. McAfee, D.D.

[This sermon was delivered at the extraordinary form Mass following the Chant Pilgrimage, September 26, 2009, National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.]

A thing of beauty is a joy forever
Its loveliness increases;
It will never pass into nothingness.
—John Keats

When the envoys of Vladimir, Prince of Kiev returned from attending the Divine Liturgy at the Hagia Sophia Cathedral in Constantinople in the late tenth century, they gave this report; "We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth, for surely there is no such splendor or beauty anywhere on earth. We cannot describe it to you; only this we know, that God dwells there among men, and that their service surpasses the worship of all other places. For we cannot forget the beauty!"

President John Adams, in a letter to his wife Abigail, told of a visit to a "Romish Chapel." It said in part: "The music was consisting of an organ and a choir of singers, went all the afternoon, excepting sermon time, and the assembly chanted—most sweetly and exquisitely. Here is everything which can lay hold of the eye, ear, and imagination. Everything which can charm and bewitch the simple and ignorant. I wonder how Luther ever broke the spell."

St. Teresa of Avila declared, "I am always shaken by the grandeur of the ceremonies of the church." The love of beauty and its expression for the work of art is not itself beauty but its expression is homage to God because, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, "beauty is one of the names of God." Thus the church, when she is summoned to celebrate the Divine Mysteries, utilizes all of the arts appealing to the senses because the beautiful is "*id quod visum placet*" (vision of which) when beheld is pleasing. The soberness of the chant, the splendor of the instruments, the festivity of the vestments, the pageantry of the incense, the candles, the vessels, the holy water—all of these aid us in our worship of the Triune God who created beauty, sustains beauty, redeemed beauty, and is Beauty itself.

The church has traditionally clothed the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with mystery. Using the goods of creation, the church in her transcendent earthiness leads her children to God and God through the same means descends to them. The church at times has forgotten this. Pope Benedict XVI (as Cardinal Ratzinger) lamented, "Since the [Second] Vatican Council the church has turned its back on beauty." Just a few years ago the Pontifical Council of Culture in Rome issued this plea: "give beauty back to ecclesiastical buildings, give beauty back to the liturgical objects!" Not only has the church turned her back on beauty, she seems to be embarrassed by it. She who was once the patroness of the arts.

We have been impoverished. To use a phrase of Paul Claudel, "we live in an age of starved imagination." According to the philosopher Plotinus, "the soul must climb the ladder of the

Fr. Franklyn M. McAfee, D.D. is pastor emeritus at St. John the Beloved Church in McLean, Virginia.

beautiful before it can encounter the vision of First Beauty." But what happens when they remove the rungs of the ladder?

Scientists tell us that the left side of the brain specializes in mathematics, analysis, science, and so on. It is the right side of the brain that is incurably romantic. Its province is poetry, love, art, music. It is the right side of the brain that is called into play by a high form of liturgy. One author has said, "During a more de-ritualized example of the vernacular Mass, the right brain, that miniature Homer or Shakespeare in all of us, is smothered to death."

H. L. Menken, who wrote for a Baltimore paper, and was no friend of religion, found himself admiring the Catholic Church as he said in 1923: "The Latin Church, which I constantly find myself admiring, despite its frequent astounding imbecilities, has always kept clearly before it the fact that religion is not a syllogism, but a poem. . . . Rome, indeed, has not only preserved the original poetry of Christianity; it has also made capital additions to that poetry—for example, the poetry of the saints, of Mary, of the liturgy itself." "A solemn High Mass," he concluded, "must be a thousand times as impressive as the most powerful sermon ever roared under the big-top . . . in the face of such overwhelming beauty it is not necessary to belabor the faithful with logic; they are better convinced by letting them alone."

It is the right side of the brain that is called into play by a high form of liturgy.

Listen to the enemies of the church. They tremble at every swing of incense and each and every genuflection. In 1888 a Seventh Day Adventist published a book about the Whore of Babylon. When Judge Clarence Thomas was named to the Supreme Court the book was reissued. Here the author remarks about Catholic worship—remember this was in the nineteenth century: "Many Protestants suppose that the Catholic religion is unattractive and that its worship is a dull, meaningless round of ceremony. Here they mistake. While Romanism is based upon deception, it is not a coarse and clumsy imposture. The religious service of the Roman Church is a most impressive ceremonial. Its gorgeous display and solemn rites fascinate the senses of the people and silence the voice of reason and of conscience. The eye is charmed. Magnificent churches, imposing processions, golden altars, jeweled shrines, choice paintings, and exquisite sculpture appeal to the love of beauty. The ear also is captivated. The music is unsurpassed. The rich notes of the deep-toned organ, blending with the melody of many voices as it swells through the lofty domes and pillared aisles of her grand cathedrals, cannot fail to impress the mind with awe and reverence. The pomp and ceremony of the Catholic worship has the seductive, bewitching power by which many are deceived; and they come to look upon the Roman Church as the very gate of Heaven."

In this way, many hearts hardened to the church and her teachings, have been melted; as was the case of the "decadents"—Baudelaire, Verlaine, Aubrey, Oscar Wilde and others. "Beauty can then be fittingly called evangelical, evangelical beauty, *via pulchritudinis*, can open the pathway for the search for God and "dispose the heart and spirit to meet Christ who is the beauty of Holiness Incarnate offered by God to man for their salvation."

According to St. Thomas Aquinas, for something to be considered beautiful it must have three qualities: integrity, harmony, clarity, or radiance. When the radiance breaks through and the teachings of the church are made manifest and the Catholic Church is recognized as the place where the truth abides and the home of beauty. This was the case with the decadents. Hans Urs

von Balthasar has written that when "the good has lost its power of attraction, when proofs have lost their conclusive character; then the beautiful will empower."

Pope Benedict XVI, in his telling of the visit of the delegates of Prince Vladimir of Kiev to Constantinople, said that the delegation and the prince accepted the truth of Christianity not by the cogency of its theological augmentations but by the beauty of the mystery of its liturgy.

The poet Baudelaire wrote, "It is at once through poetry and across poetry, through and across music, that the soul glimpses the splendor situated beyond the grave; and when an exquisite poem brings tears to the eyes these tears are not proof of excessive joy. They are the testimony of an irritated melancholy, a demand of the nerves, of a nature exiled in the imperfect, and now desiring to take possession of his world."

Baudelaire was significantly influenced on his idea of beauty by an American writer he much admired, Edgar Allan Poe. Poe states of beauty: "We still have a thirst unquenchable, the thirst belonging to the immortality of man. He is at once a consequence and an indication of this perennial nature. It is the desire of the moth for the stars. It is no mere appreciation of the beauty before us, but veiled effort to reach the beauty above."

Beauty provides a vehicle to transcend our present lives and to touch the skirts of heaven.

Why then must the liturgy be beautiful? Because beauty provides a vehicle to transcend our present lives and to touch the skirts of heaven. When we encounter finite beauty there is engendered a more passionate longing for absolute immortal beauty of which the earthly temporal beauty is but an ephemeral epiphany.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, Christ is called the *leiturgos*, the liturgist who presides over all our rituals, who himself offers the liturgy. Since Christ is the *leiturgos* and Christ is Beauty Incarnate, all beauty must reflect him and all beauty must flow from him in the liturgy.

Christ the Word Made Flesh is the greatest masterpiece. Christ is the most perfect symphony. Christ is the loveliest painting. Christ is the cosmic beat in the everlasting poem.

St. John of the Cross said; "God passes through the thickets of the world and wherever his glance falls, he turns all things to beauty."

St. Paul wrote to Timothy; "He is King of Kings and Lord of Lords. He does possess immortality dwelling in unapproachable light." Yet in the Divine Liturgy of the Mass we make bold to approach him who lives in unapproachable light.

How can I describe the liturgy? I can describe the liturgy with one word. In the courts of heaven, amid the chorus of angels, there is but one word spoken, one solitary word which the Cherubim and Seraphim utter before the majesty of the cosmic liturgy of the glorified Lamb once slain but now risen, and that word is . . .

That simple word . . .

That glorious, triumphant word is . . .

AHHH!

Singing in Unison? Selling Chant to the Reluctant Choir

by Mary Jane Ballou

"But we want to sing real music! Chant isn't *real* music." How many choir directors have heard that refrain when they introduce chant?

What is "real music"? To many singers, that means music in parts, whether a choral octavo of a contemporary piece, a Byrd motet, or a Bach chorale. Sing in unison? That's for warm-ups and babies. In fact, I once sang with a choir that did its warm-up drills in four parts. A schola expects chant. The average parish choir fed a diet of descants and octavos will need to make a shift in consciousness as chant is introduced. It is the director's job to ease that process.

Unison singing is at once the most elementary and the most difficult. It is most definitely "real music." First, we need to be clear what I mean when I say "unison singing." This is not "choir karaoke" where everyone wails the tune along with the assembly while the accompanist pounds away in the hope that volume will cover a multitude of sins. This is not singing the melody "because we didn't have time to work up an anthem."

