

VI
D
E fructu *
tur ter- ra: ut edúcas panem num la-

SACRED MUSIC

WINTER 2014
VOLUME 141 No. 4





SACRED MUSIC

Volume 141, Number 4

WINTER 2014

EDITORIAL

Participation | William Mahrt 3

ARTICLES

Louis Bouyer and the Pauline Reform: Great Expectations Dashed | John Pepino 8

Beyond the “Viennese Mass”: Thoughts on the History, Use, and Modern Understanding of the Eighteenth-Century Austro-German Orchestral Mass Repertoire | Erick Arenas 21

Problems in Church Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Vienna and Their Relevance for Catholic Church Musicians Today | Jane Schatkin Hettrick 28

Aural Asceticism: The History and Spiritual Fruits of Silencing the Organ During Certain Liturgies | Jennifer Donelson 39

REPERTORY

A Stunning Pentecost Motet: Jacobus Gallus’ *Factus est repente* | William Mahrt 47

COMMENTARY

Art and Its Replacements | Harold Boatrite 52

NEWS

Announcing the St. Cecilia Academy for Pastoral Musicians: An Interview with Father Matthew Ernest | Mary Jane Ballou 58

CMAA ANNOUNCEMENTS

Mystic Modern: The Music, Thought, and Legacy of Charles Tournemire | New CMAA Publication 62
 Introducing the CMAA Annual Fund 63
 CMAA Colloquium XXV 65

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 since its inception in 1964. Office of Publication: 12421 New Point Drive, Richmond, VA 23233.

E-mail: sacredmusic@musicasacra.com; Website: www.musicasacra.com

Editor: William Mahrt
Managing Editor: Jennifer Donelson
Editor-at-Large: Kurt Poterack
Typesetting: Judy Thommesen
Membership & Circulation: P.O. Box 4344, Roswell, NM 88202

CHURCH MUSIC
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
Officers and Board of Directors

President: William Mahrt
Vice-President: Horst Buchholz
Secretary: Mary Jane Ballou
Treasurer: Adam Wright
Chaplain: Rev. Father Robert Pasley
Director of Media: Jeffrey Tucker
Directors: Jennifer Donelson, David Hughes, Susan Treacy, Edward Schaefer, Jonathan Ryan
Directors Emeriti: Rev. Father Ralph S. March, S.O.Cist.; Kurt Poterack; Paul F. Salamunovich†; Calvert Shenk †; Very Rev. Monsignor Richard J. Schuler †; Rev. Father Robert Skeris

Membership in the Church Music Association of America includes a subscription to the quarterly journal *Sacred Music*. Membership is \$48.00 annually (U.S.), \$54 (Canada), and \$65 (other countries). Parish membership is \$200 for six copies of each issue. Single copies are \$10.00. Send requests and changes of address to *Sacred Music*, P.O. Box 4344, Roswell, NM 88202. 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 at www.musicasacra.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.

© Copyright by Church Music Association of America, 2014. This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported License.

ISSN: 0036-2255

Sacred Music is published quarterly for \$48.00 per year by the Church Music Association of America.
12421 New Point Drive, 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, P.O. Box 4344, Roswell, NM 88202.

EDITORIAL

Participation¹

by William Mahrt

What do we participate in? This question was the subject of a superb plenary address by Archbishop Alexander Sample to the CMAA Colloquium in Salt Lake City in 2012.² In essence, the answer is that as members of the Mystical Body of Christ, we join ourselves to his sacrifice offered to the Father in the Mass; by our participation in the liturgy, we participate in his sacrifice.

As musicians, how does this relate to our participation in the various pieces of music of the liturgy?³ The answer is simple: proper participation in the most suitable sort of music enhances our participation in Christ's sacrifice.

There is, thus, a conceptual watershed: whether "participation" is judged from an anthropocentric or a theocentric perspective, i.e., is the focus of the liturgy the congregation or God? is it human-centered or God-centered? The answer is not black and white; as with many things, the Catholic answer is not either/or, but both/and; still, the key is which has the priority. One needs only to read the texts of the prayers of the liturgy—the orations (collect, prayer over the offerings, postcommunion), the preface, the Eucharistic Prayers, and the rest of the priest's prayers, to see clearly that they address us to the Father—the Father is the object of the sacrifice of Christ made in the Mass. We are encouraged, even exhorted, to join in: "Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours . . ." The most beneficial thing we can do as a congregation is this worship of the Father; thus the most suitable anthropocentric thing to do is to turn to the theocentric. In the light of this purpose, several aspects of the celebration of the Mass follow:

I. Orientation: if the people join the priest in the sacrifice of Christ to the Father, is it not most appropriate that both face the Father? This is best expressed by the priest's leading the worship of the congregation facing the transcendent direction that represents the Father—

¹Editorials generally present material that can commonly be agreed upon. In this one I mean to present an ideal that may seem far from the common practice of today. It may often only be achieved through slow development, taking today's practice as a point of departure and gradually improving it. I would invite comments of the readers.

²Archbishop Alexander King Sample, "Celebrating the Spirit of the Liturgy," *Sacred Music*, 140, no. 1 (Spring 2013), 6–16.

³"Acclamations, responses, psalmody, antiphons, and songs," in the words of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, ¶30.

William Mahrt is president of the CMAA and editor of *Sacred Music*. He can be reached at mahrt@stanford.edu.

East, or at least, “liturgical East.”⁴ The priest’s facing the people only makes sense in an anthropocentric context.

It should be recognized that in a Mass in the ordinary form celebrated *ad orientem*, the priest can face the people for a substantial amount of time. The entire Liturgy of the Word can take place at the chair and ambo, with the priest facing the people when they are addressed directly. At the offertory, when the liturgy turns to directly addressing the Father, the priest then turns to the altar—a significant change of direction. It is even the case that some priests at the chair, when singing the collect (which addresses the Father or Christ, through the Trinity), turn towards the East for this prayer. This is quite consistent with the notion that when address is made to the Father, it should be Eastward.

It might be argued that the position *versus populum* allows the people to see “what is going on.” But what is really going on in the consecration of the Body and Blood of the Savior is

not visible to our physical eyes, but only to the eyes of faith. When the people are told that they can see what is going on and what they see is the physical acts of consecration, they may not make the leap of faith to the Real Presence of Christ but rather fall back upon a notion that this action is merely symbolic. The current documented decline in Eucharistic faith is surely complex, but this may be a significant component. On the

*When address is made to the Father,
it should be Eastward.*

other hand, perhaps the sacredness of the Eucharistic consecration is better preserved when the priest performs the consecration secretly and then presents the Body and Blood of the Lord for adoration at the elevation. I contend that this form of the consecration preserves the belief in the Real Presence better, because the congregation sees the sacrament for the first time as presented for adoration.

Even though the council did not prescribe it, and liturgical rubrics do not require it, facing the people has become the norm in practice.⁵ This means that any effort to reverse the practice should be undertaken only very cautiously. But in the absence of orientation, Pope Benedict proposed another solution. He recalled that in the early church in churches that faced East, there was also a large mosaic, usually of Christ, in the upper part of the apse, and that the

⁴Celebration versus populum was never prescribed by the council (see the article about Fr. Louis Bouyer below). The *Missale Romanum*, even the most recent third typical edition (2004), retains the rubrics indicating that when the priest addresses the congregation directly, he turns around.

⁵The Latin missal has consistently given rubrics which presume orientation in several places in the course of the Mass, such as rubric #127, before the Peace, “Sacerdos, ad populum conversus, extendens et iungens manus, subdit: Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum,” [italics mine] which in the old ICEL version was translated “The priest, extending and joining his hands, adds: The peace . . .”, but in the new translation, “The priest, turned towards the people, extending and then joining his hands, adds: The peace . . .” The omission of “turned towards the people,” has deceived a long generation of priests and people about the fact that the missal presumes an *ad orientem* direction.

priest really faced this image as well as the Eastward direction, thus focusing entirely on Christ. Benedict proposed that when the priest faces the people, he can similarly address Christ visibly if there is a crucifix on the altar. So the “Benedictine Order”—six candles on the altar with a crucifix in the center—has come to be used quite often. Some have objected that this obstructs the congregation’s view of “what is going on,” but this is a silly objection, since the actions of the priest are not obstructed by these furnishings. Perhaps the objection stems from a disagreement with a greater emphasis on a theocentric focus.

The difference between the normal anthropocentric focus and a theocentric one, using a Benedictine Order with the priest facing the people, was illustrated at a CMAA colloquium a few years ago, when the priest celebrated facing the people with the Benedictine Order. He looked at the crucifix during the whole Eucharistic Prayer, maintaining an attitude of addressing the transcendent. A student present opined that she had no idea that Mass facing the people could be so sacred and so effectively convey facing God.

II. The processions: the act of making a procession has three significant components, the persons actually making the procession, together with all of their elements (vestments, cross, incense,⁶ etc.), the music which accompanies the procession, and the motion of the procession to its object. Particularly the introit procession has several significant liturgical elements: 1) the ordering of the ministers—cross-bearer, thurifer, candle bearers, acolytes, and principal ministers in ranked order, sub-deacon (in the extraordinary form), deacon, priest, bishop; 2) the motion of the celebrants through the congregation to the altar as the focal point of the liturgy; the accompanying chant beautifully projects a sense of purposeful motion to a goal. 3) incensing the altar upon arrival marking it as the focal point of the liturgy, the most sacred place in the church where the sacrifice will be offered.

Benedict proposed that when the priest faces the people, he can similarly address Christ visibly if there is a crucifix on the altar.

Traditionally, the celebration of the extraordinary form had a mini-introit procession; priest and acolytes proceeded from the sacristy directly to the altar, and the introit chant was sung during the prayers at the foot of the altar and then the incensation, followed by the Kyrie with little coordination of these elements. But if one considers the Gregorian introit as a processional chant, its neumatic musical style perfectly suits accompanying the motion of a fuller procession, just as the contrasting melismatic style of the gradual suits no motion, but rather meditation upon the readings.

⁶Incense in the Roman Rite has always been an expression of sacred honor to a person, first and foremost to Christ in the Gospel and the Eucharist; the altar, which represents the person of Christ, is therefore vested and incensed as well; at the offertory, after the incensation of the altar this sacred honor is given the clergy and congregation in hierarchical order.

In the early years after the council, many became aware of the value of a procession, and so, even in rain or snow, the ministers went outside the church from the sacristy to the back of the church and made a procession down the center aisle to the altar. This was a distinct improvement, since the procession moving through the congregation to the altar represents a purposeful motion to a significant goal, symbolically taking the congregation with them to the altar. There is a small flaw in this conception, however: a procession beginning from the back of the church makes sense when the sacristy is there in the back, as is the case in at least a few churches; but when the sacristy is in the front, close to the altar, the trip to the back of the church is not significant, and may even be quite inconvenient during inclement weather.

Rather, I would propose that another arrangement makes more sense: in moving to the altar, the clergy can simply proceed directly from the sacristy down a side aisle around to the center aisle and up to the altar. This makes every moment a significant one, symbolically encircling the congregation and incorporating them into the motion to the altar. Theorists of liturgy designate such processions as “circumambulation,” a procession which encircles a significant element, thus more effectively incorporating the congregation.⁷

*Music extends itself through time,
providing a complementary motion
for the duration of a procession.*

Since music extends itself through time, it has the capability of providing a complementary motion for the duration of a procession. It also contributes a sense of sacredness and solemnity. A part of this solemnity is the composite action of motion and music; to this is added at the incensation, the sound of the censer, created by its chains clanking against the incense pot. These days, priests sometimes try to avoid this clanking, perhaps think-

ing that it conflicts with the music, but this is a mistake. The liturgy is a complex of significant elements, several of which occur simultaneously and which appeal to the various senses. The clanking of the censer is an aural phenomenon directly associated with the olfactory element of the fragrance of the incense. It is an additional rhythmic part of the complexity of the rite and does not conflict with the music, but rather adds to the richness of the proceeding.

III. What, then is the proper participation of the congregation in these processions? Their best participation is to join in the procession by perceiving its complex motions, by seeing the hierarchical order of the church preparing for the sacred action, and by appreciating their incorporation into the circumambulation in preparation for joining with Christ in the sacrifice. My own experience has been that I am very moved by the beauty of a procession, its hierarchy, its purposeful motion, and its solemnity. I would contend that for the congregation this is a more fundamental participation than providing the music to accompany the procession. The provision of that music is the special province of the choir.

⁷Such a procession at the introit recalls the procession of the medieval choir, which sang the office of Terce before Mass, after which they proceeded out of the choir, down a side aisle, around the baptismal font at the back of the church and up the central aisle back into the choir.

While it is quite possible that the congregation's singing of a simple antiphon in alternation with the choir allows them to appreciate many of the elements of the procession just mentioned, this would be done by relinquishing the element of solemnity which the Gregorian introit significantly contributes. The Second Vatican Council stated that Gregorian chant has principal place in the Roman Rite. One reason is the element of the beauty integrated with solemn action which it contributes to processions.

Where, then, is the external participation the congregation can rightly expect? Being moved by a procession may be a substantial internal participation, but external vocal participation is also significant. It is in the Ordinary of the Mass that the congregation has its best opportunity for full-voiced external participation. This is for several reasons: 1) While the texts of the processional chants accompany another action, which action should be the object of the attention of the congregation, the texts of the ordinary *are* the action. No other liturgical action occurs during it (except for the brief fraction during a short part of the Agnus Dei in the ordinary form); the congregation rightly turns its attention to acts of petition, hymns of praise, and profession of faith. 2) While the texts of the processional chants change each day, those of the ordinary remain the same from day to day; this means that the music can also remain the same for a long enough time that the congregation can become familiar with it and sing it confidently. 3) The melodies of the ordinary, while repeated from day to day, can also change according to the season, from the simplest melodies for the weekdays to the moderately elaborate ones for the Sundays to the most elaborate for the highest feasts.

The Second Vatican Council stated that Gregorian Chant has a principal place in the Roman Rite.

There is a particular question about the processional chants for the communion. The congregation's means of the most intimate participation in the Eucharistic sacrifice is to receive Christ in communion. This occurs in a procession of all those receiving. That they should accompany themselves in their procession makes little sense; their participation here is the culmination of their uniting themselves with Christ. While this is something each person does in communion with the rest of the congregation, it is also an intimate encounter with Christ; to sing a chant may only be a distraction. Also, as with the introit, the proper chant is beyond the ability of the congregation, and its replacement by a simpler chant relinquishes the unique synthesis of rhythmic motion, beautiful melody, and solemn action characteristic of the Gregorian communion chants. ♪

ARTICLES

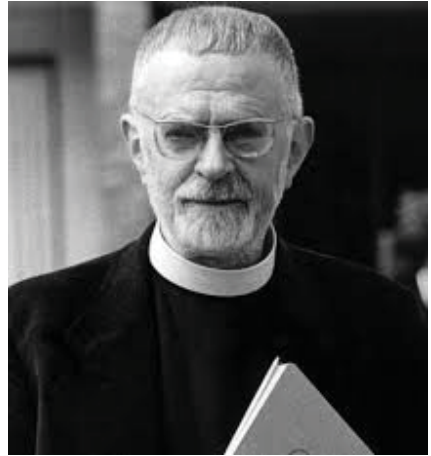
Louis Bouyer and the Pauline Reform: Great Expectations Dashed¹

by John Pepino

The French Oratorian Father Louis Bouyer is a well-known theologian of the pre- and post-Vatican II era. He was a convert from Lutheranism with a strong streak of intellectual independence and was a very early collaborator of the Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, which was the headquarters of the French liturgical movement from its foundation on May 20, 1943 until it was co-opted by the French Conference of Bishops in 1965. He contributed to its publication, *La Maison-Dieu*, into the 1970s. He thoroughly appreciated the Vatican II document on the liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, which seemed to him to have been the expression of all that was good in the liturgical movement. After the council he was a member of the Consilium and contributed to the new Eucharistic Prayers. But he was to be deeply disappointed with the outcome of the post-conciliar liturgical renewal, including the very missal he had participated in elaborating. His criticisms are worth pondering for anyone who is interested in the liturgy today.

From the outset, Fr. Bouyer was enthusiastic about the possibilities, but also wary of other people's misguided enthusiasms concerning the liturgy as it was celebrated then and its future.

In this paper we shall briefly look at Bouyer's thought regarding the liturgy, particularly the Mass, at three moments of his liturgical career: before Vatican II and his involvement in the French liturgical movement in the 1940s and 1950s; his joyful reception of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*; his difficult collaboration in Bugnini's Consilium and lastly his bitter disappointment



¹This short paper was delivered at the CMAA conference "The Renewal of Sacred Music and the Liturgy in the Catholic Church: Movements Old and New" at St. Agnes Church in St. Paul, Minnesota, on October 14, 2013. A fuller version bringing out Louis Bouyer's principles in greater detail was given on July 18, 2014, at the Sacra Liturgia Summer School at the Monastère Saint-Benoît in Lagarde-Freinet (France) under the title "Father Louis Bouyer and the Liturgical Reform: Great Expectations Dashed."

John Pepino obtained his doctoral degree in Patristic Greek and Latin from The Catholic University of America in 2009. He teaches at Our Lady of Guadalupe Seminary in Denton, Nebraska.

in the misguided and widespread liturgical experimentation that followed the council and even in the *editio typica* of the Missal of Paul VI.

I.

Bouyer's early awakening to the Roman Catholic liturgy, after a flirtation with Eastern Orthodoxy, was in a Benedictine setting at the Solesmes foundation Saint-Wandrille, as well as in contact with Dom Beauduin, who may be called his mentor.

When Dominican Fathers A.M. Roguet and Pie Duployé decided (with Fr. Yves Congar's encouragement by letter from his POW camp in Saxony) to found the Centre de Pastorale Liturgique (CPL) as a means to coordinate the different strands of the "second liturgical movement" (i.e., that inaugurated

Pragmatism demands that the church more deeply understand the liturgy so as to reanimate Christians.

by Dom Beauduin, the "first liturgical movement" being that of Dom Prosper Guéranger), they turned to experts in the field, including Canon Martimort—who was to play so important a role in coordinating liturgical scholars, most famously in editing *The Church at Prayer*,² and to Louis Bouyer. Duployé and Roguet met Bouyer for supper about the liturgy on October 6, 1943, but Bouyer had a cold and did

not say all that he wished. Two days later he opened his heart to the founders of the CPL in a long letter on his liturgical vision. Duployé, impressed by its contents, deemed that it was "our foundation charter" ("la charte de notre fondation").³

The principles for a renewal of the liturgy that Fr. Bouyer outlined were:

1. Archaeologism is at all costs to be avoided, by which he means an interest in the liturgy which is excited about the liturgical books only to the extent that they are collections of remains, without a care for what they can provide as living spiritual substance. Likewise to be shunned is an attachment to the most precious decadent archaic knickknacks. Liturgy is not "the exterior cult of the Church" as the manuals then still claimed, but "the spontaneous expression of her collective yet single soul, and the best means to restore that soul to Christians, who are atomized today, not to mention the dechristianized masses."⁴

2. Pragmatism demands that the church more deeply understand the liturgy so as to reanimate Christians through contact with liturgical texts. How? Good translations; explanations; general initiation—because the liturgy's "mentality" has become foreign to the faithful. Of utmost importance is the restoration of biblical culture, since the liturgy, especially the Roman

²A.-G. Martimort, ed., *The Church at Prayer* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1985); original French: *L'Église en prière* (Tournai: Desclée, 1961).

³Pie Duployé, *Les Origines du Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, 1943–1949* (Mulhouse: Salvator, 1968), p. 288.

⁴*Ibid.*, 289.

liturgy, is “toute biblique [totally biblical].”⁵ Efforts to replace the biblical texts with others (as in certain “dialogue Masses in French”) are entirely wrong-headed. Reciprocally, the liturgy will constitute an introduction to the Bible, to its outlook and realities.

Some historical explanation is necessary, but ought not hide the forest behind the trees. For example, a detailed history of the stational churches in Lent would give the impression that the liturgy is about seventh-century Roman Christians only. History can play a role *only if it helps to understand the liturgy here and now*. One ought to eschew the museum effect at all costs.

3. Going beyond the liturgical texts is necessary—the spiritual world of the texts must become our own, but without skipping over legitimate developments such as *devotio moderna* with its acknowledgement of self-consciousness. On the other hand, feminine dolorism is to be got rid of. Bouyer warns that there will have to be some fighting if we are to do this in earnest.⁶

Given these principles, the pragmatic decisions that flowed from them in Bouyer’s mind were:

1. We must be willing to be revolutionary—a spirituality based on Low Masses and Benedictions of the Blessed Sacrament is to be deprecated. *What must be restored is the parish High Mass (if possible, Solemn Mass) as the Mass of Communion gathering all of the local ἐκκλησία for a truly collective act.* Flowing from this, then, is the intelligent participation in the chants and ceremonies, an act of the parochial community.

