Dedit fragílibus córporis férculum, Dedit et trístibus sánguinis póculum. (Thomas Aquinas)

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Editor	William Mahrt
Managing Editor	Jennifer Donelson-Nowicka
Editorial Assistant	Jacek Burdowicz-Nowicki
Editor at Large	Kurt Poterack
Typesetter	Judy Thommesen

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Editoral

Sacred Time

The liturgy uses time in a unique way, transforming its natural aspects by sacred dimensions to create a series of extraordinary celebrations throughout the year.

by William Mahrt

bout half of the year, in the liturgical books of 1970 and following, is designated "Ordinary Time," a translation of "Tempus per Annum." While "Tempus per Annum" has a neutral ring, "Ordinary Time" could be misread as common, everyday, even vulgar. But the contrary should be the case. The liturgy concerns "sacred time," in which natural temporal phenomena are ordered to a supernatural level. My discussion of sacred time here is based upon the calendar of the traditional Roman Rite, because it shows principles of purposeful order. The calendar of the current Roman usage, in ordering things by a variety of purposes, has made the old order less clear, and so a consideration of the tradition is an aid to the understanding of the present order.

Traditional liturgical time is based upon the phenomena of the natural order. The day is determined by the earth's rotation, the month by the cycles of the moon, the year by the rotation of the earth around the sun. Each of these falls into four parts, particularly the month, whose four phases of the moon correspond to the week, and the sun, whose four phases give the seasons. The points of the articulation of the seasons, the equinoxes and the solstices, are distinct points of transition, and have been observed in many diverse cultures.

Sacred time, ordered upon the phenomena of the natural order, elevates these phenomena through the sacred events of the history of salvation. The central event of sacred time, Easter, occurs in relation to the vernal equinox, which is the beginning of Spring, the season of new life and growth; here there is an intersection between the sun and the moon cycles, with Easter occurring on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox. This relates closely to the Jewish Passover, since the events of the Passion and Resurrection took place in the context of Passover. The feast is of such great importance that it is prepared and succeeded by seasons of forty days, before Easter—Lent, after Easter—the season of forty days until Ascension Thursday. Yet, it is further amplified by Pentecost, fifty days after Easter, with the nine days between

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

Ascension and Pentecost being days of intensive prayer, thus the original novena. There follows a long season after Pentecost. But here is an important point about it. The Jewish Sabbath, the Lord's Day, occurred on Saturdays. Early on, however, the church determined that the Lord's Day should be observed on Sundays. This was because each Sunday was a repeat of the eighth day of the Resurrection. Thus, Sundays after Pentecost are an extension of the sacred event of Easter through the weeks. This is a sacred order and something certainly far from ordinary.

There is another cycle, a feast with preparatory and succeeding seasons, ordered upon the winter solstice—Christmas, with its proximate preparation in Advent and fulfillment in several feasts, including Epiphany and concluding with Candlemas, the Presentation of Christ and the Purification of Mary, just forty days after Christmas. But the Christmas cycle reaches far back into the year, since its initial event is the preparation for the Birth of Christ at the Annunciation, just nine months before Christmas. This, moreover, forms a link between the Christmas and Easter cycles, since the traditional date of Good Friday was March 25, the very date of the Annunciation. This was acknowledged in the Middle Ages particularly by the fact that March 25 was "New Year's Day," so much so that historians dealing with historical dates between January and March 25 must be careful about which year is actually meant; March 25, 1436, followed a day later than March 24, 1435. Incidentally, the season of Advent, in early calendars lasted not four but six weeks, amounting to a preparatory season of approximately forty days.

Thus, the entire church year consists of extraordinary days. This is evident in the traditional calendar. Each Sunday after Pentecost has its own collects, lessons, and Mass propers; each is distinct from the others, and so each is a unique celebration. The lessons are bearers of the history of salvation, being largely the narration of the earthy ministry of Jesus. But the Mass propers add a significant element as well. For each day, five different chants are to be sung, giving it a different musical shape; two of these chants, gradual and alleluia, complement the lessons, with meditation that allows a penetration of the text of the lessons and anticipates

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the singing of the gospel. The substitution of metrical hymns for Mass propers has undermined the uniqueness of these days, employing music that is not as distinctively sacred as is chant. I say the *singing* of the gospel, since I contend that the principal purpose of the lessons is not just information, as important as that is, but rather the celebration of the history of salvation, something better observed by singing than just reading. Since we generally know the texts of the lessons, their information is a strong support of their observance as a sacred event.

Sacred time has a past, a present, and a future. The four senses of scripture—the historical, the prophetic, the moral, and the anagogical—were a teaching from the earliest days of the church.

Sacred time has a past, a present, and a future. The four senses of scripture—the historical, the prophetic, the moral, and the anagogical—were a teaching from the earliest days of the church.[1] The Passover is often cited as an example. The past is the historical sense; the Jews sacrificed a lamb and marked their doorposts with its blood, so the avenging Angel would pass over their house without taking vengeance upon it. The future of that past is in the prophetic sense, in which the shedding of Christ's blood protects us from the consequences of sin, earning Christ the title Lamb of God. The simple present is the moral sense, Christ's Passover facilitates our own souls to pass over from sin to redemption. The future is the anagogical sense, in which at our end, aided by the grace obtained for us by the Lamb of God, we will pass over into eternal life.

These four times play a vital role in the sacred liturgy, affirming that time itself in many various ways has been sanctified. ❖

[1]The four senses of scripture were treated extensively in four volumes by Henri de Lubac in *Exégèse médiévale*, three of which have now been published in English translation by Wm. Eerdmans of Grand Rapids.

Articles

Between Universality and Inculturation: Gregorian Chant as a Bridge

A "double movement" between universality and inculturation finds Gregorian chant as a viable medium.

by Fr. David Friel

Sacred music, like every aspect of Roman Catholic worship, witnessed profound changes in the twentieth century. These developments produced a series of directives that seemed, in certain respects, to be in conflict with each other concerning the nature and future of music for the liturgy. New attention to the relationship between universality and inculturation and the balance between liturgical unity and uniformity has increased the complexity of providing music that truly serves the liturgy. This study proposes Gregorian chant as a form of liturgical music that, by virtue of several extraordinary attributes, is uniquely well qualified to bridge apparent divides.

Universality and Inculturation

From a multitude of twentieth-century directives concerning liturgical music, two stand apart on account of their importance and the uniqueness of the relationship they bear toward each other, namely the requirement for sacred music to be universal, and the call for it to be inculturated. In addition to the strain between these two fundamental mandates, the multifaceted complexity of sacred music today reveals further tensions. Three particular tensions will here be identified and considered, followed by a treatment of the question of priority among liturgical principles.

Tension between the Universal and the Inculturated

In the first months of his pontificate, Pope Pius X issued the landmark Motu Proprio, *Tra le sollecitudini*.[1] The first section of this

[1] *Tra le sollecitudini* was promulgated first in Italian and subsequently in two different Latin versions.

Fr. David M. Friel, S.T.D., serves as vocation director for the Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

letter establishes general principles to which sacred music should conform, enumerating three essential qualities: "Sacred music ought . . . to possess in the highest degree the qualities that are proper to the liturgy, namely holiness and goodness of forms, from which spontaneously arises the final characteristic, which is universality."[2] Thus, universality is established as one of the three chief criteria for evaluating the quality of liturgical music.

The mandate for inculturation emerges first in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum concilium*,[3] which declares: "The church has no desire, not even in the liturgy, to impose a rigid monolithic structure. Rather, on the contrary, it cultivates and encourages the gifts and endowments of mind and heart possessed by various races and peoples."[4] The section of the constitution that deals most directly with inculturation (i.e., ¶¶ 37–40) does not directly address music in the liturgy. The matter receives attention, however, in the sixth chapter, on sacred music:

"The church has no desire, not even in the liturgy, to impose a rigid monolithic structure. Rather, on the contrary, it cultivates and encourages the gifts and endowments of mind and heart possessed by various races and peoples."

> In some parts of the world, especially

For the Italian original, see Pius X, Motu Proprio, *Tra le sollecitudini* (November 22, 1903), *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis* [hereafter *AAS*], 36 (1903–1904), 329–39. For the Latin "faithful version," see Pius X, Motu Proprio, *Inter plurimas pastoralis* (November 22, 1903, *AAS,* 36 (1903–1904), 387–95. For the Latin "authentic version," see Pius X, "Inter pastoralis officii," *Ephemerides Liturgicæ,* 18 (1904), 129–49. Because there are occasionally differences between the Italian and Latin versions, I shall provide both source texts for each quotation, with the Latin drawn from the "faithful version." All English translations of *Tra le sollecitudini* are mine.

[2] *Tra le sollecitudini*, ¶2: "La musica sacra deve . . . possedere nel grado migliore le qualità che sono proprie della liturgia, e precisamente la santità e la bontà delle forme, onde sorge spontaneo l'altro suo carattere, che è l'universalità." *Inter plurimas pastoralis*, ¶2: "Ex quo evenit ut musica sacra omnibus muneribus liturgiæ praedita sit, præsertim *sanctitate, bonitate formarum* quibus et *universalitas* oritur."

[3] Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum concilium* (December 4, 1963), *AAS,* 56 (1964), 97–138.

[4] Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (December 4, 1963), in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), p. 828, ¶37: "Ecclesia . . . rigidam unius tenoris formam ne in liturgia quidem imponere cupit; quinimmo, variarum gentium populorumque animi ornamenta ac dotes colit et provehit." Both the Latin original and the English translation of *Sacrosanctum concilium* are from Tanner.

> mission areas, peoples are found who have a musical tradition of their own, a tradition which has great importance for their religious and cultural way of life. This music must be taken with due seriousness; suitable scope is to be given for it to contribute both to their development of their sense of the religious, and to the adaptation of religious worship to their particular temperament.[5]

Inculturation, therefore, is a principle that pertains especially to sacred music, among other aspects of the liturgy.

A significant amount of further documentation could be adduced in order to demonstrate the twin desires of the church that sacred music be both universal and inculturated. Solely on the basis of *Tra le sollecitudini* and *Sacrosanctum concilium*, however, this tension is apparent.

Tension between Inculturation and Conservatism within Sacrosanctum concilium

Within *Sacrosanctum concilium* itself, a similar tension is revealed. This second tension arises from the simultaneous challenges to conserve and to inculturate the Roman liturgy. As has been observed above, no honest reading of *Sacrosanctum concilium* can ignore the text's openness to inculturation by means of liturgical adaptation. The constitution makes this open stance clear when it states that the church

> examines sympathetically whatever elements among peoples' customs do not constitute an irretrievable connivance with superstitious or false beliefs, and, if it can, it preserves them safe and sound. Indeed, it sometimes allows them into the liturgy itself.[6]

With respect to matrimony, in particular, *Sacrosanctum concilium* reiterates the desire of the Council of Trent that praiseworthy local customs ought to be incorporated into new marriage rituals that are revised and enriched by local cultures.[7] The willingness to permit adaptations to the liturgy is also specifically applied to sacred music, as noted above, when the document acknowledges the need to treat the music of local cultures, especially in mission lands, with due seriousness.[8]

At the same time, however, a nuanced reading of *Sacrosanctum concilium* also reveals a relentless concern for the conservation of traditional liturgical forms. Beginning with the introduction, the constitution expresses great reverence for the rites of the church, in faithful obedience to the tradition, and articulates the desire "to preserve them for the

[5] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 840–841, ¶119: "Cum in regionibus quibusdam, præsertim Missionum, gentes inveniantur quibus propria est traditio musica, magnum momentum in earum vita religiosa ac sociali habens, huic musicæ æstimatio debita necnon locus congruus praebeatur, tam in fingendo earum sensu religioso, quam in cultu ad earum indolem accommodando."

[6] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 828, ¶37: "Quidquid vero in populorum moribus indissolubili vinculo superstitionibus erroribusque non adstipulatur, benevole perpendit ac, si potest, sartum tectumque servat, immo quandoque in ipsam liturgiam admittit."

[7] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 834, ¶77: "'Si quæ provinciæ . . . aliis laudabilibus consuetudinibus et cæremoniis' in celebrando matrimonii sacramento 'utuntur, eas omnino retineri sancta synodus vehementer optat.'" Cf. Council of Trent, *Canones super reformatione circa matrimonium*, session 24 (November 11, 1563), chapter 1, in Tanner, *Decrees*, 756.

[8] See *Sacrosanctum concilium*, ¶119.

future and encourage them in every way."[9] In the midst of reflections upon legitimate liturgical development, the text offers the following admonishment: "Changes should not be made unless a real and proven need of the church requires them."[10] Even as it concedes the possible need for more radical adaptions of the liturgy, *Sacrosanctum concilium* suggests that such situations "will turn out to be more difficult;"[11] these cases, it warns, may only proceed with "the necessary careful consideration."[12]

The fundamentally restrained nature of *Sacrosanctum concilium* is evidenced even in the section devoted to inculturation (¶¶37–40). Herein, preservation of the substance of the Roman Liturgy is delineated as the precondition for any variance in the liturgical books: "Provided that the fundamental unity of the Roman Rite is preserved, room is to be left, even when the books used in the liturgy are revised, for legitimate variations and adaptations. . . . Due weight should be given to this consideration in drawing up ritual forms."[13] Again, in its chapter on the Mass, the constitution qualifies its charge to reform the liturgical books: "The rites, in a way that carefully preserves what really matters, should become simpler."[14]

The foregoing citations of *Sacrosanctum concilium* suggest that the fathers of the Second Vatican Council, even while granting permission for liturgical adaptations within certain parameters, valued highly the conservation of the Roman Rite.

Tension within the "Double Movement" of Inculturation

A third related tension stems from the church's understanding of inculturation. *Varietates legitimæ*, a 1994 instruction from the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments (CDW), gives evidence of this conflict when it defines inculturation in terms of a "double movement."[15] The requirements of the double movement could well be summarized as 1) the Christianization of the culture, and 2) the localization of the liturgy. This framework for understanding inculturation codifies a notion that boasts an extensive pedigree within the pontificate of Pope John Paul II.[16] He first introduced the concept of the double movement within inculturation

[9] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 820, ¶4: "eosque in posterum servari et omnimode foveri velle."

[10] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees,* 826, ¶23: "Innovationes, demum, ne fiant nisi vera et certa utilitas ecclesiæ id exigat."

[11] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees,* 828, ¶40: "ideo difficilior evadat."

[12] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees,* 829, ¶40(2): "cum necessaria circumspectione."

[13] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 828, ¶38: "Servata substantiali unitate ritus romani, legitimis varietatibus et aptationibus . . . locus relinquatur, etiam cum libri liturgici recognoscuntur; et hoc in structura rituum . . . opportune præ oculis habeatur."

[14] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 831, ¶50: "Quamobrem ritus, probe servata eorum substantia, simpliciores fiant."

[15] Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, "*Varietates legitimæ*: Inculturation and the Roman Liturgy," in *The Liturgy Documents*, vol. 3 (Chicago: Liturgical Training Publications, 2013), p. 496. See Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, Instruction, *Varietates legitimæ* (January 25, 1994), *AAS*, 87 (1995), p. 289, *Varietates legitimæ*, ¶4: "duplicem motum."

[16] S. Iniobong Udoidem, *Pope John Paul II on Inculturation: Theory and Practice* (New York: University Press of America, 1996), pp. 7–11, 17–43.

near the beginning of his long pontificate, albeit with direct reference to catechesis and evangelization rather than to the liturgy. In his apostolic exhortation on catechesis, John Paul II contends that evangelization is the result of a "dialogue of cultures,"[17] wherein the Gospel message does not remain isolated from the culture to which it is brought and in which the culture is transformed and purified by its reception of the Gospel.

The same understanding is reinforced by the final report of the Second Extraordinary Synod of Bishops (1985), which defines the process of inculturation as "an intimate transformation of the authentic values of cultures through their integration in Christianity and the rooting of Christianity in various human cultures."[18] John Paul II ratifies this understanding again in his encyclical *Redemptoris Missio*, wherein he expresses the double movement succinctly: "Through inculturation, the church incarnates the Gospel in various cultures and, at the same time, invites peoples, with their own particular cultures, into her own community."[19]

This third tension could well serve as a summation of the first two. Just as the call for universality in *Tra le sollecitudini* and the foundational conservatism of *Sacrosanctum concilium* produce tensions with inculturation, so the Christianization required by the first movement of inculturation is in tension with the localization demanded by the second movement.

Priority among Liturgical Principles

That unity and inculturation both have essential roles to play in the liturgy is clear from the foregoing exposition. It remains undetermined, however, whether it is possible to establish the priority of one side over the other in each of the three tensions presented. On the basis of the liturgical documents and theological reflections of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, it will now be argued that inculturation into Christian culture must hold primacy over inculturation into the various cultures of the world.

John Paul II makes clear that the movement toward Christianization takes priority over the movement toward localization in his aforementioned exhortation on catechesis: "Catechesis would not exist if it were the Gospel, itself, that changed upon coming into contact with the cultures."[20] The priority of Christianization over localization is demonstrated, also, throughout his encyclical, *Slavorum Apostoli*, as he praises the evangelization efforts of Saints Cyril and Methodius and their transformative effects upon the native culture.[21]

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[17]John Paul II, Apostolic Exhortation, *Catechesi tradendæ* (October 16, 1979), *AAS,* 71 (1979), 1320, ¶53: "dialogum culturarum." Translation mine.

[18]Second Extraordinary Synod of Bishops, Relatio Finalis *Ecclesia sub Verbo Dei mysteria Christi celebrans pro salute mundi* (December 7, 1985), in *L'Osservatore Romano* (Italian ed.), CXXV, no. 285, 38.086, supplement (December 10, 1985), II, D, 4: "intimam transformationem authenticorum valorum culturalium per integrationem in christianismum et radicationem christianismi in variis culturis humanis." Translation mine.

[19]John Paul II, Encyclical Letter, *Redemptoris missio* (December 7, 1990), *AAS,* 83 (1991), 300, ¶52: "Hanc per inculturationem corporat Ecclesia Evangelium diversis in culturis ac simul gentes cum propriis etiam culturis in eandem suam communitatem inducit." Translation mine.

[20]*Catechesi tradendæ*, ¶53: "Non esset catechesis, si Evangelium ipsum mutaretur, cum culturas attingit." Translation mine.

[21]John Paul II, Encyclical Letter, *Slavorum Apostoli*

A 1988 document of the International Theological Commission (ITC) embraces the same position with respect to priority when it speaks of the church's obligation to re-center every culture into which the Gospel is received. The text declares:

> We cannot . . . forget the transcendence of the Gospel in relation to all human cultures in which the Christian faith has the vocation to root itself and come to fruition according to all its potentialities. However great the respect should be for what is true and holy in the cultural heritage of a people, this attitude does not demand that one should lend an absolute character to this cultural heritage.[22]

In this way, the ITC upholds the priority of that portion of the double movement which concerns the implantation of the Gospel within the local culture.

A strong supporter of both aspects of the double movement of inculturation, Joseph Ratzinger stresses the need for localization of the liturgy in this way:

> The sacrifice of one's own cultural heritage in favor of a Christianity with no particular human coloring or the disappearance of the cultural features of faith in the new culture would both be equally mistaken. It is the tension itself that is productive, renewing faith, and healing the culture. It would accordingly be nonsense to offer a Christianity that was, so to speak, precultural or deculturalized, as such a Christianity would be deprived of its own historical power and reduced to an empty collection of ideas.[23]

He advocates, nevertheless, that priority belongs to the movement toward Christianization of the local culture:

> The first and most fundamental way in which inculturation takes place is the unfolding of a Christian culture in all its different dimensions: a culture of cooperation, of social concern, of respect for the poor, of the overcoming of class differences, of care for the suffering and dying; a culture that educates mind and heart in proper cooperation; a political culture and a culture of law; a culture of dialogue, of reverence for life, and so on. This kind of authentic inculturation of Christianity then creates culture in the stricter sense of the word.[24]

(June 2, 1985), *AAS,* 77 (1985), 779–813, passim. See especially ¶¶ 9–13, 21–22, and 25.

[22]*International Theological Commission: Texts and Documents 1986–2007*, ed. Michael Sharkey and Thomas Weinandy (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2009), p. 17, III,iii,14. Commissio Theologica Internationalis, "Fides et inculturatio," *Gregorianum,* 70, no. 4 (1989), 641, ¶III,iii,14: "Oblivisci non possumus transcendentiam Evangelii relate ad omnes humanas culturas in quibus vocatur ut radicetur et secundum omnes suas augeatur virtualitates. Quantavis observantia esse possit erga id quod bonum et sanctum est in haereditate culturali cuiusdam populi, hæc tamen animi habitudo non implicat ut huic hæreditati culturali indoles tribuatur absoluta."

[23]Joseph Ratzinger, *Truth and Tolerance: Christian Belief and World Religions*, tr. Henry Taylor (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004), pp. 69–70.

[24]Joseph Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, tr. John Saward (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000), p. 201.