Performing even the simplest chant with beauty takes practice. Teaching it successfully takes patience and close attention. This genre also demands humility on the part of singers who must sacrifice their vocal distinctiveness to the unified whole. Why bother? When they are sung well, chant and unison song convey intensity and unity unlike any other vocal music.

Theoretical and Practical Advantages

The problem is convincing the skeptics in the choir that this music is worth their time and trouble. How do you sell and develop unison singing with your choir?

Singing in unison has a philosophical justification. From Dante's *Purgatorio* to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Life Together*, the unison voice extinguishes wrath and is the audible expression of Christian unity. Chant is the singer's connection to over two thousand years of Judeo-Christian music. It is the music of worship past, present, and future, creating an unbroken union that knows no limits of time and place. Singers should consider themselves part of a universe of the faithful that reaches far beyond their own experience.

The beauty lies in careful attention to the text, attentive listening by individual singers to themselves and each other, and a sure and easy command of the melodic line. The words come to the front of the music and of the singers' minds. With sacred texts, that can be a very powerful experience. Many singers are so focused on getting the right notes and staying with their part that they simply "chew" the text, regardless of the language. The time saved from pounding parts for different sections can be used for teaching about the meaning and history of the text, its author (if known), or simply making sure that every singer knows what he or she is saying. If the words didn't matter, we could sing everything on "nu" and have lovely vocal production.

Unison singing is a golden opportunity for director and singers to focus on different aspects of singing and choral technique. The choir can perceive itself as a cone, directing the sound to you as the vertex. Many ensembles sing in several directions—everyone in a given part singing

Mary Jane Ballou directs music for Catholic parishes in Florida. mjballou@bellsouth.net

only to each other, not to mention the occasional chorister who stands at a right angle from the rest of the choir. Breathing, attack, blend, head vs. chest voice can be easily isolated when all are on the same notes at the same time.

A choir that is comfortable singing unison *a cappella* music is fearless. If the tenors all take the weekend off or the organ ciphers, there is no need for panic. The ensemble can sing wherever they find themselves. No looking nervously for a piano or hauling that keyboard around in the back of the van. All that is needed is a pitch pipe or tuning fork. A few chants and songs memorized, with a canon or two—and short impromptu concerts are possible, with great possibilities for artistic evangelization!

Considerations and Suggestions

Here are some tips for this journey:

First, singers need to hear some good examples, preferably not just recordings of monks. Monastics are seen as "the professionals" of the chant world and a choir can justifiably point out that they (the choir) don't sing seven hours a day seven days a week. Let them hear a variety of voices and languages, male, female, English, French, Latin. Mix it up. Have some music playing as rehearsal begins. Download a bit of Byzantine chant or the enthusiastic singing of the Solomon Islands. There is more to monophony than Gregorian.

Second, make it clear that you will not be browbeaten out of this repertoire, no matter how much grumbling goes on in the bass section. This is where your own belief in the value of chant will be tested. It is far too easy to think, "Well, I tried. Maybe I'll get more willing singers in a few years." Persevere.

A choir that is comfortable singing unison a cappella *music is fearless.*

Third, sing only the best. Notice that I said "the best," not the most difficult. Use a simple metrical hymn from the Divine Office or a lovely seasonal piece like the "Rorate caeli." Build up slowly to more complex chants or those swell medieval tropes. Give yourself and the choir a long lead time to work up unison pieces. It is better to spend ten or fifteen minutes of focused and energized time on the piece and then move to a different style.

Make sure that you work on something with "staying power." Choose a piece of liturgical music that can be used more than once or twice a year. A Kyrie or the seasonal psalm responds for Ordinary Time will pay back in utility the time needed to develop a strong unison approach.

Reasonably priced for choir copies and written in modern stemless notation, Paul F. Ford's *By Flowing Waters* would seem the best place for the "chantless" choir to start its unison-singing adventure. This translation of the *Graduale Simplex* is easy to navigate and nicely presented. However, you may do better to start with Latin chant and work back to the vernacular. Why? Latin is "exotic" and rather high-brow to many singers. They expect Gregorian chant to be unaccompanied and monophonic and that expectation can quell many objections. Then you can bring in the English as is appropriate in your own parish.

Remember that pitch indications are relative. Make sure that the vocal range is comfortable for all the singers. If you are singing unaccompanied, you can set the pitch wherever works best for the particular ensemble. Otherwise, that grumbling in the bass section will start up. Why not designate some pieces for your high voices and some for the low?

Unison singing is very exposed and your singers may feel "vocally naked," especially those who are used to relying on instrumental cover. Singers who are used to grabbing the music and

launching themselves will need time to find their ears and learn how to use them. And it will be very frustrating for many. Make it clear that every member of the choir is on a path to improvement together. There is no one, including the director, who can't learn and change. Have small groups sing a section of the chant or song while others listen. Be encouraging, but also be honest enough to correct errors. Then bring the whole group back to the piece.

Be a little mischievous. Mix the singers up. All directors know how attached "Millie" and "Alfred" have become to their special seats in the choir. Time for everyone to move around. Number the seats and have the singers draw slips from a hat as they arrive at rehearsal. Find room to stand in a circle with everyone facing in towards you. Lead an impromptu procession around the church or rehearsal room to practice singing in motion. Occasionally, just lighten up and laugh with the singers.

Do your singers ever hear themselves? Let them experience what a good unison choral sound is. After the group has learned to focus their sound on you and they're singing well, bring a singer out to stand with you and listen "from the outside the box." They may find it quite startling.

Find a musical "partner in crime." Do you know another director in your area who might be interested in exploring chant and other unison singing? You can swap choirs for an evening during the "slow" season of Ordinary Time or Sundays after Pentecost. If you are particularly ambitious, bring in someone to do a "tune-up" with your choirs. This is a common practice with show choirs and professional ensembles.

From One Into Many

Unison singing and part-singing build on each other. Both require listening to oneself. In unison singing, the singer listens and tunes to the same pitch as an external source. In part-singing, the skill involves tuning to an external source with a different pitch. Over time, the choir will find both its ability to sing in unison and parts improving. Make sure you point this out as it happens.

A nice change of pace can be a round or canon. Perfect it in unison *all the way through* before breaking into the parts and then bring it back to unison to close. William Billings' "When Jesus Wept" is worth all the time it takes and will school the singers in clean stepwise movement, dazzling leaps, and voice placement. It's also beautiful. Many rounds and canons are easily memorized and can be used anywhere a choir finds itself, including the annual choir picnic, choral festival, or pub crawl.

Conclusion

Gregorian chant and other unison sacred music can be a hard sell to the modern Catholic choir. Its promotion requires patience, knowledge, good humor, and conviction. Stay with it and one day it will "click." You will experience that unity of heart and voice that Dante and Bonhoeffer describe. And your singers will experience it as well.[1]

---

[1]Some Resources for Unison Singing: Musica Sacra website (<http://www.musicasacra.com>), home of the Church Music Association of America, has links ranging from the *Liber Usualis* to contemporary vernacular settings of propers. St. Cecilia Schola (<http://www.ceciliaschola.org>): many useful PDFs of single chants with accompanying English translation. Choral Wiki (<http://www.cpdl.org>) (home of the Choral Public Domain Library): look for unison.

In Print: *Graduale Simplex* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1975; available from CanticaNOVA, www.canticanova.com and other sellers). *By Flowing Waters: A Collection of Unaccompanied Songs for Assemblies, Cantors and Choirs* by Paul F. Ford (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1999). *Fifty-nine (59) Liturgical Rounds* by William Tortolano (Chicago, Ill.: GIA Publications, 1990).

ARCHIVE

The Lost Collection of Chant Cylinders

by Rev. Jerome F. Weber

The following article, adapted slightly from a talk presented to the thirtieth annual conference of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections held at Kansas City, Missouri in 1996, is reprinted with permission from the *ARSC Journal*, 29, no. 2 (1998), 202–05.

The real subject of this article is not Gregorian chant, and it is not the revival of early music, although both are discussed in order to lay the groundwork for my main point. The main point is storage and preservation of recordings and other cultural artifacts, and I am going to describe one particular case—an irreplaceable series of recordings that has apparently been lost as the result of inadequate attention to careful storage and preservation and the lack of appreciation of its lasting worth.

The earliest recordings of Gregorian chant that I listed in *A Gregorian Chant Discography*[1] were thirty chants on twenty-four discs made by W. Sinkler Darby for The Gramophone and Typewriter Company in Rome in April 1904 during the Gregorian Congress. These recordings remained in the H.M.V. and Victor catalogues for over twenty years, and they were reissued on LP as a set in 1982. I did not realize until recently that a much more extensive series of recordings preceded that set by more than four years.