Efforts to replace biblical texts with others are entirely wrong-headed.

2. Low Mass has to be a dialogue Mass, with the readings repeated in French by a lector, but avoiding (as was already done) congregational recitation of the prayers at the foot of the altar (*Judica me, Confiteor*) and instead including participation in the great communal prayers (*Kyrie, Sanctus, Credo, Gloria, Preface*). Next, there must be no musical interference in the offertory prayers (e.g., hymns on the scruple of water). Finally, there should be no out-of-place commentary during moments of recollection, such as the Canon.

3. The meaning of the great feasts of the liturgical year, especially Holy Week, has to be restored. This entails a profound change in the way churchmen and laity approach the liturgy, which they ought to know is an *act* before being a *thing*. Priests must stop seeing the liturgy as their private devotion, while the laity’s duty is to get in the way as little as possible. Mass facing the people would be a great advantage,⁷ and the reredos with flower pots should be done away with.⁸

⁵Ibid., 290.

⁶Ibid., 292.

⁷[It should be noted, however, that in later years, Bouyer refused to face the people at Mass: “Why should I say Mass at a ping-pong table?” ed.]

⁸Ibid., 294.

These ideas come with a warning, however: if we arouse the desire of laity and priests for something better in liturgy, we must also ward off misguided private initiatives—liturgists in their excentricities are sometimes given over to excess.

The Mass as we have since Pius V is in “an abnormal state of fixity than cannot be maintained once it starts to live again. What was becoming lethargic was promptly put on ice. But, once life returns, it is pointless to want to confine it in the freezer.”⁹

In Bouyer’s opinion, other practical considerations and priorities included:

1. Language: more would be lost than gained by using the vernacular in the Canon and Ordinary of the Mass; people would then soon demand French for the readings and the more catechetical prayers.

2. Restoration of the full psalm at the introit: ornate introits will have to go back to the cathedral chapters and abbeys they never should have left.

3. An end to the doubling of texts at High Mass between the priest and the altar and the choir.

The core of the liturgy is the Mystery.

4. No more private Masses when there are many priests; a “return” to concelebration.

5. Restoration of what the feasts are (including in the breviary): the memory of salvific events, as opposed to the celebration of abstractions (e.g., Kingship of Christ, Maternity of Our Lady, Priesthood of Christ, etc.).

6. Use of diplomacy: local liturgical precedents (e.g., concelebration in Lyons until 1789, vernacular indults granted in Austria, ancient timetable of Holy Week, etc.) could be used in making requests of the hierarchy.

In all of these points one can see Bouyer working out the principles he had learned from Dom Beauduin (as opposed to Dom Guéranger’s efforts):

We must not try to provide an artificial congregation to take part in an antiquarian liturgy, but rather to prepare the actual congregations of the Church today to take part in the truly traditional liturgy rightly understood.¹⁰

In other words: an authentic liturgy for authentic congregations. From Dom Casel of Maria-Laach, he had learned that the core of the liturgy is the Mystery, which is the “reenactment in, by, and for the Church of the Act of Our Lord which accomplished our salvation.” Passion, Death, Resurrection, communication of saving grace to men, the final consummation of all things . . . “[the liturgy] is the unique mode in which Christ’s redeeming act is permanently renewed and partaken of by the Church.”¹¹ Finally, Bouyer also shared Pius Parsch’s “outline

⁹Ibid., 295: “. . . depuis Pie V . . . pour la liturgie un état de fixation anormal qu’on ne pourra maintenir lorsqu’elle sera devenue vivante. Mais, la vie reparue, il est vain de vouloir la confiner dans le frigorifique.”

¹⁰Louis Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1955), p. 15; Bouyer criticizes Dom Prosper Guéranger in pp. 10–15.

¹¹Ibid., 18.

of a liturgy that is inseparable from the initiation to the Bible as a spiritual and also doctrinal book.”¹²

The CPL organized their first sessions at the Benedictine convent of Vanves in January of 1944. The participant list is a roster of the heavy hitters of the day in French liturgical circles including: Dom Lambert Beauduin, O.S.B.; Dom Germain Morin, O.S.B.; Fr. Paul Doncœur, S.J.; Fr. Georges Michonneau; Fr. Pie Duployé; Canon Aimé-Georges Martimort; Fr. Jacques Leclercq; Bishop Chevrot; and Fr. Louis Bouyer. Bouyer was now in a position to see the shape that the liturgical movement was taking and wrote a critical article warning against possible wrong turns. He published his observations as an article in the first volume of *Lex Orandi* entitled “After the Vanves sessions: A Few Clarifications on the Meaning and Rôle of the Liturgy.”¹³ He detected an unfortunate tendency in the budding liturgical movement, which he sought to deflect, and added his own observations:

*The Second Vatican Council stated that
Gregorian Chant has a principal place in
the Roman Rite.*

1. The unfortunate tendency of an excessive desire to adapt the liturgy to modern man with a view to winning him over, using the liturgy as an instrument of apostolate.¹⁴ This is the tendency of Fathers Doncœur and Michonneau, who would go so far as to recommend detaching the liturgy from the Bible, which modern man cannot understand in any event.

In his interviews with his friend Georges Daix in the late 1970s, Bouyer says that this tendency would later take over the Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, and triumph in the Centre National de Pastorale Liturgique and among religious and clergy in the United States.¹⁵ In the face of this, Bouyer stated that the liturgy is intended for those who are within the church already; although it forms *them* for the apostolate, it cannot be a direct means of apostolate (cf. early church secrecy, and the distinction between Mass of the Faithful and the Mass of the Catechumens).

2. Now for those who are Christians, the liturgy is a source derived from the ecclesiastical tradition. One may bring something of one’s own to it, but only once one is thoroughly imbued with it. The liturgy is the source of the church’s collective interior *life*.

¹²Morin, who actually presented his and Bouyer’s ideas at Vanves, developed the theme of the Bible in the liturgy especially in “Pour un mouvement,” *Études de pastorale*, 13–25. Among other statements, he said: “Whether we rejoice in it or deplore it, the liturgy is, therefore, biblical. To claim to make anyone understand it without initiating him into the Bible is a contradiction in terms” (p. 19).

¹³“Quelques mises au point sur le sens et le rôle de la Liturgie,” *Lex Orandi*, 1 (1944), 379–89.

¹⁴ See also *Liturgical Piety*, p. 67 on the tendency “to give precedence to missionary work among modern pagans rather than to the work of helping faithful Christians in the Church to rediscover their own treasures.”

¹⁵*Le Métier de théologien: Entretiens avec Georges Daix* (Paris: France-Empire, 1979; reprint, Geneva: Ad Solem, 2005), pp. 53–54.

3. But the liturgy is the concrete fulfillment of this life, and therefore the goal of the apostolate of bringing the outsider to glorify God in the assembly of the believers.

4. In addition to the liturgy, and for the benefit of outsiders and seekers, one may organize “paraliturgies” as a propedeutic to the liturgy, both for Christians and as a means to evangelize and bring people to the sacraments.¹⁶

In his memoirs, Bouyer is far more candid about his misgivings at this first session of his involvement in the liturgical movement. He recounts that Dom Beauduin could already sniff out trouble at these very first sessions. Dom Beauduin said:

Thankfully, at the time of the Reformation, no one in the Catholic Church wanted to change anything to the liturgy! It was understood so little and so badly that there would be nothing left of it. I’m afraid that we haven’t made as much progress in this regard as our good Dominicans thought!¹⁷

*The liturgy is the concrete fulfillment
of this life.*

To this, Bouyer adds: “God knows he was right!” He also recalls the low regard held for the scriptures in the liturgy by Fr. Michonneau, who balked at having to introduce his flock to the Bible, and Fr. Doncœur, who attributed Bouyer’s insistence on the Bible to his lingering Protestantism.

But Bouyer remained undeterred: he says in his memoirs that

The issue seemed too serious for me not to keep on fighting for it, both against those opposed to any liturgical renewal, and against the early enthusiasts. The latter group did not intend a renewed or revived traditional Catholic liturgy, but rather some radical mutation of its very nature.¹⁸

He would run into the same attitude at the Strasbourg congress on the liturgy, in 1958 (even though it was devoted to “The Liturgy and the Word of God”), where, as he says, again in his memoirs:¹⁹

It was hard to maintain doubts on this score later on. When I had presented a paper on the Word of God of biblical and Gospel revelation and sacramental efficacy,²⁰

¹⁶“Paraliturgies” are ceremonies inspired by the liturgy but not part of the liturgical tradition. For a detailed description of such ceremonies, see Georges Michonneau, *Revolution in a City Parish*, foreword by Archbishop Cushing of Boston (London: Blackfriars, 1949), chapter 2 (“A Living, Apostolic Liturgy”), pp. 29–46.

¹⁷Louis Bouyer, *Mémoires*, ed. Jean Duchesne (Paris: Cerf, 2014), p. 150. This text, after a tortuous history, was published in the spring of 2014, six months after this paper was delivered. The translations are from my own unpublished manuscript.

¹⁸Ibid., 149.

¹⁹Ibid., 150.

²⁰This would have been at the 1957 Strassburg congress. For Bouyer’s contribution, see his “La Parole de Dieu vit

Father (future Cardinal) Daniélou declared categorically that these two realities had nothing in common.²¹ The Word was merely a matter of teaching, while the sacramental reality was an essentially different divine intervention. He added that my tendency to put them together was not only sheer Protestantism, but (and I quote him verbatim) actually the most unacceptable feature of Bultmann's teaching.²²

This conference took place in 1958, four years before the opening of the Second Vatican Council. Now in late November of 1960 Bouyer was called to participate in the antepreparatory Commission for Studies and Seminaries. The beginning of his disillusionment with Vatican II began right at the outset. He says of this work:

To be sure, I have never stopped believing that the Church is, in her ultimate term, "unanimity in love." The most recent Council, however, has cured me of my illusions that the royal path to achieve it might be this "conciliarity." Although my full recovery was therefore quite slow in coming, there is no doubt that its seed was planted when I was first invited to participate in a farce that was indecent from start to finish: the labors of the first commission to which I was called.²³

II.

Now there are many negative comments that Fr. Bouyer made on both the workings of the council and on some of the people who participated in it. These are to be found in his *Decomposition of Catholicism*, his *Métier de théologien*, his *Religieux et clercs contre Dieu*, and in his *Mémoires*. Yet his immediate reaction to the council's Dogmatic Constitution on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, was very positive; one can nearly feel the relief that he felt that the crazier members of the liturgical movement had not triumphed. He wrote, in his 1964 book devoted to this constitution:

It [*Sacrosanctum Concilium*] represents the best fruit of what has been achieved in the work of pioneers like Dom Odo Casel and the whole Maria-Laach school, which now receives its due recognition. . . . The supreme authority in the Church

dans la liturgie," in *Parole de Dieu et liturgie, III Congrès National du CPL, Lex Orandi*, 25 (Paris: Cerf, 1958), pp. 105–126. English version: "The Word of God Lives in the Liturgy," *The Liturgy and the Word of God* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1959), pp. 53–66.

²¹Jean Daniélou, S.J. (1905–1974), renowned theologian, one of the founders of the patristic series *Sources chrétiennes* in 1943. For the "existence, homogeneousness, and coherence of the same intellectual world" among the editors of this series and the CPL, see Pie Duployé, *Les Origines du Centre de Pastorale Liturgique* (Mulhouse: Salvator, 1968), p. 46. Daniélou wrote a book on the topic: *Bible et liturgie, la théologie biblique des sacrements et des fêtes d'après les Pères de l'Église* (Paris: Cerf, 1951). English version: *The Bible and the Liturgy*, Liturgical Studies, 3 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956).

²²Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), Lutheran theologian, father of the project of demythologizing the New Testament.

²³Bouyer, *Mémoires*, 189.

has now distinguished, in the thinking of these pioneers, the nucleus of undisputable truth from hypotheses or mere personal opinions.²⁴

He then devotes a chapter to each of the elements of the constitution: 1. the paschal mystery; 2. the mystery of worship; 3. the mystery of the church; 4. the central role of the liturgy as source and summit of the Christian life; 5. how the liturgy enhances our subjective response to the mystery.

It is no wonder that Bouyer was eager to help out with in the implementation of so grand a vision. But he was to be sorely disappointed.

III.

Bouyer's first public expression of his disappointment came in 1968 with the publication of *The Decomposition of Catholicism*. On its first page he says: "Unless we are blind, we must even state bluntly that what we see looks less like the hoped-for regeneration of Catholicism than its accelerated decomposition."²⁵ He reacted first against the unauthorized experimentations in fashion at the time, the subservience of churchmen to public opinion as reported to them by the media, etc. Regarding the liturgy, he plainly said: "there is practically no liturgy worthy of the name today in the Catholic Church. Yesterday's liturgy was hardly more than an embalmed cadaver. What people call liturgy today is little more than this same cadaver decomposed."²⁶

"There is practically no liturgy worthy of the name today in the Catholic Church."

What did he mean (bearing in mind that he was writing before the promulgation of the Missal of Paul VI)? He meant that the soon-to-be-implemented missal 1) did not reflect the will of the council; and 2) turned its back on Beauduin, Casel, Pius Parsch, and Bouyer himself.

Now we must turn to Bouyer's actual disappointment with the Mass that Paul VI promulgated. Remember that he had worked on parts of it himself, and knew its weaknesses (as he perceived them) from the inside. As often, Bouyer's words defy paraphrase and require full quotation:

Having been expressly called to the subcommission in charge of the Missal, I was petrified to discover a preparatory subcommission's projects when I arrived. It was inspired principally by Dom Cipriano Vagaggini²⁷ from the Bruges Abbey and by

²⁴Louis Bouyer, *The Liturgy Revived* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), 11.

²⁵Bouyer, *Decomposition*, 3.

²⁶Bouyer, *Decomposition*, 105.

²⁷His views on the liturgy will be found in Cipriano Vagaggini, *Theological Dimensions of the Liturgy*, trans. Leonard Doyle (Collegetown, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1959).

the excellent Msgr. Wagner,²⁸ from Trier. The idea was to obviate the Holland-born fashion of Eucharists being improvised in complete ignorance of the liturgical tradition going back to Christian origins. I still cannot understand by what aberration these excellent people, who were rather good historians and generally reasonable intellects, could suggest that the Roman canon should be so disconcertingly carved up and put together again, as well as other projects claiming to be “inspired” by Hippolytus of Rome,²⁹ but which were no less harebrained.

For my part I was ready to resign on the spot and go home. But Dom Botte³⁰ convinced me to stay on, if only to obtain some lesser evil.

At the end of the day, the Roman Canon was more or less respected and we managed to produce three Eucharistic Prayers which, despite rather wordy intercessions, reclaimed pieces of great antiquity and unequalled theological and euchological richness, long since out of use since the disappearance of the ancient Gallican rites.³¹ I have in mind the anamnesis of the third Eucharistic prayer, and also what we were able to salvage of a rather successful attempt to adapt a series of formulas from the ancient so-called “Saint James’s” prayer to the Roman scheme, thanks to Father Gelineau’s work,³² who was not always so well advised.

²⁸Johannes Wagner (b. 1908), first director of the German Liturgical Institute in Trier in 1947, one of the architects of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, and consultor of the Consilium.

²⁹Bouyer’s hesitancy regarding Hippolytus can be explained: at the time of these memoirs’ composition, some time in the late 1980s, the authorship by Hippolytus of the *Apostolic Tradition* with its famous Anaphora had come into question; see for example A. Faivre, “La documentation canonico-liturgique de l’Église ancienne. II. Les unités littéraires et leurs relectures,” *Revue de sciences religieuses*, 54, no. 4 (1980), 273–97. This was causing some unease among the liturgists who had worked on the Eucharistic Prayers of the new Mass; see, e.g., A.-G. Martimort, “Nouvel examen de la ‘Tradition Apostolique’ d’Hippolyte,” *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, 88 (1987), 5–25, especially p. 7. For a good overview of the issues, see B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis: Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 28–48. Bouyer had already doubted the value of the *Apostolic Tradition* as a witness to third-century Roman practice; see *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, trans. C.U. Quinn (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), pp. 158–182, esp. 168: “It probably tells us very little about what had become of the eucharistic liturgy at Rome and even elsewhere in the middle of the third century.”

³⁰Bernard Botte, O.S.B. (1903–1980), monk of Mont-César in Leuven, liturgist, member of the Centre de Pastorale Liturgique from 1948, director of the Institut de Liturgie in Paris 1956–1964, editor of Hippolytus’ (?) “Apostolic Tradition”: *La Tradition apostolique* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1963).

³¹See Louis Bouyer, “The Different Forms of Eucharistic Prayer and Their Genealogy,” *Studia Patristica*, 8 (1966), 156–170.

³²Joseph Gelineau, S.J. (1920–2008), best known for his psalm settings for congregational use. His *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship: Principles, Laws, Applications* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1964) influenced the insertion of the responsorial psalm into the Missal of Paul VI. As a member of the Consilium’s group on the revision of the Order of Mass, he was responsible for the Eucharistic Prayers and introduced the acclamation after the Consecration. He gives the detail of his liturgical principles in his *Liturgical Assembly, Liturgical Song*, Paul Innwood, trans. (Portland: Pastoral Press, 2002).

But what can I say, at a time when the talk was of simplifying the liturgy and of bringing it back to primitive models, about this “actus poenitentialis”³³ inspired by Father Jungmann (an excellent historian of the Roman Missal . . . but who, in his entire life, had never celebrated a Solemn Mass!)?³⁴ The worst of it was an impossible offertory, in a Catholic Action, sentimental/workerist³⁵ style, the handiwork of Father Cellier,³⁶ who, with tailor-made arguments, manipulated the despicable Bugnini in such a way that his production went through despite nearly unanimous opposition.

You’ll have some idea of the deplorable conditions in which this hasty reform was expedited when I recount how the second Eucharistic Prayer was cobbled together.³⁷ Between the indiscriminately archeologizing³⁸ fanatics who wanted to banish the Sanctus and the intercessions from the Eucharistic Prayer by taking Hippolytus’ Eucharist as is,³⁹ and those others who couldn’t have cared less about his alleged *Apostolic Tradition* and wanted a slapdash Mass [*une messe bâclée*], Dom Botte and I were commissioned to patch up its text with a view to inserting these elements, which are certainly quite ancient—by the next morning! Luckily I discovered, if not in a text by Hippolytus himself certainly in one in his style, a felicitous formula on the Holy Ghost that could provide a transition of the *Vere Sanctus* type to the short epiclesis.⁴⁰ For his part, Botte produced an intercession rather worthy

³³Viz. the penitential act in the ordinary form of the Roman Rite.

³⁴Josef Jungmann, S.J. (1889–1975), author of *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development* (*Missarum sollemnia*) (New York: Benziger, 1951–1955). Bouyer calls this book “the greatest scholarly work of our times on the history of the Roman Mass,” *Liturgical Piety*, 16.

³⁵The pejorative term “workerist” [*ouvriériste*] indicates a demagogic attitude of excessive regard for the working class. It entered the English language thanks to J. Daniélou, William Birmingham, trans., “Blessed Are the Poor,” *Cross Currents*, 9, no. 4 (Autumn 1959), 381.

³⁶Father Jacques Cellier (1922–1999), named first director of the Centre National de Pastorale Liturgique on February 11, 1965, a post he would hold until 1973. See L. Mougeot, “Le Père Jacques Cellier (21 janvier 1922–10 janvier 1999),” *La Maison-Dieu*, 223 (2000), 113–117.

³⁷For Dom Botte’s recollections, see Bernard Botte, *From Silence to Participation*, John Sullivan, trans. (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1988), pp. 149–152.

³⁸Archeologism, a tendency that Pius XII had reprovved, consists in returning to the very earliest centuries of the liturgy with no regard for the intervening development. See *Mediator Dei*, in *Acta Apostolica Sedis* 39 (1947), 546–547 repeating the condemnation made by Pius VI in the 1794 Bull *Auctorem fidei*, and Louis Bouyer, “Retour aux sources et archéologisme,” in *Le Message des moines à notre temps: Mélanges offerts à dom Alexis, abbé de Boquen* (Paris: Arthème-Fayard, 1958), pp. 169–172. For the temptation to archeologism among the missal’s revisers, see Lauren Pristas, “The Orations of the Vatican II Missal: Policies for Revision,” *Communio*, 30, no. 4 (2003), 650–51.

³⁹The English version of the “Anaphora of Hippolytus” will be found in Vagaggini, *Canon*, 25–27. The elimination of the intercessions had been proposed by several theologians during and after the council: Hans Küng, K. Amon, and P. Borella; see *ibid.*, 111, n. 8. Vagaggini rebuts their arguments; see *ibid.*, 112–114.