The provisions of *Summorum Pontificum*[25] also show forth the unity of these two principles in Ratzinger's thought by encouraging simultaneously pluralism of liturgical form and preservation of one rite.[26]

Recognizing the validity of both dimensions of the double movement, but emphasizing the priority given to universality over inculturation, a former Prefect of the CDW observes:

> I am an African. Let me say clearly: the liturgy is not the place to promote my culture. Rather, it is the place where my culture is baptized, where my culture is taken up into the divine. . . . When people become Christian, when they enter into full communion with the Catholic Church, they receive something more, something which changes them. Certainly, cultures and other Christians bring gifts with them into the Church. . . . But they bring these gifts with humility, and the Church in her maternal wisdom makes use of them as she judges appropriate.[27]

The priority of Christianization over localization with respect to the double movement is analogous to the interaction of the first tension, between unity and inculturation. While there remains a fruitful reciprocity between these two qualities of the liturgy, the mandate for unity maintains priority over the mandate for inculturation. This is supported by *Varietates Legitimæ*, which firmly asserts that "the process of inculturation must uphold the substantial unity of the Roman Rite."[28] Similarly, in the second tension, although there is a valuable interplay between conservatism and inculturation, priority must be granted to the former if the essence of the rite is not to be dissolved. This, too, finds support in *Varietates Legitimæ*, which is careful to limit the extent to which the *editiones typicæ* may be adapted. In contrast to those who claim that inculturation may result in "a new creation,"[29] *Varietates Legitimæ* clarifies that "the work of inculturation does not advocate the creation of new families of rites; taking into consideration, however, the needs of a given culture, inculturation leads to adaptations, which always remain part of the Roman Rite."[30]

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[25]Benedict XVI, Motu Proprio, *Summorum Pontificum* (July 7, 2007), *AAS,* 99 (2007), 776–81.

[26]Cassian Folsom, "Two 'Laws of Praying,' One 'Law of Believing': A Reflection on the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*," *Antiphon,* 24, no. 1 (2020), 19–30.

[27]Robert Sarah, "Towards an Authentic Implementation of *Sacrosanctum concilium*," in *Authentic Liturgical Renewal in Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Uwe Michael Lang (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 7–8.

[28]*Varietates legitimæ*, ¶36: "Inculturationis processus perficiendus est Ritus romani unitate substantiali servata." Translation mine.

[29]E.g., Pedro Arrupe, "On Inculturation to the Whole Society," Letter to the Society of Jesus (May 14, 1978), in *Selected Letters and Addresses*, vol. 3, ed. Jerome Aixala (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1981), p. 173. The same phrase is also employed by Aylward Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1988), p. 194. The same sentiment is expressed by Anscar J. Chupungco, "*Liturgiam authenticam* and Inculturation," *East Asian Pastoral Review,* 39, no. 1 (2002), 98.

[30]*Varietates legitimæ*, no. 36: "Inculturationis inquisitio non contendit ad novas familias rituales creandas; consulens autem culturæ datæ exigentiis, aptationes inducit, quæ semper pars manent Ritus romani." Translation mine.

The work of inculturation has been likened to the task of translation,[31] which is, itself, an area deeply affected by the tension between universality and locality. Anscar Chupungco argues that, in "translating" the Roman Rite into inculturated forms, only its "essential message"[32] has a universal quality requiring preservation. Authentic inculturation, however, necessarily involves much more than the simple transmission of content by means of equivalents. With respect to textual translation, *Liturgiam Authenticam* states that the translator "ought skillfully to employ the full capabilities of the vernacular language, such that, as integrally as possible, the same effect is reached with respect not only to the conceptual content, itself, but also to other aspects."[33] What is said here of textual translation applies equally to the "translation" involved in cultural adaptation. *Liturgiam Authenticam* confronts liturgists with a fundamental principle that should govern all attempts at inculturation, namely that the "substantial unity" of the Roman Rite cannot be reduced to its "conceptual content." The full complement of its distinctive attributes—its sobriety, elevated style, cursus, parallelism, precision, imagery, and many other features—pertain to the rite, itself, and must therefore be "translated" as faithfully as possible during the process of inculturation. This approach to inculturation arises not from "a certain sclerosis provoked by the obstructed attitudes of the past,"[34] but from a faithful reading of *Sacrosanctum concilium* and the instructions that authoritatively interpret it.

The full content of the Roman Rite—its sobriety, elevated style, cursus, parallelism, precision, imagery, and many other features—pertain to the rite itself.

[31]Anscar J. Chupungco, "Liturgy and Inculturation," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 2, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998), p. 361.

[32]Anscar J. Chupungco, *Cultural Adaptation of the Liturgy* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), pp. 42–43. He makes the same argument in Chupungco, "Liturgy and Inculturation," 345–346.

[33]Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, Instruction, *Liturgiam authenticam* (March 28, 2001), *AAS*, 93 (2001), 705, no. 59: "Deinde cum aliqua sollertia uti debet omnibus facultatibus linguæ vulgaris, ut integre, quantum fieri possit, eundem effectum assequatur, non solum quidem circa ipsum argumentum, sed etiam circa res alias." Translation mine. For an important critique of aspects of *Liturgiam Authenticam*, see Peter Jeffery, *Translating Tradition: A Chant Historian Reads* Liturgicam Authenticam (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2005), especially pp. 9–31 and 58–87.

[34]Adrien Nocent, "Les livres liturgiques typiques présentent-ils une méthode d'adaptation et en offrent-ils des modèles?" in *L'adattamento culturale della liturgia: metodi e modelli*, ed. Ildebrando Scicolone, Studia Anselmiana, 113, Analecta Liturgica 19 (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993), p. 150: "une certaine sclérose provoquée par les attitudes bloquées du passé." Translation mine.

The vital need to preserve the unity of the Roman Rite has been upheld also in the present pontificate. In his Motu Proprio *Magnum principium*, Pope Francis reemphasizes the directives of *Sacrosanctum concilium*, *Varietates legitimæ*, and *Liturgiam authenticam*,[35] all of which entrust significant responsibility for liturgical translation and inculturation to episcopal conferences.[36] Even as it stresses the role of episcopal conferences, however, *Magnum principium* stipulates a change to canon law that intensifies the requirement that liturgical translations be prepared in a way that preserves unity with the *editiones typicæ*.[37] The motu proprio reasserts, moreover, that episcopal conferences, together with the Apostolic See, have the duty to ensure that "the sense of the original text is rendered fully and faithfully and the translated liturgical books, even following adaptations, always illuminate the unity of the Roman Rite."[38]

Although the need for localization always remains, liturgical documentation since the turn of the twentieth century shows that priority rests with the universal dimension. The universality praised by *Tra le sollecitudini*, the conservatism lauded by *Sacrosanctum concilium*, and the Christianization of cultures so prized within the double movement, while not at odds with inculturation, maintain precedence over it.

Unity and Uniformity

Just as there exists a tension between the call for sacred music to be both universal and inculturated, so the roles of unity and uniformity in liturgical ritual are held in tension. Liturgical unity is here taken to mean correspondence in the essentials of faith among diverse communities, expressed in the broad structure of worship services and the faith communicated through their symbols and euchology. Liturgical uniformity presupposes liturgical unity and further requires a heightened degree of standardized liturgical praxis among diverse communities. Uniformity, in this sense, does not mean the dominance of one cultural patrimony over all others, but rather a practical catholicity that gives spirit and shape to the mystical body, all the while affirming that the body consists of varied parts.[39]

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[35]See *Sacrosanctum concilium*, nos. 22, 36, 39–40, 44, 63, 77, 120, 128; *Varietates legitimæ*, nos. 3, 27, 30–32, 36–37, 49, 51, 54-68, 70; and *Liturgiam authenticam*, nos. 15–16, 36, 45, 67, 70–73, 79–87, 89, 92–99, 104, 106, 108, 114–118, 121, 124, 126, 128, 132.

[36]Pope Francis, Motu Proprio *Magnum principium*, September 3, 2017, in *L'Osservatore Romano* (Italian ed.), CLVII, no. 207, 47.641, (September 10, 2017): 4: "Magnum principium a Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II confirmatum, ex quo precatio liturgica, ad populi captum accommodata, intellegi queat, grave postulavit *mandatum Episcopis concreditum* linguam vernaculam in liturgiam inducendi et versiones librorum liturgicorum parandi et approbandi." Emphasis added.

[37]The adverb "fideliter" (faithfully) is added to can. 838 to describe the manner in which vernacular liturgical books must be prepared: "Ad Episcoporum Conferentias spectat versiones librorum liturgicorum in linguas vernaculas fideliter . . . parare." *Codex Iuris Canonici auctoritate Ioannis Pauli PP. II promulgatus* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983), can. 838, §3.

[38]*Magnum principium*, ¶4: "sensus textus primigenii plene et fideliter reddatur ac libri liturgici translati, etiam post aptationes, semper refulgeant unitate ritus Romani." Translation mine.

[39]Avery Dulles, *The Catholicity of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 174–6. Cf., 1 Cor 12:12–27.

The documentation referenced thus far demonstrates a clear desire on the part of the church for liturgical unity and a concomitant hesitation about too rigid a uniformity. Still, evidence that even a certain degree of uniformity in the public worship of the church is desirable can be found in *Sacrosanctum concilium*'s section on the renewal of the liturgy, which advises that "marked differences between the rites found in neighbouring places should be avoided."[40] Although this statement is far from an encouragement toward the total homogenization of liturgical practices worldwide, it nonetheless testifies that uniformity is a good to be desired, at least at some level and in certain respects.

Similar testimony arises throughout the history of the church in a variety of locales and time periods. A survey of some of the more significant movements of the church toward liturgical uniformity will help to illustrate at what level and in which respects such uniformity has historically been deemed valuable.

Movements toward Uniformity in Liturgical History

An initial illustration of the ecclesial desire for liturgical uniformity may be drawn from the genre of the ancient church order. The multiplicity and variety of such texts[41] might first seem a better argument for liturgical diversity than liturgical uniformity. The contents of the church orders do, indeed, provide evidence of variety in early Christian worship, but their very existence is evidence of a movement toward uniformity. Among the possible reasons these texts were originally composed, one of the foremost is so that they could be shared and imitated. The texts as they were written and redacted exemplify not only how liturgies may have been performed, but also how their authors and editors thought they ought to be performed.[42] In this way, the church orders became influential, even authoritative, with the natural effect of centralizing the liturgical praxis of their readership around themselves.

A second example of increasing uniformity in Christian worship is found in the evolutionary process of the second through fourth centuries, through which the pluriform worship of local churches became centralized around several major sees. This period of formation of rites, once widely understood as an exercise in diversification, is now interpreted as an exercise in unification.[43] The process of ritual development "stimulated a corresponding unification and

[40] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 826, ¶23: "Caveatur etiam, in quantum fieri potest, ne notabiles differentiæ rituum inter finitimas regiones habeantur."

[41] E.g., *Didache*, *Apostolic Tradition*, *Didascalia*, *Canons of Hippolytus*, *Apostolic Constitutions*, *Testamentum Domini*, etc.

[42] Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 4–5, 91–97. A parallel exists in the later development of the Byzantine typikon and diataxis.

[43] Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 222. See also Paul F. Bradshaw, "Continuity and Change in Early Eucharistic Practice: Shifting Scholarly Perspectives," in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship: Papers Read at the 1997 Summer Meeting and the 1998 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History, 35 (Woodbridge-Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 1–17.

standardizing of church practice, liturgical and otherwise."[44]

The Constantinian era presents another set of pertinent examples. Concern over the threat of heresy, as well as increasing exchange between local churches, were essential forces in transforming the liturgy during this period of relative peace for the church.[45] These factors also figured prominently in the convening of the first ecumenical council at Nicæa (325). The very notion of an ecumenical council suggests a desire for unity of faith, and the documents of the councils provide manifold evidence of the further desire for some degree of practical uniformity. The texts of Nicæa I demonstrate, in addition to concern for unity of belief regarding Christological doctrine, a movement toward uniformity of liturgical practice in several ways. First, the council dictates a universal norm for the treatment of lapsed catechumens: "after they have spent three years as hearers only, they shall then be allowed to pray with the catechumens."[46] Second, new policies concerning the liturgical activity of deacons are promulgated:

> It has come to the attention of this holy and great synod that in some places and cities deacons give communion to presbyters, although neither canon nor custom allows this . . . Moreover, it has become known that some of the deacons now receive the Eucharist even before the bishops. All these practices must be suppressed.[47]

A third and especially clear Nicæan movement toward uniformity forbids kneeling on certain occasions: "Since there are some who kneel on Sunday and during the season of Pentecost, this holy synod decrees that, so that the same observances may be maintained in every diocese, one should offer one's prayers to the Lord standing."[48] The council's letter to the Egyptians also gives evidence of increased liturgical uniformity, announcing the resolution of the Easter controversy: "All the brethren in the East who have hitherto followed the Jewish practice will henceforth observe the custom of the Romans and of yourselves and of

[44]Robert F. Taft, "How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy," in *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1997), p. 203.

[45]Bernard Botte, "Le problème de l'adaptation en liturgie," *Revue du Clergé Africain,* 18 (1963), 311–16.

[46]Tanner, *Decrees*, 13, canon 14: "τριῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀκροασαμένους μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα εὔχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχουμένων." Both the Greek original and the English translation of texts of the Council of Nicaea are from Tanner.

[47]First Council of Nicaea, Tanner, *Decrees*, 14–15, canon 18: "Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον, ὅτι ἔν τισι τόποις καὶ πόλεσι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν κοινωνίαν οἱ διάκονοι διδόασιν, ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκε . . . κἀκεῖνο δὲ ἐγνωρίσθη ὅτι ἤδη τινὲς τῶν διακόνων καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἅπτονται. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντα περιαιρείσθω."

[48]First Council of Nicaea, Tanner, *Decrees*, 16, canon 20: "Ἐπειδὴ τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως παραφυλάττεσθαι, ἑστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ κυρίῳ." See also Gabriel Radle, "Embodied Eschatology: The Council of Nicaea's Regulation of Kneeling and Its Reception across Liturgical Traditions," *Worship,* 90, nos. 4 and 5 (July and September, 2016), 345–71 and 433–61.

all of us who from ancient times have kept Easter together."[49]

In the immediate post-Nicene period, evidence shows that two liturgical practices became universalized. First, Easter took on the role of the privileged day for celebrating baptisms, which had previously been only a local custom of Rome and North Africa.[50] Second, the season of Lent, which had previously been celebrated only sporadically and variously, came to be observed universally and consistently.[51] Both of these movements, Bradshaw contends, reflect "post-Nicene attempts to bring the divergent customs of different churches into some sort of conformity."[52]

One of the clearest examples of a movement toward liturgical uniformity is the transformation of the anaphora from an art of improvisation to an act of recitation. Although it was once commonly believed that the various ancient anaphoræ were indebted to a single prototype,[53] more recent research has shown that an original variety was gradually reduced to uniformity. Throughout the first three centuries, eucharistic prayers were freely extemporized, fixed neither in written form nor in oral form.[54] Evidence for the early freedom which characterized this central component of the liturgy is found in the *First Apology* of Justin Martyr, which records that "the president likewise sends up prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his ability."[55] The *Apostolic Tradition* offers a similar rubric: "The bishop shall give thanks according to what we said above. It is not at all necessary for him to utter the same words that we said above, as though reciting them from memory . . .

[49]First Council of Nicaea, letter of the synod to the Egyptians, Tanner, *Decrees*, 19: "πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἑῴᾳ ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸ πρότερον ποιοῦντας συμφώνως Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχαίου μεθ' ὑμῶν φυλάσσουσι τὸ πάσχα ἐκ τοῦ δεῦρο ἄγειν." The council fathers at Nicaea condemned the Antiochene practice for determining the date of Easter but did not establish an alternative; the thought of the council fathers is believed to be encapsulated in this synodical letter to the Egyptians, which is not formally a conciliar text. See Tanner, *Decrees*, 3-4.

[50]Paul F. Bradshaw, "'Diem baptismo sollemniorem': Initiation and Easter in Christian Antiquity," in ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΑ*: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, ed., E. Carr, S. Parenti, A.-A. Thiermeyer, and E. Velkovska, Studia Anselmiana, 110, Analecta Liturgica, 17 (Rome: Centro Studi S. Anselmo, 1993), pp. 41–51. As Bradshaw shows, Easter's privileged status for baptisms would ultimately prove to be short-lived, but this fact does not diminish the witness of the initial movement toward uniformity.

[51]Nicholas V. Russo, "The Origins of Lent," (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009), pp. 390–96.

[52]Bradshaw, "'Diem baptismo sollemniorem,'" 46.

[53]Louis Duchesne, *Origenes du culte chrétien: Étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne*, 4th ed. (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1908), pp. 54–55. See also Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, tr. Francis A. Brunner (Notre Dame, Ind.: Christian Classics, 1951), vol. 1, p. 22, n. 1.

[54]Allan Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula: The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, 21 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1981), p. 152.

[55]R.C.D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3rd ed. (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1990), p. 30. See Justin of Rome, *Apologie pour les chrétiens*, ed. Charles Munier, Sources chrétiennes, 507 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2006), p. 310, no. 67.5: "ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμτει."

but let each pray according to his ability."[56] In the fourth century, however, beginning in the East and continuing in the West, anaphoræ gradually shifted from extemporaneous prayers to written texts.[57] In an effort to avoid the introduction of heresy into freeform prayers, and because "the ability to pray well *ex improviso* is beyond the capabilities of most ministers,"[58] the church embraced the uniformity of fixed anaphoræ.

During the Carolingian period, the Frankish kingdom undertook one of history's most extraordinary programs of liturgical centralization. Anxious to unify his kingdom, Pepin the Short sought to replace the varied Gallican rites with the best of Roman practices. His son, Charlemagne, continued the project and achieved greater success, transforming the "liturgical anarchy"[59] that had prevailed in Frankish territories into a more uniform liturgical landscape.[60] Although politics account for part of their motivation, Pepin and Charlemagne were also inspired to enact these reforms by personal religious conviction.[61] Similar unifying reforms may be observed in the reigns of King Æthelberht in Britain, Saint Stephen in Hungary, and Saint Margaret in Scotland.

In the sixteenth century, the church reacted to the rise of Protestantism with several attempts to establish liturgical uniformity following the Council of Trent. It was at this time, for example, that the Sacred Congregation of Rites (predecessor to the CDW) was first established by Pope Sixtus V and given oversight of liturgical matters throughout the Roman church.[62] Additionally, the new *Breviarium Romanum* promulgated in 1568 and the new *Missale Romanum* of 1570 were made obligatory throughout the Western church, with exceptions granted only for rites in use for more than two hundred years. In

[56]Jasper & Cuming, *Prayers*, 36. See Hippolytus of Rome, *La Tradition apostolique: D'apres les anciennes versions*, 2nd ed., ed. Bernard Botte, Sources chrétiennes, 11bis (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968), p. 64, no. 9: "Episcopus autem gratias agat (εὐχαριστεῖν) secundum quod prædiximus. Nullo modo (οὐ πάντως) necessarium est (ἀναγκή) ut proferat eadem verba quæ prædiximus, quasi (ὡς) studens (μελετᾶν) ex memoria (ἀπόστηθος) . . . sed secundem suam potestatem unusquisque oret."

[57]Bouley, *Freedom to Formula*, 159. For a detailed review of explanations for this shift, see ibid., pp. 152–58.

[58]Ibid., p. 263.

[59]Cyrille Vogel, "Les motifs de la romanisation du culte sous Pépin et Charlemagne," in *Culto Cristiano: Politica imperiale carolingia*, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, 18 (Todi: Presso L'Accademia Tudertina, 1979), p. 18: "anarchie liturgique." Translation mine.

[60]Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul: To the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia, 3 (London: Boydell, 2001), pp. 42–95. On the continuation of varied practices amidst the Carolingian trend toward centralization, see Donald Bullough, "The Carolingian Liturgical Experience," in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship: Papers Read at the 1997 Summer Meeting and the 1998 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History, 35 (Woodbridge-Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 29–64.

[61]Theodor Klauser, *Kleine Abendländische Liturgiegeschichte: Bericht und Besinnung* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1965), pp. 75–76. See also Edmund Bishop, "Le Réforme liturgique de Charlemagne," *Ephemerides liturgicæ*, 45 (1931), 190 and Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 74–75, n. 1.

[62]Frederick R. McManus, "The Congregation of Sacred Rites" (J.C.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1954), pp. 23–28.

his bull accompanying the new *Missale Romanum*, Pope Pius V states plainly his desire for uniformity of practice: "in this, our newly published missal, nothing whatsoever is to be added, subtracted, or altered, under the penalty of our indignation."[63] Such a statement would have been impossible to conceive, much less enforce, before the invention of the printing press, as the social sciences have helped liturgical theology to appreciate:

> The textualization of ritual—the emergence of authoritative textual guidelines—has been linked to other developments such as (a) the ascendancy of so-called universal values over more local and particularistic ones; (b) the organization of larger, more bureaucratic, and centralized institutions; and (c) the formation of notions of orthodoxy versus heterodoxy, codified doctrines and formal dogma. Hence, textual ritual inevitably leads to tensions between a centralized liturgical tradition and local ritual life.[64]

These tensions are especially visible in the reforms of the Counter-Reformation period, which, though not effecting absolute conformity,[65] certainly promoted stricter liturgical uniformity in the wider church.