Of the five choir directors that Sinkler Darby enlisted to direct his chant records, the one who concerns us here was Dom Joseph Pothier. He was the first monk to direct the research into medieval chant at the abbey of Solesmes. He published his theoretical treatise, *Les Mélodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition*, in 1880[2] and edited the complete chants of the Mass in 1883. By 1895 he had edited four other books of chants published by the monks of Solesmes.

But in 1893 Dom Pothier was called away from Solesmes to become prior first of Ligugé, a daughter monastery, and then two years later of the ancient Fontenelle, recently reopened as Saint-Wandrille (named for its seventh-century founder), near Rouen, about two hours from Paris by train. In 1898 he became its abbot.

Meanwhile, the 1890s had witnessed extensive debate about the merits of the Solesmes research into medieval chant. One of many musicians who promoted the work of the Solesmes monks was Charles Bordes. In March 1890 Bordes became organist and choir director at Saint-Gervais in Paris, a church near the Hotel de Ville where six Couperins had been the organists over the course of 175 years. There his choir sang long-forgotten music of the Renaissance. In 1892 he formed the nucleus of his choir into a professional chorus, Les Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais, that toured France and neighboring countries.

Fr. Jerome F. Weber is a retired priest of the diocese of Syracuse. He was president of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections from 1994 to 1996. He is on the editorial board of "Plainsong and Medieval Music" and writes for *Fanfare*. He began writing for *Sacred Music* in 1968.

[1]Utica, New York: J.F. Weber, 1990.

[2]Reprint, Paris: Stock Musique, 1980.

In 1894 Bordes joined the composers Vincent d'Indy and Alexandre Guilmant in forming the Schola Cantorum of Paris, a teaching institution to promote the revival of early music. Soon there were Schola Cantorum institutes set up in several other cities. The monthly bulletin of this organization, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, was established at once, and the school opened in 1896.

These are some of the people who will figure in our story. Now, in late 1994 Gilbert Humbert, who lives in the south of France, published *A Panorama of Pathé Cylinders and Early Discs*.[3] It was nominated for an ARSC Award for Excellence last year, and a copy came into my hands. I discovered a footnote to the preface in which Humbert states: "We merely mention a quantity of recordings for liturgical use, published in 1900, which do not enter the numerical limits of our panorama but which remain to be discovered in some rectory attic. They were directed by Charles Bordes."

"I do not consider the phonograph only as an amusing object, but also and above all as a useful instrument."

I wrote to Humbert about this citation, and he immediately sent me copies of several pages from a Pathé catalogue. Pages 37–40 list 205 cylinders in the 19000 series. The contents are identified so clearly that I was able to construct an index of about 480 pieces of chant on these cylinders. They comprise a systematic survey of the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass, of the major feasts of the temporal and sanctoral cycles, of the common of the saints, along with the Vespers antiphons for all of these offices, and an additional group of miscellaneous chants. Humbert later advised me that the contents of the undated catalogue fall between the catalogues of 1901 and 1903 which he possesses, and it probably dates from the year 1902. Such a systematic and extensive survey of Gregorian chant is not to be found on records until the stereo era.

On page 36 of the catalogue, there are two testimonials. One of the testimonials is signed D.G.G., precentor of Saint-Wandrille (the monastery of which Dom Pothier was abbot). He writes: "I do not consider the phonograph only as an amusing object, but also and above all as a useful instrument, especially in the part that interests me." He goes on to tell how much better he can explain the correct execution of a chant by supplying a recording on cylinder than by trying to describe it in words.

The other testimony is signed Amédée Gastoué of the Schola Cantorum in Avignon, in the south of France, and it is dated January 14, 1900. Gastoué was a celebrated musicologist, a collaborator of Bordes and the other leaders of the Schola Cantorum, and as late as 1930 he directed some recordings of Gregorian chant and troubadour songs with a choir of the Schola Cantorum for French Columbia. He writes: "I was charmed by the results given by the Pathé phonographs in the reproduction of pieces of Gregorian chant that you let me hear during my last stay in Paris. I would be obliged if you would send me your catalogue and keep me informed of your repertoire." The catalogue also states that all the chants were recorded at the Schola Cantorum of Paris by the Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais under the direction of Charles Bordes.

I then wrote to a monk whom I had met at Saint-Wandrille earlier, Dom Paul Quivy. He identified "D.G.G." as Dom Georges Guerry, who was in fact the precentor of Saint-Wandrille. He was a young monk not yet thirty years old at the time. He also sent other evidence. From 1983 to 1987, in the monastery's own bulletin, *L'Abbaye Saint-Wandrille de Fontenelle*, was published a life of

[3]Fuveau, France: G Humbert, 1995.

Dom Pothier by Dom David, a previously unpublished memoir. Dom Lucien David was Dom Pothier's disciple and the choirmaster at Saint-Wandrille. He made a set of chant recordings for Studio SM as late as 1952, shortly before his death in 1955. They were widely available on Period and then on Everest. In the 1984 installment of the biography (pages 44–45), we read this account of the events: "For the cylinder recording, Charles Bordes did not have a worthy Gregorian soloist. He asked Dom Pothier to send him his first cantor for a week. Dom Guerry then went to Paris [at the end of 1899] where he became a wonder, so good that he was recalled for another week. He was given 60 francs for the first thirty pieces recorded."

In February 1900, the monthly bulletin of the Schola Cantorum, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, ran an article signed with the pseudonym "Jean de Muris" on the subject of these recordings. He writes:

> One day an employee of the house of Pathé came to the Schola to solicit the recording, on the company's cylinders, of several examples of Gregorian melodies after the method of Dom Pothier. The strangeness of the request stimulated our curiosity and suggested the application of this project to the dissemination of Gregorian chant. The first cylinders that were completed were so startling in their accuracy that we did not hesitate to advise the Pathé firm strongly that a whole catalogue of Gregorian chants be created for the use of country pastors, seminaries and religious communities. The idea was audacious: I do not know if the Pathé firm had dreamt, at first, of the instructional application of the invention, [but] at least it welcomed it with such good grace that in some weeks a whole catalogue was established and a veritable library was constituted. We will not reveal the beginning of the auditions nor the name of the precentors who took part; they are counted among the leaders, and a practiced ear can easily recognize them. The present result is that a catalogue already very complete is going to be put into circulation.

He goes on to say that the school's purpose was to promote the correct method of singing the chants. The students would learn by ear just as the chants had been taught before notation was ever invented.

The students would learn by ear just as the chants had been taught before notation was ever invented.

So it is clear that some recordings of chant were, in fact, made in at least two groups of sessions at the end of 1899, that they had been announced by February 1900, and that the Pathé catalogue two years later still listed them.

Although this was my introduction to the Pathé chant cylinders, I found myself working backwards though previous citations that now came to my attention. In 1988 Harry Haskell had published *The Early Music Revival: a History*.[4] He wrote: "The Pathé company approached [Charles] Bordes in 1900 with a plan to record a selection of Gregorian chant. He must have given the proposal serious consideration, for Pathé got as far as preparing a catalogue, though no cylinders seem to have been made."

[4]London: Thames and Hudson, 1988.

Dom Georges Guerry (1871 1921), precentor of Saint-Wandrille, who sang with the Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais on the cylinder recordings of 1899.

His basis for these statements is given in a footnote: a doctoral dissertation by Philip Dowd at The Catholic University of America in 1969. The title of the dissertation was *Charles Bordes and the Schola Cantorum of Paris*. Dowd, a member of the teaching order of Christian Brothers, is the source of Haskell's statement about Pathé's proposal to Bordes, including the date of 1900. In his dissertation, which I found in the university library, Dowd then quotes part of the article in *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* that we have already cited. But he compounds his own confusion by quoting the line that goes, "In some weeks a whole catalogue was established and a veritable library was constituted," but translating it as "a real library [was] proposed." Dowd then adds, "There is no other evidence in Bordes' writings of this catalogue of records nor of the artists who did the performances."

Dowd then cites *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* in a footnote and goes on to say: "According to Girard and Barnes there is no record of the cylinders which Bordes describes. . . . A survey of the extant catalogue for the years 1897–1905 does show no listing of pieces of Gregorian Chant." But we know that Victor Girard and Harold M. Barnes, in *Vertical-cut Cylinders and Discs: a catalogue of all "hill-and-dale" recordings of serious worth made and issued between 1897–1932 circa*,[5] stated in their preface: "We have also excluded many religious (or pseudo-religious) records." More to the point, we know that they had access to only two early catalogues, one for 1898 and one for 1899, and that the latter ran up only as high as the 14000 series (the chants were in the 19000 series). Pathé left large gaps in their numbers to be filled in later.

Gilbert Humbert's recent work attempted to clarify the problem of Pathé's discontinuous numerical series. Pathé discographers have been handicapped by Pathé's subsequent filling-in of the numbers that were originally skipped and by having too few examples of Pathé catalogues to figure out what had been done. More catalogues would have made it easier to establish the chronology of recordings whose numbers bore no relation to their recording dates.