⁴⁰The transition Bouyer found is: “You are indeed Holy, O Lord, the fount of all holiness. Let your Spirit come upon these gifts to make them holy, so that they may become for us the body ☩ and blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ” (“Vere Sanctus es, Domine, fons omnis sanctitatis. Hæc ergo dona, quæsumus, Spiritus tui rore sanctifica, ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiant Domini nostri Iesu Christi”). The translation here given is the original ICEL translation of 1973.

of Paul Reboux's "In the manner of. . ." than of his actual scholarship.⁴¹ Still, I cannot reread that improbable composition without recalling the Trastevere café terrace where we had to put the finishing touches to our chore in order to show up with it at the Bronze Gate by the time our regents had set!⁴²

So to summarize, Bouyer's principal objections to the Missal of Paul VI were: the introduction of extra Eucharistic Prayers was a strategic decision to redirect Dutch abuses, not a principled choice; the attempts at carving up the Roman Canon; the choice of the Hyppolitan Canon (if indeed that is what it was—Bouyer long had doubted its relevance to the Roman tradition); the *Actus Pœnitentialis*; the offertory and its imposition over the heads of the Consilium itself; and the unreflective manner in which Eucharistic prayer II was cobbled together.

He also had little to recommend the new calendar, of which he says:

I prefer to say nothing, or very little, about the new calendar,⁴³ the handiwork of a trio of maniacs who suppressed, with no good reason, Septuagesima⁴⁴ and the Octave of Pentecost⁴⁵ and who scattered three quarters of the Saints higgledy-piggledy,⁴⁶ all based on notions of their own devising!

⁴¹Paul Reboux (1877–1963), a prolific author, is best known for his amusing literary spoofs published 1910–1913 and collected in a series entitled *À la manière de. . .* ("in the style of. . ."). The intercessions that Dom Botte composed are the prayers of the Canon that begin with "Lord, remember your Church throughout the world; make us grow in love, together with N. our Pope, N. our bishop, and all the clergy" ("Recordare, Domine, Ecclesiæ tuæ toto orbe diffusæ, ut eam in caritate perficias una cum Papa nostro N. et Episcopo nostro N. et universo clero").

⁴²Bouyer, *Mémoires*, 198–99.

⁴³The Consilium's study group for the revision of the calendar comprised: Annibale Bugnini, Relator (until 1967); A. Dirks, secretary; R. van Doren, J. Wagner, A.-G. Martimort, P. Jounel (relator from 1967), A. Amore, H. Schmidt, members. The principles this group adopted and presented at their first meeting on January 23, 1965 are outlined in "Principia seu criteria ad Calendarium instaurandum," *Notitia*, 1 (1965), 150–152. For greater détail, see Pierre Jounel, "L'Organisation de l'année liturgique," *La Maison-Dieu*, 100 (1969), 139–156.

⁴⁴Regarding Septuagesima, Bugnini, after summarizing Paul VI's beautiful explanation of the fittingness of three weeks of preparation for Lent, reports in his *Reform of the Liturgy*, 307, n.6: "Then, however, the view prevailed that there should be a simplification: it was not possible to restore Lent to its full importance without sacrificing Septuagesima, which is an extension of Lent." See also Jounel "L'Organisation," 147–48, where one reads that the Consilium also wished to scrap Ash Wednesday and have Lent begin on its first Sunday.

⁴⁵On this octave, Bugnini writes (*Reform of the Liturgy*, 307, n. 9): "Here again there was disagreement. The suppression was accepted with the expectation that the formularies of the octave would be used during the nine days of preparation for Pentecost. On this point again there were changes of mind, but the decision of the Fathers finally prevailed." He returns to this suppression, which, as he reports, "subsequently caused confusion and second thoughts" in a lengthy note giving his reasons for it; *ibid.*, 319, n. 38.

⁴⁶P. Jounel, to whom the Temporal had been entrusted, and A. Amore, in charge of the Sanctoral, presented the general structure of the revised calendar to the Consilium's seventh general meeting in October 1966. The draft was definitively approved at the eighth general meeting, April 10–19 1967. See *ibid.*, 308–309. Jounel was "the principal author of the work," *ibid.*, 315. For an early overview of the principles guiding the Sanctoral, see Jacques Dubois, "Les Saints du nouveau calendrier," *La Maison-Dieu*, 100 (1969), 157–178. Jounel had expressed his notion that the feasts of the saints "must be rare, since rarity is one of the conditions of festive joy" ("doivent être rares, puisque la rareté est une des conditions de l'allégresse festive"), P. Jounel, "Le Culte des Saints," in A.-G. Martimort et al. eds., *L'Église en prière. Introduction à la liturgie* (Paris: Desclée, 1961), p. 784. See also P. Jounel, "The Veneration of the Saints," II, "The Roman Calendar," in A. G. Martimort ed., *The Church At Prayer*, IV, *The*

Because these three hotheads obstinately refused to change anything of their work and because the Pope wanted to finish up quickly to avoid letting the chaos get out of hand, their project, however insane, was accepted!^{47,48}

Now, one should not take away the impression that Louis Bouyer was opposed to all the changes that came with the Missal of Pope Paul VI; he does also mention some of its strong points (while remembering more of his criticisms along the way):

The only element undeserving of criticism in this new missal was the enrichment it received, particularly thanks to the restoration of a good number of splendid

Bouyer was [not] opposed to all the changes that came with the Missal of Pope Paul VI.

prefaces taken over from ancient sacramentaries and thanks to the wider Biblical readings (although, on this latter point, there was too much haste to produce anything satisfactory). I shall pass over the number of ancient Collects for

penitential seasons . . . that we were forced to mutilate so as to void them, to the extent possible, of . . . penance, precisely!⁴⁹ On the flipside though, there is a noteworthy new composition which is not only irreproachable but even admirably opportune: the new common preface I. For this, homage is due to its author, a monk of Hautecombe,⁵⁰ who kept to combining, with an uncommonly sure hand, the most meaningful sentences of Saint Paul, all the while respecting the *cursus*.⁵¹

Liturgy And Time (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1986), pp. 123–27.

⁴⁷Bouyer, *Mémoires*, 199–200.

⁴⁸Cardinal Lercaro presented this schema to Paul VI on April 18, 1967; the pope decided that it should be submitted to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and to the Congregation of Rites; see *ibid.*, 309, n. 11 for the chronology. Bugnini's assessment of the CDF's study and of its effectiveness is that "it was tinged to some extent with nostalgia for the past . . . agreement was quickly reached (even though in the process many requests of the Congregation were effectively denied)," *ibid.*, 311. In a later revision, however, the Congregation rescued Saint Nicolas' day, among other feasts, from suppression at the hands of the Consilium, *ibid.*, 317. Paul VI announced the publication of the new calendar on April 28, 1969; it was to go into effect on January 1, 1970 (Bugnini mistakenly writes 1969, *ibid.*, 314). Not surprisingly, "the publication of the calendar elicited rather negative reactions among the lay journalists and in the Catholic press generally . . . Those of the clergy and faithful whose view of worship and religion generally had been devotion-oriented were disconcerted, although the confusion was also due in part to surprise and a lack of preparation," *ibid.*, 315.

⁴⁹For a well-researched and well-argued analysis of what Bouyer is here speaking of, see the chapter on Lent in Lauren Pristas, *The Collects of the Roman Missals: A Comparative Study of the Sundays in Proper Seasons before and after the Second Vatican Council* (New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013).

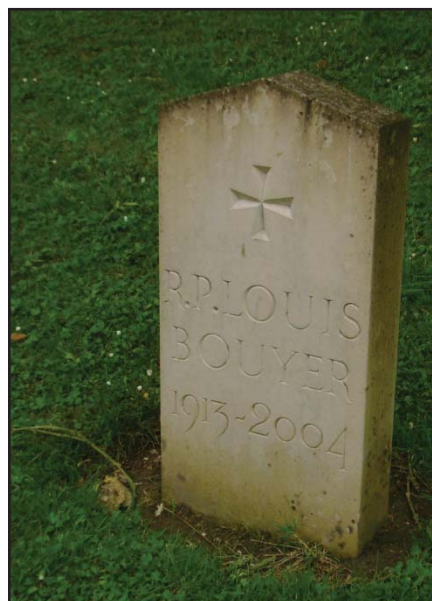
⁵⁰Dom Antoine Dumas (1915–). See Botte, *From Silence*, 151.

⁵¹The "cursus" is the prose rhythm that brings a Latin sentence to a pleasing close.

Louis Bouyer's positive appreciation of the change wrought in the Roman Mass, therefore, is limited to the addition of a few texts derived from the tradition and one new preface which conformed to the normal form of such prayers. In this Bouyer is consistent with a principle of liturgical development he had articulated at the beginning of his career as a Catholic liturgist: continuity and "reuse" [*réemploi*].⁵² Nevertheless, in general, Bouyer was very disappointed in the new Missal.

After all of this, it's not much surprise if, because of its unbelievable weaknesses, the pathetic runt we produced⁵³ was to provoke laughter or indignation . . . so much so that it makes one forget any number of excellent elements it nevertheless contains, and that it would be a shame not to salvage as so many scattered pearls, in the revision that will inevitably be called for. . . .⁵⁴

The lesson for us today, I think, is that for there to be a renewal of liturgy, and therefore of a true Christian life, the liturgy must return to the vision Bouyer had had of it along with Beauduin and Casel: it should be integrally traditional, that is to say, received as is⁵⁵ with no revision of the texts as found in the liturgical patrimony, but only perhaps the addition of prayers in a traditional mold. Bouyer was not opposed to a greater use of biblical texts in the liturgy, yet was dissatisfied with the way in which the lectionary was laid out. On the other hand, a greater participation of the faithful in this traditional liturgy (i.e., singing or saying the parts that are theirs to voice) will bring it to life. Only thus will the liturgy be authentic and true to itself. &



*Gravesite of Fr. Louis Bouyer at Fontenelle Abbey (Saint-Wandrille) in Normandy, France.
Photo by Jennifer Donelson.*

⁵²See Bouyer, "Quelques principes historiques de l'évolution liturgique," *La Maison-Dieu*, 10 (1947), 69.

⁵³Bouyer writes "l'avorton que nous produisîmes," which might be more starkly rendered: "the abortus we brought forth."

⁵⁴Bouyer, *Mémoires*, 200.

⁵⁵To understand Bouyer's position on liturgical tradition and what we call today the "organic development of the liturgy," see his "Quelques principes historiques," 47–85.

Beyond the “Viennese Mass”: Thoughts on the History, Use and Modern Understanding of the Eighteenth-Century Austro-German Orchestral Mass Repertoire

by Erick Arenas



The late eighteenth-century orchestral setting of the Mass Ordinary cultivated by Haydn, Mozart, and their Austro-German contemporaries is one of the more impressive and appealing genres in the musical heritage of the church, but arguably one of the most challenging and misunderstood in modern practice. Due largely to its association with some of history's most widely revered composers, it holds a fair degree of both academic and popular interest. Its striking synthesis of Classic-Era compositional suavity and ceremonial-musical styles of earlier ages has earned its best-known examples a life in the concert hall as well as the church. However, in the context of liturgical praxis the genre has always borne significant complications. Today, as in its own time, it requires musical resources beyond the scope of most church musical establishments. Its characteristic opulence has always been viewed with suspicion in some ecclesiastical quarters. In a checkered critical history that goes back to the nineteenth century, many commentators have perceived in such works a foregrounding of worldly aesthetics over sacred ones that calls into question their overall status as “authentic” church music.

Against this background, the conservation of the orchestral mass at the few churches that are able and willing to sustain it represents a critical contribution to Catholic musical culture as well as Western musical-historical consciousness. Institutions such as the celebrated Church of Saint Agnes in Saint Paul, Minnesota provide an ongoing illustration of the type of extra-musical historical context for which this genre was always intended, but also a crucial demonstration of the worthiness and continuing viability of it as liturgical art.

Given the practical challenges posed by the employment of orchestral masses in the liturgy, it is unsurprising that the repertoire regularly performed tends to be relatively small, compared to the Renaissance polyphonic mass repertoire for instance, and comprised mostly of masses by Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791). Today this is generally true even in the major churches and cathedrals of Austria and southern Germany,

This paper was given at the CMAA conference “The Renewal of Sacred Music and the Liturgy in the Catholic Church: Movements Old and New” in Saint Paul, Minnesota, on October 13, 2013.

Dr. Erick Arenas, a recent graduate of Ph.D. program in musicology at Stanford University, is an active singer of Gregorian chant and Renaissance polyphony as a member of the St. Ann Choir of Palo Alto. He teaches courses in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music at the San Francisco Conservatory of Music. arenas@alumni.stanford.edu

the genre's central-European homeland.¹ This fact is all the more thought-provoking since: such institutions were the original incubator for the major church works of a multitude of composers in the eighteenth century; they also performed a wider swath of such compositions through the nineteenth century; and they continue to house much of the extant performing material for significant, never-published examples. My purpose in this essay is to draw attention to some limitations and problems related to this state of affairs, and to the potential of the unperformed or rarely-performed historical repertoire. The vast number of masses beyond the so-called "Viennese" repertoire offers a wealth of material for a future expansion of the orchestral mass repertoire in the liturgy and an increased appreciation of its variety and accessibility.

The problems of understanding the orchestral mass of the age of Haydn and Mozart on terms that privilege those two composers become evident once we begin to scrutinize the label "Viennese Mass." It is a convenient term that invokes the grandeur of the Austrian imperial capital and its illustrious musical life. However a more accurate representation of Vienna's late eighteenth-century mass repertoire would reach well beyond the exalted composers of the era. Though most of Haydn's famous masses, such as the late masses of 1798–1805, found their way into the Viennese repertoire soon after their completion, he composed most of them for the Esterházy court. Within Vienna at the same time, lesser-known

The vast number of masses beyond the so-called "Viennese" repertoire offers a wealth of material in the liturgy.

composers were producing the majority of new mass compositions performed in the city's principal churches. A strict notion of the "Viennese Mass" would actually exclude much of Mozart's output, since he composed the majority of his mass settings for the court and cathedral of the prince-archbishopric of Salzburg, arguably the second most important center of orchestral mass composition in the late eighteenth century. The city was at that time the seat of sovereign principality whose musical life was largely independent of Vienna. Mozart's Salzburg masses represent local traditions of style, form, and orchestration that distinguish them from contemporary Viennese works, including Joseph Haydn's masses. This fact undermines a sense of cohesion in the "Viennese" repertoire. While many of the orchestral masses of Mozart and Joseph Haydn deserve to stand as landmarks of their age, they represent not the Viennese practice of the time, but that of their Austrian imperial cultural orbit more broadly, which encompassed the Habsburg lands as well as those principalities of the Holy Roman Empire, such as Salzburg, that shared similar political, religious, and artistic values.

¹For example, in 2014, noted church music programs of Vienna's Church of St. Augustine and Hofburgkapelle (former court chapel) include no Classical-Era orchestral masses besides those of Mozart and Joseph Haydn. At the city's Cathedral of St. Stephen, two masses by Michael Haydn and one by Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729–1774) appear on the schedule, beside several Haydn and Mozart performances.

The notion of a “Viennese Mass” genre epitomized by Mozart and Haydn developed over the course of the nineteenth century. The publication of their masses, starting in the early decades of the 1800s, allowed these works to be disseminated and studied widely. Meanwhile, highly regarded works by respected contemporaries remained in the preserve of local churches, chapels, and monasteries. A prominent case in point is provided by Johann Michael Haydn (1737–1806), the brother of Joseph Haydn and composer of the Salzburg court who was also connected to Vienna. By the end of his life, numerous critics recognized him as a preeminent composer for the church.² In the decades following his death, his church music was as prominent as Mozart’s in the Viennese repertoire, if not more. For example, in 1821–1822, performances of Michael Haydn’s masses in the Vienna Hofkapelle, or Habsburg court chapel, outnumbered those of both his brother and Mozart.³ Performances of his church music in general outnumbered those of Mozart there through 1896.⁴ This may have been the case in nineteenth-century Salzburg as well. Still, little of Michael Haydn’s liturgical output, including over twenty completed orchestral solemn masses saw publication during this time (and indeed most not until the later twentieth century). At the same time, an association with the Austrian imperial capital and its musical life served to heighten the increasing prestige gained by the achievements of Joseph Haydn and Mozart. By the turn of the twentieth century, a large swath of the diverse later-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Viennese orchestral mass repertoire was well overshadowed by such compositions and increasingly forgotten.

*The repertoire beyond Haydn and Mozart
offers a wider variety of approaches to setting
the mass in concerted style with orchestral
forces.*

The repertoire beyond Haydn and Mozart offers a wider variety of approaches to setting the mass in concerted style with orchestral forces, and more dimension to our understanding of this genre’s peculiar aesthetics. An adequately broad survey of the repertoire is well beyond the scope of this paper, so I would like to focus on one point that is worth considering in connection to the continuing vitality of the genre’s liturgical use. Very often orchestral masses by those late-eighteenth-century composers who had a special and ongoing responsibility for church music, and received praise as this kind of specialist, display a remarkable degree of liturgical sensitivity, arguably more than is usually associated with the genre. Michael Haydn ranks among such composers, but in the Viennese milieu this also includes figures such as Georg von Reutter Jr. (1708–1772), Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809) and others. Antonio Salieri (1750–1825), better known as an opera composer, may also be counted in this group.

²Charles H. Sherman, “The Masses of Johann Michael Haydn: A Critical Survey of Sources” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1967), p. 5.

³Richard Steurer, *Das Repertoire der Wiener Hofmusikkapelle im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1998), pp. 186–201.

⁴Rudolph Angermüller, “Geistliche Werke von Michael Haydn in der k. k. Hofkapelle in Wien 1820–1896,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 78 (1994), 84.

Pivotal in this regard was Reutter, the preeminent Viennese church music composer of the third quarter of the century. The son of Georg Reutter (1656–1738), musician of the Hofkapelle and *Kapellmeister*, or director of music, at St. Stephen's Cathedral, he himself rose to prominence at the same establishments by the 1740s; he took charge of both by 1751.⁵ At St. Stephen's in the 1740s he played a seminal role in the education of Joseph and Michael Haydn, who sang as boy choristers there under his supervision. During the same period Reutter played a leading role in the shifting of Viennese court mass composition away from the lengthy, multi-movement or multi-sectional *missa longa* form of the concerted solemn mass, as it had been practiced by his high Baroque predecessors. This move to a more concise and unified format, came with the succession of Maria Theresia as Habsburg monarch in 1740. She and her consort favored a more restrained liturgical musical life than her father, Emperor Charles IV, whose love of princely liturgy had brought forth the grand large-scale masses of Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741) and Antonio Caldara (1670–1736).

Soloists served less to carry arioso material than to vary the vocal texture in otherwise tutti choral sections.

While compacting the formal scale of the solemn mass setting, Reutter and his Viennese contemporaries preserved the high Baroque concept of instrumental solemnity—the utilization of an instrumental ensemble replete with trumpets and timpani in a mass composition to signify the court's highest liturgical celebrations. The result was a stately, versatile court mass which tended to limit purely instrumental passages and those for solo voices while heightening the sonority of the full choir with orchestral embellishment. Soloists in such works, often used in two- to four-voice combinations, served less to carry arioso material than to vary the vocal texture in otherwise tutti choral sections. The choral textures, which ranged from declamatory homophony to elaborate, (but often concise) fugues, tended to render the mass text in a highly intelligible manner. Lengthier passages of text are usually presented in declamatory style, while shorter ones, such as the Kyrie and concluding Amen sections are infused with complex counterpoint, in accordance with guidelines given by Johann Joseph Fux in his 1725 treatise *Gradus ad Parnassum*.⁶

Manuscript evidence in the musical archive of the Vienna Hofkapelle shows that a number of Reutter's more inventive mass settings in this mold continued to be performed by the court chapel though the late nineteenth century, alongside those of Mozart and the Haydns. For example a set of manuscript performing parts for Reutter's *Missa Lauretana* of 1742 indicates

Manuscript evidence in the musical archive of the Vienna Hofkapelle shows that a number of Reutter's more inventive mass settings in this mold continued to be performed by the court chapel though the late nineteenth century, alongside those of Mozart and the Haydns. For example a set of manuscript performing parts for Reutter's *Missa Lauretana* of 1742 indicates

⁵Bruce MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), p. 84.