The Second Vatican Council presents yet another movement toward uniformity in public worship. According to Rembert Weakland, Pope Paul VI was concerned that the new order be universally accepted, since he considered it "axiomatic that the unity of the church was expressed in a unity of rite."[66] Endeavoring to recapture the classic form of the Roman Liturgy through *ressourcement*, the post-conciliar reforms extracted much of the Gallican influence that had been retained until then. The variants of the Roman Rite that had been exempted from *Missale Romanum* 1570, moreover, were no longer permitted for use after the promulgation of *Missale Romanum* 1970. In these ways, "for the first time a radical standardization of the liturgy had been carried out."[67]

In the years since the Second Vatican Council, the CDW instructions for the implementation of *Sacrosanctum concilium* have continued to stress the need for some degree of liturgical uniformity. The fourth instruction, for example, stipulates that "each particular church ought to be in accord with the universal church, not only regarding the doctrine of the faith and sacramentals, but also regarding those practices

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[63]Pius V, Apostolic Constitution, *Quo primum* (July 14, 1570), in *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum taurinensis editio*, vol. 7, part 2, ed. Francisco Gaude (Naples: Henrico Caporaso, 1882), CLXVI **§3**, 840: "huic missali nostro nuper editio nihil umquam addendum, detrahendum aut immutandum esse decernendo, sub indignationis nostræ pœna, hac nostra perpetuo valitura constitutione statuimus et ordinamus." Translation mine.

[64]Catherine Bell, "The Authority of Ritual Experts," *Studia Liturgica,* 23 (1993), 108.

[65]Aidan Kavanagh, "Liturgical Inculturation: Looking to the Future," *Studia Liturgica,* 20, no. 1 (1990), 96.

[66]Rembert Weakland, *A Pilgrim in a Pilgrim Church: Memoirs of a Catholic Archbishop* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), p. 205.

[67]Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, 163. Catherine Bell describes the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council as the "dismantling [of] a towering mountain of centuries of unified worship." Catherine Bell, "Ritual, Change, and Changing Rituals," *Worship,* 63, no. 1 (January 1989), 38.

universally received from the continuous and Apostolic Tradition."[68] The sacraments, the sanctification of Sunday, and the celebration of Easter are among a lengthy list of such practices provided in *Varietates Legitimæ*, ¶26. The fifth instruction likewise affirms that "vigilance is clearly required for the defense and authentic development of the liturgical rites, ecclesiastical traditions, and the discipline of the Latin church, especially the Roman Rite."[69]

The foregoing examples testify that unity of belief is not the sole standard to which the rites of the church have historically been held. Some degree of uniformity of praxis, in addition to unity of belief, has been found desirable in each of these cases. The use of uniform rituals in different eras and areas has historically served to define Catholic identity (both as communities and as persons), and it retains this ritualizing power even in post-modern society.[70]

Although the Roman Liturgy has never been bound to absolute worldwide conformity, the essential impetus toward uniformity has surfaced repeatedly, and it promotes catholicity and communion among the faithful of varied times and locales. Understood in this way, liturgical uniformity, within limits, helps to achieve the "reconciled diversity"[71] envisioned by the Second Vatican Council and the "creative stability"[72] advocated by Aidan Kavanagh. The witness of these historical examples helps to formulate a rubric that is useful for assessing the role of liturgical uniformity in the present day: uniformity holds value to the extent that it promotes stability and reconciliation and prevents chaos and fragmentation.[73]

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[68] *Varietates legitimæ*, ¶26: "unaquæque Ecclesia particularis concordare debet cum Ecclesia universali non solum quoad fidei doctrinam et signa sacramentalia, sed etiam quoad usus universaliter acceptos ab apostolica et continua traditione." Translation mine.

[69] *Liturgiam authenticam*, ¶4: "vigil cura sane requiritur ad tuendos et authentica ratione provehendos ritus liturgicos, traditiones ecclesiasticas atque disciplinam Ecclesiæ Latinæ, specialiter Ritus romani." Translation mine.

[70] Cf., Bell, "Ritual, Change, and Changing Rituals," 40–41.

[71] Dulles, *Catholicity*, 24, 29, 82, 174, and 176.

[72] Aidan Kavanagh, "How Rite Develops: Some Laws Intrinsic to Liturgical Evolution," *Worship,* 41, no. 6 (June-July 1967), 347.

[73] Joseph Ratzinger, "Assessments and Future Prospects," in *Looking Again at the Question of the Liturgy with Cardinal Ratzinger: Proceedings of the July 2001 Fontgombault Liturgical Conference*, ed. Alcuin Reid (Farnborough, Hampshire: Saint Michael's Abbey Press, 2003), p. 150.

The Unitive Potential of Gregorian Chant

From a variety of sources from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, it has been argued that the unity of the Roman Rite is an essential priority in the establishment of the church's sacred rites. Drawing on numerous historical examples, it has further been argued that some measure of uniformity has also been considered valuable for the ordering of public worship. It will now be argued that few aspects of the liturgical act are so well equipped for promoting universality, unity, and uniformity as sacred music, particularly in the form of Gregorian chant, the music of the Roman Rite *par excellence*.

Symbol of Unity

Among the many strengths of Gregorian chant, its monophonic texture is paramount because of its social impact upon the liturgical assembly. The absence of vocal harmony in chant is neither a deficiency nor a liability; by gathering many voices together to sing as one, rather, chant produces a more fundamental form of harmony that is not vocal, but spiritual. Through the purity of chant's unaccompanied and unadorned melody, "prayer ceases to be individualistic and becomes universal."[74]

The ability of chant to unite the faithful was perceived by many of the pioneers of the liturgical movement. Virgil Michel, the father of the movement in America, recognized the tremendous power of chant not only to unite people, but also to adapt to various contexts:

> The Gregorian chant is eminently adapted to unite the hearts of all in a common fellowship of prayer and worship. The unity of faith, of heart, of worship, is paralleled by unity of song. In the Gregorian chant, there is only one voice. In its musical expression of the liturgical sentiments there is always unison of melody. The congregation chanting is never divided against itself; as all hearts are united in the same service so all voices are united in the same melodious expression of the common worship.[75]

Gregorian chant also promotes unity among believers by virtue of its exclusive use of the common language of the Roman Rite. As Pope Pius XII observes, "the use of the Latin language . . . is a visible and beautiful sign of unity, as well as an effective remedy against whatever might corrupt the seed of doctrine."[76]

Still more, on account of its long history of use in the Roman Rite, Gregorian chant establishes unity among believers that is not limited to those presently living. It reaches, rather, "through the ages"[77] and connects

[74]Ernest Benjamin Koenker, *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1954), p. 156.

[75]Virgil Michel, *The Liturgy of the Church According to the Roman Rite* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), p. 327.

[76]Pius XII, Encyclical Letter, *Mediator Dei* (November 20, 1947), *AAS,* 39 (1947), 545, ¶60: "Latinæ linguæ usus . . . perspicuum est venustumque unitatis signum, ac remedium efficax adversus quaslibet germanæ doctrinæ corruptelas." Translation mine.

[77]Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, Letter, *Voluntati Obsequens* (April 14, 1974) to bishops accompanying the booklet *Iubilate Deo,* in ICEL, *Documents on the Liturgy (1963–1979): Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts*, ed. and tr. Thomas C. O'Brien (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1982), p. 1327, doc. 523, no.

the faithful of disparate periods. This is an essential dimension of catholicity, which entails continuity with the tradition of the church.[78]

Thus, Gregorian chant fosters unity by its monophonic texture, its reliance upon Latin, and its stability of use over time.

An Untethered Patrimony

One of the strengths of liturgical inculturation is that it encourages a sense of connectedness between the faithful of a particular culture and the wider church. As Chupungco observes, inculturated rituals allow people "to identify with the liturgy and claim it as their own."[79] The localization prompted by inculturation, however, must have its limits if the ritual bonds uniting the mystical body, the church, are not to be liquidated.[80] Said another way, the "otherness" of the church's liturgical rites as a patrimony untethered to any particular culture is essential and beneficial for the communion of the worldwide church. Saint Paul admonishes the Corinthians that a Eucharist celebrated in the midst of divisions is not a true Eucharist (1 Cor. 11:17–20); similarly, "a Eucharist which takes place in conscious and intentional isolation and separation from other local communities in the world is not a true Eucharist."[81]

The need for liturgy to be somewhat detached from local culture is well articulated in *Gaudium et spes*, the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Church in the Modern World:

> The church . . . living in various conditions of history, has adopted the discoveries of various cultures to spread and explain the news of Christ in its preaching to all nations, to explore it and understand it more deeply, and to express it better in liturgical celebration and in the life of the varied community of the faithful.
>
> At the same time the church, which has been sent to all peoples of whatever age and region, is not connected exclusively and inseparably to any race or nation, to any particular pattern of human behavior, or to any ancient or recent customs. Loyal to its own tradition and at the same time conscious of its universal mission, it is able to enter into a communion with different forms of culture which enriches both the church and the various cultures.[82]

4237. Sacra Congregatio pro Cultu Divino, *Voluntati Obsequens* (epistola qua volumen "Iubilate Deo" ad episcopos missum est), Letter, April 14, 1974, *Notitiæ*, 10 (1974), 123: "tot sæcula."

[78]Dulles, *Catholicity*, 176.

[79]Chupungco, "Liturgy and Inculturation," 339.

[80]Victor Turner, "Ritual, Tribal and Catholic," *Worship,* 50, no. 6 (November 1976), 525.

[81]John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church*, Contemporary Greek Theologians, 4 (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), p. 257.

[82]Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et spes* (December 7, 1965), in Tanner, *Decrees*, 1109, ¶58: "Ecclesia, decursu temporum variis in condicionibus vivens, diversarum culturarum inventa adhibuit, ut nuntium Christi in sua prædicatione ad omnes gentes diffundat et explicet, illud investiget et altius intelligat, in celebratione liturgica atque in vita multiformis communitatis fidelium melius exprimat. At simul, ad omnes populos cuiusvis ætatis et regionis missa, ecclesia nulli stirpi aut nationi, nulli particulari morum rationi, nulli antiquæ aut novæ consuetudini exclusive et

The greatness of a liturgical rite, therefore, shines forth most brilliantly in its capacity to embrace a multitude of cultures, creating communion among them. In this way, liturgy transcends the control of any particular group and manifests itself as a gift to be received, rather than as an object to be produced.[83]

Remaining the property of no particular culture is especially beneficial for sacred music, for only in this manner is music for the liturgy capable of transcending divisions and belonging to all the faithful.[84] If it is to satisfy the criterion of Pius X of universality, sacred music should command "a universal appeal which makes it suitable for all cultures and peoples."[85] Thus, a musical form capable of presenting itself as eminently catholic—no more possessed by one culture than another—would be ideal for liturgical use.

Gregorian chant might not seem, at first, to be a good candidate, on account of its strong historic ties to the Western culture of the early medieval period, which could cause it to be rejected as a form of cultural imperialism. This accusation would be unfounded, however, inasmuch as an essential premise of imperialism is that "one culture imposes its values upon another."[86] In order for its widespread use to be considered a form of imperialism or colonialism, Gregorian chant would have to be an indigenous feature of Western musical culture today. This is not the case, however, as Gregorian chant has, in practice, receded to the point of near disappearance in the Roman Rite. Thus, although plainchant is historically the forebear of nearly all other Western music, "culturally speaking, from the present day, it is a neutral music, immanently worthy and yet a stranger to all."[87]

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Comparative studies of early plainchant traditions, furthermore, have questioned the extent to which Gregorian chant is indebted, in its origins, to the Western cultural inheritance. Two examples will suffice to demonstrate that the roots of Gregorian chant are not purely Roman. First, the system of eight modes, which underlies the Western plainchant tradition, was initially

indissolubiliter nectitur. Propriæ traditioni inhærens et insimul missionis suæ universalis conscia, communionem cum diversis culturæ formis inire valet, qua tum ipsa ecclesia tum variæ culturæ ditescunt." Both the Latin original and the English translation of *Gaudium et Spes* are from Tanner.

[83]Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, 165.

[84]With respect to chant belonging to the faithful, see *Mediator Dei*, ¶191.

[85]Francis Arinze, Address to the Gateway Liturgical Conference, St. Louis, Mo. <http://www.vactican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20061111_gateway-conference_en.html>.

[86]Joseph P. Swain, *Sacred Treasures: Understanding Catholic Liturgical Music* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2012), p. 294.

[87]Ibid. See also ibid., 116–17.

"foreign to the city of Rome."[88] The modal system actually originated in the environs of Jerusalem,[89] and its eighth-century adoption in the West required the acculturation of the Greek terminology that had long been associated with the modes.[90] The modes, moreover, relate to pentatonic scale, which is native to the cultures of such diverse places as China, Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia, Hungary, and West Africa.[91] A second example is found in the offertory chants (*sacrificia*) of the Mozarabic tradition, which exhibit an exceptional level of refinement that both surpasses and predates the system of Roman offertory chants.[92] Their early sophistication demands a reappraisal of the origins of liturgical plainchant from a perspective that is not centered in Rome. These two examples suggest that the music most associated with the Roman liturgical tradition is not strictly Roman, but rather indebted to a melting pot of influences.

If, as has been argued, there is value in the independence of sacred music from particular cultures, then Gregorian chant may be the ideal liturgical music for our age.

Structural Integrity of the Rite

Whereas *Sacrosanctum concilium* makes clear that "the church has not regarded any style of art as its own,"[93] the same cannot be said with regard to music. As the same document observes: "The church recognizes Gregorian chant as something special to the Roman liturgy, which should thus, other things being equal, be given a place of primacy in liturgical activity."[94] As a result of

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[88]Peter Jeffery, "Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): The Musical Heritage of Two Great Cities in the Formation of the Medieval Chant Traditions," in *Chant and its Origins*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2009), p. 166.

[89]Peter Jeffery, "The Earliest Oktōēchoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginnings of Modal Ordering," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West, in Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. Peter Jeffery (Woodbridge-Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 207–209.

[90]Jeffery, "The Earliest Oktōēchoi," 162.

[91]Daniel Saulnier, *Gregorian Chant: A Guide to the History and Liturgy*, tr. Mary Berry (Brewster, Mass.: Paraclete Press, 2009), p. 53.

[92]Rebecca Malloy, "Old Hispanic Chant and the Early History of Plainsong," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2014), 67–68.

[93]*Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 841, ¶123: "Ecclesia nullum artis stilum veluti proprium habuit."

[94]*Sacrosanctum concilium*, ed. Tanner, 840, ¶116: "Ecclesia cantum gregorianum agnoscit ut liturgiæ romanæ proprium: qui ideo in actionibus liturgicis, ceteris paribus, principem locum obtineat."

this close affinity, Gregorian chant is recognized as an integral part of the liturgy both by *Tra le sollecitudini*[95] and by *Sacrosanctum concilium*.[96] Thus, in order for the Roman Rite to be celebrated with integrity in any place, and in order for there to be unity among all the places in which it is celebrated, Gregorian chant cannot be dismissed.

Underlying the difference of approach of *Sacrosanctum concilium* to sacred art and to sacred music is the unique and foundational connection between the Roman Liturgy and its proper chant. Michel rightly claims that "the liturgy and the chant belong together both in origin and development."[97] Indeed, the mutual development of the Roman Rite and Gregorian chant is so close that to remove the chant from the Roman Liturgy is to disrupt the inherent logic of the rite. No other form of music can claim to be integral to the Roman Liturgy to the same extent as Gregorian chant. Having grown up "symbiotically,"[98] the Roman Rite and its native chant belong to each other in such a way that one is incomplete without the other. Still more, Gregorian chant is out of place anywhere but within the liturgy, since its texts, melodies, and forms are crafted specifically for the service of the liturgy.[99]

If it is true that Gregorian chant is an integral part of the Roman Rite in this sense, then the unity of the Roman Rite—so highly prized by liturgical legislation since Pius X—demands that Gregorian chant be preserved, promoted, and performed therein.

Accessibility

The potential for Gregorian chant to unify diverse peoples is greatly enhanced by its accessibility. Gregorian chant has been described as "supra national, accessible to those of any culture equally,"[100] a claim to which at least three qualities of chant testify.[101] First, the corpus of chants includes many with limited ranges, apt for use by non-professionals. Second, chant derives from oral tradition, so many pieces of the repertoire are easily memorized, making the genre a special blessing for cultures with low rates of literacy. Third, chant is a very inexpensive form of music, as it demands no instrumentation or amplification and it boasts many

[95] *Tra le sollecitudini*, ¶1: "La musica sacra, come parte integrante della solenne liturgia." *Inter plurimas pastoralis*, ¶1: "Musica sacra, prout pars integrans solemnis liturgiæ."

[96] *Sacrosanctum concilium*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 839, ¶112: "Musica traditio ecclesiæ universæ thesaurum constituit pretii inæstimabilis, inter ceteras artis expressiones excellentem, eo præsertim quod ut cantus sacer qui verbis inhæret necessariam vel integralem liturgiæ sollemnis partem efficit."

[97] Michel, *Liturgy*, 330.

[98] Edward Schaefer, *Catholic Music through the Ages: Balancing the Needs of a Worshipping Church* (Mundelein, Ill.: Hillenbrand Books, 2008), p. 161.

[99] Theodore Marier, "Gregorian Chant, a Liturgical Art Form," *Sacred Music*, 127, no. 1 (Spring 2000), 15. See also William Peter Mahrt, "The Propers of the Mass as Integral to the Liturgy," in *Benedict XVI and Beauty in Sacred Music*, ed. Janet Elaine Rutherford, Fota Liturgy Series, 3 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 149–62.

[100] William Peter Mahrt, "Gregorian Chant as a Paradigm of Sacred Music," in *The Musical Shape of the Liturgy* (Richmond, Va.: Church Music Association of America, 2012), p. 117.

[101] Swain, *Sacred Treasures*, 294. See also Joseph Swain, "Gregorian Chant Is Too Hard for Our Parish: A Myth Exploded," *Sacred Music,* 145, no. 2 (Summer 2018), 30–32.

resources that are freely available.

At the same time, the accessibility of Gregorian chant ought not to be interpreted as the reflection of an impoverished form. Plainchant, rather, commands richness in its simplicity:

> [Chant] is fundamentally simple, so that the unlearned, the uncultured, may catch something of it and enter into its spirit. But its simplicity is that of greatness, and so it offers food also for the most cultured minds. It is one and the same chant for the lowly and the great.[102]

Chant is especially suited to the task of uniting peoples who are otherwise separated by culture, age, education, language, and economic status.

Chant, then, is especially suited to the task of uniting peoples who are otherwise separated by culture, age, education, language, and economic status.

If accessibility, in these ways, shows itself to be desirable for achieving liturgical unity, then Gregorian chant again distinguishes itself as a most useful tool.

Room for Interpretation

Although Gregorian chant possesses tremendous unitive potential, as argued above, it is not a monolith. Both as a body and in its individual chants, rather, the Gregorian repertoire admits of interpretation. Opportunities for interpretation are most evident in the rhythm of chant, as the lengths of syllables have "infinitely variable quantities."[103] This leeway has given rise to the entire field of chant semiology, which studies the notation of plainsong and its meaning. The freedom within chant holds true across both time and space, as chant has historically been performed variously in different ages and in different locales.[104] Just as there are different schools within the genre of sacred polyphony,[105] so it is possible to distinguish varied methods of interpreting Gregorian chant.[106]

The various methods of chant interpretation may be likened to that natural incul-

[102]Michel, 328.

[103]Swain, *Sacred Treasures*, 99.

[104]David G. Hughes, "From the Advent Project to the Late Middle Ages: Some Issues of Transmission," in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, ed. Sean Gallagher, James Haar, John Nádas, and Timothy Striplin (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003), p. 194.

[105]E.g., the Franco-Flemish, English, Roman, Spanish, and Venetian schools. See Schaefer, *Catholic Music*, 73–80.

[106]E.g., the method of Dom Joseph Pothier and the method of Dom André Mocquereau (the "Solesmes Method"). See Schaefer, *Catholic Music,* 109–11. See also Charles Cole, "The Solesmes Chant Tradition: The Original Neumatic Signs and Practical Performance Today," *Sacred Music*, 139, no 3 (Fall 2012), 8–24.

turation of the liturgy which Ratzinger describes as arising effortlessly:

> The liturgy, without any manipulation of the rite, has always quite spontaneously, through the way it is celebrated, borne the imprint of each culture in which it is celebrated . . . enabling people to feel completely at home. And yet, in every place we can experience it as one and the same liturgy . . . the great communion of faith.[107]

In the same way, the chants of the Roman Rite permit this type of local variation even as they bridge divides and foster universality.