Hence we can understand how easily Brother Philip and Professor Haskell could be misled into thinking the chant cylinders never existed. But do they still exist? I consulted three archives where significant collections of cylinders are kept in this country: the Library of Congress, the Belfer Archive at Syracuse University, and the Edison National Historic Site. All three have large quantities of Edison cylinders and smaller quantities on other labels, but each has perhaps only a couple of dozen Pathés. The British Library Sound Archive in London and the Phonothèque Nationale in Paris reported that they have none of this series of chant cylinders. I called Fr. Leonard Boyle, O.P., then the Prefect of the Vatican Library, and aroused his interest in the subject, but he never called back to say that he had found any. The Schola Cantorum of Paris, which might have been expected to know something about the recordings, reported no knowledge of the matter when I visited the school. Furthermore, their archives (whether or not they contained any cylinders) were lost during the 1940–44 Occupation. The Swedish Radio Archive, which has cylinders in its extensive collection, handed an inquiry over to a Swedish discographer, who wrote that nothing was known about these cylinders.

We know that all cylinders made at this time were recorded on a metallic soap known as brown wax and duplicated by pantograph, not by moulding. What about "some rectory attic,"

[5] London: British Institute of Recorded Sound, 1964.

We ought to be concerned about raising the public consciousness so that private collectors and caretakers of small institutions become aware of the requirements for the preservation of artifacts that have or may have some future cultural or historical value.

as Humbert put it? Everything we know about brown-wax cylinders tells us that they are fragile and subject to mold. Not unlike many other sound carriers, they need careful storage and handling. Unless a set of these cylinders had been carefully stored under optimum conditions from the beginning, they would probably not be playable today.

The fate of the Pathé cylinders is also related to the Schola Cantorum's original enthusiasm for using them as educational tools in the dissemination of chant interpretation. Precisely because they were seen as teaching tools rather than as historical or cultural witnesses, they would be used and then discarded. As soon as better recordings came along for teaching purposes, the Pathé cylinders would be seen as useless for their intended purpose.

ARSC has been devoting some attention to the subject of storage and handling of sound recordings for quite a few years. We have been concerned, first of all, with determining the proper conditions in our own archives and libraries. After that, we have been interested in educating the professional community of librarians and archivists about these matters, especially about problems that may not have occurred to them. Finally, though, we ought to be concerned about raising the public consciousness so that private collectors and caretakers of small institutions become aware of the requirements for the preservation of artifacts that have or may have some future cultural or historical value.

ARSC can perform a service to posterity by disseminating this information beyond its members. If we do not, future generations will rue the loss, as we now regret the loss of the chants that Charles Bordes once recorded with the great Dom Pothier's precentor as soloist.

The Ageless Story

by Jennifer Gregory Miller

I recently acquired *The Ageless Story: With Its Antiphons*, pictured by Lauren Ford, a slim children's book on the boyhood of Christ, beginning with his grandmother, St. Anne. Printed in 1939 by Dodd, Mead, and Company, Inc., it was the 1940 Caldecott Honor Book, the most distinguished American picture book for children for that year. I was enjoying other works by Lauren Ford and saw that a description of *The Ageless Story* mentioned Gregorian chant antiphons. Gregorian chant in a book with a secular award? This I had to see for myself.

The book is rare, but it's a gem. My copy is lacking a dust jacket and is a little worn on the binding, but the pictures are gorgeous and full-color, and yes, there are Gregorian Chant antiphons. The music itself is also a work of art, with the chant hand-calligraphed, with gorgeous illuminated Initial Capitals. The Chant is Solesmes style, with the front matter explaining "*Grateful Acknowledgement is made to Société de Saint Jean L'Evangeliste for permission to use rhythmic signs of Solesmes*."

However, I wasn't excited only because of the illustrations in this book. It was the introductory letter that really grabbed me:

> Dear Nina,
>
> This book is dedicated to you because you are my goddaughter and godmothers are made to bring everything that there is about God to their godchildren as far as they are able.
>
> Of course, you know the story of the boyhood of Christ in the Bible, the most beautiful story in the world. I have copied this music and painted these pictures because they make it come real.
>
> The music is called Gregorian music. It is the true music of the church. It very nearly got lost and it pretty badly got spoiled and this is the reason why—
>
> If you want to know, it is the reason why everything gets spoiled. It was pride that spoiled it. There came a time in the turning of this funny world when men became very pompous (that time is called the Renaissance), when men went back to what the Greeks had done, and the Greeks were worshipers of the body. After that, Church music that you could sing and I could sing, and painting and architecture and all the beautiful things to do with God, lost their spirituality and became humanistic. That is why a Fra Angelico Blessed Virgin looks to be a Heavenly Soul and the Boy is all pure and kingly, while a Raphael one is just a good human mother with a good, fat baby boy.
>
> Now the music again. That is why they wove patterns all around the simple music—because they thought it needed to be more grand. It was beautiful music but it all became so complicated that they had to have special singers to sing it and, just

Jennifer Gregory Miller received a BA in History from the Franciscan University of Steubenville. She conceived and developed the Liturgical Year section of http://www.CatholicCulture.org. Jennifer and her husband David are homeschooling their two young sons, Gregory and Nicholas, in Manassas, Virginia. When she has time she writes about living the Liturgical Year with her family at http://familyfeastandferia.wordpress.com.

like the Raphael Madonnas, it became good, human music and gradually lost its spiritual quality. And it became so difficult that it moved upstairs into the organ loft and that is why you and I just sit downstairs and listen.

Don't think that Gregorian music wasn't sung any more. It was still sung in the Convents but the copyists became careless and forgot to put in the rhythmic signs so that it was wrongly sung and it all had to be discovered again.

One day a little boy, smaller than Denise, was walking along the river bank in Solesmes with his nurse. Every day he walked that way. And he saw the ruins of the great old Benedictine Monastery reflected in the river. Gradually the ruins became built up again in his mind until he grew up and became a monk, Dom Guéranger, and started to rebuild those ancient ruins. He found something else necessary, too. He began to rebuild the ancient music. It was hard work. Dom Pothier and others came to help him—and then Dom Mocquereau. The monks at Solesmes are still working on it. They found the old illuminated manuscripts—the very oldest ones. They had to compare them all. They sent the monks all over the world to copy them. An American lady that your Aunt Lauren knows came there. She studied very hard and she has made it possible for many children to learn it in Europe. Soon children in America will be singing it, too. You won't be able to sit down at the piano and play it. You won't be able to sing it yourself now either—but some day all the children will.

Gregorian music is not like the music you know. Even the scales are different. This isn't the book to teach you how to sing them. You can get other books for that. This book will make you accustomed to seeing this music.

It hasn't any chords and the words are very important. They can't be translated because translation makes the words get out of place. This music is like the flight of a bird—on important words, like God or Mary, it will rise and hover in the air a minute as though it were holding its breath—and then come quietly down and slip off peacefully before you know it.

Now I want to tell you why I made the pictures as I did. You will see landscapes that you know, roads that you have taken, the Baby Jesus is born in the barn down the hill. It is because He belongs to you and me. He is living inside you and me. He is living inside our hearts, just as the barn is. A stable is a stable. If it isn't the kind of stable we know, it doesn't look like a stable to us. The barn that Jesus was born in would look like a cave to us but it looked like a stable to Him. If Jesus doesn't look like a little boy, like the boy next door, He won't seem like a boy to you and He won't look real. He really wore a woolen dress, you know—like a girl to us, but a real boy's suit to Him. But there is something an artist can do to keep him from looking just like a good, fat, little boy, and Christian artists have always done this thing. An artist can try to think about Him all the time. He can keep on thinking about his being God, and how God lends us everything we have—our talent, our paint brush, our life—how He gave us His own life, every bit of it, because He loved us. If an artist will try to do this, the Little Boy in the picture will look all pure and kingly and His Mother will look like a Heavenly Soul.

God bless your darling Heart.

Auntie Lauren
Bethlehem, Connecticut

Interesting notes on the humanistic Renaissance, and I would have to agree with that shift of focus. Raphael created beautiful works of art, but the focus was definitely different than Fra Angelico. While so much was good that came out of that time, I do tend to prefer the medieval mind.

I love the way she describes the chant; her words paint brilliant sketches that enable the reader to understand just how chant should sound. But it's her account of the monks at Solesmes and the American Lady that surprised me most. How wonderfully she describes those monks at Solesmes and their sacred work. The "American lady" she mentions—it has to be Justine Ward. These people are among the Who's Who in Sacred Music and the Liturgical Movement! Years ago I was introduced to Justine Ward through the Ward Method, and here is Mrs. Ward in a children's picture book. Amazing!

Justine Ward's vision "That All May Sing" will happen now with our new liturgical movement.