⁶Johann Joseph Fux, "Gradus ad Parnassum (1725): Concluding Chapters," trans. by Susan Wollenberg, *Music Analysis*, 11 (1992), 219.

that the court chapel continued to perform it a century later.⁷ Unfortunately, none of this type of mass by Reutter has been fully transcribed and published.⁸

Many later Viennese court masses demonstrate the endurance of the stylistic and formal qualities cultivated under Reutter. A fine example that has been published in a modern edition is the Mass in D (ca. 1788) by Salieri, who became Hofkapellmeister in 1788.⁹ While Salieri's fame rested mainly on his operas, the approach to the mass demonstrated here largely avoids overt theatricality. His elegant declamatory choral writing, complimented by a restrained use of polyphonic inflections,

reflects careful attention to the Latin word accents. His judicious use of the orchestra is another mark of refinement. For example, he employs the trumpets and drums in full force at selected moments of high grandiosity, partic-

Many later Viennese court masses demonstrate the endurance of the stylistic and formal qualities cultivated under Reutter.

ularly in the Gloria and Sanctus, but he omits them altogether in the serene opening Kyrie, which contrasts with the many festive Kyrie settings composed in the late eighteenth-century. The masses of Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, noted pedagogue and Kapellmeister of St. Stephen's Cathedral, 1793–1809, also reflect a tendency to focus on the text and choral textures, and to use the orchestra with restraint. Indeed many of his late solemn masses, works contemporary with Joseph Haydn's famous six late masses, feature minimal or no parts for solo voice. Albrechtsberger's particular emphasis on counterpoint is evident in works such as the *Missa Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis* of 1802. Its Kyrie eleison, which like Salieri's Mass in D, omits the trumpets and timpani, is cast as an introduction and fugue.¹⁰

Along with his brother Joseph, Johann Michael Haydn stands among the most prominent members of the generation of musicians who were trained in Vienna during the Reutter era. Both received their formal musical education in the choir school of St. Stephen's under Reutter and would have experienced the Viennese court style of the 1740s and 1750s in regular performance. This experience served Michael particularly well when, in 1763, he left the Viennese musical orbit and began his long tenure as *Konzertmeister* in Salzburg. There, the

⁷Georg von Reutter, *Missa Lauretana*, parts, ca. 1798, Music Collection, Austrian National Library, Vienna, HK.754.

⁸The one orchestral mass available in a scholarly edition, the *Missa Sancti Caroli*, probably a product of the 1730s, is a work that follows the format of the Baroque *missa longa*; Georg Reutter d.J., *Kirchenwerke: Missa S. Caroli, Requiem in C-moll, Salve Regina, Ecce quomodo moritur*, ed. Norbert Hofer, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, 88 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1952).

⁹Antonio Salieri, Mass in D Major, edited by Jane Schatkin Hettrick, *Recent Researches in the Classical Era*, 39 (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1994).

¹⁰Albrechtsberger, *Missa Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis*, score, ca. 1802, Music Collection, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Ms.Mus. 2.269.

archiepiscopal court had cultivated its own distinct practice of concise mass settings with full orchestral solemnity. A familiarity with the concise style of the Viennese court must certainly have aided the younger Haydn in adapting to Salzburg practice. Evidence for this can be heard in the *Missa Sancti Francisci Seraphici*, MH 119, whose Gloria demonstrates an effective device for unifying a single, through-composed movement, one that Reutter had employed in masses of the 1740s and 1750s, namely the repetition and manipulation of a recurring motive.¹¹ In a clever strategy, he contains this pervasive motive within the violin figuration throughout the movement until the exuberant concluding fugato “cum Sancto Spiritu,” where it is raised into the choral texture in the repetitions of “Amen.” With its focus on choral textures, deliberate use of the instrumental ensemble, and moderate formal scope, the mass steers a rather traditional eighteenth-century stylistic course that artfully proclaims the text of the liturgy without overwhelming it musically. That such an approach to setting the mass, even with full orchestral solemnity, was a highly valued one in this context is indicated by the fact that in the eighteenth-century Salzburg cathedral collection it is one of only a handful of mass settings specifically designated for use on the highest feast masses celebrated by the prince-archbishop himself.¹²

*An approach to setting the mass, even
with full orchestral solemnity, was a
highly valued one.*

A further tradition-oriented aspect of Michael Haydn’s orchestral masses that is worth noting reaches further into his liturgical music heritage, namely his quotation of Gregorian melodies. Interestingly, two of his most overt chant references occur in two of his most elaborate and stylistically adventurous mass settings. In the Agnus Dei of his *Missa Sancti Ruperti* (MH 322, 1782), he takes as the main theme, sung first by the solo alto, the Agnus Dei found in the *Missa in festis ad Libitum* of the Medicean Graduale Romanum. In *Missa sub titulo Sancti Francisci Seraphici* (MH 826, 1803), composed for the Holy Roman Empress Marie Theresia, he begins the Credo with a choral-orchestral quotation of the Credo intonation found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions of the Missale Romanum (a variant of the Credo I intonation).

The foregoing examples of masses by the most proximate contemporaries and predecessors of Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart constitute only a small sampling of the repertoire that lies beyond the conventional notion of the “Viennese Mass.” But they all demonstrate a distinctive, text- and tradition-oriented approach to setting the mass with full orchestral solemnity that is well worth further consideration. This approach tends to contrast with the stereotypically opulent concerted mass of the Classical era that makes its home in the concert hall as well as church. While that type of work, which includes Joseph Haydn’s

¹¹The mass was actually a substantial revision of an earlier work from Michael Haydn’s time working in Lower Austria and Hungary, the *Missa Sancti Francisci*, MH 43.

¹²*Catalogus Musicalis in Ecclesia Metropolitana*, “Gatti” (ca. 1788), Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg, Salzburg. Michael Haydn, *Missa p. Palii*, parts, Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg, Salzburg, A 437.

musically forceful six late masses, might be described as reflecting a “poetic” approach to the text, the works of Reutter, Salieri, Albrechtsberger, and Michael Haydn introduced here might be described as tending toward an “oratorical” approach. The former is more often dramatic, though not necessarily theatrical, and musically forceful, and thus more viable in the concert hall. (It is worth noting that works of this type were produced mainly for performance in smaller church settings for very specific occasions.) Meanwhile the latter is more often reserved, referential and ceremonial; it would be less successful in concert performance hall but still eminently effective as embellishment to ritual. More works of this type were tailored to larger, public liturgies and repeated use across decades. Though I have not been able to discuss them in detail here, I will note that the Mozart’s masses gravitate toward the oratorical approach. Due largely to their common institutional context, they have much more in common stylistically with the works of Michael Haydn than Joseph Haydn.

The “oratorical” type compositions that lay beyond our normative concept of the Viennese mass offer much to the revival of the orchestral mass genre more broadly. They are not simply fresh and different from the landmark masses that are already widely appreciated, they are varied and versatile, and they open new paths to understanding the context and aesthetic of eighteenth-century orchestral solemnity. Unfortunately many works remain unpublished and sequestered in European archives. Nevertheless, those lesser-known examples that have been published are worth consideration as new additions to existing orchestral liturgy programs. Thanks to increasing digitization, more and more archival items are becoming available for study.¹³ In any case, a broadening of the purviews of researchers and performers and institutions, holds much promise for growing and enhancing the historical repertoire and our understanding of a pivotal age of liturgical music history. ♪



(left to right) Michael Haydn (1737–1806), Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809), Antonio Salieri (1750–1825), Johann Georg Reutter (1708–1772)

¹³For example, in recent years the Bavarian State Library in Munich has digitized numerous eighteenth-century manuscript church music scores and made them available on the library’s web site, <http://www.bsb-muenchen.de>.

Problems in Church Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Vienna and Their Relevance for Catholic Church Musicians Today

by Jane Schatkin Hettrick



he subject of theatricality in church music has generated heated debate for many centuries. This subject was taken up by St. Jerome, who advised the singer not to “anoint his throat and lips with sweet ointment, as theatrical actors do, to produce theatrical melodies and songs in Church.”¹ The Greek church father St. John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407) lamented in a sermon: “You sing: Lord have mercy, but you do it in a way that must eradicate all mercy. . . . To what end this mindless shrieking wherewith nothing but the long duration and power of breath may be discerned. . . . You do it like loose women who let their seductive songs be heard on public streets and like those who ply their trade with their voice on the stage. And you dare to mingle this idolatrous nonsense with the angelic hymn of praise?”² The seventeenth-century Jesuit Jeremias Drexilius (1581–1638) wrote: “there prevails now in the churches a type of singing that is . . . certainly not very religious; more suitable to the theater and to the dance than to the Temple. It seeks the superficial, and it has lost the primary goal (desire) of prayer and song. [In this music] we take care to awaken curiosity, but in reality, we neglect piety. What is this novel and dancing way of singing if not a comedy, in which the singers change themselves into actors.”³

The Council of Trent (1545–1563) tried to purge sacred music of impurity and suppress the intrusion of secular elements, although its final decree on music made only a brief and general statement: church music should avoid “compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instrument or voice.”⁴ Preliminary discussions, however,

¹Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music: 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegetown, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1979; reprint: Harrison, N.Y. n.d.), p. 98.

²Quoted in Hieronymus Joseph Colloredo, “*Hirtenbrief auf die am 1ten Herbstm. dieses Jahrs, nach zurückgelegten zwölften Jahrhundert, eintretende Jubelfeyer Salzburgs*,” *Der aufgeklärte Reformkatholizismus in Österreich*, ed. Peter Hersche (Bern: Verlag Herbert Lang, 1976), p. 77. (Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.)

³*Rhetorica caelestis*, Book 1, ch. 5, quoted in Edward E. Schaefer, *Catholic Music Through the Ages* (Mundelein, Ill.: Hillenbrand Books, 2008), p. 96.

⁴Craig A. Monson, “The Council of Trent Revisited,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55, no. 1 (Spring 2002), 11.

This paper was given at the CMAA conference “The Renewal of Sacred Music and the Liturgy in the Catholic Church: Movements Old and New” in Saint Paul, Minnesota, on October 13, 2013.

Jane Schatkin Hettrick, D.M.A., Prof. emerita, Rider University, has edited the complete masses of Antonio Salieri as well as music by numerous other 18th-century composers. A practicing church musician, she has written widely on sacred music. jhettrick@rider.edu.

were stronger and more specific. Possibly even a total ban on polyphony had been considered.⁵ Contemporary writings also mirror these concerns, some raising the issue of theatricality. For example, Nicola Vicentino's treatise *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555) brings up the practice of composing masses based on madrigals or chansons: "when such pieces are heard in the church they cause everyone to laugh, for it almost seems as if the temple of the Lord had become a place for utterance of bawdy and ridiculous texts—as if it had become a theater, in which it is permissible to perform all sorts of music of buffoons, however ridiculous and lascivious."⁶ Problems continued after Trent, and a series of seventeenth-century popes found it necessary to reinforce strict musical practice. For example, Pope Innocent XII (reg. 1691–1700), citing documents by predecessors Alexander VII and Innocent XI, wrote that "Some of these choir directors have interpreted differently these laws about the compositions to be used for Masses and Vespers. . . . The musicians should conform themselves totally to the

Ecclesiastical rules that pertain to the choir."⁷ Clearly, regulations governing music in the church were in place, and some musicians had ignored or violated them.

Music should "be executed in such a way as not to appear profane, worldly or theatrical."

Controversy heated up in the eighteenth century, as recorded in several official documents issued by the church. The most important of these is the encyclical *Annus qui* promulgated by Pope Benedict XIV in 1749. This pope finds many faults in the practice

of contemporary church music as the theme of theatricality comes up again and again. Music should "be executed in such a way as not to appear profane, worldly or theatrical." There must be "a certain difference between ecclesiastical chant and theatrical melodies, and who does not acknowledge that the use of theatrical and profane chant must not be tolerated in Churches." "At the present day a kind of chant has crept into the temple which is . . . certainly far from religious. It is more suitable for the theater and dance halls." As is common in such papal documents, Benedict cites the work of earlier writers who express like views. For example, he takes from Drexillius the comment quoted above about "comedy, in which singers are changed into actors."⁸

⁵The response by Emperor Ferdinand I regarding a draft dated August 13, 1562 by the council suggests this possibility, although he may have misinterpreted the situation. He wrote: "If the objective is that polyphony forthwith be removed from churches altogether, We are not going to approve it, for We consider that such a divine gift of music, which often kindles the souls of men . . . to heightened devotion, ought in no way to be driven out of the church." Monson, "Council," 16.

⁶Monson, "Council," 8.

⁷Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 80.

⁸Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 95–96, 101.

The state, probably influenced by Vatican directives, also sought to control the practice of church music. In the 1750s in Vienna, the imperial government published several decrees [*Hofreskripte*] intended to control what it considered to be excessive or unnecessary in church music. State concerns focused on the use of trumpets and timpani, which were frequently scored in masses and other liturgical music of the time. In January 1754, under Empress Maria Theresia, the court issued a *Hofreskript* that proscribed the use of trumpets and timpani in church music.⁹

At this point, let us review the meaning of the term “theatrical.” The Oxford English Dictionary defines “theatrical” in part as “extravagantly or irrelevantly histrionic”—a meaning pertaining chiefly to the context of the theater. Used outside the theater itself, however, the word “theatrical” also implies “insincerity.” British historian and social critic Thomas Carlyle points to this connection when he wrote: “By act and word he strives to do it; with sincerity, if possible; failing that, with theatricality.”¹⁰ Indeed, we will see that the objections to theatricality in church music derive not just from the particular style of the music but also from the presumed attitude of the musicians presenting it.

The author of *Annus qui* foresees a slippery slope that may begin with theatrical music and end in “grave sins and scandals.” To illustrate his point, he cites a church in the north-Italian city of Lucca. There, “during Holy Week solemn concerts were held in church with numerous singers and the playing of all sorts of

*Objections to theatricality in church music
derive not just from the particular style of the
music but also from the presumed attitude of
the musicians presenting it.*

instruments. This was in flagrant opposition to the sad atmosphere in which the sacred functions of those days are celebrated. A great crowd of men and women ran to hear such concerts, which were only an occasion of grave sins and scandals. . . . A greater crowd of young people of both sexes flows into the concerts than into Divine Ceremonies, attracted to them by a real passion, and experience has shown that they commit grievous sins and that no lesser scandals arise.”¹¹ This incident occurred during the reign of Pope Pius V (1566–1572), a zealous enforcer of the reforms of the Council of Trent. We can try to speculate on the kind of music

⁹Bruce C. MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986), p. 43. The ban on trumpets and timpani in church services and also in processions may have been an intent of a decree put out by the arch-episcopal *Konsistorium* of Vienna in December 1753. This rule, however, may have referred only to *indradas* (fanfares played by trumpet choirs), performed at important feasts and at certain designated points in the Te Deum. See Franz Xaver Glöggel, *Kirchenmusik-Ordnung: Erklärendes Handbuch des musikalischen Gottesdienstes, für Kapellmeister, Regenschori, Sänger und Tonkünstler*. (Vienna: J. B. Wallishausner, 1828), #16: “Vom Gebrauch der Trompeten und Pauken in der Kirche.”

¹⁰*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “theatrical.”

¹¹Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 105.

performed in these concerts and the “sins and scandals” growing out of them. Was this the sixteenth-century version of a rock concert in the guise of a church service?

Two hundred years later, around the time of Mozart, virtually the same scene replayed itself in numerous churches in Vienna, and new voices recycled the old complaints. No composer was immune to criticism. Even Haydn received his share of odium. The early Haydn biographer Albert Christoph Dies cites one unidentified critic who disapproved of what he perceived as secular qualities in the composer’s church music: he maintained that these works were “not perhaps merely theatrical, but were better fitted for a dance hall than for a church. He

finds in them contradances, minuets, and the like, but nothing of the dignity that should belong to that sort of music.”¹² Mozart himself commented on the recent changes in church music. In a letter dated April 12, 1783, he wrote from Vienna to his father: “Unfortunately change in taste has extended even to church music, which ought not to be. As a result, one finds the true church music [*die wahre kirchen-*

“There is scarce a church or convent in Vienna which has not every morning its mass in music.”

Musik] in the attic [*unter dem dache*], almost worm-eaten. When, as I hope, I come with my wife in July to Salzburg, we can discuss this matter further.”¹³

Music was a prominent feature in Viennese worship around 1780. There were at least fifty churches in greater Vienna, and every church had music—by today’s standards—a lot of music. Moreover, Catholic worship extended beyond Sunday Mass to include daily Mass, as well as numerous Holy Days and many other liturgies. In general, music consisting of choir, soloists, and instruments was performed at most of these services. British music historian Charles Burney visited Vienna in 1772 and attested to the popularity of musical church services in the imperial city. “There is scarce a church or convent in Vienna which has not every morning its mass in music: that is, a great portion of the church service of the day, set in parts, and performed with voices, accompanied by at least three or four violins, a tenor and base, [sic] besides the organ.”¹⁴

Special occasions often involved outdoor processions that traveled specific routes through the city. In the year 1750, under the reign of Empress Maria Theresia, for example, some fifty processions took place. Many celebrated major religious holy days: Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday, Easter, Annunciation, Corpus Christi, Octave of Corpus

¹²Albert Christoph Dies, *Biographische Notizen von Joseph Haydn* (Vienna, 1810); modern edition, *Haydn, Two Contemporary Portraits*, tr. and ed. Vernon Gotwals (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 135.

¹³*Mozart, Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), vol. 4: 1780–1786, p. 264.

¹⁴Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (London, 1775); (reprint, New York: Broude Brothers, 1969), pp. 226–227.

Christi, All Saints, and Immaculate Conception. Processions also marked numerous other religious observances, pilgrimages, and also state affairs and commemorations. Depending on the event, various classes of people participated. The emperor and/or empress usually took part in religious processions. Others who may have joined a given procession were the imperial family, court dignitaries, clergy, nobility, guilds, members of brotherhoods, soldiers, servants, and school children, as well as the common people. These outdoor ceremonies invariably featured music, the type and ensemble varied according to the occasion. Well suited to outdoor use were trumpets and timpani, fifes and drums, and wind bands; singing, both by the court ensemble and the common people was popular.¹⁵ Marian holidays—and there were many—were often celebrated by the singing of the Litany of Loreto outside at the Marian column in front of the Kirche am Hof.¹⁶ In short: in the formal religious life of eighteenth-century Vienna, music was everywhere. To many people, it was the voice of God. To its detractors, it was simply amusement or possibly even sacrilege.

In the year 1750, under the reign of Empress Maria Theresa, some fifty processions took place.

One outspoken critic of church music at that time was the author of a pamphlet *Ueber die Kirchenmusik in Wien* (About Church Music in Vienna), published in Vienna in 1781.¹⁷ Under this neutral title, the anonymous author satirizes harshly what he perceives as abuses in contemporary church music. Let us consider what the pamphleteer has to say. Clearly he was well informed about current and past ecclesiastical writings on church music, and he agreed with the strict opinions of earlier writers. He probably gleaned several references to important commentaries from *Annus qui*. For example, he commends St. Charles Borromeo¹⁸ for taking a firm stand against the use of all instruments except the organ in the church. He echoes the ideas of Cardinal Bona,¹⁹ also cited in *Annus qui*, who characterizes current church music as “narcotic,

¹⁵Janet K. Page, “Music and the Royal Procession in Maria Theresa’s Vienna,” *Early Music*, 27, no. 1 (Feb. 1999), 96–118.

¹⁶Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), pp. 238–239.

¹⁷A copy of this pamphlet is preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung in Vienna, shelf number 396.051-A.M. For an annotated English translation see Jane Schatkin Hettrick, “Colorful Comments on Church Music in Vienna around 1780,” *The American Organist*, 34, no. 5 (May 2000), 77–81.

¹⁸St. Charles Borromeo (1538–1584), archbishop of Milan and an influential figure in the Counter-reformation, was also important in eighteenth-century Vienna. The *Karlskirche*, a splendid Baroque building erected by Johann Bernhard Fisher von Erlach (1716–1723) and his son Josef Emanuel von Erlach (1732–1737), was commissioned by Emperor Karl VI during the plague in 1713. Dedicated to St. Charles Borromeo, it became a court church in 1783. The Requiem Mass for Karl VI was read here in 1740.

¹⁹Cardinal Giovanni Bona (1609–1674) was the author of devotional writings as well as scholarly works. Best known is his encyclopedic study of the Mass *De Rebus Liturgicis* (1671).

effeminate, and titillating.” Like Benedict XIV, the writer invokes the name Muratori,²⁰ the Italian reformist theologian. Lodovico Muratori severely condemned the patient tolerance in churches of theatrical music, using the word “abuse” to classify such music.

To the pamphleteer, just as with Lucca in the sixteenth century, the church of his own time had turned into a concert hall. Moreover, he sees the same downward path ending in “grave sins and scandals.” He paints a detailed picture of the situation. Worshippers in Viennese churches were being entertained during Mass by strains from an opera, masquerading only thinly as a piece of sacred music. As we will see later, the operatic excerpt would have been culled from an opera in the current repertoire. Many people would already have heard it. Despite the substitution of a sacred text, people would have recognized the music for what it was—a theater piece with a secular text. Further, this writer blames music for its seductive powers. “Fine music,” he says, sounds a siren song that literally entices people. Attracted by the music, people flock in droves to the monastic as well as the other churches. They “swarm in, pushing through the church portals.” Here he apparently blames the music itself for unmannerly behavior on the part of music lovers. Charles Burney also experienced the rude conduct of mobs in Viennese churches. Having entered one church (where “the music was bad and the performance worse”), he found himself “hemmed in by the crowd, and forced to stay and hear it, before [he] could get out decently.”²¹

One doesn’t have to read much between the lines to learn the author’s agenda here. His purpose was to promote the reforms of liturgy and church music instituted by Emperor Joseph II. This emperor, motivated by Enlightenment ideals of simplicity and also his own desire to curtail spending, significantly affected the practice of church music during and after his reign.²² Little known is that one of his goals was to substitute German for Latin in the Mass. This proposal was not adopted, however, probably because it was met with strong protests by the clergy. Most of Joseph’s reforms dealt with matters of quantity. The new *Gottesdienstverordnung* that came out in February 1783 reduced the number of services and severely limited the amount of music permitted in them. Instrumental music (orchestral masses) was hit hardest.