Thus, the proposition that Gregorian chant has a unique role to play in promoting universality, unity, and some level of uniformity in divine worship does not suggest rigidity or lack of flexibility. While capable of uniting the faithful of a worldwide church for all the reasons argued above, Gregorian chant nevertheless remains more supple than ironclad. It succeeds, therefore, in responding to the church's call for sacred music to be both universal and inculturated, building a bridge that eases the related tensions.

Conclusion

The two essential courses charted for sacred music in the twentieth century were universality and inculturation. Although the interplay of these two challenges presents inherent tensions, these tensions should be viewed more as invitations than as contradictions. If universality and inculturation are perceived as opposites, one or both of them is not being rightly understood. These two goals, so clearly desired by the liturgical movement and the liturgical reforms of the twentieth century, should rather be seen as complementary, with universality holding a certain priority. The demand of universality is to recognize the value of liturgical catholicity that runs deeper than mere conceptual content, yet does not devolve into slavish homogeneity. The challenge of inculturation is to facilitate both aspects of the "double movement," without obscuring the primacy of the movement toward Christianization.

If universality and inculturation are perceived as opposites, one or both of them is not being rightly understood.

The historical development of the liturgy reveals that the church has consistently valued not only unity in her worship, but also some degree of uniformity. The type of uniformity which the church deems beneficial is that which respects the fundamental good of diversity while rejecting its excesses and promotes the catholicity prompted by shared practice without imposing needlessly rigid structures.

A vital task for liturgical musicians in the twenty-first century is to demonstrate the unity that can be forged between the universal and the inculturated. Gregorian chant is especially well suited to serve this unitive role. ❖

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[107]Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, 202.

Josephine Morgan, R.S.C.J., and the Rapid Response to Vatican II by Pius X School of Liturgical Music: A 1964 Composers Meeting and 1967 Composers Forum

After the council, Mother Morgan headed a project to provide new music for the English liturgy; she engaged a large group of distingished composers and liturgists and raised funding for the publication of the music.

by Francis Brancaleone

Emerging from the fifties and moving into the sixties, the Catholic Church was thriving across America. Attendance was up at Mass, Catholic education was doing very well, and we even had a Catholic President. Sure, there was a war going on but it was somewhere over there and America led the world militarily and economically. Culturally, as long as everyone stayed in their assigned lanes, there would be peace. In terms of music, jazz, blues, country music, pop crooners, and soft rock 'n' roll lived side-by-side. What could possibly go wrong?.

Well, that surface complacency was soon to be disturbed and only a few saw the seismic wave of change about to break on the scene. One of the most important of those was Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, born to sharecroppers in the province of Bergamo, Italy on November 25, 1881, the third child of thirteen. When elected as a sort of "place-marker" Pope (John XXIII) at the age of seventy-six on October 28, 1958, he was not expected to change dramatically the Catholic liturgical world. In retrospect, he was just one, albeit a most important one, of many change agents working behind the scenes, waiting to be unmuzzled and speak out freely with startling results.

However, before plunging into a discussion of the ramifications of the Second Vatican Council, and the response of Mother Josephine Morgan R.S.C.J., it is necessary to review a few of the more important, sometimes seemingly unconnected, events and ideas that set the stage.

From the outside, the Catholic Church

Francis Brancaleone is Professor Emeritus of music at Manhattanville College in New York.

appears to be a giant monolith, immutable, moving if at all, at a rate somewhat slower than an ice-age glacier. But in reality, it is more like a volcano, which on the surface appears calm, placid, snow-capped, peak-in-the-clouds, while internally all kinds of turbulent discourse and action is churning. At least, that is what it would seem to have been like in the decades leading up to and immediately following the convocation of the Second Vatican Council by Pope John XIII. The cascading events of the roughly three-score years beginning in 1903 amply demonstrate the vibrancy of the church's life.

Church eternal vs. man temporal seems to underlie the struggle between the ideal directives coming from on high, from Holy Mother Church and the work of the day-to-day clerics out in the field having to deal with the regular men and women seeking salvation, yet trapped in an everyday struggle for existence.

For example: Although the 1903 Motu Proprio *Tra le sollecitudini* of Pope Pius X defined the place of Roman Catholic church music in the liturgy and clearly announced Gregorian chant as the musical ideal for its expression of sanctity, purity of form, beauty, and holiness, there was always the practical matter of the congregational participation and local customs. As early as 1909, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Ecclesiastical Music: Church Regulations," we find:

> The regulations are contained in the Missal, the "Cæremoniale Episcoporum"[1] and the decrees of councils and of the popes. The universally binding decrees of the Congregation of Rites are collected in "Decreta authentica," and have been, since 1909, published in the "Acta Apostolicæ Sedis."[2] Purely local directions need no special publication for those immediately concerned. It is in some cases legitimate to assume that, in unessential matters, a given rule has rather a directive than a prescriptive character, provided the wording does not declare the contrary. . . . Whenever exceptionally serious difficulties stand in the way, positive laws are not binding, unless the lawgiver explicitly insists on their fulfilment.
>
> The verbal and musical texts are equally subject to ecclesiastical control. The use of the Vatican edition of the Gregorian chant has been generally binding since Sept. 25, 1905. However, bishops may, owing to local difficulties, defer the execution of the law. . . . The "motu proprio" directs that all other musical performances be watched over by a commission appointed by the ordinary, so that in all places compositions of the proper character and within the capacity of the singers may be performed.[3]

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[1]"A book containing the rites and ceremonies to be observed at Mass, Vespers, and other functions, by bishops and prelates of inferior rank, in metropolitan, cathedral, and collegiate churches." Augustin Joseph Schulte, "Cæremoniale Episcoporum," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. 3 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908) <https://www.newadvent. org/cathen/03133a.htm>.

[2]"For ecclesiastical legislation, one must follow the *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, a monthly official bulletin published in Rome; the promulgation of laws authentic interpretations, decisions and rescripts of the Roman Curia is now effected *ipso facto* by publication in this periodical." Walter Drum, "Pastoral Theology," *Catholic Encyclopedia* <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14611a.htm>.

[3]Gerhard Gietmann, "Ecclesiastical Music," *Catholic Encyclopedia* <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10648a.htm>.

It is not too far a stretch to see in this discussion a relaxing of some of the restrictions set forth in the 1903 motu proprio. However, there may be more to it, such as a nod toward an underlying influence of Modernism.[4]

Another important step was taken in America when, in 1940, St. John's Benedictine Abbey of Collegeville, Minnesota, initiated the first Benedictine Liturgical Conference named "Liturgical Weeks." Susan Benofy writes:

> In 1943 this organization became simply the Liturgical Conference, and was no longer sponsored by the Benedictines. The Liturgical Weeks were attended by thousands of priests, religious, and laity interested in liturgical reform.
>
> At first the main concern of the Liturgical Movement was that people be educated about the liturgy so they could better understand and participate in it. Later some liturgists decided that the people's participation would be possible only if changes were made in the rites, and began to advocate such changes. Thus many of the practices associated with the "New Mass" after the Council actually had their beginnings decades earlier.[5]

In the second part of her article, Benofy gives a synopsis in which she describes the vigorous debate within church leaders in the decade or so leading up to November 29, 1964. As early as 1948, Benofy tells us that "Pope Pius XII set up a commission to study liturgical reform, and several changes resulted. . . . A series of meetings were [sic] held in Europe starting in 1951 at which liturgists from several countries came together to discuss reform of the liturgy." A couple of American priests, Fathers Frederick McManus and Godfrey Diekmann, designated periti (experts), were members of the preparatory commission and acted as advisors to the council's bishops.[6]

When the Bishops' Commission of the Liturgical Apostolate was created in 1958, Father Diekmann wrote of its purpose: "It was intended, moreover, to serve as a liaison between the hierarchy and the Liturgical Conference."[7] As Benofy tells us, "such ideas were also spread by the Liturgical Conference through its annual Liturgical Weeks, which increased greatly in popularity immediately before and during the Council."[8] According to Diekmann, the 1964 St. Louis meeting drew 20,000.[9]

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[4]"In Roman Catholic church history, a movement in the last decade of the 19th century and first decade of the 20th that sought to reinterpret traditional Catholic teaching in the light of 19th-century philosophical, historical, and psychological theories and called for freedom of conscience." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. Modernism, Roman Catholicism <https://www.britannica.com/event/Modernism-Roman-Catholicism>.

[5]Susan Benofy, "The Day the Mass Changed, How it Happened and Why, Part I: The Liturgical Movement," *Adoremus Bulletin*, 15, no. 10 (February 2010) <https://adoremus.org/2010/02/15/The-Day-the-Mass-Changed/>.

[6]Susan Benofy, "The Day the Mass Changed, How it Happened and Why, Part II," *Adoremus Bulletin*, 15, no. 11 (March 2010) <https://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?recnum=9378>.

[7]Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., "Liturgical Practice in the United States and Canada," in *The Church Worships*, eds. Johannes Wagner et al., Concilium: Theology in the Age of Renewal, 12 (New York: Paulist Press, 1966), pp. 157–66, quoted in Benofy, Part II.

[8]Benofy, Part II.

[9]Diekmann, "Liturgical Practice," quoted in Benofy, Part II.

Behind the scenes, there was plenty of activity surrounding the future of the liturgy. Benofy says Diekmann wrote in March 1964, "Fred [McManus] and I have been very busy lecturing to groups of priests throughout the country ever since returning from Rome. And the list of such engagements stretches though the next months, until September."[10]

Now, imagine yourself as the leader of an important international school in the middle of all this activity when "less than three months after his election Pope John XXIII announced that he would hold a diocesan synod for Rome, convoke an ecumenical council for the universal Church, and revise the Code of Canon Law. The synod, the first in the history of Rome, was held in 1960; the Second Vatican Council was convoked in 1962 [Vatican I, 1869–1870]; and the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of the Code was appointed in 1963."[11]

More specifically, imagine yourself as directress of the internationally known Pius X School of Liturgical Music and you know that practically the entire western Catholic world is looking to your institution for liturgical musical guidance.

Mother Josephine Morgan, R.S.C.J.,[12] was not completely unprepared. Some of the seminal figures in implementing the changes in the liturgy had been appearing at the college for years. Among them, in the summer of 1957, Msgr. Frederick McManus[13]and Rev. Godfrey Diekmann,

[10]Quoted in Benofy, Part II. Kathleen Hughes, *The Monk's Tale: A Biography of Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B.* (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 252.

[11]"Biography of Pope John XXIII, 1958–1963," (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, n.d.) <https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/biography/documents/hf_j-xxiii_bio_16071997_biography.html>.

[12]**Mother Josephine Morgan, R.S.C.J.,** (1909–1992) held a Mus.B. (1941) and B.S.M. (1956) from Manhattanville and a Mus.D. Hon. Causa from Seton Hall; see the 1966 *Manhattanville College Catalogue*, available in the Alumni Office. She was a dynamic force as director of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music from 1952 to 1969. Mother Morgan took an active part in the production of the *Pius X Hymnal* and during her tenure, the Pius X School was "cited . . . for its role in improving the quality of liturgical music." Obituary: "Sister Josephine Morgan, Ex-Music School Director, 83," *The New York Times*, July 6, 1992, Section A, p. 14 <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/07/06/obituaries/sister-josephine-morgan-ex-music-school-director-83.html>. I am Dr. Anthony LaMagra, for telling me that he heard Mother Morgan sing Gregorian chant. He said that she had a very beautiful voice and that he had also seen her conduct Gregorian chant and was equally impressed with her craft and musicianship. LaMagra taught at Manhattanville College from 1965 to 2003, and became chair of the music department in 1971 and the director and chair from 1973 to 2003.

[13]**Msgr. Frederick McManus** (1923–2005), "an internationally known canon law expert in the Catholic Church, was acclaimed for his contributions to the Second Vatican Council's constitution on the liturgical changes in the Mass—including the transition from Latin to English." He was selected as a *peritus* (expert) to the council and advised American bishops on canon law and the liturgy. Gloria Negri in the *Boston Globe* quotes a 1964 profile in *The New York Times* as crediting him with "preparing and dissecting the fortunes of the Vatican Council's monumental constitution. . . . Well before Vatican II approved the use of English in the Mass, Monsignor McManus had been developing the English text and working on it in Rome with bishops and cardinals of English-speaking countries." In 1964, McManus celebrated the first English Mass in America in St. Louis, Missouri. He was the author of seven books and many articles, and although not a musician, he was "instrumental in the organization of the National Association of Pastoral Musicians." Gloria Negri, "Frederick McManus, a Leader in

O.S.B.,[14] were both there. Rev. Rembert Weakland, O.S.B.,[15]spoke in 1958. While in 1963 Rev. Gerald S. Sloyan, Ph.D., appeared with a return visit by McManus. McManus and Diekmann went on to be celebrants of the first Masses in English celebrated in August, 1964.

However, backtracking slightly, although he had been ill, it was still unexpected when Pope John XXIII died on June 3, 1963, having just begun the process of extensive liturgical reform. Seemingly overnight, on December 4, 1963, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum concilium*, promulgated by Pope Paul VI, with its far-reaching changes and recommendations appeared.

Then with remarkable speed and foresight, in an effort to stay ahead of the drastic changes being put forward, Mother Morgan drafted Rev. Clement James "CJ" McNaspy, S.J.[16] to be her co-chair for a

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Switch to English Use in Mass," *Boston Globe*, December 2, 2005 <http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/12/02/frederick_mcmanus_a_leader_in_switch_to_english_use_in_mass/>; see also "First English Mass in U.S. Offered in St. Louis; Protestant Hymns Open and Close Rite Before 11,000 in Kiel Auditorium," *New York Times*, August 25, 1964 <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/08/25/archives/first-english-mass-in-u-s-offered-in-st-louis-protestant-hymns-open.html>.

[14]**Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B.** (1908–2002), a professor of theology at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, and the editor of *Worship* (formerly *Orate Fratres*) since 1938, "was one of the prime movers in the North American Liturgical Conference during the 1940s and 1950s." "The Beginning," *Worship* website (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press) <http://journalworship.org/About/Index>.

[15]**Rembert Weakland**, O.S.B., (b. 1927). At the Dominican Convent of Méry-sur-Oise in France in early July of 1968, Weakland "presented a Mass he had composed in a medium that was entirely new to most of those present—concrete music. *Materialiter loquendo,* it consisted of unidentified sounds from city life, recorded on tape, and arranged to a rhythmic pattern dictated by an analysis of the liturgical texts. *Avant-garde* music, we are told, avoided melodies, just as much of contemporary painting avoided recognizable forms. Furthermore, it had promoted the tape-recorder to the dignity of a musical instrument in its own right. This disconcerting concert made even the most eloquent of the participants curiously silent, and was the most 'futuristic' item on the program. In its own way, it too was *mysterium-fascinans, et tremendum*." Damian Smyth, "The Office in Today's Communities;" *Liturgie et Monastères*, 3rd Session, Méry-sur-Oise, July 1–4, 1968: Tape Recorded 'Concrete Music' Introduced," *Liturgy Bulletin; Cistercians of the Strict Observance*, 3, no. 2 (December 1968), 26 <http://hymnsandchants.com/Texts/Liturgy/LiturgicalCommission/Volume03Number02.pdf>; "News," reprinted with some changes in *Sacred Music*, 95, no. 4 (Winter 1968), 32. In 2002, Archbishop Weakland resigned upon reaching the mandatory retirement age of seventy-five amid a sex-abuse scandal involving an alleged long-term relationship with a male lover and the payment of some $450,000 in hush money. Rod Dreher, "Weakland's Exit: a Liberal Bishop and his Downfall," *National Review Online*, May 24, 2002. Archabbot Weakland was part of the editorial board of *Sacred Music* from 1965 to 1968 (first as editorial board chairman from 1965 to 1966, and then just a member from 1967 to 1968). He served as the first president of the Church Music Association of America from 1965 to 1966, and then continued as a member of the CMAA board of directors through 1968. His 2009 memoir is entitled *A Pilgrim in a Pilgrim Church*.

[16]**Clement James McNaspy, S.J.,** (1915–1995) had been called a "Renaissance man" for his prodigious knowledge in many areas. He was a scholar, historian, missionary, linguist, and a musicologist with a doctorate in music from the National Conservatory at the University of Montréal (1948). He worked as an associate editor for *America* magazine (1960–1970) and authored twenty-nine

meeting of composers on February 8, 1964. She persuaded some thirty-one leading musicians (composers, performers, musicologists, and performers), Catholic liturgists, religious, and even a couple of representatives from publishers to attend.

1964 Composers Meeting: The Morning Session[17]

Mother Eleanor M. O'Byrne, R.S.C.J., president of Manhattanville College, gave introductory remarks to the participants in which she advised them to speak openly. "Disagreement is expected."[18]

Clement McNaspy picked up the thread by declaring it an important time for liturgical music that admits of some reflection but requires immediate action. While Mother Morgan took a more practical approach based on the recent constitution on the liturgy and urged a type of music accessible to the people but of excellence. "There is no reason why we have to be trite and have music too easy and un-inspirational." She also spoke of McLaughlin & Reilly's readiness to publish a new small hymnal, not as a means of profit but for introducing the congregation to first-rate music.

After these introductory remarks from the principals, the participants, who were all esteemed, and knowledgeable about Catholic liturgical music, entered into what must have been a somewhat animated discussion of how to satisfy the dauntingly pressing need for new music of high artistic quality yet approachable by the average parishioner.

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books, including *The Motu Proprio of Church Music of Pope Pius X: a New Translation and Commentary* (Toledo, Oh.: Gregorian Institute of America, 1950). (My personal copy of this publication was given to me when I was a student at the Palestrina Institute of Ecclesiastical Music in Detroit); see also "Press release," America Press, February 18, 1995; "Review," Patrick H. Samway, *America*, 175, no. 7 (September 21, 1996), 31.

"**America Media** [of which *America* magazine is a part] As associate editor, McNaspy "enlivened the magazine's appreciation of liturgy, music, and the fine arts." "About America Media," *America: The Jesuit Review* <https://www.americamagazine.org/about-america-media>.

[17]The bulk of the information contained in this article comes from an unofficial, unsigned copy of "minutes" of the 1964 Composer's Meeting found in the Manhattanville Archive. In the Manhattanville Archive there exist a typescript of a program, a list of participants of the composers meeting, February 8, 1964, (twelve pages) and two, two-page outlines titled "Style and Taste," "A Checklist of Objective Standards for Judging Contemporary Sacred Music," and photocopies labeled MSS. 3509 – Hymns for Worship, Pius X School of Liturgical Music, 1964 Summer School Workshop Material, of an entrance hymn: "Celebrate Your Gift of Worship" by Joseph Wilcox Jenkins, and offertories by Sister M. Theophane, O.S.F. "O God Behold Thy Chosen Ones," and "Litany of the Trinity" by Irvin Brogan.

[18]**Eleanor M. O'Byrne, R.S.C.J.** (1896–1987), was the fifth president of Manhattanville from 1945 to 1966, succeeding Mother Grace Dammann. Prior to becoming president, she taught history and was dean of students at the college. She increased its public profile by maintaining relationships with notables such as Robert Kennedy. The O'Byrne Chapel, completed in 1962, is named after her. Mother O'Byrne was no stranger to controversy so she did not fear it, having increased Manhattanville's public profile by participating in Rockefeller's committee on the education and employment of women and the White House conferences on civil rights and education and served as a member of Manhattanville's interracial committee. See entry on *Find a Grave* <www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=84699012>.

In addition to the practicing musicians, scholars and pedagogues, there were prominent members from the publishing world. Irvin Brogan represented Mclaughlin & Reilly of Boston and spoke of willingness to put out a paperback of about ten to twelve hymns, different, artistic, with attractive melodies, contemporary yet appropriate for community use, of high quality, from which the best might be selected for a type of "national hymnal." He very succinctly described what the publishers wanted and what the congregation needed. Hymns for the low Mass whose texts should relate to the action; for the offertory that were "theologically sound" and mentioned the sacrifice—the bread and wine; communion hymns that tell of the shared banquet and brotherhood: all the poetry set in traditional meter with language emphasizing community, "we" as opposed to "I."[19]

Mother Morgan pushed for quick response, perhaps, as early as May, with Fr. McNaspy encouraging that because it would mean "wide circulation" at the upcoming Liturgical Conference in August.

Renowned historian, Paul Henry Lang,[20] suggested they scour the archives for ten-line "excellent old hymns" then use a good writer to adapt texts which would produce what was needed for May. Afterwards, new hymns could be composed in the "new musical modes."

Msgr. Richard Curtin,[21] turned the dis-

[19]**Irvin Cornelius Brogan** (1913–1992) held a B.A. from Boston College (1935). In the Navy in WWII, Brogan was in charge of music for Catholic services at the Naval School and Base at Newport, R.I. In the 1950s he was an organist and choir director at Holy Trinity Church in Boston. He is listed as co-editor of music on the "Complete Music for the Restored Holy Week Liturgy of Palm Sunday-Holy Thursday-Good Friday-Easter Vigil," no. 2111A, music eds.: Irvin C. Brogan, Paul J. Hotin, Theodore N. Marier (Boston: McLaughlin & Reilly Co., 1956). He was representative of the same publishing company at the meeting. *Boston College Bulletin: College of Arts and Sciences for the School Session 1935–1936*, p. 33; "Concert of Music Palm Sun. Feature," *Connecticut Campus*, 37, no. 60, Storrs, Conn., Wednesday, March 14, 1951, p. 2; at UCONN University of Connecticut Digital Collection: <http://hdl.handle.net/11134/20002:860257457>; Social Security Administration, Death Master File <dmf.ntis.gov>.