Bethlehem, Connecticut, is the home of Regina Laudis, a Benedictine Abbey of contemplative nuns, and they are known for their art and for Gregorian chant. Was Lauren Ford influenced by these sisters? With a little searching I found that the artist took the founding sisters into her home before the abbey was built. Ever watch the movie *Come to the Stable* with Loretta Young? This is the cinematic rendition of the foundation of that abbey, with Elsa Lanchester portraying Lauren Ford! More information can be found in the book *Mother Benedict: Foundress of the Abbey of Regina Laudis* by Antoinette Bosco, printed by Ignatius Press, 2007.

From the aforementioned book *Mother Benedict* I discovered that Lauren Ford was an Oblate of the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes and had been to the Abbey in France several times. Since the *The Ageless Story* was published in 1939, seven years before Mother Benedict came to America and founded the abbey, the connections with Solesmes and Justine Ward were formed before she met the sisters. In fact, that is how the artist came to host the sisters. Justine Ward was a friend of Lauren Ford, and also helped establish the abbey. If I had read *Mother Benedict* (it's on my shelf), I would have learned this earlier.

From a gallery biography, I learned a little more about the artist/author/illustrator. Lauren Ford was sent to France with her uncle at the age of nine to study painting. "Uncle Lawrence's tutelage, the medieval art of France, and the magic of the liturgy and Gregorian chant of the monks of Solesmes, began to shape young Lauren's artistic and spiritual development. She would eventually become a Catholic, taking simple vows as a Benedictine Oblate, and an aesthetic and spiritual force for good through her art and philanthropy."

After reading so much by Justine Ward and other writers in the early liturgical movement about the primacy of Gregorian chant, and seeing the music texts that were used in all the parochial schools, I can't help but wonder what happened? Lauren Ford was sharing a vision of so many others in the liturgical movement, that "Soon children in America will be singing it, too. You won't be able to sit down at the piano and play it. You won't be able to sing it yourself now either—but some day all the children will."

Were they close? Where did it fail?

I do pray and have high hopes that Justine Ward's vision "That All May Sing"—especially "all the children"—will happen now with our new liturgical movement. One child at a time. And I'll start with mine.

Before I finish, I thought I would list the antiphons contained in the book:

- I. *Hodie egressa*—Magnificat antiphon, Second Vespers, December 8. (Immaculate Conception)
- II. *Nativitas*—Antiphon 2, Vespers, September 8. (Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary)
- III. *Virgo prudentissima*— Magnificat antiphon, First Vespers, August 15. (Assumption)
- IV. *Ave Maria*—Antiphon 2, Vespers, March 25. (Annunciation)
- V. *Intravit*—Antiphon 2, Vespers, July 2. (Visitation)
- VI. *Hodie Christus*— Magnificat antiphon, Second Vespers, December 25. (Nativity of Our Lord)
- VII. *Hodie beata*—Magnificat antiphon, Second Vespers, February 2. (Purification)
- VIII. *Vidimus*—Communion antiphon at Mass, January 6. (Epiphany)
- IX. *Crudelis Herodes*—First verse Hymn, Vespers, January 6. (Epiphany)
- X. *Puer Jesus*—Magnificat antiphon, Second Vespers. (Sunday within the Octave of Christmas)
- XI. *Post triduum*—Antiphon 1, Second Vespers, Holy Family. (Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany)
- XII. *Descendit Jesus*—Antiphon 3, Second Vespers, Holy Family. (Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany)

I know this book is expensive, so I'm not advocating running out and buying a used copy. But do see if you can borrow a copy from your library, even through inter library loan. It's a treasure to see how the Liturgical Movement was extended to all aspects of culture—even to a beautiful child's picture book.

REVIEWS

A Gift to Priests

by Rosalind Mohnsen

Blessed is the Ordinary: Stepping Stone Chant Project. Michael Olbash, conductor, BRAV-0822, braverecords.com, 2008.

This beautifully-sung chant CD gives us the Mass in the ordinary form in Latin for the Twenty-Seventh Sunday of the Year. Here we have the propers, the ordinary (Mass II, Credo III), and the dialogues of celebrant and congregation, for a completely sung Mass based on the *Graduale Romanum* and the *Missale Romanum*, as envisioned by the Second Vatican Council. Not included are the lectionary readings and intercessions, parts of the Mass assigned to a lector or deacon, and which may be done in the vernacular when Mass is celebrated in Latin.

The musicians on this CD recording are seven men, all professionals, directed by Michael Olbash, himself one of the seven singers. Contrast is between schola and cantor or the "celebrant." The vocal sound is resonant and warm and the intonation flawless. Recorded in the countryside Chapel of the Holy Family in Lydonville, Vermont (completed in 2007), the beauty of the chant, the perfection of the singing, and the fine acoustics transport one to prayer and to union with the heavenly choirs. One could easily sense being in a medieval stone chapel in another time and place, united with the church through the ages.

Michael Olbash has served churches in the greater Boston area, and presently conducts the chant schola at St. Mary Star of the Sea Church in Beverly, Mass. As a church musician, he is known for using only quality music worthy of the liturgy, and for defending this position no matter what the personal cost. Now we hear his contribution to the world of chant and his support of the normative Mass of the Second Vatican Council. The other singers are Richard Chonak, Robert Cochran, Mark Husey, Randolph Nichols, Stephen Olbash, and John Salisbury.

Readers of this journal will already be familiar with the CD recording *Inclina Domine*, reviewed in these pages by Jeffrey Tucker.[1] That recording uses the voices of men and trebles (boys, girls, women) for the Mass of the Twenty-First Sunday of the Year.

The interpretive approach on this recording is based on the *Graduale Triplex*, with rhythmic choices being informed by the signs therein which come from two medieval manuscripts. The approach gives, in this case, a fluidity and sense of line to the chants which is very convincing and attractive. These rhythmic interpretations are always done with subtlety, which reflects a high level of musicianship and control in the ensemble. One senses them as natural and never in any way calling attention to themselves. There is a fine, consistent balance between the flowing character and the peaceful, solid quality of the singing, fitting well with the texts, which speak of faithfulness and obedience to a loving, eternal God. No changes, however, were made to

Rosalind Mohnsen is organist/director of music at Immaculate Conception Church in Malden, Mass. music@icmalden.com.

[1]Jeffrey Tucker, "A Turning Point in Music for Mass," review of *Inclina Domine* (CD), *Sacred Music*, 136, no. 1 (Spring 2009), 69.

pitches in the square-note Vatican notation. This was intentional, in consideration of scholas using this recording for learning purposes.

At the conclusion of the Mass are five additional communion chants intended for use at any time of the year, again in keeping with the learning purposes of this recording. They are *Ego sum vitis* (I am the True Vine), *Gustate et videte* (Taste and see), *Hoc corpus* (This is my Body), *Panem de caelo* (You gave us bread from heaven), and *Qui manducat* (He who eats my flesh). These are five of the seven antiphons which are suggested for general use in *Communio: Communion Antiphons with Psalms*, published by the CMAA.[2] All take their verses from this publication, which is a great resource that will certainly get much use.

The hope [is] that more Catholics will come to see how easy, simple, and beautiful the sung Mass in the ordinary form with chant can be.

These five additional selections serve as inspiration for scholas which are just beginning to sing the propers. The communion antiphons, being simpler than the rest of the propers, are a good place to begin. I am sure that I will use several of these this year with my choir, which has previously not sung any propers in Latin. One could chant antiphons in Latin and verses in English. These selections help us to realize that such chants are within our capabilities.

Surely you are still wondering at this point just what the Stepping Stone Chant Project is all about. I believe Stepping Stone can be understood on several levels.

> It is desired by the conductor "that this recording be a gift to Catholic priests who might find it a useful 'stepping stone' in learning how easy, simple and beautiful the sung Mass can be."
>
> A fine chant CD such as this is a gift and a "stepping stone" for all church musicians.
>
> It is the name of the group of seven singers, which is taken from the Stepping Stone Spa and Wellness Center in Lydonville, Vermont, on the eight-hundred-acre grounds of which is located the Chapel of the Holy Family in which this CD was recorded. As renewal of mind and body is available at the chapel and spa,[3] so is renewal of liturgy and chant advanced through this splendid CD.

Blessed indeed is the ordinary: "ordinary music for an ordinary Sunday," as stated in the liner notes, the Ordinary of the Mass for the congregation, the Twenty-Seventh Sunday in Ordinary Time, and especially the hope that more Catholics will come to see how easy, simple, and beautiful the sung Mass in the ordinary form with chant can be.

[2]Richard Rice, ed., *Communio: Communion Antiphons with Psalms* (Richmond: CMAA, 2007); it is now available with verses in English (2009), and also available in pdf at www.musicasacra.com

[3]http://www.steppingstonespa.com, Richard and Joan Downing, owners.

A Collection of Wisdom and Delight

by William Tortolano

A Life in Music: Conversations with Sir David Willcocks and Friends. Ed. William Owen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. 304pp. ISBN# 978-0-19-336063-1. *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Gregorian Chant*. Susan Treacy, Ph.D. 97pp. Charles Town, West Virginia: Cantica Nova Publications, 2007. *Memento Mori. A Guide to Contemporary Memorial Music*. Robert Chase. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2007. 339pp. ISBN 13-978-0-8108-5745-2.x80.

hat may appear as a collection of incompatible new books for the serious church musician, is in reality a cornucopia of insightful wisdom. Three different music enrichments are manifested in meaningful approaches to the art of music making.