The implementation of the “new order” had a chilling effect on the whole practice of church music. For one thing, hundreds of musicians who had been employed to play in orchestral accompanied masses lost their jobs. Furthermore, with the restriction of instrumental participation in worship, opportunities to compose new sacred pieces dried up. It is well known that during the years when Joseph’s reforms were enforced, Mozart and Haydn wrote no new masses. It is also tempting to think that Mozart’s statement from April 1783 about the “true church music” being found only in attics may relate to the reforms. (Quoted above, see note 13.) Do we have here the unintended consequences of well-meant but ill-conceived and overbearing change?

²⁰Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), an Italian priest, theologian, and author of a large body of historical writings. He promulgated a reformist Catholic theology that rejected mysticism, superstitious piety, and elaborate religious ceremony.

²¹Burney, *The Present State*, 277.

²²For information on Joseph’s reforms see Reinhard G. Pauly, “The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II,” *The Musical Quarterly*, 43, no. 3 (July 1957), 372–382.

While the new order did not change the language of the Mass from Latin, it did contain a provision for “Normalgesang,” that is, vernacular hymns sung by the congregation. The idea of worship in German had been around for some time. Indeed, Joseph’s mother and co-ruler Empress Maria Theresia had in 1774 already sponsored the publication of a hymnal²³ for use by her subjects. A few years later, Johann Kohlbrenner published another hymnal for Catholic worship.²⁴ In an imperial *Hofreskript* of 1791, Joseph directed that hymn collections previously banned be adopted and used in public schools. Complying with Joseph’s ideas, church authorities tried to educate clergy and parishioners in the value of congregational song.

A zealous spokesman for the Emperor’s reform program was Archbishop Hieronymus Colloredo—remembered today as the autocratic employer of Mozart in Salzburg. In 1782 Colloredo penned a lengthy pastoral letter to all clergymen under his ægis, in which he articulated

Efforts to have worshippers sing vernacular hymns at Mass did not succeed.

his views on the current state of music in the church. He speaks repeatedly about “abuses” and as a remedy for these problems he prescribes congregational hymns, sung in the vernacular: “Next to the Bible, good church hymns in the mother tongue are one of the most excellent means of making public worship edifying and conducive to the awak-

ening of religious feelings.” He too brings up the old bugbear “theatrical music”: “Soothing, voluptuous church music . . . only attunes the heart to sensual, carnal feelings, and one goes to it for pleasure, as one goes to the theater for enjoyment.”²⁵

Evidence suggests that Colloredo’s reforms were not popular and that his efforts to have worshippers sing vernacular hymns at Mass did not succeed. As Cliff Eisen has noted, “congregations passively resisted the introduction of German hymns by not singing them, and worshippers in parishes near the border attended services in Bavarian churches, where instruments were still allowed.”²⁶

We find opinions like those of Colloredo expressed in *Ueber die Kirchenmusik in Wien*. The writer complains that music fans avoid churches that offer only “the singing of the people

²³*Katholisches Gesangbuch auf allerhöchsten Befehl Ihrer k. k. apost. Majestät Marien Theresiens zum Druck befördert*. This hymnal contains 87 texts and 48 melodies; each text has a designated melody. A complete copy is preserved in the special collections division of the library of Wellsley College. I am grateful to Marianna S. Oller (Associate Curator) for making this volume available to me.

²⁴*Der heilige Gesang zum Gottesdienste in der römisch-katholischen Kirche* (1777). It contained the *Singmesse, Hier liegt vor Deiner Majestät*, consisting of German texts for most of the parts of the Mass. A new edition was produced in 1781 and reprinted in 1790, the latter bearing the note “augmented and corrected by Herr Michael Haydn.” Pauly, “Reforms,” 375.

²⁵Colloredo, “*Hirtenbrief*,” 74–79. (See note 2)

²⁶Cliff Eisen, “Salzburg under Church Rule,” *The Classical Era*, ed. Neal Zaslaw (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989), p. 180.

and the pure sound of the organ.” This statement suggests that under the blanket heading of “theatrical music,” he condemns not just overtly operatic music, but in fact all church music with orchestra. His ideal, therefore, allowed only congregational singing accompanied by the organ—the radically pruned style of church music advocated by Joseph II.

Soon after its publication *Ueber die Kirchenmusik in Wien* was reviewed in a Viennese journal.²⁷ The unnamed reviewer recounts his own experience with theatrical church music: “Just this past Feast of the Assumption of Mary,” he was “a living witness, hearing with his own ears a piece performed which he had often heard in theaters in Strassburg, Paris, Dresden, and Berlin; and this is supposed to inspire devotion.” He suggests that the author being reviewed could have made his case stronger if he had given the titles of the operatic pieces in question.

In fact, as previously mentioned, the author did cite a title: the opera *La Fiera di Venezia* by Antonio Salieri (1750–1825). One of this composer’s enduringly popular operas, *La Fiera* was staged in numerous German cities in the 1770s, 80s, and 90s after its premiere in Vienna in 1772. Using this work to make his point, the writer asks and answers two questions: “Who can really maintain that someone in the theater listening to *La Fiera* would be inclined to pray with fervor? . . . The attractive singing and pleasant tones overcome our senses. How then should one be able to do it subsequently in church, when one heard similar, indeed perhaps even the same pieces done again?” Further, he reports having detected other such contrafacta: “I myself was present in this church when arias like these, lifted from operas and metamorphosed with great skill into a “Salve Regina” or “Regina coeli,” were performed. Around a feast day, this church would look just like a stage, if only the people were permitted to applaud and demand that the singer—all puffed up like a sleigh horse—do an encore of her cantata.” Is this now the eighteenth-century version of rock music in worship? Or at least the equivalent of pop music in church today? Does the writer detect “insincerity” in the singer?

As an extreme case the writer cites a certain Father Choir Director for whom “there is almost no opera, buffa as well as seria . . . that he does not know how to plunder line-by-line and cleverly make use of.” To be sure, musical recycling was an accepted practice of the time that enabled busy composers to get extra mileage out of their own or others’ works. In his autobiography, Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739–1799) reports with approval how a colleague made a contrafactum of his own compositions by altering the words without changing the music at all: “I told Pichel one day that I was dissatisfied with the music in relation to the text, so he altered the words for the songs and the choruses, without changing a single note of my score and made them suitable for the church. This was the origin of the motets, which were frequently performed for the church.”²⁸

Apparently, however, compositions produced by these methods became so common and obvious in style that they provoked widespread criticism, not just from church and govern-

²⁷ *Wiener Wochenschrift*, 15 (June 22, 1781), 113–114.

²⁸ *The Autobiography of Karl von Dittersdorf* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1801), tr. A. D. Coleridge (London: Bentley, 1896; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 149. Wenzel Pichel (Pichl, 1741–1805) was Vice-Kapellmeister and violinist in the Kapelle of the Bishop of Großwardein (Hungary), where Dittersdorf was First Kapellmeister. Barbara Boisits, “Pichl, Wenzel,” *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 4:1766.

ment authorities but also from independent observers. Considering the scene in 1781, Berlin travel diarist Friedrich Nicolai wrote: “With respect to composition, Catholic church music up until several years ago still had much of its own character. But nowadays, operatic music also forces its way into churches everywhere, and what is worse, the insipid Italian opera music of the new style. In Vienna too, I find it all too conspicuous. During many a Credo or Benedictus, I knew not whether I was hearing music from an Italian opera buffa.”²⁹

Theatricality brought the contaminating influence of the effeminate to church music.

According to critics, theatricality also brought the contaminating influence of the effeminate to church music. So we find that word in *Annus qui* to denote low-grade church music. The encyclical quotes from the seventeenth-century Florentine Cardinal Doni,³⁰ who applies the term “effeminate” to the performance of chant as “slow-going and effeminate.” As a criticism of musical style, the specific meaning of womanly is difficult to pin down. Most likely it is a general pejorative, signifying weakness and equating weakness with inferior quality.³¹

To review, there are three things that bother these writers. They fault the music itself as being operatic in style, or worse, made by re-texting secular pieces; they accuse the musicians of hypocrisy; and they excoriate the parishioners in attendance for their base motives and unseemly conduct, even extending to “grave sins and scandals.” Critics maintain that people come to mass not to “pray diligently there or to be devout,” but rather to “indulge their senses.” The pamphleteer calls a certain Christmas Eve service put on by one church an “extravaganza” that attracts people just so they can “hold their rendezvous and spend part of the night with sinful superstition, and other unseemly trickery, and to understand how love’s caresses also work at nighttime.”³²

²⁹Friedrich Christoph Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781, nebst Bemerkungen über Gelehrsamkeit, Industrie, Religion und Sitte* (Berlin, 1783–1784), vol. 4, pp. 544–545.

³⁰See note 18.

³¹Such thinking was not new. Ancient Greek music theory dating from around 400 B.C. associated various ethical qualities with the different modes, and designated certain modes as feminizing. Plato, for example, disparaged the Lydian and Mixolydian modes because they are “useless, even to women who are to make the best of themselves, let alone to men.” Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History: From Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950), p. 5.

³²Like many accounts by the pamphleteer, these are probably exaggerated. Nevertheless, various writings from the period suggest that the general moral level of the Viennese public around 1780 was hardly puritanical. Contemporary writer Johann Pezzl (1756–1823) reports that two churches in central Vienna (probably referring to St. Stephen’s Cathedral and the court parish church St. Michael) were well known sites for arranging trysts etc. He writes: “dandies, idlers, and strollers have planted themselves in clusters on the *Graben* [a fashionable street in central Vienna] and in front of the coffee house Milan. They are waiting, spyglass in hand [to hear] the *Ite missa est* from the two neighboring churches, when they can look over the ladies as they return from their devotions.” *Skizze von Wien* (Vienna-Leipzig: Krauß, 1786–1790); ed. Gustav Gugitz and Anton Schlossar (Graz: Leykam

Going forward to our own time, let us consider the similarities between *then and there* and *now and here*: the problems, the solutions, and the results. The generic problem is the same: inappropriate music in the church. In eighteenth-century Vienna it was operatic music, now it is contemporary popular music: rock, jazz, hip-hop, commercial folk music, and the general offerings of “praise bands.” Today’s problems are graver, however, because of modern technology: mass media, electronic “instruments,” and amplification, not to mention the low level of modern American culture.

The generic solutions are not much different. In eighteenth-century Vienna they banned or at least discouraged elaborate liturgical music; they promoted hymn singing, and thereby tried to introduce the vernacular into the Mass. Today we have little elaborate liturgical music, perhaps more by default than by intent. It is more difficult for the church to restrict inappropriate music in modern America, where individual rights reign instead of an emperor. After Vatican II, however, the singing of hymns became more common (even drawing hymns from the Protestant repertoire), and made more widely-permissible the use of the vernacular in the Mass.

Radical change tends to create more problems than it solves.

It may be somewhat early to compare the results of reform in the eighteenth century with that close to our own time. What we can observe, though, is that radical change tends to create more problems than it solves. The reforms of both these periods eventually gave way to retrenchment and correction. In the case of the eighteenth century, years before 1800 most of the extreme reforms were either no longer enforced or were dropped—indeed, many of the new rules stemming from Joseph’s reforms of 1783 were never completely observed. After his death (1790), musical practice in the church returned largely to its former status.³³ Recall, for example, that Haydn composed six magnificent masses between 1796 and 1802. Likewise, today, we are gradually discovering that the radical reforms implemented after Vatican II did not really conform to the will of that council. It could also be observed that changes implemented from the top down may contribute their own problems. Certainly this is true in the case of Joseph’s “reforms.” It may also apply to the concept of *aggiornamento* [updating], the word used in an address by Pope John XXIII in 1959 to stress the need to bring the Catholic Church into closer contact with the modern era.³⁴

A sociologist would say that in all eras the music of the time—be it good or poor—always finds its way into the church. The professional term for this phenomenon is “inculturation,” and it would be viewed as inevitable, maybe even as salutary. Other voices, however, reject

Verlag, 1923), p. 225.

³³The number of processions continued to be reduced, however, and never returned to the frequency mentioned above.

³⁴Bishop Arthur Serratelli, “The Pope Meets ICEL—A Personal Reflection,” *Adoremus Bulletin*, 19, no. 10 (Feb. 2014), 3.

this belief. Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, in fact, writes of “false inculturation,” referring to the uncritical acceptance of any existing music into church practice.³⁵ As we have seen, the church throughout history has always tried to define what constitutes sacred music and has taken positions against the incursion of “unchurchly” music. An early example comes from the Council of Laodicea (ca. 360, in Asia Minor), which ruled in canon 15 that “No others shall sing in the church, save only the canonical singers, who go up into the ambo and sing from a book.”³⁶ This instruction defines what is acceptable, both in the makeup of the choir and the music being sung.

Finally, the age-old theme of “theatricality” continues to trouble modern Catholic theologians. Referring to the implementation of Vatican II, Cardinal Ratzinger wrote: “The almost theatrical entrance of different players into the liturgy, which is so common today, especially during the “Preparation of the Gifts,” quite simply misses the point.”³⁷ Like Benedict XIV in the eighteenth century, Pope Benedict XVI defends the need to set a standard for what music is and what is not acceptable in the church. He affirms: “Not every kind of music can have a place in Christian worship. It has its standards, and that standard is the Logos. . . . The Holy Spirit leads us to the Logos, and he leads us to a music that serves the Logos as a sign of the *sursum corda*, the lifting up of the human heart. Does it integrate man by drawing him to what is above, or does it cause his disintegration into formless intoxication or mere sensuality?”³⁸

Benedict XVI regards pop music as wholly incompatible with the liturgy of the church and the culture of the Gospels. Indeed, the language he uses to describe pop music is hardly more moderate than that found in the eighteenth-century satirical critiques examined here. He calls it the “musical embodiment of kitsch,” mediocrity, and noise.³⁹ He instead derives the biblical directive for proper church music from Psalm 47:8, which he translates as “Play for God with all your art.”⁴⁰ Surely he gives us here an unassailable foundation for the practice of church music. ❧

³⁵Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, tr. John Saward (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000), p. 145.

³⁶Synod of Laodicea, Canon 15 <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3806.htm>>

³⁷Ratzinger, *Spirit of the Liturgy*, 145.

³⁸Ibid., 151.

³⁹Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *A New Song for the Lord*, tr. Martha M. Matesich (New York: Crossroad, 1996), pp. 107–108.

⁴⁰Ibid., 97.

Aural Asceticism: The History and Spiritual Fruits of Silencing the Organ During Certain Liturgies

by Jennifer Donelson



he history of the suppression of the organ during penitential seasons, ferial days, and *missæ defunctorum* has a history as long as that of the liturgical use of the organ. As with other ascetic practices, it is in the absence of the organ's sounds that we can more clearly understand the character of the instrument vis-à-vis its liturgical function and temperament. Indeed, a survey of ecclesiastical legislation of the organ reveals not only a list of when and when not to play, but also a clear picture of the festive, joyful character of the organ. Through this practice we can also determine what the church hopes to highlight through the mortification of the senses in liturgical music. In this essay, I will discuss the nature of asceticism as it is manifest in the practice of the silencing of the organ with an eye to identifying the spiritual fruits of this practice.

Christian “asceticism,” coming from the Greek ἄσκησις (*askēsis*) denotes a physical practice undertaken to obtain a spiritual result.¹ We can properly identify the practice of silencing the organ, then, as a form of liturgical asceticism, particularly because the sound of the organ is a very *physical* phenomenon. Indeed, musical instruments were viewed by the early church as sensual, thus requiring a symbolic reading of their inclusion in the scriptures.² Even the notion of music in general (including vocal music), because of its physically pleasing nature and ability to stir the emotions, was something that the church wrestled with, as evidenced by Augustine's famous vacillation between his attraction to music and his ascetic tendencies:

I admit that I still find some enjoyment in the music of hymns, which are alive with your praises, when I hear them sung by well-trained, melodious voices, but I do not enjoy it so much that I cannot tear myself away. . . . But if I am not to turn a deaf ear to music, which is the setting for the words which give it life, I must allow it a position of some honor in my heart, and I find it difficult to assign it to its proper place. For sometimes I feel that I treat it with more honor than it deserves. I realize that when they are sung, these sacred words stir my mind to greater religious fervor and kindle in me a more ardent flame of piety than they would if they were not sung; and I also know that there are particular modes in song and in the voice, corresponding to my various emotions and able to stimulate them because of some mysterious relationship between the two. But I ought not to allow my mind to be paralyzed by the gratification of my senses, which often leads it astray. . . .

¹Thomas Campbell, s.v. “asceticism” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907) <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01767c.htm>>

²Quentin Faulkner, *Wiser than Despair* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), pp. 63–5.

Dr. Jennifer Donelson is an associate professor and director of sacred music at St. Joseph's Seminary (Dunwoodie) in New York. She serves on the board of the CMAA as academic liaison and managing editor of *Sacred Music*. jennifer.donelson@archny.org

Sometimes, too, from over-anxiety to avoid this particular trap I make the mistake of being too strict. When this happens, I have no wish but to exclude from my ears and from the ears of the Church as well, all the melody of those lovely chants to which the Psalms of David are habitually sung; and it seems safer to me to follow the precepts which I remember often having heard ascribed to Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, who used to oblige the lectors to recite the psalms with such slight modulation of the voice that they seemed to be speaking rather than chanting. But when I remember the tears that I shed on hearing the songs of the Church in the early days, soon after I had recovered my faith, and when I realize that nowadays it is not the singing that moves me but the meaning of the words when they are sung in a clear voice to the most appropriate tune, I again acknowledge the great value of this practice. So I waver between the danger that lies in gratifying the senses and the benefits which, as I know from experience, can accrue from singing. Without committing myself to an irrevocable opinion, I am inclined to approve of the custom of singing in church, in order that by indulging the ears weaker spirits may be inspired with feelings of devotion. Yet when I find the singing itself more moving than the truth which it conveys, I confess that this is a grievous sin, and at those times I would prefer not to hear the singer.³

The character of the organ was particularly problematic for the church, given its pagan, orgiastic origins. The thorough baptism by which the organ became the very symbol of church music entailed the spiritualization of the pleasure experienced upon hearing it and the Neo-Platonic fascination with the organ as particularly demonstrative of the harmony of the spheres by virtue of the mathematical proportions of its physical makeup.⁴ The assimilation of the organ into liturgical praxis is captured by an allegorical description of Fr. Girolamo Diruta in his *Il Transilvano*—he provides an elaborate narrative of how each mechanism of the organ is correlated to a part of the human body which produces vocal sound, thus embodying the vocal praise of God in mechanical artifice.⁵ Along the same lines, like Augustine before him, Diruta makes the case that this “smoothness of well-proportioned harmony reaching the ears of the listeners will penetrate their secret thoughts and hidden passions,” thereby appropriating physical beauty for the increase of devotional fervor.⁶ That the organ was capable of giving physical pleasure even after its Christian transformation is evidenced by legislation which repeatedly admonishes the organist to play music which is truly sacred and admits nothing “lascivious or impure.”⁷

If the sound of the organ is thus established as a licit and even spiritually profitable physical pleasure, the goal then becomes the identification of the spiritual result gained by the ascetic

³St. Augustine, *Confessions* X, 33, trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin (New York: Penguin Books, 1961) 238–9.

⁴Faulkner, *Wiser than Despair*, 215–224; see especially 217–9.

⁵Girolamo Diruta, *Il Transilvano: Dialogo sopra il Vero Modo di Sonar* (Venice, 1593) translated by Catharine Pearl Crozier, (MM thesis: University of Rochester, 1941), iii.

⁶*Ibid.*, v.

⁷Council of Trent, Session XXII: *Decretum de observandis et evitandis in celebratione Missæ*, cited in Pope Pius XII, Encyclical on Sacred Music, *Musica Sacra Disciplina*, December 25, 1955, ¶18.

suppression of the organ's music—without this positive element, the silence of the organ simply becomes puritanical. The absence of the organ produces two main effects from a physical perspective: silence, or music produced by the voice alone. Each of these has different spiritual fruits.