[20]**Paul Henry Lang** (1901–1991) was one of the founders of the American Musicological Society and Carleton Sprague Smith called "His monumental *Music in Western Civilization* (1941) . . . one of the outstanding 20th-century contributions to cultural history." In addition, he wrote numerous reviews and articles, was editor of *Musical Quarterly* from 1945 to 1973, and taught at Columbia University from 1933 to 1969. Carleton Sprague Smith, "Lang, Paul Henry," *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>. Lang developed his ideas quite fully and argued forcefully for the contemporary composer in "Aggiornamento in Sacred Music," *Sacred Music*, 92, no. 1 (1965), 11–14.

[21]**Monsignor Richard B. Curtin** (1916–2002) held a B.A. from Manhattan College (1937), a C.G.L. from the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music (1951), and had also pursued graduate studies at the Juilliard School and New York University; see the 1956 Manhattanville College Catalogue, available in the Alumni Office Archive. He was professor of church music at St. Joseph's Seminary in Yonkers, N.Y. from 1946 to 1966, and also taught at the Pius X School of Liturgical Music at Manhatanville College in Purchase N.Y., and at Mercy College in Dobbs Ferry, N.Y. Highlights of his later career included two performances at Yankee Stadium during papal visits. In 1965 he led 225 New York area seminarians for a Mass celebrated by Pope Paul VI, and in 1979 the entire congregation at the Mass of Pope John Paul II. In 1963, on the recommendation of Monsignor Higini Anglès, he was named one of the first two vice presidents of *Consociatio Internationalis Musicæ Sacræ*, newly formed under Pope Paul VI; see "News," *Sacred Music*, 129, no. 3 (Fall 2002), 25–26.

cussion toward the meaning of the words during the offertory: "Let us not tie ourselves down to offertory music in which the words refer only to the offering of bread and wine on the altar. This is an offering of ourselves to Christ . . . The music can refer to the offertory action strictly . . . or to the generally Christian sentiments to be found in the offertory." Fr. Somerville[22] agreed, however, Mother Morgan responded that "leading liturgists at the Conference say that we should try to have the offertory hymns refer to the bread and wine. At the communion, the hymns should stress a feeling of brotherhood and union with God." Fr. McNaspy seconded Msgr. Curtin's statement about the expression of general Christian sentiments during the offertory.

Fr. Barrett Armstrong[23] briefly directed the conversation toward a discussion of litany style of singing after which the provenance of texts vs. music resurfaced. Paul Creston cautioned there would be problems if they restricted the composers to metrical verse. He suggested:

> Leave the choice of text to the composer. Good prose has a metrical basis. The rhythm is superimposed on the meter. These contemporary rhythms (complex) are not difficult for the lay people . . . the publisher should place as few restrictions as possible on the composers.[24]

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[22]**Fr. Stephen Somerville** (1931–2015) was selected in 1964 to be a member of the Advisory Board of the newly formed International Commission on English in the Liturgy (I.C.E.L.), representing Canada. He worked on the official English translation of the post-Vatican II Latin liturgy. In 2002, he had a change of heart. He sent "An Open Letter to the Church Renouncing my Service on I.C.E.L." in which he said:

> I am a priest who for over ten years collaborated in a work that became a notable harm to the Catholic Faith. I wish now to apologize before God and the Church and to renounce decisively my personal sharing in that damaging project.

In July of 2004, Aloysius Cardinal Ambrozic suspended him from the priesthood. It is interesting to note that Fr. Somerville was the official chaplain for the cast and crew on the set of Mel Gibson's movie *The Passion of the Christ* (2004). See "Stand by your Man Jesus Christ!" *Daily Catholic*, 15, no. 175 (October 3–9), 2004 <www.daily-catholic.org/issue/04Oct/oct3ttr.htm>. Alphonse de Valk, "Father Stephen Somerville suspended," *Catholic Insight*, October 2004 <https://www.thefreelibrary.com/Father+Stephen+Somerville+suspended.-a0122989858>.

[23]**Msgr. T. Barrett Armstrong**, (1929–2009) was a graduate of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music, a pedagogue, composer, conductor, and director of music at St. Michael's Cathedral in Toronto for forty years. His contribution to music in Canada earned him the Queen's Jubilee Medal in 2003. Obituary: <https://www.tcdsb.org/schools/stmichaelchoir/News/PhotoGallery/Documents/msgr_armstrong_biography.pdf> and <https://obittree.com/obituary/ca/ontario/toronto/heritage-funeral-centre/msgr-t-barrett-armstrong/358608/>.

[24]**Paul Creston** (1906–1985) who became known nationally when his First Symphony received the New York Music Critic's Circle Award in 1941, was one of the most performed American composers during the 1940s and 1950s. Walter G. Simmons, "Creston, Paul," *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline,com>. One of his major strengths was his creative exploration of rhythm. "In his theoretical writings, he militates against the illogic of binary meters and proposes to introduce such time signatures as 6/12 or 3/9." He actually introduced some of these in his own compositions. Nicholas Slonimsky, "Creston, Paul," in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, 6th edition, ed. Nicholas Slonimsky (New York: Schirmer Books, 1978), p. 361.

Composer Michael R. Miller[25] agreed, saying, "We also want communal music with subtleties of rhythm. Harmonic and melodic changes are not impossible for most congregations." Pedagogue and Music Director, Peter LaManna[26] offered:

> What are the elements of good hymn writing? Publish these. Then teach our choirs and our congregations. Whatever is good musically can be taught . . . There is a "science" in teaching congregations . . . They [the hymns] can be unison as in the Lutheran churches in Germany.

Soprano LoisAnn Oakes[27] responded by telling of her experience in three dioceses on a recent trip to Germany where the congregations sing hymns during the Folkmesse (Low Mass), at the introit, offertory, and communion. "The people spoke or sang in German: the Gloria, Apostle's Creed, Sanctus, and Benedictus." The hymns they sang often paraphrased liturgical texts and were set to re-harmonized old tunes. "They have two kinds of Masses: 1) *chorale messe* (Gregorian Chant). Congregation is expected to sing—notation with Latin words, 2) *Folkmesse* [Low Mass]. Everybody sings in the churches of Germany."[28]

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[25]**Michael Richard Miller** (b. 1932) taught at New York University from 1961 to 1965, at Vassar from 1965 to 1966, and in 1967 emigrated to Canada and taught piano, composition, and theory at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick until he retired in 1998. He received his Ph.D. in 1971 from the Eastman School of Music. His large catalogue of compositions includes a *Mass for Peace* (1962, Kalmus 1964). Michael R. Miller: Biography, Canadian Music Centre <www.musiccentre.ca/node/37288/biography>; Nancy Vogan, "Michael Miller," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* <www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/michael-miller-emc>. On February 4, 2018, the St. Andrews Arts Council announced Miller as winner of its Atlantic Canada Composers Orchestral Competition. "Michael Miller wins Composer's Competition" <www.standrewsartscouncil.com/michael-miller-composers>.

[26]**Peter LaManna** (1930–1990), who had been a student at Pius X School, went on to become the Director of Music and Director of the Choir at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary and director of music and choirmaster of the Cathedral-Basilica of Ss. Peter and Paul. Peter LaManna, "On Promoting Gregorian Chant," *Sacred Music*, 127, no. 1 (Spring 2000), 4–8; "Dr. Peter LaManna 1930–1990," biography on the web page of Archdiocese of Philadelphia <http://www.odwphiladelphia.org/liturgical-music/history-of-the-liturgical-music-in-philadelphia/dr-peter-lamanna/>.

[27]**LoisAnn Oakes** (1932–2016), formerly of Allentown (Penn.), "a singer, an actress and a professional storyteller in the USA and Europe. She was also involved in many of Allentown's community affairs." Obituary, *The Morning Call*, Oct. 28, 2016 <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/mccall/obituary.aspx?pid=182179597>. On the attendees roster, she is listed as Pius X Faculty. During the 1980s and 1990s, she wrote freelance reviews for the *Morning Call*. Her own debut in Carnegie Recital Hall (3/19/61) was reviewed in the *New York Times* by A.H. He was not very enthusiastic.

[28]What Ms. Oakes describes sounds like a *Deutsche Messe*. "[Martin] Luther had no wish to abolish the use of Latin . . . the Formula missæ (1523), was a Latin one . . . It differed in important details from the Roman Mass . . . Broadly speaking, the five parts of the ordinary with appropriate de tempore hymns formed the kernel of this evangelical Latin Mass, which was sung to plainsong; in theory there was no place for German hymns, although Luther later in the treatise indicated that they might be added . . . At the other end of the spectrum stands the *Deutsche Messe* of 1526 . . . The German Mass postulates the participation of all those present, a practical demonstration of the 'priesthood of all believers.' It is not a mere translation but a rethinking in theological and vernacular terms." Robin A. Leaver and Ann Bond, "Martin Luther," *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>. It would seem that the participants in the

Conductor Ralph Hunter[29] weighed in, saying,

> I am delighted we have agreed not to discard the past and also that we are not going to remain in the past. The problem of asking one to compose music and then place restrictions and limitations on the meter, etc. is a serious one. One must believe in the creative spirit. With approved texts, one should permit composers to go their way.

Hunter's next comment "we should devise hymns whereby the choir (or organist) performs, then the congregation answers . . . The congregation would feel compelled to join in . . ." began a somewhat animated and far-ranging exchange. Fr. Armstrong: "Orientals use simple responsorials." Hunter: "Look at Missa Luba."[30]

Mother Morgan: "The congregation should feel irresistibly drawn into this 'dialogue.'" Hunter: "Remember that the congregation is involved in an atmosphere of contemporary music."

Creston pulled them back with "I see that free rhythms are used in a number of the songs that Miss Oakes brought back from Germany. I tell my students that they must write with the meter of the prose. Ignore the 'bars'; they were put in arbitrarily. Work on textual rhythm."

LaManna: "I agree that rhythm is

1964 meeting were not able to address the actual place or role of music in the Catholic liturgy. The question not addressed was: what does the church want of music? Is it for decoration? Background? Motivation? Devotion? To supplement the lesson of the day and the sermon as in the Protestant service? Had they answered that question, they might have been better equipped to provide a more suitable musical response.

[29]**Ralph Hunter** (1921–2002), Pius X School faculty, was a Radio City Music Hall choral coach and director of choral work at the Juilliard School of Music and had served as band leader of the Armed Forces Band in the South Pacific; see "Hunter," undated press release, Manhattanville Archive. In the 1965 *Manhattanvlle College Catalogue,* Hunter's impressive credits also list him as conductor of the Collegiate Chorale and the American Bach Society, and the Radio City Music Hall, associate to Robert Shaw, and chorus preparation for a series of Arturo Toscanini NBCTV performances. He was professor of music at Hunter College from 1970 to 1987. "Ralph Hunter, 81, a Choral Conductor," *New York Times*, June 19, 2002 <www.nytimes.com/2002/06/19/arts/ralph-hunter-81-a-choral-conductor.html>. "His album, 'The Wild, Wild West,' by the Ralph Hunter Choir, was nominated for a Grammy award in 1959 in two categories." Bach Cantatas Website <https://www.bach-cantatas.com/Bio/Hunter-Ralph.htm>.

[30]Doris Anna McDaniel tells us in her M. A. Thesis that "the Missa Luba is an African setting of the Mass sung in Latin." It was created by students of the Kamina Central School, Katanga Province, Belgian Congo, under the direction of Father Guido Haazen, O.F.M., in 1953. Fr. Haazen sent an illustrated album of the choir to King Bauduin of Belgium in 1955, and a year later was granted the use of the title "Les Troubadours du Roi Baudouin" for the choir. The music gained wide-spread popularity through recordings and was featured in many movies and recordings. A Philips recording of the Sanctus and Benedictus was on the British charts for eleven weeks and reached number 28 in March of 1969. Its popularity most likely spawned other indigenously influenced works such as Ariel Ramirez's arrangement of *Misa Criolla* and Ricardo Fernández de Latorre and José Ramirez's arrangement of *Misa Flamenca* (1966). "Analysis of the *Missa Luba*" (Master's thesis, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, Jan. 8, 1973) <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/20074>; Wikipedia, s.v. "Missa Luba" <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Missa_Luba&oldid= 976317922>.

shaped by the words in the German book. This is the first age when the church has not completely accepted the composers who are composing for her." And after a bit, he asked "Can we not use some of the old, good Protestant hymns?" To which Fr. McNaspy responded "Anglican churches have many good hymns." And Ms. Oakes answered "I asked Dr. Stanley Walker for his twenty favorite hymns of the Episcopal Church, and twenty from Dr. Dickinson from the Presbyterian Church. Many seem to have been those used by the Catholic Church earlier and somehow 'lost' to us." This drew from Mother O'Byrne "Can we not be very ecumenical about where we 'borrow' the hymns from, so long as they are good?" After some back and forth, Mother Morgan refocused the group with "One of the reasons for our meeting is to avoid waiting for any more regulations—we won't have any creation while waiting." She then summed up the discourse to that point.

1) We need a hymnal with old and new.

2) We will give opportunity to choirs and congregations with alternating singing, antiphonal singing. We must give the choirs a place in the Mass (by recognizing what the congregations *can do* and establishing what the choirs *must do*.)

This statement prompted a discussion of the choir's role during which seemingly out of nowhere, Fr. McNaspy chimed in with "I promise that *America* will be glad to report the meeting or will print any statement that comes from it."[31] Sister Theophane began, "We must give the choir a good position." Msgr. Curtin: "Historically, there are chants which are strictly solo, strictly choir, and strictly for congregations. Eventually the choir became a carry-all for all three. We must re-establish what was there—establish the proper role of the choir."

Fr. Armstrong took them in another direction with: "How do we interpret paragraph #114 of the new Constitution of the Liturgy:[32] 'Choirs must be diligently promoted. . .'?" Michael Miller: "If paragraph #114 is to be taken seriously, then the choirmaster must have his role elevated." Fr. Somerville: "sometimes a new broom sweeps clean. It might be a good idea to abolish the choir in some parishes and then start fresh." Mother O'Byrne: "How can a

[31]***America*** magazine began in 1909 and appears nationally every week providing news of interest to Catholics Fr. McNaspy was an associate editor 1960–1970 who "enlivened the magazine's appreciation of liturgy, music, and the fine arts." *America: The Jesuit Review Magazine* <https://www. americamagazine.org>; Wikipedia, s.v. "America (magazine)"<http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=America_(magazine)&oldid=959852570>. In preparation for this article, I made a call to the New York office of America to see if I could obtain a copy of the magazine from the time of the meeting and was told that their records did not go back as far as 1964. I was directed to no other avenue of inquiry (9/07/2020).

[32]***Sacrosanctum concilium***, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, was solemnly promulgated by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on December 4, 1963. Chapter VI, "Sacred Music," ¶114 states, "The treasure of sacred music is to be preserved and fostered with great care. Choirs must be diligently promoted, especially in cathedral churches; but bishops and other pastors of souls must be at pains to ensure that, whenever the sacred action is to be celebrated with song, the whole body of the faithful may be able to contribute that active participation which is rightly theirs, as laid down in Art. 28 and 30."

musician establish himself if he has to take the choir-mastership as a 'moonlight' job?" LaManna: "Protestants often have a 'Minister of Music.' Music plays a very important role in most Protestant churches." Miller: "It's not so much a matter of more money for organists and choir directors, but they need and want more respect. There seems to be much apathy regarding Catholic church music in general." Creston: "Good music in the churches depends on the pastor. We must work on them." Sister Theophane: "In the new Constitution, there is a strong statement about having music education in the seminary. The pastors need musical education."[33] Msgr. Curtin agrees but then deflects the deficiencies to Catholics, across the board: "True, we need pastors with good musical education, but the weaknesses lie everywhere—with the congregations, the choirmasters, etc., etc. . . . Let us create the desire on the part of the priests and on the part of the congregation to have good music."

More group discussion followed. The morning session wrapped up with Creston asking: "Will there be an entire Mass in English—that is, those parts that are public? (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei)." Curtin responded. "Maybe by the end of the year, but only Low Mass in English. In several years perhaps there will be a High Mass in English. We should start experimenting with writing in English for Gregorian Chant and the Mass in English."[34]

1964 Composer's Meeting: The Afternoon Session

The session began with Fr. McNaspy announcing that a Mass in both English and Latin composed by Michael Miller would be shown on "Directions 64," TV Channel 7, on Sunday, Feb. 9. Some of Alex Peloquin's work would be heard as well. Mother Morgan asked each of the participants to "sign up for what he would like to contribute to hymnody—look up old hymns and search for texts, or write a new hymn." She also read a letter from Dr. Healey Willan[35] expressing

[33]Ibid., ¶115. "Great importance is to be attached to the teaching and practice of music in seminaries, in the novitiates and houses of study of religious of both sexes, and also in other Catholic institutions and schools. To impart this instruction, teachers are to be carefully trained and put in charge of the teaching of sacred music." This sounds wonderful, but I know of no recent concerted, universal effort by the church, such as the Ward Method of the old days, to give strong support to music in secondary education.

[34]It is interesting to note that while C. Alexander Peloquin was listed as one of the participants in the Composer's meeting, he did not take part in the transcribed conversations. One wonders what he might have had to say, considering that "in 1964 he unveiled the first English high Mass ever sung in the United States at a conference in St. Louis." Channing Gray, "C. Alexander Peloquin, 87 [sic], noted religious music composer," *Providence Journal-Bulletin* [Rhode Island], February 28, 1997, Providence Journal Archives at: <https://providencejournal.newsbank.com>. "Catholics Hear Mass in English Today for First Time in the U.S.," *New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1964, p. 1 <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/08/24/archives/catholics-hear-mass-in-english-today-for-first-time-in-the-us.html>.

[35]**Healey Willan** (1880–1968) was born in England and attended St. Saviour's Choir School. He served as organist—choirmaster of St. John the Baptist Church from 1903 to 1913. In 1910 he joined the London Gregorian Association and emigrated to Canada in 1913 to assume the position of organist-choirmaster at St. Paul's and teach theory at the Toronto Conservatory. Multitalented, from 1921 he was precentor of St Mary Magdalene until his death.

He achieved distinction as a composer, educator, organist, and conductor. The Archbishop of

interest in the work of this group.

Fr. McNaspy asked Robert Snow[36] about his composition for forty hours. Snow responded that they had designed a new liturgy for Forty Hours devotion with "the traditional service in Latin or English, simplification of the opening service. Bible devotion service, Litany, Lord's Prayer sung by all (recitative). Most of this done in chant style. We are looking for what is psychologically satisfactory . . . we also have permission to experiment in [a] demonstration Mass in English."

"When Mother Morgan mentioned Gerard Manley Hopkins' version of Adoro Te," Fr. Somerville sang a couple of lines of his setting of it. This promoted more discussion of texts with contributions from Mr. Brogan: "it was very difficult to find people to do good English texts. One he has found is Rev. Norbert Herman of St. Michael's Monastery, Union City (N.J.) who tries for the same accents and rhythms as in Latin." Fr. McNaspy: "Too great an effort is made to twist things for rhyme. Ambrosian "hymns" are not rhymed. C. S. Lewis said: 'We need good prose that bears reading aloud, and to be read aloud many times.'" Dr. Lang: "Music demands more of the text." Fr. Somerville: "The aim of the language in Psalms is to be more faithful to the Latin. The music, therefore, should be pleasant to listen to, singable, and sonorous—and the words pleasant to listen to when said out loud." He finished by playing a recording of a boys' choir performing his three-part settings of three psalms.

Mr. Fitzpatrick[37] picked up with, "in

Canterbury conferred on him the historic Lambeth Doctorate in 1956, and he became the first musician to be awarded the Companion of the Order of Canada. Nicholas Slonimsky, "Willan Healey," *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, p. 1893; Wikipedia, s.v. "Healey Willan" <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Healey_Willan>.

[36]Composer **Robert Snow** was listed as being from Pittsburgh, Penn., but he did not leave much of a musical trail. His legacy rests on a setting of the Lord's Prayer. Although still quite popular, it has received criticism from authorities such as Dr. William Mahrt. Cf. *Musica Sacra Forum*, Church Music Association of America. <https://forum.musicasacra.com/forum/discussion/ 5936/our-father-tone/p1>.