The life of the legendary but still very active Sir David Willcocks is a lesson about a humble and dedicated servant of the best in choral tradition. In addition, Dr. Susan Treacy has written *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Gregorian Chant*. This is one of several recent publications providing again a very basic introduction to the chant and its notation. Finally, a fine compendium called *Memento Mori* by Dr. Robert Chase, is full of fascinating information about memorial and requiem music.

Many musicians have mentors and guiding hands to manifest ideals for the best. Often, they are not necessarily someone they know in person, but the presence is transforming. Among the very finest choral directors and models for the best in sound, pitch, and inspiration is Sir David Willcocks.

A Life in Music is an absolutely delightful book. Sir David's musical life reflects the highest standards, beginning with his childhood choristership in Westminster Abbey, later at Worcester Cathedral and then to King's College as organist and choir master, and directorship of the Royal College of Music and the Bach Choir, with worldwide concert tours, best selling CD's, and workshops in addition.

As always, this gracious gentleman gives as much love and dedication to professional musicians as he gives to education and amateurs.

This is an absolutely wonderful book with the kind of questions and answers that makes one seem to be there in person. In addition, there is an enchanting CD with Sir David's reassuring voice, always in control, but with a feeling of warmth and interpersonal communication. This book with CD is a bargain, not only in its price, but for all those who want to experience what the philosopher Nietzsche said, "without music, life would be a mistake."

There is an appreciative forward by the Prince of Wales, who has known Sir David since his undergraduate days at Cambridge; and there are fine photographs. Most of all, it is a lesson in being humble to faith, scripture, and music.

Dr. William Tortolano is Professor Emeritus of Fine Arts at Saint Michael's College, Colchester, Vermont. jviens@smcvt.edu

I was the first one, of very few, whom Sir David accepted as a Visiting Fellow at King's College, forty years ago. The inspiring singing of the psalms as well as the best of choral music is indelible in my memory and continues as an inspiration for service to God and the church.

Sir David Willcocks always has a necessary, exterior, serious control of his creative musical work. He has been at the center of British twentieth century choral music and his importance is also worldwide. He has been a champion of many composers, including Ralph Vaughn Williams, Benjamin Britten, Herbert Howells, and John Rutter. Sir David has worked with a who's who of artists, friends, choral groups, pop artists, royalty, and recordings. His approach to music is one of enthusiasm and humanity.

There are several ways to approach the teaching of Gregorian Chant. Susan Treacy of Ave Maria University has written a lucid and helpful *Plain and Easy Introduction to Gregorian Chant.* It is indeed easy to read with its spiral binding and 8x11 size.

We are enjoying a well deserved renaissance of the chant.

Dr. Treacy is a strong advocate of the pedagogical method used at the Abbey of Saint Pierre de Solesmes and Dom André Mocquereau. In addition, she pays tribute to the importance and guidance of the late Theodore Marier, as well as Justine Ward and the Ward Method. These are great role models.

The author incorporates the solfege system of reading the notes, the traditional concept of free rhythm, and its relationship to counting with the ictus. She systematically goes through chant notation, neums, rhythm, modes, and modality. The psalm tones are given particular attention. Each of the eight (and several other tones) is explained very well. Psalm 116 (117) is used as a model for each mode. It all makes instructional sense.

The book has an extensive appendix: glossary of terms supplementary information on the modes and psalm tones, Latin pronunciation, and repertories.

We are enjoying a well deserved renaissance of the chant. Each instruction book has something to say. Dr. Treacy's book is a welcome addition to a short but potentially growing list of good books on Gregorian Chant.

Dr. Treacy developed her solid approach to teaching and singing the chant at the Franciscan University of Steubenville and her present position at Ave Maria University in Florida. Her experience is diverse: soloist with the Bach Choir in Pittsburgh, a member of the editorial committee for the Adoremus Hymnal, and on the board of the Church Music Association of America.

BENVENUTO! WELCOME!

Robert Chase has written a very unusual book in *Memento Mori*. Although musicians are familiar with many settings of the traditional requiem text—there has been a fascination, especially in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, to use other texts as memorial settings. It may sound simplistic, but what Dr. Chase has put together is a wonderful reference book.

Ever hear of a Buddhist requiem? Or bitonal, or aleatoric or whole tone requiems? Or those that incorporate lyrics by Kurt Vonnegut or William Blake or philosophical texts drawn from Sufi, Muslim, Hindu, Hebrew, or Taoist sources? Ever hear of composers named Nan-Chang Chien or Somtow Papinian Sucharitkul?

Memento Mori *is a wonderful contribution to musical scholarship.*

Chase's book is a very comfortable, arm-chair guide. It is articulate and comprehensive. It provides a succinct biography for each of the sixty-nine composers, information on the edition, the duration of the music, its scoring, a clear structural description (often with texts), and a discography. All in all, it is a cornucopia of information.

Benjamin Britten is often acknowledged to be one of the first to "gloss traditional Latin texts with non-liturgical poetry (in this case, the war poems of Wilfred Owen) in his *War Requiem* (1961)." Despite all the literary *peregrinus* of composers, the Latin liturgical text is the solid glue that mesmerizes many. It is difficult to forget the consoling introitus: *Requiem aeternam*; or the soul-chilling *Dies irae*; or the ethereal *In paradisum*. These magnetic words are not necessarily part of all the sixty-nine composers, but a majority cannot escape the liturgical, spiritual magnet.

Dr. Chase wrote another fine book, *Dies Irae* (published in 2003). This concerned itself with the traditional Latin Requiem Mass text. But, let the title propel us to read it. The well documented precursor is full of the unusual, the unfamiliar, as well as the famous settings.

Memento Mori is a wonderful contribution to musical scholarship. It is compelling, provocative, and fascinating. It will make many a musician eager to study the texts and music; perhaps to listen to a recording. But, many will be intrigued and will bring the music to life in performance.

The Fire Burned Hot

by Jeffrey Tucker

Keep The Fire Burning by Ken Canedo (Oregon: Pastoral Press, 2009). ISBN 978-1-56929-083-5

One finds old missals in bookstores or attends the extraordinary form or looks back at old instructional books in music or catechesis and is overwhelmed to consider the lost knowledge, the immense chasm that separates what was from what is today. How did it all happen? The answer is inevitably complex, but the answer is not found in the documents of Vatican II, where we find ringing endorsements of Gregorian chant and stern warnings not to change the liturgy in unnecessary ways. I've long examined the world of the 1970s and found interesting clues about what drove that lost generation.

But with Ken Canedo's wonderful book, *Keep The Fire Burning*, I feel as if I've found a missing link. This is the only book I know that looks in depth at the Catholic music of the 1960s to provide an excellent empirical account of the rise of the folk music movement in the church, a movement that was actually about much more than music.

Jeffrey Tucker is managing editor of *Sacred Music*. A version of this review appeared in *The Wanderer*. sacredmusic@musicasacra.com.

Here we find a fascinating if harrowing look at the dismantling of Catholic liturgy that occurred not so much at the hands of the hierarchy but rather at the instigation of a handful of activists and publishers that fed the taste for contemporary styles in the name of keeping up with the times, as a cowed and fearful clerical class did its best to imagine that they were onto something.

As a historical narrative, it is highly competent. Rather than providing a history of official statements and decisions, the author looks at the real-life praxis around the country, describing in detail the large gatherings and campus liturgies and goings on in the publishing houses—all the material that deeply affected the lives of Catholics at the time—and provides a much richer look than a history of documents and pronouncements ever could.

One reason that this period has long been shrouded in mystery is that most all of the folk music of the period is long gone. None of it remains in the missalettes. Nearly all—in fact, all but one—of the guitar strummers of the period who were the darlings of the new ethos left the church in a huff and never returned. The strong fashion for folk music (pretend folk music, to be sure) was a flash in the pan (1963–1969). What they left was a wasteland of confusion and disorientation just as the *Novus Ordo Missae* was promulgated. The damage had been done and how.

In his introduction, Virgil Funk of the National Association of Pastoral Musicians recommends that everyone read this book, including musicians who have no affection for the folk genre. I think he is right about this. The author has done incredible research here, and the whole story comes across like a *film noir* plot of meteoric rise and catastrophic fall. To be sure, Canedo had no intention of writing an indictment. In fact, he attempts but ultimately fails to make the case that the folk music revolution in the Catholic Church made great contributions to Catholic life, such as getting people in the pews to sing and making Mass more lively, etc.

Despite his spin, he provides enough information for most any reader to be shocked and astounded at the sheer arrogance and ignorance of a generation that believed they could reinvent Catholicism with guitars, bongos, and extremely bad music.