Liturgical, communal silence can be dead and awkward, or it can be spiritually awake and receptive; it can signify merely the absence of sound, or the presence of something beyond sound.⁸ It would be fair to assume that many of us have experienced both of these types of silence: the first manufactured by the imposition of a new custom or by an ill-timed example of the celebrant; the second a spontaneous response to something particularly beautiful, profound, or holy, or a habitual pause at a certain point in the liturgy that becomes part of its natural rhythm. The first of these two types is not the silence intended by the suppression of the organ; instead, the second and intended silence is an important element in the human response of awe to the presence of God in prayer. It is also a key component of the notion of “active participation” as Pope John Paul II pointed out in a 1998 *ad limina* visit by the bishops of the northwest United States:

Active participation certainly means that, in gesture, word, song and service, all the members of the community take part in an act of worship, which is anything but inert or passive. Yet active participation does not preclude the active passivity of silence, stillness, and listening: indeed, it demands it. Worshippers are not passive, for instance, when listening to the readings or the homily, or following the prayers of the celebrant, and the chants and music of the liturgy. These are experiences of silence and stillness, but they are in their own way profoundly active. In a culture which neither favors nor fosters meditative quiet, the art of interior listening is learned only with difficulty. Here we see how the liturgy, though it must always be properly inculturated, must also be counter-cultural.⁹

Sacrosanctum Concilium takes this notion one step further: “To promote active participation . . . at the proper times all should observe a reverent silence.”¹⁰

Thus we see that the church proposes both the sound of the organ received while listening in a state of interior silence, as well as actual liturgical silence as methods to encounter the Lord. In the legislation which silences the organ on certain occasions, we see the alternation between the two in accordance with not only the liturgical ebb and flow of time, but also with the dictates of human nature which responds to both silence and physical beauty in its prayerful ascent to God.

⁸Anthony Ruff, “The Role of Silence in Lenten Liturgies,” *Pastoral Liturgy* <<http://www.pastoralliturgy.org/resources/0711RoleOfSilenceInLentenLiturgies.php>>; William Mahrt, *The Musical Shape of the Liturgy* (Richmond, Va.: Church Music Association of America, 2012), p. 161.

⁹Pope John Paul II, *Ad limina* address to the Bishops of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska, October 9, 1998 <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father_john_paul_ii/speeches/1998/october/>

¹⁰Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, December 4, 1963, ¶30 <http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html>

The other consequence of the organ's silence is the replacement of organ music with vocal music, or the use of vocal music that relies on organ accompaniment simply for support. Here, it is important to gain context from the church fathers' view of singing. St. Augustine's struggle with music in his *Confessions* (see above) illustrates this, highlighting two important thoughts of the early church regarding music. The first is that the text of Christian liturgical music is of primary importance and that there is a special bond between melody and text. The second is that the beautiful musical form to which the text is wedded is a sort of concession to the flesh. This "concession" however, is allowed in deference to the greater good that it makes possible, namely the arousal of devotion. In this light, it is easy to see the suppression of more elaborate music on certain occasion as an ascetic practice designed to facilitate meditation on the Word of God in a more austere manner. Indeed, St. Augustine's struggle is documented in the midst of a series of chapters in Book 10 dedicated to mortification of the senses. But, we can ask as St. Augustine wavers, how austere should the liturgy be? What may legitimately be done away with for a moment in the pursuit of something higher? And what is so severe that it denies that nature of man as a spiritual *and* physical being, even going so far as to diminish the fundamental necessity of physical experience in the acquisition of knowledge of the Word of God?

The era of the church fathers' conditional embrace of music gave way to an emphasis on music as a speculative, mathematical art. Instead of a focus on the text and the use of music to arouse devotion, the interweaving lines of polyphonic art formed tropes on the original melodies and texts, and exhibited in audible forms the inaudible *musica mundana* and *musica humana*.¹¹ This polyphonic art was viewed by some in the Church as especially suited to solemnity, as is evidenced by Pope John XXII's 1324 bull *Docta sanctorum*:

We do not intend to forbid the occasional use—principally on solemn feasts at Mass and at Divine Office—of certain consonant intervals superposed upon the simple ecclesiastical chant, provided these harmonies are in the spirit and character of the melodies themselves. . .¹²

The great flowering of polyphonic practice that arose as a result coincided, not accidentally, with the rise of the organ and its repertoire;¹³ the long, sustained notes of *cantus firmi* in this polyphonic style called for super-human lungs—and the organ fit the bill.¹⁴ Indeed, the vast majority of the organ's early repertoire consists of versets intended for alternation with chant, standing in for one of the parts in a divided choir in the same manner as vocal polyphonic practice, displaying the chant melody either wholly or partially as a *cantus firmus* of the polyphonic texture.¹⁵ In essence, the organ became a numerical, speculative gloss on the original text, employed in times of solemnity, or as Bill Mahrt points out, in the popular devo-

¹¹Faulkner, *Wiser than Despair*, 76–77, 120.

¹²Pope John XXII, *Docta sanctorum*, trans. in Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1979; reprint: Harrison, N.Y. n.d.), 20–21.

¹³Faulkner, *Wiser than Despair*, 123.

¹⁴Benjamin David Van Wye, "The Influence of the Plainsong Restoration on the Growth and Development of the Modern French Liturgical Organ School" (D.M.A. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1970), 6–7; Mahrt, *Musical Shape of the Liturgy*, 74.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 7; Mahrt, *Musical Shape of the Liturgy*, 73.

tional practice of the Lady Mass to relieve the singers of the responsibility for large amounts of music.¹⁶ The practice of substituting the voice of the organ for the voice of the choir or cantor took place most notably in texts that were well-known and would have been called to mind simply by the intoning of their familiar melodies.¹⁷ The almost double artifice of this practice (the first level of artifice being vocal music), however, would have been viewed as the desirable conforming of the physical world to the underlying order of the created cosmos.

The concerns of the council of Trent and subsequent legislation codified a reaction to the musical speculation of the medievals that would ultimately take the repertoire and role of the organ in a different direction. The infiltration of polyphonic practice by secular tunes became a subject for admonishment in the council's decrees. The council fathers urged that liturgical music be truly sacred¹⁸ and this concern bore fruit in the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* of 1600 which admonishes the same.¹⁹ Textual intelligibility also became an issue, especially given that some versets toward the end of the sixteenth century were not always a complete rendering of the liturgical melody.²⁰ On this matter, the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* stated:

Whenever the organ renders something sung, or responds in alternatim the verses of the Hymns and Canticles, someone in the choir [should] pronounce in an intelligible voice that which the organ responds. And it is praiseworthy that a cantor, together with the organ, sings in the same clear voice.²¹

Also made explicit was the exclusion of the Creed and other texts during which some liturgical action occurred²² from the body of repertoire that could be rendered by the organ rather than the voice. In the following centuries, this deference for text, in keeping with so many of the reforms of Trent, would shift the vision of the organ as an instrument which symbolized and elaborated upon liturgical texts to an instrument which strengthened the emotional and

¹⁶Mahrt, *Musical Shape of the Liturgy*, 70–72.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁸“They shall also banish from churches all those kinds of music, in which, whether by the organ, or in the singing, there is mixed up any thing lascivious or impure; as also all secular actions; vain and therefore profane conversations, all walking about, noise, and clamour, so that the house of God may be seen to be, and may be called, truly a house of prayer.” Council of Trent, Session XXII: *Decretum de observandis et evitandis in celebratione Missæ*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 161.

¹⁹“Cavendum autem ne sonus organi sit lascivus, aut impurus, et ne cum eo proferantur cantus, qui ad officium, quod agitur non spectent; ne dum profani, aut ludicri, nec alia instrumenta musicalia præter ipsum organum addantur. Idem quoque cantores et musici observent, ne vocum harmonia, quæ ad pietatem augendam ordinata est, aliquid levitatis aut lasciviæ præ se ferat, æ potius audientium animos a rei divinæ contemplatione avocet; sed eorum sit devota, distincta, et intelligibilis.” *Ceremoniale episcoporum jussu Clementis VIII Pont. Max. novissime reformatum* (Romæ: Ex typographia linguarum externarum, 1600), Cap. XXVIII, “De Organo, organista, et musicis seu cantoribus et norma per eos servanda in divinis,” 52.

²⁰Mahrt, *Musical Shape of the Liturgy*, 77–8.

²¹“Quandocumque per organum figuratur aliquid cantari, seu responderi alternatim versiculus Hymnorum aut Canticorum, ab aliquo de choro intelligibili voce pronuntietur id quod ab organum respondendum est. Et laudabile esset, ut aliquis cantor conjunctim cum organo voce clara idem cantaret.” *Ceremoniale episcoporum* 1600, Cap. XXVIII, 52.

²²E.g., *Gloria Patri*, *Tantum Ergo*, the last verse of a hymn, etc.

rhetorical power of the sacred word.²³ Certainly this is a strain of thought that has continued to this day as is evidenced by a statement from Cardinal Ratzinger's *Spirit of the Liturgy*: "Thus the relation of liturgical music to logos means, first of all, simply its relation to words. That is why singing in the liturgy has priority over instrumental music, though it does not in any way exclude it."²⁴

The *Cæremoniale* of 1600 also codifies the long-standing practice of the exclusion of the organ from liturgical celebrations during Advent and Lent (with the exception of *Gaudete* and *Lætare* Sundays) as well as *missæ defunctorum*. Also exempted from the silence of the organ were feasts and other "joyous" occasions, especially the feast of the Annunciation, Holy Thursday (for the Gloria only), and Holy Saturday (from the Gloria onwards)²⁵ though "a rescript of the Sacred Congregation of Rites (May 11, 1911) permits the organ to be played when it is necessary for sustaining the voices, provided it ceases when the voices cease."²⁶ It is in this particular decree that we see the legislative codification that the organ is not an instrument for solemnity, but rather for festivity (especially in the presence of a bishop or prelate), since on some of the most solemn days of the year, such as Good Friday, the organ ought to remain silent.²⁷ Together with the principle of textual clarity, the practice of the suppression of the organ during penitential seasons served to focus the ascetical practice on the liturgical texts themselves, thus proposing to the faithful a *sincere* and *austere* contemplation of the Word of God, stripped of musical *festivity* that has the potential to serve as a distraction or emotional crutch.

While the legislative precedents of the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* of 1600 reigned supreme for the subsequent centuries, it did not stop the encroaching powers of secularism in the organ's actual *praxis*, both through the introduction of secular elements and a lack of interest in writing music for the liturgy.²⁸ The many musical practices of the intervening centuries deemed to be objectionable by the church managed to find their way into the admonitions of the 1903 motu proprio *Tra le Sollecitudini* of Pope St. Pius X. Among the most-criticized elements of church music found in the document is the use of music with profane associations (§§2, 5, 21), especially theatrical music (§§6, 11) to which the motu proprio upholds Gregorian chant as the ideal instead (§§3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 22, 25).²⁹

In *Tra le Sollecitudini*, the notion of marking festive solemnity by the type of music is again raised, though this time the influence of the Gregorian restoration is clear:

²³Edward Higginbottom, "Organ Music and the Liturgy" in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, ed. Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 141.

²⁴Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2000), p. 149.

²⁵*Cæremoniale episcoporum* 1600, Cap. XXVIII, 51; For specific prescriptions regarding the Triduum, see Adrian Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1958), pp. 296, 333 as these guidelines are not explicit in the 1600 *Cæremoniale*.

²⁶Hugh Henry, s.v. "Music of Vespers," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton, 1912) <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15382a.htm>>

²⁷William Mahrt, *The Musical Shape of the Liturgy*, 72.

²⁸Wye, "Influence of Plainsong," 17.

²⁹Pope Pius X, *Tra le Sollecitudini*, November 22, 1903 (accessed on January 24, 2012) <<http://www.adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html#anchor40146479>>

The ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must, therefore, in a large measure be restored to the functions of public worship, and the fact must be accepted by all that an ecclesiastical function loses none of its solemnity when accompanied by this music alone.³⁰

Yet the notion of polyphony as demonstrative of a greater solemnity is not lost:

Classical polyphony . . . has been found worthy of a place side by side with Gregorian Chant, in the more solemn functions of the Church, such as those of the Pontifical Chapel. This, too, must therefore be restored largely in ecclesiastical functions, especially in the more important basilicas, in cathedrals, and in the churches and chapels of seminaries and other ecclesiastical institutions in which the necessary means are usually not lacking.³¹

This principle is applied to the organ by the motu proprio in the section labeled “External form of the sacred compositions.” Here, the legislation is particularly keen on preserving the shape of the original liturgical forms as modeled by the chant, even in the application of those styles of music which are ordered towards more festive occasions. While the norms of the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* of 1886 are upheld, further clarification is added to indicate that *falsi-bordoni* verses and “figured” organ versets are allowed on occasions of “greater solemnity,” but that the Gregorian chant is the preferred music, especially for vespers.³²

When it comes to the relationship of text to music, however, the 1903 motu proprio is less friendly to the role of the organ. The document mentions the rubrical allowance for the organ to supply some versicles while they are recited by the choir,³³ but the section on “Organ and instruments” begins with a cold reminder that the voice is primary and the organ is merely “permitted.” “As the singing should always have the principal place, the organ or other instruments should merely sustain and never oppress it.”³⁴

The description that opens the document is not only concerned with the nature of sacred music, but also this relationship of text to music stating:

Sacred music, being a complementary part of the solemn liturgy, participates in the general scope of the liturgy, which is the glory of God and the sanctification and edification of the faithful. It contributes to the decorum and the splendor of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and since its principal office is to clothe with suitable melody the liturgical text proposed for the understanding of the faithful, its proper aim is to add greater efficacy to the text, in order that through it the faithful may be the more easily moved to devotion and better disposed for the reception of the fruits of grace belonging to the celebration of the most holy mysteries.³⁵

³⁰ Ibid., ¶3.

³¹ Ibid., ¶4.

³² Ibid., ¶11.

³³ Ibid., ¶8.

³⁴ Ibid., ¶16.

³⁵ Ibid., ¶1. See also Dom André Mocquereau, *The Art of Gregorian Music* (Washington, DC: Catholic Education

So from this perspective, what is it that the church wishes to highlight by the suppression of the organ during certain liturgies?³⁶ Perhaps the answer can be found in the word “splendor.” As Benjamin Wye points out, it is “the general aim of the document [to] restore *sung* plainsong—executed by a choir and, if possible, the people—as the principal music” of the Catholic liturgy.³⁷ It seems, therefore, that the church is proposing Gregorian chant as the animating “spirit” and basis of the sung liturgical texts, and that polyphonic and organ music add layers of “splendor” to the fundamental beauty of the chant in liturgies which call for a particularly festive type of solemnity. Additionally, since the text is the highly-esteemed feature of the music, it is more properly the role of the organ to support singing which proclaims the text in a truly worthy manner and, in times of greater solemnity, to “comment” upon the liturgical action and the proper chants, texts, and actions in proximity thereof. Indeed, the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* of 1886 has an expanded list of points in the liturgy at which the organ plays, some of which are the customary alternatim of the Mass ordinary, but many others of which are points which would otherwise be silent suggesting that, even from a legislative point, the organ serves as a sacred, commentating voice on the liturgical action.³⁸

Of course, the full force of these musical effects is only felt when one is immersed in a liturgy fully sung according to the rubrics of the church, for it is only if the entire liturgy is sung that the “goodness of forms” spoken of in *Tra le Sollecitudini* comes to life.³⁹ The diversity of Gregorian forms highlights the liturgical function and nature of each sung text to the point where even silence and the sound of the solo organ gain their proper liturgical meaning by way of contrast or cooperation.⁴⁰ And it is precisely through the suppression of the organ at certain times that this contrast gives a full sense of awareness of the particular character of the liturgy in which the organ does not speak.

This awareness, indeed, is an immensely valuable spiritual fruit of the ascetic practice of suppressing the organ, since it touches the soul’s ability to enter more deeply into the liturgy. Because the liturgy is the “*source and summit* of the Church’s actions,”⁴¹ a practice which so clearly amplifies the active participation of the mind and body in the liturgy is to be highly commended. When immersed in a liturgical life that values a fully musical Mass in keeping with the traditions of the liturgy, one cannot help but be struck by the starkness of liturgies in which the organ is suppressed. The ebb and flow of this contrast between festivity and asceticism enables the heart to enter more fully into liturgical time, into a physical experience of the spiritual realities of our salvation and sanctification. ♪

Press, 1923), p. 4.

³⁶This practice, of course, goes unmentioned in the motu proprio because the current liturgical law in force is already explicit on the matter, and the motu proprio does not change any rubrics in this regard.

³⁷Wye, “The Influence of Plainsong,” 93.

³⁸*Cæremoniale Episcoporum* 1886, Caput XXVIII.9.

³⁹*Tra le Sollecitudini*, ¶¶2, 10, 11.

⁴⁰Mahrt, *The Musical Shape of the Liturgy*, 115–129.

⁴¹Original emphasis. “The Eucharist: Source and Summit of the Life and Mission of the Church,” Lineamenta of the XI Ordinary General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops, February 25, 2004 < http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/synod/documents/rc_synod_doc_20040528_lineamenta-xi-assembly_en.html>, ¶2.

REPERTORY

A Stunning Pentecost Motet: Jacobus Gallus' *Factus est repente*

by William Mahrt

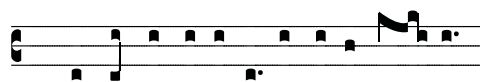


he descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost is described as a surprising event: “suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting.” (Acts of the Apostles 2:2) This event is recalled by the communion antiphon for Pentecost, *Factus est repente*.

Factus est repente de cælo sonus advenientis spiritus vehementis, ubi erant sedentes, alleluia: et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto, loquentes magnalia Dei, alleluia, alleluia.

Suddenly there was made a sound from heaven as of a mighty wind coming, where they were sitting, alleluia: and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, speaking the wonderful works of God, alleluia, alleluia.

Its beginning is a surprising intonation for Gregorian chant:



Factus est repente de cælo so- nus

In chant, the ascending fifth leap is usually followed by a smooth stepwise motion, compensating for the wideness of the leap. But here, on the word “repente” (suddenly) the leap is reversed and then repeated. This very striking beginning is followed by a high-pitched minor second whose top note is repeated before returning to the focal pitch of the previous passage, a high pitch not heard again for the rest of the piece. This figure contrasts greatly with the previous leaps, and I speculate that it represents the whine of a wind, “a mighty wind coming.”

Even as its intonation touches on the highest pitch at the beginning of the piece, the conclusion of the text (before “alleluia”), “loquentes magnalia Dei,” speaking of the wonders of

William Mahrt is president of the CMAA and editor of *Sacred Music*. He can be reached at mahrt@stanford.edu.

God, touches on the lowest note of the piece, not yet heard, the whole step below the final, a slightly surprising turn at the end of the piece, suggesting the wonders of God:



This unique piece attracts the attention and admiration of choir singers every Pentecost. It must have attracted the attention of Jacobus Gallus as well, for he composed a four-part setting of this text that draws upon the beginning figure of the chant and represents the whole text in a surprising way.

Jacobus Gallus was born in southern Slovenia in 1550 and spent his career in monasteries and churches of Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia; he died in Prague in 1591. In the short span of his life, he wrote about five hundred works, mostly sacred, many polychoral. His *Opus musicum* includes 374 pieces on sacred Latin texts for from four to twenty-four voices. His *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* is justly famous for its unique setting of the declamation of its text, and his *Mirabile mysterium* for its striking use of chromaticism.

Gallus' setting of the communion antiphon *Factus est repente* is a work full of surprises. Its initial figure is clearly a paraphrase of the intonation of the Gregorian communion, leaping up the fifth and rising to the ninth above the final. But the surprising characteristic of the piece continues by changing textures practically every four measures.

These changes can be charted as follows:

“Factus est repente de cælo sonus”: quick four-voiced imitation of the figure drawn from the communion.

“Advenientis spiritus vehementis”: paired imitation coming to a strong cadence in four voices.

“Ubi erant sedentes”: bass and tenor in imitation on a subject in rising stacks of thirds while the other voices add syncopations and more stacks of thirds.

“Et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto”: contrasting imitations in descending triads.

“Loquentes”: a two-measure segment based upon eighth-note figures whose quick, stepwise motion represents speech.

“Magnalia Dei”: this is the crux of the piece, representing the wonders of God with a surprising shift from one four-measure unit to the next. The first four measures represent wonders with a strikingly direct chromaticism, G-sharp–A–B-flat, in the context of reiterated quasi-cadential progressions. The second four-measure segment on the same text contains a wondrous transformation of the first:

after reiterating a B-flat in the soprano, an E in the bass forces a cross relation in the tenor in a B-natural, and the whole passage has suddenly shifted from emphasis on B-flat to B-natural.

“Alleluia”: the concluding surprise of the piece is a five-measure phrase consisting of syncopations against a direct descent of a tenth in the soprano, accompanied by bass movements that also descend a tenth; this is then repeated exactly. I read this plummeting descent on “alleluia” as an allusion to the descent of the Holy Spirit, which is the subject of the whole piece.