[37]**Dennis Fitzpatrick**, Reality Therapy Certified (R.T.C.), M.M. is a performer, composer, conductor, therapist, and author of "From the Far Left" in *Crisis in Church Music? Proceedings of a meeting conducted by the Liturgical Conference, Inc., and the Church Music Association of America* (Washington, D.C: The Liturgical Conference, 1967), p. 88. Susan Benofy, "Buried Treasure: Can the Church recover her musical heritage?" *Adoremus Bulletin*, 7, no. 3 (May 2001), Part III, Online Edition <https://adoremus.org/2001/05/buried-treasure-can-the-church-recover-her-musical-heritage/>. The following is a small portion of what Mr. Fitzpatrick shared in an email and telephone conversation with the author (7/27/2020) of some memories of the meeting. "I remember that it was a meeting of distinguished participants who represented the old thinking that favored Latin over English in the Liturgy . . . I was not in agreement with any of this thinking . . . I might have been invited to the meeting because of my 'Demonstration English Mass [published and recorded in mid-1963].' I was twenty-eight and the year before had just given my master's degree organ and conducting recital . . . I had published two solutions to the change to English before this meeting. One was a method of psalmody in 1964 that solved the English monosyllable problem and the Latin dactylic issue . . . The other was handling the difference in Latin and English accentuation in adapting Gregorian chant to English." Were you impressed with the participants? "No." With their comments? "No." "I was impressed with the musicianship of Alex Peloquin and the devotion to the church of Mother Morgan. Several years later I met her . . . and I was again impressed with her." Fitzpatrick brought copyright infringement

composing, I use a formula similar to the chant tone—monody and in parts." Fr. McNaspy contributed to the conversation by asking: "Regarding Anglican chant, have they worked out formulae for congregational use? Or the Lutherans in psalmody?" Pianist William Harms[38] responded that the Lutherans only used hymns. Regarding the Anglicans, Mr. LaManna said they were not to be held up as models for English language chant because they seem to be returning to the Solesmes school. In response to questions about rules for the performance of chant in English, Msgr. Curtin said there were none. Fr. Somerville interjected "Frankly, I believe we cannot put English words to chant." While Mr. Brogan added: "A serious situation exists for music publishing houses. Chant book sales are off 75%, etc., etc."

Mr. Snow: "We must be ready for changes and experiment, with bishops' approval and encouragement. We [Mr. Jenkins and I][39] experimented by giving a whole setting in English (no consecration), so not a Mass, but people alternated with the choir in singing."

Mother Morgan refocused the group by expressing a desire to have something ready to publish at the beginning of May. From her understanding, the Liturgical Conference would like to see a unison English Mass. Sister Theophane asked about the text and Mother Morgan answered that the bishops have yet to approve one. Mother O'Byrne asked, "Do you anticipate a music syllabus from the bishops?" Msgr. Curtin responded "The bishops do not know where they are going in music that is, there are so many other problems that are occupying their attention, and music is not their primary concern at this time." Fr. McNaspy countered with "Should we have a statement from the group about taking the new

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suit against John Cardinal Cody, archbishop of Chicago in 1976. The case was settled in 1985 when Fitzpatrick was awarded $190,400 in damages. See Maurice Possley, "Damage Award Cut in Hymns Case," *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 1, 1985. <www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1985-02-01-8501060994-story.html>.

[38]**William H. Harms, Jr.** (1909–1983) had been trained at the Ottawa University Academy, Homer Institute of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo., and the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia. In addition to piano studies with Josef Hoffmann, he worked with Moritz Rosenthal and Abram Chasins. In 1968 Manhattanville *College Catalog*, Alumni Office Archive. I had the pleasure of calling Bill a colleague and of sharing a studio with him. This studio was at Manhatanville College where he taught from 1937 until shortly before his death. The *New York Times* obituary of January 12, 1983 mentions his teaching at Marymount but I cannot verify that. Obituary: "Wiliam Harms, 75, Pianist, Had Taught at Marymount," *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1983, Sec. D, p. 21 <https://www.nytimes.com/1983/01/12/obituaries/william-harms-75-pianist-had-taught-at-marymount.html>.

[39]**Joseph Wilcox Jenkins** (1928–2014) was a composer who, while in military service, was the chief arranger and assistant conductor of the U.S. Army Chorus. Later, he worked as music editor for the publishing house Schmitt, Hall, and McCreary in Minneapolis. He became a member of the music faculty of Duquesne University in Pittsburgh in 1961 and composed over two hundred works. For fifteen consecutive years, he was the recipient of the ASCAP Serious Music Awards. "Joseph Willcox Jenkins," Morning Star Music Publishers <https://web.archive.org/web/20080723234031/www.morningstarmusic.com/composers-jenkins-jw.htm>; "Joseph Wilcox Jenkins," The American Bandmasters Association Sousa/Ostwald Award Winners: 1961, University of Maryland Libraries <https://exhibitions.lib.umd.edu/ostwald/winners/1956-1970/joseph-willcox-jenkins>.

music seriously, allowing the musicians latitude, without which they cannot work fruitfully?" To which Msgr. Curtin gave this diplomatic reply: "Instead, I suggest we write a private letter to the bishops, thus getting a private answer, and not embarrassing anybody." Sister Theophane agreed, offering, "Wouldn't it be a good idea to show the bishops that we have the desire and willingness to cooperate and go along with what the bishops want?" Msgr. Curtin: "Yes, give the bishops a good 'image' of musicians." Mr. Snow did not seem as convinced: "As far as [I know], the bishops have not indicated a desire to work with the musicians." Followed by a comment about how the English text would be outdated in fifty years. To which Mr. Brogan replied with publishers concerns about delaying publication because of the uncertainty.

Fr. McNaspy again turned the conversation with, "There is need for good hymnody, good motets, unison, and choral work." And briefly the dialogue went off in different directions. Mr. Snow lamented that if "we simply have a low Mass in which the people recite their portion of the Ordinary and sing hymns—after several years of this, may we not end up with a high Mass with no Propers? Or, perhaps, no high Mass in the years to come." Mr. Lang: "At the Council of Trent—everyone who came brought his choir along, so the bishops heard the music." Mr. Fitzpatrick: "The Welch Chorale is doing interesting work with contemporary music. Showing different possibilities."[40] Mother Morgan: "The harmony of hymns should be diatonic and chromatic." Mr. Lang: "Remember that contemporary means the last 85 years." And Fr. Somerville ended this exchange with: "Who will decide whether the hymns are good or not?"

Mother Morgan then took charge: "Return the finished manuscripts to me to be tried out with Pius X Choir under Mr. Hunter. A committee will pass on the hymns and they will be sent to McLaughlin & Reilly." Msgr. Curtin expressed concern about the cost of printing. But Mr. Brogan said they would not use an expensive process and the primary consideration would be the "quality of the music and text."

Fr. McNaspy broke in with "Why do Lutherans use Bach?" Mr. Lang: "Catholic traditions are preserved in the German countries. I have heard Lutherans in America sing sixteenth- and seventeenth-century services here in Latin many times. In addition, Bach cantatas with orchestra."

Mother O'Byrne: "Why can't we have Bach Chorales in the Catholic Church?" Mr. Lang: "Lutheran music rests on Bach. Our Catholic tradition rests on the chansons.

[40]I presume that Mr. Fitzpatrick is referring to the choir of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Philip Neri in the Bronx, N.Y., founded by James B. Welch (1915–1991) in 1939. The current discography on the internet lists thirteen albums recorded, seven in the years 1951–1976, and the remaining with unknown dates. While the fare runs the gamut from Palestrina and Victoria, to Dubois, Franck, and Gounod, there are also Christmas carols, Easter motets and American folk music. However, one album is entitled "The Congregational High Mass." It contains: Kyrie XVI, Gloria XV, Responses at Collect and Gospel, Credo I, Credo III, Responses at Offertory, Preface Responses (Solemn Tone), Preface Responses (Ferial Tone), Sanctus XVI, Responses at the Pater Noster and before the Agnus Dei, and Agnes [sic] Dei XVI. See Welch Chorale Discography <https://www.discogs.com/artist/1957348-Welch-Chorale>; <https://www. discogs.com/artist/3022702-James-B-Welch>

How to create a new Mass?[41] The answer used to be—take an old chanson tune."

Fr. Somerville offered: "What are the chances of using Bible hymns?" Alonzo-Schokel [sic] said: 'The people of France have grown out of their appetite for hymns. They prefer psalms.[42] Gelineau did his psalms at the right time—they filled a need."[43]

As the meeting neared the end, the discussion drifted onto different topics. Sister Theophane mentioned that they have a good, weekly guide for organists in Minnesota for every Sunday. While Mr. Lang mused about the place of women in choirs to which Msgr. Curtin responded: "Don't worry about the composition of the choir, just the quality." The typescript/transcript notes of the meeting end with Fr. McNaspy asking if they should "sum up by saying that we are willing to be of service. Gifted musicians stand ready to work." There the typescript ends.

No formal conclusion, no recommendations, no resolutions passed, no mention of a follow up meeting. The notes just stop. It would seem the discussions were "frank" as per Mother O'Byrne's opening admonition. But, it may have been a mistake not to circulate the notes. They might possibly have encouraged movement on the part of some and inspired real progress on the part of others.

Two Two-Page Outlines

However, there were two papers found with the transcript of the meeting which may represent a looking forward or a beginning effort to draft materials for the "committee," mentioned above, that would judge hymns and religious music submitted for inclusion in the projected new music publications. Summaries of and excerpts from these papers in which, at times, the anonymous author(s) struggled with terminology and concepts, follow.

"**Style and Taste**" is the title of the page and a half document in outline form which attempts to define those terms. It states:

1. Style and taste are closely related: the good (bad, or indifferent) the writer/composer will determine the style in which he writes.

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[41]My colleague, Dr. Anthony LaMagra, told me of coming in early one Saturday morning (Spring 1966) to open up the building for classes for the Manhattanville College Piano Preparatory Department (1964–1970) and hearing someone playing Bach's "Minuet in G Major." To his surprise, when he looked into Pius X Hall, he found the pianist to be Mother O'Byrne. LaMagra taught at Manhattanville College from 1965 to 2003, becoming chair of the music department in 1971 and director and chair from 1973.

[42]**Luis Alonso-Schökel, S.J.** (1920–1998), was a prolific Spanish author, renowned authority on scripture, and professor at the Pontifical Biblical Institute. Obituary at Pontificium Institutum Biblicum <https://www.biblico.it/defunti/rip_alonso.html>.

[43]**Joseph Gelineau, S.J.** (1920–2008) was trained in music at the École César Franck in Paris and subsequently became professor of liturgical music at the Institut Catholique in the city. He composed many liturgical pieces. "He wished . . . to reintroduce the people's response in the graduals of the Mass. [His] system, with its melodically simple tones . . . has come to be known as 'Gelineau psalmody'; widely adapted for use in other languages (in English as *The Psalms: a New Translation*, London, 1963), it has also been much imitated." In addition, he was a prolific author creating a number of important articles and books whose influence was felt both preceding and following Vatican II. Gelineau was a co-founder of Universa Laus, an international liturgical music organization. Peter Wilton, "Gelineau, Joseph," *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

2. Since style manifests itself outwardly and is the expression of the (inner) values—another name for taste—of the writer/composer, it is possible to check on its various elements.

It goes on to enumerate these elements as:

a. "verbal," meaning word choice, phraseology, "rhymes," etc.;

b. "emotional," encompasses the public expression of the "soul's response to the mystery;"

c. "poetical," deals with meter, metaphors, direct declarations;

d. "musical," the compositional tools of tonalities, intervals, cadences, rhythm.

c. and d., create agreement between accents in music and language as feasible.

3. Therefore, good style grows out of good taste:

Then follows an attempt to describe elements of good style and taste in liturgical music. Strictly speaking, this would probably have been better left to aestheticians or philosophers. This dilemma may explain why the document was never promulgated.

(1) "where the expression (verbal, emotional, poetical, musical) matches the theme without violence to spiritual modesty or the reverence due sacred things;

(2) and where the tone, once set, is consistent throughout:

e.g.: i. a great and majestic subject (Trinity) to be treated in a dignified and sustained manner;

ii. A mournful or penitential or sorrowful subject to be handled at slow pace and expanded rhythm: 4/4 instead of 2/4; 3/2; rarely 3/4;

iii. A processional/recessional to be set in marching rhythm with simple intervals or stepwise progressions to imitate the movement of the feet.

(3) and where authors/composers have been careful not to mix attitudes/tones, or to allow them to degenerate into weak parodies of themselves:

e.g.: i. tender, reverent, and joyous gayety of Nativity hymns not sliding down into an unbecoming boisterousness;

ii. Sorrow of Lenten hymns not degenerating into mawkish sentimentality;

iii. Jubilation and exultation of Easter hymns not suggesting the syncopation of the hit parade;

iv. Simplicity not confused with common, vulgar, or ordinary musical expression and trite verbal phrasing;

v. the spiritual quality of words and music assisting the soul in its efforts at prayer.

The author(s) of this outline were faced with the impossible task of attempting to create guidelines and standards without a concrete objective. They were trying to reconcile the subjective concepts of musical taste and style with the prescriptions of the liturgy as defined in words like "holy," and "true art."

The second outline is titled:

A Checklist of Objective Standards for Judging Contemporary Sacred Music.

I. General Standards for Music

In section one there are further subdivisions, the first being standards for music "Modelled after Liturgical Chants." These characteristics are listed as: predominantly diatonic progressions; simple melodic lines. There is an admonition in general, to avoid chromaticism in the nature of "tones foreign to the established key or mode . . . [or] half-steps outside the given key or mode," and non-diatonic tones, but chromatic tones to facilitate modulations are allowed; intervals should come out of the supporting harmony "or as implied by the preceding melodic line," avoid awkward leaps. The melodic range should be limited to an octave. The melody should be functional, i.e., melodically and rhythmically simple. It "should require very little musical knowledge."

The second part of section one is titled: "Appropriate Form." Oddly, the first topic under form is style where the first descriptive terms are "religious," and "dignified." The author(s) then seem to struggle, citing prohibitions against music which is "too secular, exotic, hackneyed, sentimental, or too complex (rhythmically or melodically). However, the music may be well-known, often used, or even 'popular' as long as the above is regarded." Phrases should neither be too short nor extended and "regularly accented meter," in particular 3/4 time, should not be employed.

Rhythm "must have the dignity and gravity appropriate for the church." It then states that "appropriate time values must be used" and offers clarification with "patterns which are purely secular in character should be avoided (i.e., regularly accented waltzes, exaggerated syncopation, etc.).

Accompaniment should be "straightforward, dignified," avoiding "excessive variety of chords." It should be in chordal style, "avoiding accompaniments which are secular in style (arpeggios, for example). It is to be made up of simple chords, "progressions in conjunct and disjunct movement (unexpected chord changes should never be used for their own sake, i.e., the theatrical or dramatic)." While few would argue against Bach's chorale settings as being the *ne plus ultra*, many of them contain "unexpected chord changes." In fact, those are often the most inspired moments. Again, we find the author(s) trying to work through the impossible task of laying out parameters usually considered in subjective judgements derived from aesthetic sensibilities and struggling with the terminology.[44]

[44]What is meant by "form" is never limited in scope or clearly defined. Therefore, it is difficult to know whether the author(s) are discussing shape, structure, or content. The author(s) inclusion of terms like "dignified," "religious," "secular," "popular," and others really don't help understand form.

II. General Standards for the Text

In this section there are two divisions. The first of these, "Modelled after Liturgical Texts" addresses content, style, and adaptability. Under content we find the text should "express true Catholic Doctrine." Therefore, "heretical or badly-expressed phrases forbidden."[45] The term "wording" is then parsed with truths stated in extremes of profundity or shallowness prohibited. "Appropriate Form" is briefly addressed. Language is to be simple, not ostentatious, "dignified and with religious gravity," and set in phrases that are easily recalled. Translations should remain as literal as possible, even where liberties would facilitate the melodic setting. There, one may have to choose another melody.

III. General Standards for the Composite of Melody and Text

This section is also divided in two parts.

In the first section, "Method," we find short statements of the obvious. "The spirit of music should have close association with the words." Accents of text and melody, and musical and word accents should all be aligned. The material under "Effect" states that the fusion of melody, text, form, and character should result in something that is "homogeneous, devotional, attractive and integral."

IV. Summary: "Music which is to be an integral part of public worship must be."

We are given only four terms (set in bold type and the encyclical references).

[1] **TRUE ART** (Moto Proprio, 1903)

[2] **HOLY** (Constitution art. 121)

[3] **APPOPRIATE FOR THE OCCASION** (Instruction, 1958, Art. 21)

[4] **MEANINGFUL FOR THE PARTICIPANTS** (Constitution, Articles 112, 119)

The next part deals with language to be used and these considerations are really not relevant to our discussion so I have omitted it here.

There was no summation of the meeting in the preserved files, no further correspondence, no follow-up, nothing I could find. Some of the participants did continue to appear as lecturers/teachers from time to time. I have not received a response from Mclaughlin & Reilly regarding if they ever produced any low-priced hymn collections. Of the photocopies labeled MSS. 3509—Hymns for Worship, Pius X School of Liturgical Music, 1964 Summer School Workshop Material, an entrance hymn: "Celebrate Your Gift of Worship" by Joseph Wilcox Jenkins, and offertories by Sister M. Theophane, O.S.F. "O God Behold Thy Chosen Ones," and "Litany of the Trinity" by Irvin Brogan, nothing seems to have come of them. It is conceivable they were published in some inexpensive, expendable, easily dispensable and equally easily discardable format or just faded away as has every other trace of the 1964 Composer's Meeting.[46]

[45]Here too, further clarification is called for, i.e., what to one person in a certain context, might be considered "badly expressed," to another might be thought of as "heartfelt?"

[46]The score for "Celebrate Your Gift of Worship" consists of a melodic line only and is eight measures long in 3/2 meter, with a bar of 4/2 and one of 2/2 at the end, before a three-measure setting

It is difficult to know why some initiatives take off and others don't. Sometimes it's funding, sometimes it's timing, sometimes it's energy or manpower, it can be that any number of events cause a movement to lose enthusiasm, participants to lose interest, the drive to stall, and a perfectly fine idea to languish.

However, Mother Morgan, ever the motivator, was not to be deterred and in 1967 persuaded her brothers Charles, Arthur, and John Morgan of Morgan Brothers Movers[47] to provide grants of $20,000 to be used to promote "new music for the new liturgy."

She assembled a group of consultants to be known as the Church Music Symposium. In addition to the names found below two of the headliners were Norman Dello Joio[48] and John Lessard.[49] Mother Morgan

of two Amens to finish. It is in Dorian on D and is strophic with three verses given. The score for "O God Behold Thy Chosen Ones" consists of a melodic line only and is eighteen measures long in 5/4 meter with three bars of 6/4 (mm. 9–11) and three bars of 4/4 (mm. 16–18). It is in F major and is strophic with two verses given. The score for "Litany of the Trinity" consists of a melody line only and is seventy-six measures long. The meter is not given but it is either 2/2 or 4/4. It is in G major and an antiphonal format with places to be sung by "All," "Cantor or Choir," or "Congregation." It is a typical "call and response" and the responses are short and easily approachable.

[47]Mother Morgan's siblings were descendants in the family which established Morgan & Brothers Manhattan Storage Company, Inc. in 1851. This company moved Manhattanville College from New York City to Purchase in 1952, including the coffins of the nuns who had been buried on the Manhattan property. The author in conversation with Jeffrey Morgan, a member of the family, who now runs the business.

[48]Here is a list of those who accepted the invitation: W. H. Auden, Clifford A. Bennett, Frank Campbell-Watson, Catherine A. Carroll, R.S.C.J., Howard Cavalero, Angela Cave, Paul Creston, Msgr. Richard B. Curtin, Norman Dello Joio, William Graves, Evelyn Hertzmann, Robert Hufstader, Ralph Hunter, Joseph Jenkins, Bert Konowitz, Paul Kwartin, Anthony LaMagra, Paul Henry Lang, John Lessard, Péguy S. Lyder, Theodore Marier, Margaret Marquis, Rev. Clement J. McNaspy, Alexander Peloquin, Rev. William Penfield, J. Gerald Philips, Mother Janet Reberdy, William Reid, Arthur Reilly, Trude Rittman, Margaret McShane Robinson, Rev. Joseph Roff, Mary B. Saunders, Josephine Shine, Louise Talma, Sister Theophane, Ronald Thomas, Eric Werner, and Omer Westendorf.

Norman Dello Joio (1913–2008) was born in New York. His godfather and teacher was the organist and composer Pietro Yon. After studies at Juilliard and Yale (with Paul Hindemith) he went on to teach at Sarah Lawrence College, Mannes College, and Boston University. He won the Pulitzer Prize for music in 1957 and was elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Strong musical influences were jazz and Gregorian chant. Richard Jackson, "Dello Joio, Norman," *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

It is interesting to note the absence of any mention of John Garvey (1927–2005), author of "Two Dimensions of Reality," and Harry Gunther (1920–2006), composer of liturgical and contemporary music and teacher (Yo-Yo Ma), in the list or in correspondence associated with the organization of the Composer's Forum. They were composers-in-residence for the 1966 golden jubilee summer session. Gunther and his son Alphonse created Verna Canto which they explained was "a new system of harmonizing the human voice with a rhythm and melody suitable for the celebration of the sacred liturgy in the vernacular, while preserving the spirit and flavor of the Gregorian Chant." Catherine A. Carroll, R.S.C.J., *A History of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music: 1916–1969* (St. Louis: Society of the Sacred Heart, 1989), 85.