Now, I'm probably not the best reader of this book, since I've never really understood what this folk music wave was all about anyway. It seemed to begin in 1963 and end a year or so after the Beatles came to the U.S., a shorter period of time than even disco lasted a decade later.

I've heard some of the music, and it strikes me as strangely naïve and simple, with childlike lyrics that somehow secretly mask a kind of revolutionary proletarian movement of some sort, like workers and peasants struggling for something or other. It's not rock really and it isn't genuine folk but for some reason it caught on among a certain subset. I once tried to watch a movie about the subject ("A Mighty Wind") but I had to turn it off because I didn't even understand the jokes.

A fascinating, if harrowing, look at the dismantling of Catholic liturgy.

In any case, it was gravely unfortunate that permission for vernacular in the liturgy came about just as this music was temporarily popular, just after the council closed. As the author points out, the composers and performers of this material didn't care a flying fig about the actual documents of the council and what they intended. All they knew was that these were new times; old forms had to be thrown out and new forms come into being.

So we went through some five years of experimental liturgies around the country that the "youth" just loved, though the "youth" are often nuts for all sorts of things and civilization is

usually wiser than to pay any attention. This time, however, it stuck. The why might have something to do with the baby boom at a time when late teens outnumbered adults in parishes, mainly because of demographic changes wrought by World War II (which, then, might be considered the father of the folk Mass).

And so we are treated to a painful and detailed narrative of the new fashion for the Kingston Trio, Ray Repp, Sister Germain Habjan, The Dameans, Joe Wise, Jack Miffleton, John Fischer, Paul Quinlan, and others who wrote and performed reduced and vaguely religious knock-offs of the music of Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Peter, Paul, and Mary, Joan Baez, and others—and let me tell you, the secular material sounds like Bach and Brahms by comparison with what the poor Catholics had to endure in their parishes. I know this only because of the extremely interesting podcasts that have been released alongside the book. It is painful to listen to but essential if you wanted understand the backdrop to the struggles of our time.

It was the absence of copyright protection that assisted in making this music ubiquitous.

Central to the entire success of the movement was its promotion of compositional freedom, learning, and sharing. The author writes that "there was a common repertory of folk music. . . . If people liked [a song] they would sing along and bring the new song home to share with a new audience. . . . no thought was ever given to composer credits or copyright protection."

In practice, this was all about the technology of the time, which was the primitive ditto machine. It permitted groups and parishes to make copies of the music. It was widely understood that this practice was part of the joy and freedom associated with the genre, and no one thought a thing about it.

The author here makes a point I've long emphasized: it was the absence of copyright protection that assisted in making this music ubiquitous. It was the key to its success. While the world of actual Catholic music—chant and polyphony, organ works and good hymnody—were increasingly tied up with the world of "intellectual property," folk music tossed all restrictions aside and thereby seemed to embody the spirit of the time.

All was fine until the publishers got involved. The man at the center of this story is Dennis Fitzpatrick, originally a proponent of a somewhat dignified English chant Mass who became converted to the cause of folk music (only to return to chant Mass later in life). For him it was all about its commercial viability. The publishing company he founded was called the Friends of the English Liturgy, or FEL. It absorbed unto itself all the performing energy of the period, putting out and selling song sets and new hymnals of all sorts and making an extraordinary go of it.

With this institutionalization of the folk genre came a new concern over copyright. Initially it was not about enforcement so much as encouraging people to buy more music and then trying to come up with techniques to foil the new technologies. Of course if history tells us anything, it is that those who fight against new technology always lose, and Fitzpatrick was no exception. The ethos of free copying, the very heart of the distribution method that made the folk genre successful, continued but it also annoyed the publishers to the point of madness.

The critics said that the folk-music movement was deeply dangerous to Catholicism.

In time, Fitzpatrick's ambitions reeled out of control and he moved his company to Los Angeles and attempted to mainstream Catholic folk music in the Hollywood fashion, complete with whiz-bang recording technology and modernized contracts that pretty well robbed composers of both their music and their royalties. His gamble did not pay off, and his company sank into a financial crisis. Rather than try a new model, he turned to the age-old strategy of many business losers in history: intellectual property litigation.

He hired seminarians to snoop around parishes in Los Angeles and Chicago to see how much pirated music was in the pews. He found plenty of course. In 1976, he filed a suit against the Archdiocese of Chicago, claiming a loss of $29 million to his company nationwide and the Chicago-area losses of $300,000. The Archdiocese retaliated and ordered the removal of all FEL material from the pews. Fitzpatrick claimed restraint of trade and got a district judge to order all the material back into the pews.

As astonishing as this whole scene was, it is only the beginning. He then sued the U.S. Bishops Conference for $8.6 million, targeting the whole American church through the courts as he had done with folk music—adding injury to insult, one might say. Obviously he had turned his attention away from music and toward lawyers and courts—a disastrous choice for any entrepreneur.

But you live by the legal sword and you die by it: a group called the Dameans sued Fitzpatrick himself for lost royalties. In their view, they had lost all the rights to their music but hadn't received any royalties and didn't expect to. All the folk musicians lined up with the Dameans and eventually beat him in court, even as Fitzpatrick won the suit against Chicago, with the final judgment being issued in 1990. Neither the publisher nor the artists saw a dime of the settlement money. It all went to the lawyers. FEL went out of business.

And where is Fitzpatrick today? He is a licensed drug counselor in Nevada. That's right: the man who turned the whole American church upside down, then sued everyone following his initial success and bad financial moves, ended up skipping town in the end. Riches to rags, from the soaring heights to the depths. If this weren't true, you would surely believe it was pulp fiction.

But he was hardly the only one. "Interestingly," the author writes, "most, if not all, of the original class of ordained or professed Folk-Mass composers eventually left the religious life." The non-religious left the Catholic Church altogether. The critics said that the folk-music movement was deeply dangerous to Catholicism; it was apparently exactly that to the very people who composed, sang, and pushed this music. The rest of us are left to pick up the pieces.

I really can't recommend this book highly enough. It is the essential tableau for understanding where we've been and where we are going. I put the book down deeply thankful that I wasn't around in those days to see the wreckage taking place. Even reading about it I found to be a great challenge but absolutely necessary. Regardless of Canedo's own attempted positive spin, he has written a very important documentary history of 1960s Catholicism that I'm quite certain will earn a place in the history of our times. The book is titled *Keep the Fire Burning* but the reality is that his narrative is the movement's tombstone.

NEWS

The Chant Pilgrimage: A Report

by Jeffrey Tucker

Anyone who doubts the vibrancy and growth of sacred music in our time should consider the Chant Pilgrimage of 2009, held at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C., September 25–26. It was organized to provide a two-day chant tutorial in the Year of Jubilee of the Basilica.

It was sponsored by the Church Music Association of America and co-sponsored by the John Paul II Cultural Center and St. John the Beloved Parish in McLean, Virginia. Events took place in the Center and the crypt church of the Shrine.

Attendance was well above what any of the organizers had expected. More than 160 people came to hear a lecture by William Mahrt, editor of *Sacred Music*, and learn to read and sing chant under chant master Scott Turkington of St. John Evangelist in Stamford, Connecticut. Attendees came from seminaries, parishes, convents, and from cities and towns all over the country.

The diversity of the attending group was impossible to characterize. There were young people, older people, and everyone in between; some of whom had been singing chant for years and others for whom this was a completely new art. Many of the teens attending had already decided to take on the task in preparation for singing in their college and university chapels and preparing for a future starting parish scholas at home.

The pilgrims worked to prepare the ordinary chants for the Votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the extraordinary form at the Shrine on Saturday evening. The choice was for Mass IX, a setting traditional for Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A chant schola sang the propers of the Mass so that pilgrims could focus on the ordinary chants for the Mass.

Chant, with properties that are unique to the liturgy, also feeds our soul.

The lecture by William Mahrt spoke to the integral relationship between the liturgy and its music, which is connected to it historically and theologically. The rites are not only more noble when sung, but what music is sung matters just as much as the texts themselves. He stressed music as a means of interior and exterior participation in Christ's eternal sacrifice.This includes a reciprocal relation of perceiving beauty in sung music and singing from that perception. Chant, with properties that are unique to the liturgy, also feeds our soul, which seeks orderliness as a means to discover holiness.

Jeffrey Tucker is managing editor of *Sacred Music*. A version of this review appeared in The Wanderer. sacredmusic@musicasacra.com.

The National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D.C.

What was most remarkable was the surprise that greeted everyone at the Mass. It was not the first extraordinary form Solemn Mass in the crypt in decades but it might have been the most well attended. The organizers had made 250 programs, thinking that this would surely be enough. Not only did they run out; the number of attendees including pilgrims might have exceeded 300 or even 350 or more. And this was without any real promotion.