By the end of the sixteenth century, such word-painting as at “loquentes” was no surprise; it was commonplace. But when this piece is taken at a common tempo for the period, the half note at sixty to seventy per minute, with the motion of the piece in quarter- and eighth-notes, it moves at a very quick pace. The breathless quality of the quick rhythmic motion and the quick succession of textures, the crux of which includes a remarkable harmonic transformation, followed by striking alleluias, constitutes a piece whose effect is nothing less than stunning.

My choir sings this piece in alternation with the Gregorian communion and psalm verses every Pentecost, and its striking effect is but a faint recollection of the Pentecost event which it recalls. ♪



Jacobus Gallus (1550–1591)

Factus est repente

Jacobus Gallus (Jacob Handl)

Fac-tus est re-pen-te de coe - lo, de cae - lo de cae-lo so-nus ad-ve-ni-en-tis Spi-ri-tus ve -

Fac - tus est re-pen-te de cae - lo so - nus ad-ve-ni-en-tis Spi - ri-tus -

Fac - tus est re-pen - te de cae - lo so - nus ad - ve-ni-en-tis Spi - ri -

Fac - tus est re-pen-te de cae - lo coe - lo, ad - ve-ni-en-tis Spi-ri-

7

he - men - tis, u - bi e-rant se - den - tes, et re-ple - ti sunt om -

ve-he - men - tis, u - bi e-rant se-den - tes, et re - ple-

tus ve-he - men - tis, u - bi e-rant, u - bi, u - bi e - rant se-den - tes, et re - ple - ti sunt om-

tus ve-he - men - tis, u - bi e - rant, u - bi e-rant se-den-tes, et re-ple-ti sunt om-nes

13

nes Spi - ri - tu-Sanc-to, lo - quen - tes, lo - quen - tes mag-na - li - a De - i,

ti sunt om - nes Spi - ri - tu - Sanc-to, lo-quen - tes mag-na - li - a De - i, -

nes Spi - ri - Sanc-to, lo - quen - tes mag-na - li -

Spi - ri-tu - Sanc - to, lo - quen - tes mag-na - li - a De - i, -

2

Factus est repente

19

mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De -

— mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De -

a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De -

— mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 19 through 24. It features four staves: a vocal line (Soprano/Alto), a vocal line (Tenor/Bass), a piano accompaniment (right hand), and a piano accompaniment (left hand). The lyrics are: "mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De -" (measures 19-20), "— mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De -" (measures 21-22), "a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De -" (measures 23-24), and "— mag - na - li - a De - i, mag - na - li - a De - i." (measures 25-26).

25

i. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -

i. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -

i. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -

Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 25 through 30. It features four staves: a vocal line (Soprano/Alto), a vocal line (Tenor/Bass), a piano accompaniment (right hand), and a piano accompaniment (left hand). The lyrics are: "i. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -" (measures 25-26), "i. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -" (measures 27-28), "i. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -" (measures 29-30), and "Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -" (measures 31-32).

31

ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

Detailed description: This system contains measures 31 through 36. It features four staves: a vocal line (Soprano/Alto), a vocal line (Tenor/Bass), a piano accompaniment (right hand), and a piano accompaniment (left hand). The lyrics are: "ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia." (measures 31-32), "ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia." (measures 33-34), "ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia." (measures 35-36), and "ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia." (measures 37-38).

COMMENTARY

Art and Its Replacements¹

by Harold Boatrite

Art is a slippery word that lends itself readily to equivocation and confusion because of its many possible meanings: the art of medicine, terms of art as found in law, the liberal arts, art as workmanship, and so on. We are concerned here with the particular kind of equivocation that occurs when the word is applied to painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and poetry.

While any number of critics and scholars have engaged in obfuscations of varying complexity, Morse Peckham has said simply that “the term art at this point appears to be an empty category.”² This is a statement intriguing not only for its apparent simplicity but also for its striking resemblance to a conjuring trick. “Art [now you see it] . . . appears to be [this is the abracadabra] . . . an empty category” [poof! art vanishes].

Like actual conjuring tricks, this statement seems to present us with a paradox: How can something be simultaneously nothing? Moreover, the statement offers us limitless possibilities for creative expression. If art is an empty category, the artist is free to explore and exploit the uncharted land of whatever and to fill the empty category with anything at all. Thus the illusion expands until, of course, we begin to examine it logically.

Categories are filled solely with the meanings of the terms by which they are named. The category *horse*, for example is filled with the denotation and connotations of the word “horse.” Thus, if “art” is an *empty* category, “art” is an empty or meaningless term. But if “art” is a meaningless term, then the statement “art is an empty category” is equally meaningless, and what we thought was a wondrous paradox turns out to be just another self-contradictory proposition. (Logically speaking, the only empty category is the category *nothing*.)

But we still have not discovered how the conjuring trick is done. Let us look more closely at the “empty category.” Lo, we find that it is not entirely empty. Glimmering subtly in the background are the *connotations* of the word “art”; it is only the denotative meaning that has disappeared, and its disappearance creates the illusion of an empty category.

Sleight of word is found also in modern political propaganda, which frequently removes denotative meanings with their limitations and responsibilities in order to capitalize irrespon-

¹© 2012 Harold Boatrite

²Morse Peckham, *Man's Rage for Chaos: Biology, Behavior, and the Arts* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1965), p. 46.

Harold Boatrite is a composer and Catholic convert who has served as composer in residence at the University of South Carolina Conductors Institute, and as a new music consultant to the Chamber Orchestra of Philadelphia.

sibly on the connotations with their limitless possibilities—for example, *National Socialism*, in which the denotative meaning of “socialism” is removed in order to promote fascism, the very opposite of socialism; or *People’s Republic*, in which the denotative meaning of “republic” is removed in order to promote dictatorship. The retention of the connotative meanings in both these examples is the key to their success as propaganda. The illusion that the words somehow mean what they meant before is successfully effected because the connotations remain, even though the substantive meanings have been changed.

Now it is obvious from its selective use historically that “art” is a term so rich in meaning and with such *cachet* that almost anybody would like, so to speak, to get his hands on it, and “anybody” is an extraordinarily large number of people, so there are thousands upon thousands currently claiming the category *art* for their products, regardless of how distantly, if at all, related to art these products may be. Such claims are made possible by the same sleight of word found in Peckham’s “empty category” and in the examples of political propaganda cited above.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “art” as “the skillful production of the beautiful in visible forms.” This is its denotative meaning. Among its myriad connotations are importance, creativity, significance, mystery, transcendence. Removing the denotation makes it possible to call anything art, ascribing to it all the connotations of the term. The magical word is pronounced, and—presto!—a gouge in the wall, several minutes of silence, drop cloths, fecal matter—all become works of art.

But this transformation is not without its difficulties. Convincing people that a gouge in the wall is sculpture or that several minutes of silence are music takes considerable *political* skill, for these things must be presented in an art environment in collusion with officials of an art establishment. The gouge must be in the wall of an art museum; the several minutes of silence in a concert hall with a musical instrument and a would-be performer standing by. Elaborate explanations in the form of catalogues or program notes play a necessary role in persuasion and mystification. Indeed, the very existence of these products as art depends on advertising and presentation. But no matter how clever the propaganda—and despite the mountain of books, catalogues, program notes, and critical reviews—the two perennial questions continue to be asked by the general and the not-so-general public: Is it art? and, What is it?

These questions are usually parried with the assertion that the public is ignorant and uneducated in these matters. This idea is then put forth as the reason for the issuance of all the above-described verbiage, i.e., the public needs to be informed and enlightened about the new “art.” Nevertheless, since these questions perdure, one suspects that the answers already exist in the minds of the questioners. “Is it art?” The unstated answer is, “No.” “What is it?” The unstated answer: “Whatever it happens to be.” A gouge in the wall is just that and nothing more, even when it is in a museum wall. Silence, albeit in a concert hall, is certainly not music.

In the past, defacing a museum wall or mounting canned feces on a pedestal in an exhibition would have caused scandal or outrage—or perhaps, among the more cynically minded, amusement; but lately, the ability of these things to shock has diminished to such a point that they evoke scarcely a shrug. The attitude of the public now ranges from mild annoyance and boredom to indifference, and so our would-be artists have resorted to religious desecration in

order to regain active public attention. And regain it they have, but perhaps not quite in the way they intended. People are not reacting to the alleged works of art as art but rather to the blasphemy or sacrilege they engender. Thus, any effective existence as art that the works might have had is cancelled. But the gouge in the wall and the drop cloth have no such distractions: they simply replace art.

Therefore a new category must be invented to describe more accurately these phenomena and perhaps to define more clearly their purposes. Since they are not art but insistently claim to be art, let us call them *non-art*. The silence, the feces, the hole in the wall are obvious examples chosen for the sake of clarity, but they are not extreme cases when compared to the non-artist who had himself crucified atop an automobile, or the fellow who “sculpted” himself nearly to death as he recorded his progress on film.

Non-art ranges widely, from the very obvious examples just mentioned to more subtle *œuvres* like so-called action painting, certain kinds of atonal “music,” and various post-modernist fabrications. The more subtle types employ traditional art materials such as paint and the framed canvas or conventional musical instruments. The use of traditional art materials makes it somewhat more difficult to discern these types for what they are. Non-art objects often bear little resemblance to each other, and it is therefore necessary to introduce several sub-categories in order to provide a framework for critical analysis.

Since they are not art but insistently claim to be art, let us call them non-art.

Hegel, in his theory of dialectic, posits that every idea gives rise to or contains its opposite. Let us enlarge somewhat upon this by adding that every idea can give rise also to its imitation and its substitution. Many examples of all three of these processes can be found in the natural world as well as in human endeavors: the *opposition* of predator and prey, the *imitation* of poisonous by non-poisonous snakes, the *substitution* by birds of their eggs in the nests of other species, and so forth. The presence of these processes in human activity is so pervasive and obvious that we need cite only examples in the field of art.

In deference to Hegel, then, we shall begin with opposition. This process produces a sub-category that we shall call *anti-art*. All those works that purposely cause an experience of ugliness are in this sub-category. In the case of discursive or representational work, we must distinguish the work itself from its message, e.g., a mediæval painting of the Crucifixion of Christ, in which the event portrayed is horrendously ugly, but the painting is sublimely beautiful. In contrast, a concerto for circular saw and orchestra, an exhibit featuring electrified barbed wire with cautionary signs, and a string quartet emitting twenty minutes of systematic and relentless cacophony all aim successfully at being as ugly as possible, explanations to the contrary notwithstanding. We should also place in this sub-category the canned feces, the religious desecration, the self-sculpture, and the automobile crucifixion that was *not portrayed* but actually happened. These examples of anti-art differ sharply in character. The string quartet

uses traditional art materials as described earlier and could easily be mistaken for art, whereas canned human waste is merely disgusting.

The second process, imitation, gives rise to the sub-category we shall call *quasi-art*. As its name suggests, quasi-art is like art but differs essentially from it in that quasi-art retains only the features of this or that style and lacks the substantive character of genuine art. It is often difficult to define precisely what the substantive element is in many works of authentic art, although its absence in quasi-art is almost immediately evident. Gesture without substance distinguishes quasi-art, commonly known as *kitsch*.

“Decorator” paintings that stand in for authentic art fill many commercial galleries. Impressionist and post-impressionist styles lend themselves especially well to this form of quasi-art. The mass-produced Paris street scenes as well as landscapes with the inevitable flying birds in the background have been consistently remunerative. The endless procession of porcelain dolls and of illustrated plates has also proved lucrative. Much cinematic background music makes eclectic use of gestures from various historical periods without the essential ingredients of real melody and over-all form. The post-modernist collage of styles without synthesis is exactly the same thing, but because it is presented as independent music, it is seen, curiously, as a new development, even though it has existed in films for over eighty years. Post-modernist architecture that takes as its defining ideal the Las Vegas Strip must be regarded as *kitsch par excellence*.

Perhaps the most significant use of quasi-art in the twentieth century has been its role in political propaganda, specifically in the architecture, the painting, and the sculpture of the fascist states and the “socialist realism” of the Marxist regimes. Because quasi-art uses gestures from earlier periods, it has a familiarity that makes it appealing to large numbers of people. Since there is nothing in it to challenge the intellect and thereby to distract from the political message, it has been a powerfully effective medium for the dissemination of some of modern history’s most irrational notions.

The process of substitution we shall categorize as *pseudo-art*, and it is nothing more than the replacing of art with relatively inoffensive things that would, under any other circumstances, never be recognized as art: the wrapping of public buildings, functionless walls and fences, blank canvases and empty frames, planks, slabs, a pile of broken glass, and again the silence in place of music. While anti-art is at least ugly, and quasi-art is at best pretty or cute, the principal characteristic of pseudo-art seems to be its sheer inanity—nothing presented as something, nonsense enthroned as art.

These sub-categories of non-art are in theory separate and distinct, and for this article the clearest and simplest examples have been chosen as illustrations: but in many “works” of non-art, the particular sub-category may not be obvious. Thus it is for the reader to apply to each case the principles outlined here and to decide for himself whether the work perceived is non-art, and, if it is, what sub-category it falls into, and also whether it has characteristics of another sub-category. For instance, a pile of broken glass might be displayed in such a way as to appear dangerous. The natural reaction would be to distance oneself or to be repelled. Hence, the pile of broken glass would have characteristics of both pseudo-art and anti-art. A wallpaper pattern framed and presented as art would have elements of both quasi-art and pseudo-art.

Non-art is a direct result of the modernist obsession with novelty. Endless experimentation in the frantic quest for originality has inevitably led to something essentially different from art. Once we understand that not everything presented as art really is art, it should be a relatively simple task to determine which sub-categories non-art concoctions fall into.

But none of these categories can have any real meaning without a clear understanding of what authentic or genuine art is. So we will start with a simple definition: art is the human creation of things of beauty. Of course, this raises the question of what is meant by the term beauty. The simple answer: beauty is an order indicating perfection. Basic examples of such an order would include the geometric circle in the visual arts; in music, the pattern of intervals in a fundamental chord;³ metrical forms in verse; and, in architecture, the Roman arch in all its practical utility. While none of these models is perfect in itself, all point to or indicate perfection because they immediately approximate their exemplars. Mere circles approximate perfect circles. Basic chords approximate perfect chords. But viewing a bare circle or listening to a basic chord for any appreciable length of time would doubtless result in boredom for the viewer or listener (modern minimalism notwithstanding). Even though each of these examples is an order indicating perfection, all are but simple elements of what would be a larger or complex order indicating perfection. The idea of *creating* such an order necessitates a consideration of creativity.

Endless experimentation in the frantic quest for originality has inevitably led to something essentially different from art.

The modernist consensus is that creativity is originality. If this notion were true, it would have universal application, i.e., it would be true for all periods and styles everywhere. But a brief glance at history reveals a very different story. Painters deliberately copied from other painters. Composers built on the material of other composers. The same holds true for poets and architects. Through tradition, entire styles evolved from earlier styles. Originality in works of art was unheard of. Yet within any given style there were differences among the artists. As composers, J. S. Bach and Domenico Scarlatti were Baroque in style, but in content, they were very different from each other. The contrast between Victorian poets Robert Browning and Alfred, Lord Tennyson, is striking, although both used meter, rhyme, verse and the English language. Notre Dame cathedral in Paris and the cathedral at Cologne are two vastly different worlds, but both are Gothic in style. Artists worked within the parameters of a tradition because they knew that at least part of their purpose was communication and that without tradition there could be no language. Because each artist was a unique person, his creative work expressed his individuality as opposed to the endless fabrication of novelties for their own sake.

Thus it is *coherent self expression* that defines creativity and not the pursuit of originality, which leads only to the dead end of non-art. This is by no means a condemnation of those

³The first chord naturally formed by the overtone series; the major triad.

artists in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries who have, despite the pressure of current trends, continued to add their unique contributions to the tradition, developing it and at the same time preserving it. Theirs is an often thankless task in a society devoutly committed to the latest fashions. For these artists, in the words of composer Walter Piston: “Fashion is the enemy of creativity.”

So the genuine artist expresses himself coherently when he constructs a complex order indicating perfection using the language appropriate to his medium. The ability to imagine such an order and then to make it a physical reality is known as creative talent. The word talent implies a certain exclusivity. Not everyone has it, and if the above description of it is true and accurate, creative talent must indeed be a rare phenomenon. This is, of course, in direct opposition to the egalitarian notion that everybody has creative talent and therefore anybody can be an artist: hence the innumerable composers, poets, painters, sculptors, etc., facilitated by the virtual disappearance of objective standards.

But all is not lost. It is possible to recover those standards by a careful historical examination of all the factors that commonly occur in great works of art and to draw conclusions that would effectively function as criteria for the creation of new works as well as for critical analysis and judgment. This is, in fact, what contemporary artists who are involved in the creation of beautiful and communicative works are actually doing, though they may not be conscious of it in the terms described here. Perhaps the greatest difficulty for the creative artist is the very *act* of imagining a complex order indicating perfection. The notion of perfection itself is elusive and ambiguous. Thus an order indicating it is, to put it plainly, hard to find. Like the sub-atomic particle, it could be here, and it might be there, but we know it exists because, unlike the sub-atomic particle, it has been located with certainty, in definite times and places, to wit: the aforementioned cathedrals, Michelangelo’s *Pietà*, the paintings of Vermeer, Mozart’s *Jupiter* symphony, the poems of Wordsworth, T. S. Eliot’s *Four Quartets*, and in a multitude of other great works.

In the complex orders indicating perfection, beauty is *dynamic*. It *engages* the viewer or listener. *Indicating* perfection is an *action* involving conflict and resolution. In music we hear it as dissonance resolving to consonance. We see it in the play of symmetry and asymmetry in architecture and the visual arts. In poetry, we see and hear it as enjambment in lines of verse and in the irregular tumble of syllables over the meter. Within the most turbulent works and in the very tranquil as well, the dialectic of conflict and resolution is always present, however subtle or hidden it may be. The examples given here are important but not exhaustive. We will not attempt to list the many other ways in which it occurs. Suffice it to say that conflict and resolution make beauty vibrant, and vibrant beauty is the essential characteristic of all genuine art. ♪

NEWS

Announcing the St. Cecilia Academy for Pastoral Musicians: An Interview with Father Matthew Ernest

by Mary Jane Ballou

We have all seen increased interest in the revival of the church's tradition of sacred music over the last decade. Well-attended chant intensives and colloquia, regional workshops, and new scholas throughout the United States can attest to that. The new St. Cecilia Academy for Pastoral Musicians is an ambitious program aimed at "the troops in the trenches" — parish music directors. I recently had the opportunity to interview by telephone and email Father Matthew Ernest, the academy's director, about the plans and goals of this new venture at St. Joseph's Seminary in New York.

To start, can you tell me a little about your own musical/liturgical background?

I graduated college with a Bachelor in Music Performance degree, majoring in clarinet and minoring in piano. After working as an orchestral clarinetist, I began my studies for the priesthood for the Archdiocese of New York, during which time I was the house organist at the seminary. Two years after ordination, I was assigned to study liturgy at The Catholic University of America, and I graduated with a doctorate in liturgical studies in 2010. I am currently the professor and director of liturgical studies at St. Joseph's Seminary, and I also direct the Office of Liturgy for the Archdiocese of New York.

What was the inspiration for the St. Cecilia Academy for Pastoral Musicians?

In the New York area, some parishes are able to hire trained musicians as parish music directors. Other parishes rely on dedicated volunteers to provide music ministry. While these individuals are talented musicians, they often come to these positions, both salaried and unsalaried, with limited or no formation in the principles of liturgy and sacred music. For many years, there has not been a comprehensive formation program for pastoral musicians offered in the greater New York area. Numerous requests have been made by pastors of the



Mary Jane Ballou is the Director of Cantoræ St. Augustine and Secretary of the Church Music Association of America.

archdiocese for a program wherein musicians can receive the education they need to effectively serve as pastoral musicians. With the support of Cardinal Dolan, the staff of the archdiocese's Office of Liturgy and the faculty of St. Joseph's Seminary began to discuss ways in which this need could be met in our area. The result of these discussions is the St. Cecilia Academy.

Who is the ideal student for the academy?

The ideal student is the professional musician who has been asked to use his or her musical skills within the context of a parish music program, but who has not yet had the opportunity to study liturgy or the principles of sacred music in a focused and comprehensive manner.

What has been the response to the announcement of this new academy??

The response has been enthusiastic and robust. Already, a large number of pastors within the Archdiocese have expressed their willingness to sponsor their parish musicians in their study at the St. Cecilia Academy. We anticipate that, with the arrival of nationally-recognized music scholar Dr. Jennifer Donelson on the faculty of St. Joseph's Seminary this January, our classes will continue to grow.

Do potential students already have to be working in a parish?