[49]**John Lessard** (1920–2003) was a composer who, as a youngster, had lessons with Henry Cowell and went on to study with Nadia Boulanger and Alfred

discusses plans for the meeting in a letter sent to Lessard (Feb. 2, 1967) in which she writes: "I am delighted that it will be possible for you to take part in or composition project for the writing of *new music for the new liturgy*." She then suggests ideas for an agenda.

> (a) Our choice of a Chairman;
>
> (b) Organization which will include promotion and the projection of a plan made known to the country at large;
>
> (c) The composition of a selected list of musicians through whom we might commission new works;
>
> (d) The discussion of a competition—the reason for or against . . .;
>
> (e) The liturgical outlook which must inspire the composers;
>
> (f) The drawing up of rules and regulations which will make it possible for us to live during the next two years and still do a large production in producing composers and conductors to implement the work of the liturgical constitution.[50]

These ideas show the vision of the future and broad scope of Mother Morgan's plans. She is not just envisioning a regional meeting but something more ambitious, on a scale to command national attention. Something that could be built upon and then set in motion to "implement the work of the liturgical constitution."

In another letter to Mother Morgan from Theodore Marier (March 7, 1967) which he writes as President of the Church Music Association of America, we find Marier asking for material for the upcoming Spring issue of *Sacred Music*.

> I thought you could prepare a strong statement about your new composition project. As Chairman of the Composers' Committee, you can report on what your [sic] planning to keep abreast of the latest rulings of the Church with regard to contemporary music.[51]

Mother Morgan responds a week later:

> I hope that the following statement and the enclosed brochure about our Composers' Forum will be acceptable for SACRED MUSIC.
>
> Pius X School has received a grant of $20,000 which is being called the Morgan Fund. This money was given by the Morgan family for the composition of new music for the new liturgy. The first meeting will be held on April 21 with the consultors who will organize the project and set up a pattern which can

Cortot in Paris. He spent his entire teaching career at SUNY, Stony Brook (1962–1990). He was also a collaborator for one of Justine Ward's teaching collections. Justine Bayard Ward and John Lessard, *Voices that Vary; a Collection of Songs for Changing Voices* (Washington, DC. The Catholic Education Press, 1959). 1956 *Manhattanville College Catalog*, in the Alumni Office Archive.

[50]Unsigned letter to Mr. John Lessard, Manhattanville Archive. Evidence within the letter shows that it was written or dictated by Mother Morgan.

[51]Letter to Mother Morgan from Ted M[arier] on Church Music Association of America letterhead, "Affiliated with Consociatio Internationalis Musicæ Sacræ (Roma), Founded 1963 by Pope Paul VI," in Manhattanville Archive.

be followed for the next two years. The plan should include the composition of new Masses, motets, offertory prayers in antiphonal style, seasonal hymns for the Mass in which congregation and choir will have special roles. The music is expected to be in contemporary style and pseudo-Gregorian chant or imitations of any kind will be avoided. In addition, a limited number of scholarships will be offered and a composer in residence will be selected for the coming year.

It is felt that this is a very challenging and exciting program which should be made known to liturgists and musicians.

At the present moment we have twenty-five composers, publishers and musicians who have accepted the invitation to attend. Of these, seven will be paid consultors, Hufstader, Talma, Jenkins, Lessard, Marier, Sister Theophane, and Hunter. The rest will be participating in the discussions of the first meeting and they will give us ideas for our organization, planning, scheming, etc.[52]

The final piece of pre-Forum correspondence we have is from Mother Morgan to the members of the Composers' Forum without date on Pius X School of Liturgical Music letterhead. In it she discusses the arrival time on April 21, and an enclosed program which unfortunately we do not have. She encourages composers to "bring recent works which the consultors and members of the permanent committee will be happy to receive and review." She also asks that

> In order to make the day productive and actively creative, please come with ideas and suggestions about: Scholarships for young composers; a composer in residence; a training program for organists, conductors and composers; a composer in residence; a training program for organists, conductors and composers; publicity; [and] recruitment.

A list of thirty-nine names follows of those who had accepted the invitation to attend.[53]

For the first meeting in April, a group of other composers, liturgists, musicians, choirmasters, and publishers were asked to participate. The plans included the addition of composition courses to the summer curriculum and C. Alexander Peloquin as composer-in-residence. The aims of the project were summed up. "It is hoped that Manhattanville's new program will lead to a renewal in composition of liturgical music."[54]

1967 Composers' Forum

The Composers' Forum was made up of many short presentations covering an unusually broad range of topics, seemingly quite ambitious for the short time allotted.

[52]Unsigned letter, March 15, 1967, to Theodore Marier, Manhattanville Archive.

[53]Unsigned letter on Pius X School of Liturgical Music letterhead obviously written or dictated by Mother Morgan, Manhattanville Archive. For a final list of the attendees at the meeting make these adjustments to the list provided in footnote 48 above. Add: Kalman Antos, Mary Louise Conwell, Eugene Fischer, Helen Marie Grady, J. Vincent Higginson, Rev. Kevin Seasoltz. Remove: Paul Creston, Norman Dello Joio, William Graves, Evelyn Herzman, Rev. Clement J. McNaspy.

[54]Janet Beaven, News from Manhattanville College, Office of Public Relations, April 11, 1967, Manhattanville Archive.

There were sessions on the liturgy, textual considerations, musical standards, vernacular settings of Latin texts, congregations, organ performance, and the future.

The distinction of the projected participants and their importance in the field demonstrates the seriousness of the issue. The final list contains the names of forty acceptances.

The Complete Program for the April 21, 1967 Composers' Forum

9:30 a.m.
Openning of the Meeting
Administration Building, West Room

Presidential Greeting:
Mother McCormack

Introduction
Mother Morgan[55]

10:00 a.m.
Liturgical Orientation
Reverent Kevin Seasoltz
Textual Criticism
Angela Cave
Musical and Liturgical View
Theodore Marier
Musical Standards
Robert Hufstader
Discussion
Leader, Paul Henry Lang[56]

[55]**Elizabeth J. McCormack, R.S.C.J.** (1922–2020), was President of the College 1966–1973, held a Ph.D. from Fordham University where her dissertation was on the British philosopher F. H. Bradley. She became the sixth president of Manhattanville College in 1966 and served until her resignation in 1973. During that time, she oversaw its transformation from a Catholic college for women to a non-sectarian, co-educational (admitting male students in the 1971–1972 academic year) college with a new name. In 1968, she discovered "that from its founding . . . the college was an educational institution, pointedly not a religious one. It was never a church college. It was never under the bishop. And the charter allowed the college to function under the Regents of the State of New York with a mixed board. . . . Thus, she believed that the name of the college was misleading—that it should really be called simply Manhattanville College, not Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart. She thought that the name of the college carried the clear implication that the Society of the Sacred Heart owned the college, which it did not. And she knew that renaming the college would help broaden its appeal as a general liberal arts institution." Charles Kenney, *No Ordinary Life: The Biography of Elizabeth J. McCormack* (New York: Public Affairs, 2012), p. 70. She informed the board of the college of her intention to resign as president in May of 1973 and left the Society of the Sacred Heart the following year. She has directed the Rockefeller office of Philanthropy and continued to advise members of the family. She has served on many boards including: The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Juilliard School of Music, the American Academy in Rome, Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center General Foods, and others. "Ms. McCormack was a nun for 30 years, but as she came to question church teachings on a number of issues she obeyed her conscience and left her order, the Society of the Sacred Heart. At 54, she married a divorced Jewish father of five children." "Elizabeth J. McCormack, Innovative Educator, Dies at 98," *New York Times,* December 7, 2020 <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/07/nyregion/elizabeth-mccormack-dead.html>. I had interviewed her in person in her office at Rockefeller Center and spoken with her at social events over the years and always found her to be cordial, engaging, and interesting.

[56]**Rev. Kevin Seasoltz, O.S.B.** (1930–2013), earned a Doctorate in Canon Law from the Catholic University of America, was tenured faculty at St. John's School of Theology, editor of *Worship* magazine, and author of "A Sense of the Sacred: Theological Foundations of Christian Architecture and Art." Obituary at Saint John's Abbey webpage <https://saintjohnsabbey.org/father-kevin-robert-seasoltz-osb>.

11:15 a.m.

Vulgarization of the Liturgy
Eric Werner
The Rhythmic Approach
Paul Creston
The Lyric Quality
John Lessard
Psalm Settings
Reverend William Penfield
English Settings to Latin Chants
Péguy Lyder
Discussion
Leader, Monsignor R. Curtin[57]

1:30 p.m.

Congregational Problem
Reverend Clement J. McNaspy
Hymnody
Louise Talma
Levels of Performance
Joseph Wilcox Jenkins
Organ Performance
Mother Catherine A. Carroll
Pastoral Approach
Reverend Joseph Roff
Discussion
Leader, A. Peloquin[58]

Angela M. Cave was a professor of English at Manhattanville College for many years and had a B.A. (1928) and an M.A. (1933) from Oxford University; see the 1953 *Manhattanville College Catalog*, available in the Alumni Office Archive.

Theodore Marier (1912–2001) became one of the foremost figures in Catholic liturgical musical tradition in the United States, and was a tireless promoter of the place of Gregorian chant in the liturgy. He was Justine Bayard Ward Professor and director of the Center for Ward Studies at The Catholic University of America. From 1945, he was the chief music editor for McLaughlin & Reilly Publishing Company, and the editor of the *Pius X Hymnal*; see *Alumni News*, April 3, 1953. He made recordings conducting the Benedictine Sisters of the Abbey of Regina Laudis in Bethlehem, Conn., authored a *Gregorian Chant Practicum* (Catholic University Press) and a hymnal titled: *Hymns, Psalms and Spiritual Canticles*.

Robert Hufstader (1907–1975) was conductor and music pedagogue. He graduated from the Eastman School of Music in Rochester. He was organist and choir master and faculty at Princeton University, and Julliard School of music from 1945 to 1973. Obituary: "Robert Hufstader, Led Juilliard Unit," *New York Times*, May 27, 1975, p. 32 <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/05/27/archives/robert-hufstader-led-juilliard-unit.html>.

[57]**Dr. Eric Werner** (1901–1988) was professor of Jewish Music at Hebrew Union College, chairman of the department of Musicology at Tel Aviv University, and author of *The Sacred Bridge: Studies on the Liturgical and Musical Interdependence of Church and Synagogue During the First Millennium* (London: D. Dobson, 1959). "Thanks to the researches of Eric Werner, we can trace remarkable similarities between our Latin chant formulae and the ancient chants still used by remote Jewish communities in the Yemen and Turkistan." Percy Jones, "Music in the Liturgy," *The Furrow*, 20, no. 2, Supplement: Music, no. 2 (Spring, 1969), 5 <https:// www.jstor.org/stable/27659959>.

Rev. William Penfield (1934–2011), was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Divinity from General Theological Seminary in 2002. "He formed the Episcopal Metropolitan Mission, a consortium of parishes to serve inner city programs in Hartford." Obituary, *Hartford Courant* Nov. 3, 2011 at: <https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/hartfordcourant/name/william-penfield-obituary?id=10171443>.

Péguy Sullivan Lyder (Mrs. Sidney Lyder), (1908–1989), whose 1955 Ph. D. dissertation from New York University was on the Latin sacred music of the English Catholic composer Peter Philips (c. 1560–1628), also held a diploma from the Pius X School of Liturgical Music (1928) and a Mus. B. from Manhattanville (1940). She taught at the College for many years and was renowned for her knowledge and attention to detail. Her instrument was the violin. See <https://www.map.billiongraves.com/grave/Peguy-S-Lyder/30694445>.

[58]**Louise Talma** (1906–1996) studied composition with Nadia Boulanger and piano with Isidore Philipp at the Fontainebleau School of

Music in France and was the first American to become a faculty member there. She earned a B. Mus. (1931) from New York University and an M.A. (1933) from Columbia University. She taught at Hunter College for over fifty years (1928–1979) and among her many awards were two Guggenheim fellowships. Talma became a Fellow of the MacDowell Colony in 1943. In addition to her many compositions, she is the author of two harmony books. "Her strong religious faith is reflected in her many settings of Biblical tests." I met her at the MacDowell Colony and at Hunter College; she always seemed quite serious. Arthur Cohn, Dorothy Regina Holcomb, Sara Jobin, Virginia Davidson, Gregg Smith, "Talma, Louise," *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

Catherine Carroll, R.S.C.J., (1910–1996) was one of the seven young women trained at Manhattanville from an early age, and was chosen by Justine Ward to travel to Holland with her to sing Gregorian chant and demonstrate the effectiveness of the Ward Method on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Pope Pius X's motu proprio. She taught and acted as organ accompanist at the college for forty-eight years and authored *A History of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music: 1916–1969* (Society of the Sacred Heart, 1989). Mother Carroll held a Diploma from the Pius X School of Liturgical Music (1932), a B. Mus. from Manhattanville (1956); see the 1951 *Manhattanville College Catalog* and the 1958 *Manhatanville College Catalog,* available in the Alumni Office Archive. The author had the honor of performing at a concert celebrating her retirement at Manhattanville College on November 7, 1980.

Joseph Roff (1910–1993) managed to juggle dual vocations as a Roman Catholic priest and composer. He produced over 1,000 compositions, including anthems, hymns, psalm settings, acclamations, ("a four-volume collection of harmonized settings of the propers for Sundays and feast days, a welcome relief to the tedium of psalm tone propers that were so prevalent in choir lofts at the time" [1966]), orchestral pieces, and an operetta "Lady of Mexico." He received a doctorate in music from the University of Toronto in 1948. "Joseph Roff Biography," GIA Publications. <www.giamusic.com/bios/roff_joseph.cfm>.

2:30 Plans: Present and Future Recommendations by the Publishers Omer Westendorf, World Library of Sacred Music
Clifford Bennett
Organ Institute
Howard Cavalero
Catholic Book Company
Frank Campbell-Watson
Benziger Brothers
Arthur Reilly
McLaughlin & Reilly
Eugene Fischer
J. Fischer & Company
Helen Marie Grady
Associated Publishers[59]
4:30 p.m. "The End is the Beginning"

C. Alexander Peloquin (1918–1997). His long-term association with the Pius X School began in 1953. He had studied with Leonard Bernstein and had been a bandmaster in Europe for the 314th Army Band during World War II. In 1955, he began a thirty-eight-year relationship with Boston College where he "developed the Men's Glee Club into the internationally-known University Chorale, which performed his ground-breaking compositions throughout the United States and Europe." His obituary spoke of him as being "at the forefront of musical reform in the Catholic Church, writing deeply-felt pieces with a popular appeal. . . . In 1964 he unveiled the first English high Mass ever sung in the United States at a conference in St. Louis. That began Peloquin's rise to national prominence as one of the few classically trained composers inspired by the reforms set out in the second Vatican Council." "C. Alexander Peloquin Dies. B.C.'s Composer-In-Residence Helped Shape Church Music," *Boston College Chronicle*, 5, no. 13 (March 13, 1997) <https://web.archive.org/web/20170606015331/https://www.bc.edu/bc_org/rvp/pubaf/chronicle/v5/Mr13/peloquin.html>. Channing Gray, "C. Alexander Peloquin, 87 [sic], noted religious music composer," *Providence Journal-Bulletin* [Rhode Island], February 28, 1997.

[59]**Omer Westendorf** (1916–1997), began publishing Catholic Liturgical music after World War

About a month after the meeting, Mother Morgan wrote to members of the Composer's Forum. She proudly stated:

> Our Manhattanville meeting on April 21 has been fruitful. Enthusiastic letters have proved that the participants are involved and ready to take action."
>
> Two major works, several motets, and smaller works have come to my desk during the past month. Promises of production are heartening and requests for information from strangers lead us to believe that we have started something of great value.

She announces the date of the opening of summer school, June 26, and expresses the hope to have copies of compositions ready for performance in summer school. She suggests "that the following hymns might work out successfully in choral settings (SATB and perhaps SSA) in antiphonal style (congregation and choir). Please send your settings before June 16."

II when he created the World Library of Sacred Music. Later, it became World Library Publications, Inc., and featured his own music often under pseudonym and contemporary hymns with English texts, notably by Lucien Deiss, C.S.Sp. One of Westendorf's most popular adaptations was "Sent Forth by God's Blessing" set to the traditional Welsh melody the "Ash Grove"; see <https://hymnary.org/person/Westendorf_O>.

Dr. Clifford A. Bennett founded the Gregorian Institute of America in 1941, "offering a 110-lesson home-study course in Gregorian chant." GIA Publications, Inc. <https://giamusic.com/store/about-sm>.

Howard G. Cavalero, a graduate of Notre Dame University, joined the family business, Catholic Book Publishing Corporation, in 1939. He "was instrumental in developing and launching the *St. Joseph Sunday Missal* in 1950 and soon thereafter the *Daily Missal*." The company grew to over three hundred employees, adding children's prayer books to its publications in 1955 and "the first Baltimore Catechism in 1961." Catholic Book Publishing, "About Catholic Book Publishing" <https://catholicbookpublishing.com/about>.

Frank Campbell-Watson (1898–1980) had been a student of Max Reger at the Leipzig Conservatory. In addition to serving as organist at the Church of St. Paul the Apostle in Manhattan, was a composer, worked as an editor for a variety of publishing companies, as an arranger (in particular, works by George Gershwin), and as author of the University Course of Music Study (New York: The University Society, 1930); *Modern Elementary Harmony* (New York: The University Society, 1930) and edited the massive *International Library of Music* (New York: The University Society, piano 14 vols., vocal 12 vols., violin 14 vols.); see *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians,* s.v. Campbell-Watson, Frank, p. 273. "Campbell-Watson, F.," "Life" <http://jeffreyquick.com//index.php?title=Campbell-Watson,_F>.

William Arthur Reilly (1903–1969), "Arthur" to his friends "held many public service positions in Boston." In 1960, he withdrew from public office to function as treasurer and general manager of his father's publishing firm McLaughlin & Reilly. The company published many materials used in Catholic worship. Among these were chant accompaniment books by Achille Bragers and the Pius X Hymnal. "William Arthur Reilly Collection: Collection Overview," *Boston Archives* <https://archives.cityofboston.gov/repositories/2/resources/669>.

Eugene Fischer and his brother Joseph took over J. Fischer & Bro. publishing company in 1920. It was established by their grandfather Joseph Fischer and his brother Ignaz in Dayton, Ohio, in 1864, moved to New York in 1875. Subsequently, it was acquired by Belwin-Mills in 1970. Its early reputation was built on Catholic Church music but with time it enlarged its catalog to include contemporary, instrumental works and even light opera. *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, s.v. "Fischer, Joseph." J. Fischer & Brother-IMSLP: Free Sheet Music PDF Download <https://imslp.org/wiki/J._Fischer_%26_Brother>.

Now Thank We All Our God
Old 100th
A Mighty Fortress
God Father Praise and Glory
Praise to the Lord
King of Kings (Leddy)
Alleluia (Terry)
Let All Mortal Flesh
For All the Saints
Ye Watchers and Ye Holy Ones
Jesu Meine Freude
To Jesus Christ Our Sovereign King
Psalm 148
Jesus Christ is Risen Today
Bach Chorale Melodies

Texts must be fully identified and the sources clearly marked. . . . We hope to give scholarly treatment to every composition. . . .

We hope to have another meeting in the Fall. . . Gratefully yours, J. Morgan, R.S.C.J.[60]

There is a letter to Mother Morgan, dated May 25, 1967 from Mary Louise Conwell, one of two representatives from World Library of Sacred Music, the other being Omer Westendorf. In her letter, Conwell suggests the names of possible part-time composers-in-residence. For each, she gives a short comment about compositional style, publisher, and age. She names Robert Middleton [1920–], T. Scott Huston [1916–1991], David Kraehenbuehl [1923–1997], and "a slightly younger man who might cost you less money is Robert Milano [1935–]." She goes on to quite boldly suggest: "None of these people is too aware of the dearth of good music in the Church and if you want me to go and convince them they should come, I'll go and talk them into it." Conwell writes further that while these men are not composers of the stature of Paul Creston [1906–1985] or Leonard Bernstein [1918–1990] they are "not ordinary run-of-the-mill ones if I can judge by the music I've collected for my thesis." She wraps up with: "There are other people I'd like to suggest such as Daniel Pinkham [1923–2006] and [Richard] Felciano [1930–] but I doubt if Pinkham will come down from Boston to help you and Felciano got and [sic] appointment in Berkeley [University of California] next year."

There exists another few pages which are missing the first page(s) in the same typescript as the preceding with the same sign off of "Love," and a faintly written "Mary Louise" as the previous letter. In it, the author (Ms. Conwell) offers advice on procedures, including the importance of seeking "cooperation between liturgists, theologians, authors, and composers." She suggests Mother Morgan send a letter commenting on her preferences in texts, meter, the target age group of singers, and enclose a list of acceptable themes.