The Mass itself was an unforgettable experience. It was celebrated by Rev. Franklin M. McAfee, D.D., Pastor Emeritus, St. John the Beloved Church. The deacon was Rev. Paul D. Scalia, Pastor, St. John the Beloved Church. The subdeacon was Rev. John Fritz, S.T.L. The organist for the day was David Lang of St. John the Beloved. The master of ceremonies was David Alexander.

The choir of the Basilica under the direction of Peter Latona also sang for the liturgy. His unaccompanied choir sang Marian motets by both Palestrina and Byrd. The homily on the centrality of beauty in Catholic aesthetics was offered by Fr. McAfee, who was flooded with requests for printed copies following the Mass. The homily is printed in this issue of *Sacred Music*.

It is remarkable to consider the role that Pope Benedict XVI's motu proprio *Summorum Pontificum* plays in this drama. This is the 2007 document that provided a full liberalization of the last missal used before the end of the Second Vatican Council. It is this structure that provided the creative tableau for the whole of the Gregorian musical repertoire, and it continues to be a beautiful home for chant and the complex rubrics of the traditional Roman Rite. But as the speakers reminded everyone, this music is also normative and preferred in the ordinary form.

Two years ago, it might have been difficult to obtain permission for this form of the rite to be said in a place like the shrine. Today, this form is being used around the country and even in such prominent places as the National Shrine, without controversy or difficulty, and even with the full support of the bishops. In this particular case, the rector of the shrine, Monsignor Walter Rossi was especially encouraging and supportive of the pilgrimage.

The propers of the Mass were as follows: *Salve, sancta Parens* (introit), *Benedicta et venerabilis* (gradual), *Post partum Virgo* (Alleluia), *Ave Maria* (offertory), and *Beata viscera* (communion). In addition to Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus from Mass IX, the choir sang the Gloria from Mass XV.

The Chant Pilgrimage was organized by the CMAA's director of programs Arlene Oost-Zinner with the assistance of Elizabeth Poel, the D.C. pilgrimage coordinator. This is one of many programs put together by the CMAA, which is seeing increases of up to fifty per cent in all of its program attendance. The next Sacred Music Colloquium, a much larger-scale event, will be held at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, June 21–27, 2010.

LAST WORD

Musical Instruments and the Mass

by Kurt Poterack

Since this issue of *Sacred Music* is devoted to orchestral masses, I thought that I would say a few words about the use of orchestral instruments (and, in general, instruments other than the organ) at Mass. I think there is an interesting analogy to be made between the issue of orchestral instruments and that of Gregorian chant versus other music at Mass. Gregorian chant quite simply is the ritual music of the Roman Rite. Other music is allowed, but only to the extent that it "approaches in its movement, inspiration, and savor the Gregorian form." Even so, such music functions as an addition or substitute for chant—which is proper to the Roman rite. Even Renaissance polyphony is not an option *equal* to Gregorian chant.

Similarly the organ is the sacred instrument of the Roman Rite. Period. Other instruments are allowed, but on the condition that they "are suitable, or can be made suitable, for sacred use; that they accord with the dignity of the temple, and that they truly contribute to the edification of the faithful." As I said in a piece I wrote for *Sacred Music* years ago:

> [T]hese other instruments must "accord with the dignity of the temple," and the use of them in church does not make them sacred instruments *per se*. By analogy one might point out that a suit "accords with the dignity of the temple" and that is what laymen should wear to church, rather than T-shirt and shorts (which do not accord with the dignity of the temple). However that does not make the suit "sacred," since its primary reference is outside the church. Only the priest's garments, like the chasuble or cassock and surplice, could be considered sacred. Similarly, an instrument like the violin, because of its association with classical (or *serious*) music may be dignified enough for sacred use. However because its primary use is outside of the church, it is not a sacred instrument.
>
> *An instrument like the violin, because of its association with classical (or serious) music may be dignified enough for sacred use.*
>
> Thus one can conclude from this that there are two categories of musical instrument in the liturgy: the first category—of which the pipe organ is the sole occupant in the Latin church—consists of instruments which have been specifically set aside, consecrated, for the liturgy; the second category consists of those instruments which, though they have never acquired the status of being sacred instruments *per se*, are nonetheless considered suitable for sacred use because they accord with the "dignity of the temple." Someone who accepts the above premises and who is being honest

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

> with himself would have to conclude that in Western culture these "dignified other instruments" are orchestral instruments.

I concluded by asking (and answering) this question:

> What musical instruments are appropriate for worship? If asked this question by an ordinary parish of the Roman Rite, I would respond that the pipe organ comes first and foremost; it is our sacred instrument. After this, if one wanted to augment the organ with a brass quintet, or string quartet, or some other combination of dignified orchestral instruments for feast days, this would be fine, too. (Incidentally, I have nothing against orchestral masses which employ a full orchestra and chorus. It is just that to do this regularly would require financial resources beyond that of an ordinary parish—and a parish with the finances, savvy, and knowledge necessary for such an undertaking wouldn't ask my opinion in the first place.)

It is interesting that, from what I know, most cultures and religions are rather strict about what constitutes "the sacred." This is the sacred chant; that is not. This is the sacred instrument (or instruments); those are not. Only in the West have we traditionally been rather generous and liberal in allowing exceptions. The problem with so much generosity is that people can sometimes lose the sense of the proper distinctions and pretty much start making judgments based upon subjective preferences. "I like this sort of music in church." "I like those instruments at Mass." But things are sanctified through their communal use down through the ages in connection with the worship of God. Once people ignore history and the *communio* of the church then, in principle, the whole sense of the sacred is destroyed. "That's sacred to *me*" simply becomes another way of saying, "*I* like it."

Most cultures and religions are rather strict about what constitutes "the sacred."

The church has tried to clarify this matter while still trying to be generous. I devoutly hope that we can live this principled generosity in a more adult way than we have for the past forty years or so.

POSTSCRIPT

Gregorian Chant: Invention or Restoration?

by William Mahrt

In a very stimulating article "Sacred Music, Sacred Time," David P. Goldman makes an astonishing claim: "Musicologists have proved that the "ancient chant" promulgated in the nineteenth century by the Benedictines of Solesmes was, in fact, their own invention rather than a historical reconstruction."[1]

Moreover, when challenged on blogs and in correspondence, he reinforces this claim as being the consensus of scholarship, relying particularly upon the writings of Katherine Bergeron and Leo Treitler.

Katherine Bergeron's book[2] places the revival of chant at Solesmes in the context of the Romantic revival of the past, and makes a number of very valid and interesting correlations with the culture of the time; she does, not, however, claim that the chants published by Solesmes were an "invention;" in fact, indirectly she demonstrates the opposite: the assiduous cultivation of medieval manuscript sources at Solesmes was the basis of good editions of Medieval chant from its earliest notations.

What was new at Solesmes was a rhythmic method. Over the centuries, the tempo of chant had been gradually slowed, so that each chant note was sung as a beat and, when accompanied, was given a separate chord change. The Solesmes school sensed the need to subsume the individual notes into a larger and quicker phrase rhythm, and as a result made theoretical inferences about the rhythm. Their rhythmic theory is not so much historical as it is systematic; it is the work of performer-theorists more than historians.

Leo Treitler's collected essays[3] represent a lifetime of scholarship on Medieval melody, dealing with questions centering around the relation of oral, written, and literate musical cultures; music and poetry; reading and singing. These extraordinary contributions are not even marred by his view that chant was in a state of improvisational flux until it was written down; this controversial view, while accepted by some, is far from a consensus; see for example the work of Kenneth Levy and David G. Hughes.[4]

Chant is plainsong; its pitches are fixed, but its rhythm is subject to interpretation. Even in the context of a striking variety of rhythmic interpretations, the melodies remain the same melodies. The Easter gradual *Haec dies* sung at St. Gall in the ninth century was essentially the same piece as was sung in Vienna in the eighteenth century or in California in the twenty-first, despite differences of tempo and rhythm. These differences of rhythm are matters of aesthetic judgment—what makes the performance of the piece most beautiful; yes, however you shape the rhythm, it is still essentially the same piece. The method of rhythmic interpretation "invented" at Solesmes is capable of producing a beautiful performance. What differences of pitch as do exist in the Gregorian tradition are relatively minor variants, some even interesting, constituting slight differences of dialect, but not constituting different, much less "invented" pieces.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the face of a received but moribund tradition of singing, it was crucial that the revival at Solesmes be of a historic repertory; what was revived carried the authority of the ages, not just of the distant past. It was almost as important as the revival of singing of Gregorian chant is today in the face of a moribund tradition of parish music among us. This is not the revival of an invention of the nineteenth century, but of the perennial music of the Roman Rite. Even in the splendid variety of dialects, these chants, intrinsic parts of the immemorial liturgy, are the same pieces heard by Charlemagne, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Teresa of Avila, St. John Vianney, among a great cloud of witnesses.

[1]David P. Goldman, "Sacred Music, Sacred Time," *First Things*, 197 (November 2009), 31–36, here 31.

[2]Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

[3]Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[4]Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1998), and David G. Hughes, "Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40 (1987), 377–404.