The classes at the academy are open to any student who is accepted into one of the Master's programs at St. Joseph's Seminary. Those who are currently working as parish musicians receive a 50% discount off seminary tuition. Parishes are encouraged to cover the cost of tuition for their musicians as a way of encouraging professional development.

Tell me a little about the planned courses and their faculty.

The St. Cecilia Academy currently offers four fully-accredited Masters level courses, in association with St. Joseph's Seminary. They are: Introduction to Liturgy, Principles of Sacred Music, Liturgical Year/Environment of Worship, and Introduction to Chant. The two liturgy courses are taught by me, and the music courses will be taught by Dr. Jennifer Donelson, who is the new Director and Associate Professor of Sacred Music at St. Joseph's Seminary.

Where are the courses are being offered and how long would it take to complete the curriculum?

The courses are offered at St. Joseph's Seminary in Yonkers and the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception (Huntington) on Long Island, depending on the semester. The two seminaries offer video-linked classrooms between the two locations. So, if a student from Long Island wishes to take a course that is being taught in Yonkers, he or she may do so at the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception. Professors are committed to teaching at both sites throughout the semester.

Students who take the academy's courses in successive semesters will complete their study in four semesters (or, one and a half years).

Are there any plans to offer the courses online for students in the further reaches of the archdiocese?

Yes, there are currently plans to offer courses via a video-linked classroom in Poughkeepsie. As well, we hope to be able to offer an online learning option to those students who live outside the New York, New Jersey, Connecticut tri-state area within the year.

I see that this is a cooperative venture of two seminaries in two dioceses – St. Joseph’s Seminary and Immaculate Conception. How were you able to make this happen?

The relationship between St. Joseph’s Seminary and the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception is the direct result of the formation of the St. Charles Borromeo Inter-diocesan Partnership in 2011 by Timothy Cardinal Dolan of New York, Bishop Nicholas DiMarzio of Brooklyn, and Bishop William Murphy of Rockville Centre. The goals of this partnership included the creation of a single program of priestly formation that begins with undergraduate and philosophical studies in Douglaston (Brooklyn) and continues with graduate-level study at St. Joseph’s. The bishops have also committed themselves to sharing resources for the training of permanent deacons and the education of laity, as well as offering support for the ongoing formation of consecrated women and men. Thanks to the vision of the three bishops in our area, the possibility of offering courses in liturgy and sacred music at both sites became a possibility for the St. Cecilia Academy.

How will these courses integrate with the Master’s program?

Because these courses are fully accredited by the Middle States Commission on Higher Education and the Association of Theological Schools, they may be applied towards the completion of the Master of Arts in Theology and the Master of Pastoral Studies degrees currently offered by St. Joseph’s Seminary. A student who successfully completes the four courses is able to apply the 12 credits earned to the 39 credits needed for a Master of Arts in Theology, and the 48 credits needed for the Master of Arts in Pastoral Studies.

What do you hope your graduates will take with you when they complete the courses?

It is my hope that students at the St. Cecilia Academy will discover the beauty of the church’s patterns and tradition of liturgical and sung prayer in such a way that they are excited to share their newfound knowledge with their parish communities. In the end, the St. Cecilia Academy is about helping musicians to lead their parishioners closer to Christ through the beauty of sung liturgy.

Is anything planned that will help pastors understand the need to enrich parish liturgies and support the graduates of your program in their work?

The office of Liturgy is currently planning several workshops for pastors (e.g., on the revised Rite of Marriage, music for the RCIA). We have also recently conducted an online survey of pastors regarding various aspects of their music programs (instrumentation, staff, hymnals, choral groups, etc.) It is hoped that the information gathered from this survey will assist our office in planning future offerings for pastors that will meet their needs and expectations, as they seek to enhance their programs of sacred music.

Is this an initiative that you hope will be picked up, so to speak, by other dioceses in the U.S.?

It is my hope that dioceses will continue to work together to discover the best ways that offices and commissions on liturgy and worship can serve the needs of parish musicians. Regular dialogue among those who are entrusted with this responsibility is essential in the common effort to foster a genuine liturgical spirituality among Catholics in the U.S.

Where do you see the academy in five years, ten years?

In the short term, I look forward to our summer chant intensive, which will offer a week-long, three-credit introduction to the history, spirituality, and reading of chant. Currently, we are looking to accommodate those interested students who live outside of our area and who may wish to travel to New York for this course. It is anticipated that this kind of outreach to musicians outside the tri-state area will continue through online offerings.

With respect to more long-range plans, I would like to see any expansion of the academy always retain a focus on educating and assisting parish musicians in their crucial work of leading the People of God in sung prayer. I believe that the academy's success and future offerings should be evaluated primarily by the quality of sacred music and worship provided by our graduates in their parishes. With this in mind, it is my hope that the academy's offerings can have a direct and positive impact on the life of the church in New York.

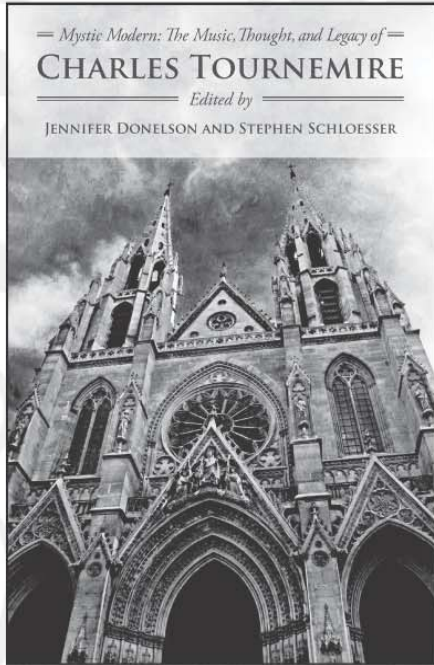
How can potential students learn more?

Students can find out more and apply to the St. Cecilia Academy at the Archdiocese of New York Office of Liturgy's website (nyliturgy.org), or by contacting the office directly (liturgy@archny.org). &



Mystic Modern: The Music, Thought, and Legacy of
CHARLES TOURNEMIRE

edited by Jennifer Donelson and Stephen Schloesser



The first book about French composer Charles Tournemire available in English!

This volume's essays investigate Tournemire's monumental *L'Orgue mystique*, composed between 1927 and 1932.

The authors explore Tournemire's influence on composers Joseph Bonnet, Maurice Duruflé, Jean Langlais, Olivier Messiaen, and Naji Hakim.

Other topics include Gregorian chant, improvisation, and performance practice.

The portrait of Tournemire drawn in this collection is that of an unexpectedly complex and prolific thinker, teacher, and composer. 456 pages, softcover, \$40

Available on amazon.com

“Whether you are a long-time devotee of Tournemire or someone who is interested in liturgy, music, and theology, this book is a must. The editors are to be complimented on the physical beauty of the book, not to mention the depth of scholarship it represents.”

—*Dr. Ann Labounsky, Professor and Chair of Organ and Sacred Music,
Mary Pappert School of Music, Duquesne University*

The Church Music Association of America (CMAA)
12421 New Point Drive
Richmond, Virginia 23233
musicasacra.com



Introducing the CMAA Annual Fund

The CMAA board of directors has established the CMAA Annual Fund—a campaign to generate contributions beyond dues from members and others. Monies raised through the annual fund support the organization’s general operating expenses as well as specific programs.

The annual fund will allow CMAA to meet the organization’s day-to-day challenges and strengthen its financial foundation. Gifts to the fund will be used to support the following.

Annual Fund Projects and Programs

- **Online publication of a comprehensive free library** of educational materials for choir directors and others. Materials include numerous books on chant as well as the many CMAA publications.
- **Publication, distribution, and sponsorship of a wide array of books** useful in promoting sacred music. CMAA is also active in sponsoring new publications such as the *Parish Book of Chant*, the *Simple Choral Gradual*, the *Simple English Propers*, the *Parish Book of Psalms*, and our newest publication, *Mystic Modern: The Music, Thought, and Legacy of Charles Tournemire*.
- **Continuing-education programs**, including chant intensive workshops, the annual colloquium, seminars, and master classes. CMAA continues to develop new educational programs and training, including the recent “Sing the Mass” course. CMAA also supports regional workshops sponsored by local groups.
- **Commissions of new music.** Although promoting the use of the vast repertory of existing music in the public domain is a key part of our annual programs, it is also crucial to encourage the composition of new music.
- **Scholarships for students and seminarians** to attend our programs. Every year we receive many requests for funding, and providing scholarships to support these requests is crucial for the future of the church in promoting sacred music to seminarians and students.
- **Colloquia** on the national level for all members.

Please send your tax-deductible gift to the CMAA Annual Fund today. With your help we will be able to strengthen our services and enhance our support of the profession in the new millennium.

CMAA • P.O. Box 4344 • Roswell, NM 88202-4344 • musicasacra.com

Musica Sacra

CHURCH MUSIC ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Please accept my gift to the CMAA Annual Fund.

___ \$50 ___ \$75 ___ \$125 ___ \$250 ___ \$500 ___ \$1,200 ___ Other: _____

Enroll me as a Sustaining Contributor to the CMAA. I authorize you to charge my credit card below on the 15th day each month in the following amount until I ask you to discontinue my donation.

___ \$10 (\$120/yr) ___ \$20 (\$240/yr) ___ \$50 (\$600/yr) ___ \$100 (\$1,200/yr) ___ Other _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip +4 _____

Email _____ Phone _____

I am donating because (please check all that apply):

___ I am grateful for all that the CMAA has done for me, including free online resources

___ I want to support the work and programs of the CMAA, including scholarships

___ I believe in the value of Sacred Music in the liturgy and would like to support new music composition commissions and/or book publications

___ I want to make a donation in honor of _____

___ I want to make a donation in memory of _____

___ Other: _____

___ I have enclosed a check.

___ Please charge my ___ Visa ___ MasterCard ___ Discover ___ Amex

Credit card number: _____

Expiration _____ Validation Code (3 or 4 digit Code on back of card) _____

Signature _____

Name of Cardholder (PLEASE PRINT) _____

Please mail your donation to:

Church Music Association of America

PO Box 4344, Roswell, NM 88202

You may also make an online contribution at our website at <http://musicasacra.com>

Church Music

Association of America

You're invited to CMAA Colloquium XXV

June 29—July 5, 2015, in Pittsburgh

Experience the majesty of the Roman liturgy at two great venues: the Cathedral of St. Paul and Duquesne University. Sing with top conductors of chant and polyphony; attend breakout sessions on organ, clergy preparation, children's programs, semiology, and more; and be part of the event attendees call "musical heaven."



Learn more:
musicasacra.com

Register:
[shop.musicasacra.com/
summer-2015/](http://shop.musicasacra.com/summer-2015/)

Members get \$50 off with coupon code PITT2015

Register by March 1 to take advantage of early-bird pricing

Colloquium XXV Registration Details

Check or credit card payment must accompany registration. Registration must be postmarked on or before March 1st (Early Bird) or May 15th (Regular). Registrations postmarked after May 15th will be charged a \$50 late fee. You may register online at www.musicasacra.com. Registrations must be received at the CMAA Office (by mail or online) by the close of business, June 15th. After June 15th, registration is only available by telephone by calling our office at (505) 263-6298 on a space available basis.

Cancellation: Requests received in writing at the CMAA Office postmarked on or before June 15th will receive a refund less the non-refundable \$75 deposit. After that date, refunds are given only in the form of a credit toward registration for the 2016 Colloquium. Refunds will be processed after the Colloquium. All requests for credit must be received in the CMAA office or by email (programs@musicasacra.com) by June 29th in order to be considered for credit. Late requests may only receive a partial credit, depending on charges to the CMAA for meals or dorm rooms.

Member Discounts

With a current CMAA membership, the members' rate is available to you; it is not transferable to another person. If your parish has a CMAA parish membership, please note the name of your parish on your registration form.

Not yet a member? Join now and receive the benefits of membership for a full year for the same price as a non-member registration. Additional postage charges for members outside the U.S. will be billed later.

Youth Participants

A parent or chaperone must accompany youth attendees under eighteen. The chaperone must be at least twenty-one years old and registered for the full Colloquium or

as a Companion. A parental or guardian permission form and release must be on file with the CMAA before anyone under the age of eighteen may be admitted to the Colloquium.

Daily Registration

Be sure to indicate the day(s) for which you are registering and note that the fee for full convention registration is usually less than the fee for multiple days.

Additional Information

Companion (Adult): Those registering as companions are welcome to accompany a full Colloquium registrant to all activities *except* breakouts and choir rehearsals. A separate registration form must be filled out for **each** companion including payment for any additional activities and must include the name of the Full Convention Registrant.

Scholarship Assistance is available for partial tuition for persons or parishes of limited means. For information about the scholarship, visit the CMAA site at: <http://musicasacra.com/>. Or request a packet from the CMAA office by calling (505) 263-6298. *Application deadline is April 15.*

Photographs and Recordings: You are welcome to take photos and videos, but please do not use flash, especially during sacred liturgies.

We welcome private recordings during the Colloquium. In fact, amateur recordings are kept in a collection online by one of our members, Carl Dierschow, and are available for free access. If you do record a session or liturgy, please consider sharing your files with him so that others may hear them.

Contact us at programs@musicasacra.com for more information about sharing your recordings.

Registration Form ♦ CMAA Colloquium XXV ♦ Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Please print. **Early bird** registration forms must be postmarked by March 1st. **Regular** registration forms must be postmarked by May 15th. If registering more than one person, fill out another form – photocopy the form as necessary. You may also register online at the CMAA website (musicasacra.com/colloquium). If you have not received confirmation by June 21st, please contact the CMAA office: (505) 263-6298. **Late** registration must be received at the CMAA office (by mail or online) by the close of business on June 15th. Registration after that date will be available only by telephoning the CMAA office and will be on a space available basis.

Title (Mr., Ms., Rev., etc.)	First Name	Last Name	Name for Badge (e.g. Ed for Edward)
Address	City	State/Province	Zip
Daytime Phone (include area code)		E-Mail Address	
Parish Name	Parish Zip	(Arch)Diocese	

FULL COLLOQUIUM REGISTRATION

	<u>Early Bird</u> <i>(Through March 1)</i>	<u>Regular</u> <i>(March 2-May 15)</i>	<u>Late</u> <i>(after May 15)</i>	
CMAA Member Registration <i>(Includes all sessions plus Opening banquet on June 29, 2015)</i>	\$550	\$600	\$650	\$ _____
Not yet member: Add \$48 <i>(includes one year individual membership; foreign postage, if applicable, will be billed)</i>				
Non-Member Registration	\$600	\$650	\$700	\$ _____
Companion (<i>Adult</i>) <i>All events except breakouts and choirs. Includes Opening banquet on June 29, 2015.</i>	\$275	\$300	\$325	\$ _____
Name of Full Attendee _____				

DAILY REGISTRATION (FOR THOSE NOT ATTENDING THE FULL COLLOQUIUM)

Circle Day(s): Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri Sat

	<u>Early Bird</u> <i>(Through March 1)</i>	<u>Regular</u> <i>(March 2-May 15)</i>	<u>Late</u> <i>(after May 15)</i>	
Daily Rate CMAA Member	\$150	\$175	\$200	x _____ #days = \$ _____
Daily Rate Non-CMAA Member	\$175	\$200	\$225	x _____ #days = \$ _____

Please note: Daily rates do not include meals.

* A parent or chaperone must accompany youth attendees under 18. Chaperone must be at least 21 years old and registered as a full colloquium or companion attendee. Name of accompanying parent or chaperone: _____

Signed copies of the Parental or Guardian Medical Treatment Authorization for a Minor and Release of Liability form must be on file with CMAA before anyone under the age of 18 may admitted to the Colloquium.

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES AND MEALS

Opening Banquet <i>(included in full tuition or Companion registration)</i>	\$50	\$ _____
Opening Banquet extra ticket	\$50	\$ _____
Dinner Plan (Tuesday and Wednesday)	\$60	\$ _____
Continental Breakfast Plan (Tuesday – Saturday)	\$60	\$ _____
Lunch Plan (Tuesday – Friday)	\$60	\$ _____
Full Meal Plan <i>(Breakfast Tues-Sat, Lunch Tues-Fri, Dinner, Tues-Wed)</i>	\$180	\$ _____
Closing Brunch Saturday <i>(not included in Full Meal Plan)</i>	\$30	\$ _____
Closing Brunch extra ticket	\$30	\$ _____
Special Dietary Concerns <i>(If you have special dietary restrictions, you may request special meals)</i>	\$25	\$ _____
Please list your dietary requirements <i>(vegan, gluten-free, etc.)</i> _____		

DORMITORY HOUSING AT DUQUESNE

If you are registering to stay the Duquesne University dormitory, you'll be staying at **Vickroy Hall**, which is located at: 1345 Vickroy St., Pittsburgh, PA 15219. Your dorm reservation includes linens. Vickroy Hall is staffed 24/7, so check-in for early or late arrivals will be no problem.

Check in times at Vickroy Hall begin after 8 am; Check out times are before 1 pm.

Single Rooms

Dorm Room, Single, 5 nights <i>(check in: June 29 – check out: July 4)</i>	\$250	\$ _____
Dorm Room, Single, 6 nights <i>(check in: June 29 – check out: July 5)</i>	\$300	\$ _____
Dorm Room, Single, 6 nights <i>(check in: June 28 – check out: July 4)</i>	\$300	\$ _____
Dorm Room, Single, 7 nights <i>(check in: June 28 – check out: July 5)</i>	\$350	\$ _____

(Continued from previous page)

Name: _____

Double Rooms

Dorm Room, Double, 5 nights (check in: June 29 – check out: July 4)	\$200	\$ _____
Dorm Room, Double, 6 nights (check in: June 29 – check out: July 5)	\$240	\$ _____
Dorm Room, Double, 6 nights (check in: June 28 – check out: July 4)	\$240	\$ _____
Dorm Room, Double, 7 nights (check in: June 28 – check out: July 5)	\$280	\$ _____

Name of Requested Roommate (if you do not specify, we'll assign a roommate for you): _____

Extended Stay:

Circle Day(s): Sat (6/27) Sun (7/5)
 Daily rate (Double) \$40 x _____ #days = \$ _____
 Name of Requested Roommate (**required for extended stay reservations** – if you do not have a roommate, please choose the single rate)
 Name: _____

Daily Reservations (for those not attending the full Colloquium)

Circle Day(s): Sat (6/27) Sun (6/28) Mon (6/29) Tues (6/30) Wed (7/1) Thurs (7/2) Fri (7/3) Sat (7/4) Sun (7/5)
 Daily rate (Single) \$50 x _____ #days = \$ _____
 Daily rate (Double) \$40 x _____ #days = \$ _____
 Name of Requested Roommate (**required for daily reservations** – if you do not have a roommate, please choose the single rate)
 Name: _____
 Linen Fee (**required for all daily reservations unless this is to extend your stay**) \$7.50 \$ _____

Housing Special needs (please specify if applicable): _____

TOTAL COLLOQUIUM FEES, including registration \$ _____

PAYMENT

- Check # _____ Enclosed
 I authorize CMAA to charge my: MasterCard VISA AMEX Discover

Credit Card Number Expiration Date Security Code (3 digits located on back or 4 digits on front for AMEX)

Cardholder Signature Date of Signature

Name on Card (Please print) Billing Zip Code

Submit Form with Payment To:

CMAA ♦ P.O. Box 4344 ♦ Roswell, NM ♦ 88202

Phone: (575) 208-0306 or (505) 263-6298

Online Registration available at: <http://musicasacra.com/colloquium>

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS are also available at the [Hilton Garden Inn, University Place](#), 3454 Forbes Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15213, telephone: 1-412-683-2040. Rooms are available at the special conference price of \$134 per room per night, plus tax, for single or double rooms, up to occupancy of four per room. Make your reservation before June 8th, 2015 to get the special group rate.

Amenities include free internet in all guest rooms and valet parking at \$7 per day (discounted from \$18/day). The property includes a business center with complimentary printing and printer, fitness center, full service restaurant, bar, complimentary beverage area and complimentary shuttle service within a 3-mile radius. This hotel is not within easy walking distance of Duquesne University, so guests staying at the Hilton should plan to use the hotel shuttle, public transportation or their own vehicle to attend the events on the Duquesne campus.

To register for hotel accommodations at this special rate, access our event [reservation page](#).

D

E fructu * ópe-rum tu- órum, Dómi-ne, sa-ti- ábi-

tur ter- ra: ut edúcas panem de terra, et vi- num læ-

tí- fi-cet cor hómi- nis: ut exhí- la- ret fá-ci- em-

in ó-le- o, et pa-nis cor hómi-nis confírmet.

v. Iab, 1c-2a, 23, 24, 30, 31, 33, 3-

1. Béne- dic, ánima me- a, Dómino. Dómi-ne De- us me-

us, magni-fi-cátus es ve-hemé-ter! De fructu.

musicasacra.com

2. Ma- je- stá-tem et de-córem indu- ísti, amíctus lúmi-ne