[60]Letter, from J. Morgan, R.S.C.J., Pius X School of Liturgical Music, Manhattanville College, to the members of the Composer's Forum, dated May 24, 1967, Manhattanville Archive. Again, we find Mother Morgan trying another avenue to engender enthusiasm and offer stimulus and guidance to composers. Protestants are known for singing in church—Catholics are not. Perhaps, the reason is in the music? A quick perusal of *The Hymnal 1982*, according to the use of The Episcopal Church (1985: New York, The Church Pension Fund) and *The United Methodist Hymnal*, (The United Methodist Publishing House: Nashville, Tenn., 1989) shows that, for whatever it is worth, of the fifteen titles chosen by Mother Morgan, eight are found in the Methodist Hymnal and nine in the Episcopal Hymnal. A collection of some of Protestant all-time "greatest hits."

> Have a liturgist of [sic] theologian review them for correctness, appropriateness, communicative value. Then send them to musicians with instructions on what types of settings are appropriate. Are these compositions that the choir ought to be able to sing after one rehearsal? How simple should the congregation part be? Organ accompaniment? Other instruments? SATB, equal voices, or a variety of arrangements?

Conwell follows with a section on Contracts with Authors and Composers in which she harkens back to the meeting and reminds that "all the composers spoke out for commissioning." She then discusses the pros and cons and economics of commissioning, and concludes with a recommendation of a book on music contracts, *This Business of Music* by Sidney Shemel and M. William Krasilovsky (Ohio: Billboard).

Conwell then takes up publishers. Here she is encouraging but cautious.

> If you produce a superior product, I don't think you'll have any trouble getting it published. However, since the changes in the liturgy have put most Catholic music publishers on the verge of bankruptcy, I'd be hesitant about committing my products to them. McLaughlin and Reilly may still be OK . . . but even they are down to mimeographed advertising.

She then recommends G. Schirmer if the pieces are "very modern" or Oxford if more "traditional." However, if ecumenical in tone, she recommends Augsburg of Concordia "since that would give you a chance to snap at the barriers between religions. The possibility of making an ecumenical product is another thing you might consider. Conway continues with a discussion on the kinds of arrangements possible with publishers. Next there is a section with the heading "A Composer in Residence."

> You'll be lucky if you can get him at $5000 for the summer school. For a year, if he is good, I bet it would be more like $30,000 to $50,000. A priest-composer who was interested in the project might cost you less.
>
> Peloquin outlined the duties of the kind of man I'd like to see get the job. He is young (or young at heart), anxious to make a meaningful celebration of the liturgy for the congregation he works with. A priest-composer might be better because of his pastoral and theological background, but if he couldn't be found, there is always the possibility of the good composer who will listen to a liturgist . . .

Conwell's final section deals with Liturgical Experimentation.

> I would also try to get in on the experimentation in the liturgy which is currently being carried on throughout the nation (except in the New York archdiocese) . . . the music for the experimental rites is meagre. Perhaps you could have alternate settings for the rites written quickly in addition to the simple antiphons and Gelineau psalms which are now being tried in the funeral rite.
>
> It would be well to have a reputation as a trustworthy experimenter who sends in coherent reports. Then, the door would be open for authorization

> to substitute some of the music which you are going to have composed, for the present Introit, Meditation, Offertory, and Communion chants.

Conwell then offers to help with editing and proofreading and signs off with:

> I hope that it [this letter] will make some of the problems of your project clearer, give you some information that you didn't have, and reflect the ideas of a younger member of your meeting. Love, Mary Louise.[61]

Here, the trail runs cold and two years later in 1969, Mother Morgan retired as Director of the Pius X School at sixty years old. She was still to live for some twenty-three more years.

It is futile to speculate on what caused Mother Morgan to just turn her back on a cause into which she had poured so much energy and passion for the years leading up to and immediately following Vatican II. One can only accomplish so much alone, so after having assembled and funded two world-class panels, and pushed and prodded the participants, to see her efforts fail to materialize must have proven extremely disappointing.

Was she the last of her breed? Where will we find another Justine Ward, Mother Georgia Stevens, or Mother Josephine Morgan? The movements back to the wonderful church music of the past are important and fulfill a need. But where is the movement to the future? Where is a leader to envision what the music will be like? Who can motivate church musicians to realize its lofty goals?

While one feels a certain amount of unease about pouring over materials of the past with the principals involved not having the opportunity to further their discussions or defend their positions, it is illuminating to see how well-meaning individuals earnestly struggled, trying to reconcile the demands of their faith, their art and the church. In a sense, I hope this article has given them another chance to be heard. ❖

[61]Letter from Mary Louise [Conwell] to Mother Morgan, dated May 25, 1967, Manhattanville Archive. A second, incomplete letter in the Manhattanville Archive is signed by Mary Louise [Conwell] but the addressee page(s) missing; however, it is presumed from the content that it was addressed to Mother Morgan.

The English Motet Project: A Short Interview with Heath Morber, July 13, 2021

Short, easy motets from the repertory of sacred polyphony are set to English texts and made available on the internet.

by Mary Jane Ballou

My first encounter with Heath Morber was at a CMAA Colloquium at Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. Since he complimented my blog at the time, *Sacred Miscellany*, we were, of course, instant friends. I've followed this project since its inception and found it useful with my own small women's ensembles. One caution: don't be intimidated by the runs or sixteenth notes. Just take it slowly and don't take it out on a Sunday until it's ready. Beautiful music sounds great at any tempo.

Tell me a little about your background and your work at the Newman Center at Champaign-Urbana.

I'm the Director of Music at St. John's Catholic Newman Center on the campus of the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana. I've been working here for fifteen years, directing two of our five choirs and mentoring student directors who run the other three.

Could you give the readers of *Sacred Music* an overall description of the English Motets?

In a nutshell, I take Renaissance motets originally with Latin texts, I fit them with English translations, and re-typeset.

What was the inspiration for this project? Did the idea come from your experience with singers and liturgy at the Newman Center?

During the school year when my students are present, we're very blessed to be able to sing quite a bit of Gregorian chant and Renaissance music in Latin. But ninety-five

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

percent of my choristers and congregants leave for home every summer. Our musical forces in the summer were usually just me and a cantor. I decided to find some bicinia (short, two-part pieces) that we might be able to sing and decided to try fitting them with English texts since we don't have worship aids with translations in the summer. The experiment worked quite nicely so I kept searching for motets to set and sing.

When did this begin and how have things changed or grown along the way?

I started this in the early 2010s. When the translations of the Mass changed and collections of English chant exploded, I thought that some colleagues may benefit from these motets in English so I started sharing a few of these on the CMAA's forum. Ben Yanke (a name known by many readers) reached out to me and asked if I'd be interested in collecting some of them in a bound volume. With his help, I self-published three collections on Lulu: *Bread from Heaven* (Eucharistic motets), *English Motets for the Church Year* (with motets for every season and major feasts), and a collection of Orlando di Lasso's 2- and 3-part motets called *Everlasting Joy in You*.

I started this in the early 2010s. When the translations of the Mass changed and collections of English chant exploded, I thought that some colleagues may benefit from these motets in English.

The bound volumes were a bit of a hassle, so I decided to create a website with the help of my former student, Sam Kendrick. We launched it a couple of years ago at www.englishmotets.com.

What's the process? How do you find the music, match it to text, decide on voicings, etc.?

The Choral Public Domain Library (http://www.cpdl.org) is a treasure trove, no question. Between that site and the marvelous music library at the University of Illinois, I have enough choices to last a lifetime.

I prefer adapting motets for smaller ensembles of two and three voices; I have hundreds of duets and trios with a variety of voicings to fit nearly any combination of voices.

For most of the motets on the site, I've translated the original Latin text. (Purists, avert your eyes for this next part!) But when I want to set a particular liturgical text and I can't find a suitable motet for it, I'll peruse Renaissance Mass settings and adapt an excerpt from a Gloria or Credo, for instance. Most of these Mass settings languish in ob-

scurity so I figure it won't hurt if I salvage some of the music and use them for my selfish needs!

After these years of working on the English Motets, what are some interesting things you've learned, either from the process or from user feedback?

First off, the internet is incredible. I remember combing through dusty *opera omnia* back in college to hunt down polyphonic treasures. Now I can find *thousands* of scores of interest in a matter of minutes. It makes the process so much easier.

User feedback has been great. For several reasons, introducing Latin in certain parishes is a non-starter. But that shouldn't also exclude the use of sacred polyphony. Musicians are excited to get their hands on some beautiful music that has an immediacy that the vernacular brings.

Finally, as I had guessed, there is a *huge* need for quality music in two- and three-part settings. Many SATB settings are just off-limits to many smaller choirs.

Is everything tricky and polyphonic? What about a small ensemble with some challenged voices? Is there anything for them to sink their teeth into?

As I continually remind the folks on my email list, I'm a sucker for a good canon, and I have a ton of them on the site. Canons are great for polyphony neophytes—and great for directors who are short on rehearsal time!

In addition, most of the motets on the site are for fewer than four voices (great for smaller choirs), and many pieces have a limited range (great for those "challenged voices" that you mention!).

Finally, I have quite a bit of SAB music, and I'm glad to modify ATB/SAT settings for SAB choirs upon request.

Out of the 200ish motets on the site so far, I'd estimate that 150 are either proper texts or biblical settings from the lectionary readings.

What coverage is now available for the A, B, and C cycles, and special feasts and ceremonies?

There's a lot. Out of the 200ish motets on the site so far, I'd estimate that 150 are either proper texts or biblical settings from the lectionary readings.

There are selections for every season of the church and every major feast day. I'm working on setting all the offertory texts for the major seasons and feasts and I'd love to do the same for the communion texts eventually.

How about the website and the subscription plan? Can I make copies for my singers?

Tough to beat this deal: for thirty bucks, you get access to the site indefinitely. I don't know about you, but I often pay more than thirty bucks anytime I need a choral piece from one of the major publishers.

And yes, once you gain access you can make as many copies for your choir as you need.

"I'm a book-kind of person. Do I need to order print volumes for each singer?"

I don't know if I'll do another book; they are a lot of work. It's so easy right now for me to typeset a new score and toss it on the site. But if anyone wants to subscribe to the site, print what they'll use, and put the scores in separate binders for their choristers, go for it!

What have you heard from users? Compliments? Suggestions? Complaints

Again, user feedback has either been very encouraging or just indifferent. (Musicians at Latin-only parishes are definitely not interested.) I've had some good suggestions on how to improve the site, some of which I've implemented, others that I hope to do soon.

I recently expanded the "recordings" link on the site. People really want to hear what these sound like before they hop on board. I get it! There are now well over one hundred recordings on the site.

And I'm always glad when I can take a "request" for a particular motet to add to the site.

What lies ahead?

Well, I'd love to continue to grow my base, so I appreciate your spreading the word! Folks can hop on the email list and get a free motet. I only send out one email per month, nearly always with some free music or access to something else cool that I'm working on. Check the site out at www.englishmotets.com.

I appreciate you spreading the word! Folks can hop on the email list and get a free motet.

Additionally, I'm hoping to give free access to the site to all our seminaries, monasteries, and convents. If you're in charge of music at one of those places, contact me at heathmorber@gmail.com. . . . And it probably makes sense for me to reach out to our Episcopalian/Anglican brethren at some point (smile).

Thanks for the opportunity to clue folks into this project! There's no better "user group" for this than the CMAA. ❖

Repertory

A Short Motet with Flexible Voicing

A sample of the pieces promised for the Parish Book of Motets, *in various transpositions to accommodate different groups of singers.*

by Aaron James

Many parish choir directors aspire to teach their ensembles music by the great composers of the high Renaissance: Palestrina, Byrd, Victoria, Lassus, and the other famous musicians whose names appear in the history books. The difficulty that we quickly encounter, however, is that the vast majority of works by these famous composers are not within reach for a small choir of amateurs, especially a group that is just starting out. A handful of works by Palestrina are often sung by parish choirs—*Sicut cervus, Alma redemptoris mater, Regina cæli*—but the bulk of Palestrina's best and most characteristic music is in five or more parts, with the six-voice *Missa Papae Marcelli* as the most famous example. The complete works of William Byrd are readily available at the Choral Public Domain Library in excellent editions by David Fraser, but many of them present extraordinarily intricate rhythmic challenges that are a challenge even for professional ensembles. And all choir directors working with Renaissance music encounter the problem of awkward vocal ranges: extremely low alto parts (E or F below middle C) and extremely high tenor parts (A or B-flat above middle C), sometimes in the same piece!

The frustration of choir directors looking for singable repertoire in good editions is an age-old problem; websites like CPDL have made it easier to access sheet music but their enormous databases are no help to musicians who don't know exactly what they're looking for. Solving this problem is the inspiration for the *Parish Book of Motets*, a new collection of accessible choral music that I am currently editing for the Church Music Association of America, as a follow-up to the popular *Parish Book of Chant*. The book aims to provide a repertoire of accessible choral music, all short pieces in no more than four parts, that can be the basis of a core repertoire for a choir that is just starting out or just beginning to explore sacred polyphony. The book mixes old chestnuts (Palestrina's *Jesu rex admirabilis*, Elgar's *Ave verum corpus*, Bruckner's *Locus iste*) with lesser-known works (motets by Loyset Compère, Pierre de Manchicourt, and Giuseppe Antonio Bernabei).

Aaron James is the Director of Music for the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, Toronto.

The majority of the pieces in the book are unaccompanied Latin motets in the tradition of *a cappella* polyphony, but there are also a few pieces with organ accompaniment, as well as several pieces in English. Two settings of the Agnus Dei are included, either for use as motets or to be sung by the choir as part of the Mass Ordinary, along with a Magnificat for celebrations of Vespers, and settings of the *O salutaris Hostia* and *Tantum ergo* for Benediction. The collection will also include three newly composed motets, commissioned especially for the *Parish Book of Motets*.

The idea of using an edited collection of motets in the year 2022 may need some defending; many of its contents are public-domain pieces, so why not just download the same motets from CPDL and print out whatever score you find there? After all, many musicians now get the music they need exclusively from sites like CPDL and IMSLP; as an organ teacher and adjudicator I sometimes meet young players who have never once bought a physical piece of sheet music for their instrument. The problem with relying on online sheet music, for the choir director, is not that these editions are necessarily bad; there is certainly some sloppy error-ridden music on sites like CPDL, but many of the editions posted there are excellent. The problem is the lack of consistency. The music posted at CPDL runs the gamut from transcriptions in original notation with no barlines to editions that are heavily rearranged and modernized with Romanticized dynamics and phrase markings. Some editors transpose their scores, while others leave the music at original pitch; sometimes the score is in original note values, and other times the rhythms are halved or quartered. As a music director you can take the time to sort through all these options, but making these sorts of technical decisions is exactly the sort of work that a good editor ought to be doing for you. The point of a collection like the *Parish Book of Motets*, then, is not that there is no other way to access this music—there are other ways to find pieces like *Jesu rex admirabilis* and some choir directors will already have an edition of the piece that they like. What makes the collection useful is having all of this music between two covers, in clearly printed editions with a consistent appearance. This will make the book a useful vademecum for beginning choir directors, but even experienced choir directors will find it very useful; having a large body of repertoire in one collection makes liturgical planning simpler and can save lots of time in rehearsal.

Croce's motet *Benedicam Dominum* will be one of the motets included in the *Parish Book of Motets*, and it's a good example of the sort of piece that choirs will find there: a relatively short motet with a text suitable for singing throughout the liturgical year.[1] Because it is extremely brief, it could be sung during the offertory or communion of the Mass while still leaving enough time for a congregational hymn in parishes that desire a mixture of choir and congregational music. Because of its brevity and simplicity, it might also be a good choice for a first Renaissance motet for a choir with little exposure to this style. Giovanni Croce (1557–1609) was a Venetian composer who grew up as a boy soprano at St. Mark's Basilica under the direction of Gioseffo Zarlino, and who

[1]The text is *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore; semper laus eius in ore meo* (from Psalm 34/33, v. 1: I will bless the Lord at all times; his praise shall ever be in my mouth.)

ultimately rose to become *mæstro di cappella* at the basilica during the same time that Giovanni Gabrieli was organist there. In the Venetian style, his works include numerous polychoral pieces for multiple choirs, but his 1597 collection of four-voice motets is a treasure trove of simple and straightforward compositions; of all sixteenth-century printed collections by important composers, this is probably the most universally accessible for modern choirs.[2]

However, Croce's piece also raises challenging issues of performance pitch for the editor to address. Renaissance polyphony was most commonly written using the combination of clefs called *chiavi naturali*: the uppermost voice in soprano clef (that is, a C clef with middle C on the bottom line), the altus in alto clef, the tenor in tenor clef, and the bassus in bass clef. Works written in this clef combination are well suited for the sort of all-male ensemble that might often have sung them in the sixteenth century, with countertenors on the top line and low basses on the bottom line; in a group like this, the altus and tenor parts can be sung by high and low tenors. But this sort of music often poses problems for modern choirs. A vocal part written in alto clef will often be much too low for a modern alto section, with the altos forced to spend most of their time well below middle C with lots of low Es and Fs. Transposition of Renaissance music up by a minor third was a tradition for much of the twentieth century, bringing the alto part high enough to be sung by modern altos without making the other parts too high; this explains why so many modern scores of Renaissance works are written in keys like F minor and A flat major (transposed up from originals in "D minor" or "F major" respectively). This tradition can't be followed for *Benedicam Dominum*, however, since the piece is written in lower clefs: the top part in alto clef, the middle parts both in tenor clef, and the bottom part in bass clef.

As written, *Benedicam Dominum* seems to be best suited to an ATTB ensemble; the middle parts, written in the same tenor clef, also have almost exactly the same range (from F or F sharp below middle C up to D). The top part, with its relatively small range, could be sung equally well by an alto or by a high tenor. An SATB version can be made by transposing the whole piece up by a tone, which puts the altus part within the range of a modern alto singer (the bottom note of the alto part would now be G rather than F) and makes the top part singable by sopranos (the part now goes no lower than middle C). As is so often the case with editing Renaissance music, the main limitation on how high the music can be transposed is the tenor section; all the other parts would be in a slightly more comfortable tessitura if the piece were transposed higher still. Because the tenors begin the piece with an exposed high note, however, most parish choirs will have the best results if the piece is transposed no higher than a tone above printed pitch, allowing the tenors to start the piece on a comfortable E rather than a high F or G. This transposition will work well for many mixed choirs, but because most of the parts are singing low in their range, this transposition will produce a somewhat dark tone color in performance, and the

[2] *Motetti a qvattro voci de Giovanni Croce Chiozzotto . . . libro primo*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1597. Many of Croce's four-voice motets are widely available online and in existing printed collections, most famously his setting of *O sacrum convivium.*

choir director may have to guard against a tendency to go flat.

Another performance possibility, however, is to get rid of the troublesome tenor section entirely; if the piece is transposed to C (a perfect fourth above printed pitch), one ends up with a score well-suited to an SAAB ensemble: the top three parts lie in a comfortable tessitura for modern sopranos and altos, and the bottom part is still low enough to be sung by a bass section. This unusual voicing corresponds well to the situation in many parish choirs, where there is often a shortage of tenors and basses but a large section of confident altos; in a group like this, the bass part could be sung by the tenors and basses together. If there are no tenors or basses at all, the lower part could be played on the organ, or one could even imagine a women's choir singing the piece one octave higher than its original ATTB pitch.

Careful transposition is especially important in performing pieces like *Benedicam Dominum*, which use a much more constricted range than the typical SATB voicing. But these considerations apply to Renaissance vocal music in general; in my experience it often takes careful planning, and sometimes a bit of experimentation with different transpositions, to find the best pitch for a particular piece. Often a piece of music that comes across as lifeless and sluggish in rehearsal, and that doesn't seem to lock into the correct tuning, simply needs to be transposed up a tone for an immediate improvement. Music notation software now makes it possible to transpose a score instantaneously, and many editors supply Sibelius or Lilypond files of their scores online to allow conductors to experiment with different transpositions for themselves.[3] This technology allows us to sing music that we could never use at its original pitch, and in cases like this one it can allow us to sing the same piece in arrangements for many different voicings, depending on the singers that are available.

In a typical parish music program, of course, there is limited time to experiment with different transpositions; what we need is a good-quality score that is already in a suitable key for singing with an SATB ensemble. This is the main benefit of using a good-quality performing edition, in which this work has been done in advance by the editor. The sample scores of *Benedicam Dominum* shown here are a preview of the type of score that will be included in the *Parish Book of Motets*, although the actual book will not include all three of these different transpositions; the aim is to be as clear and accurate as possible, and to minimize any distractions or confusion for the singer. To this end, most of the musicological apparatus found in scholarly editions (such as brackets to indicate ligatures and coloration, or italics to indicate editorial additions of text) will be moved to the critical notes rather than being included in the actual score. The intention is to offer the best of both worlds: a score that has been edited carefully from original sources, with good-quality editorial commentary for the choir director's reference, but that is designed first and foremost to be accessible and easy to use for the inexperienced choir member. ❖

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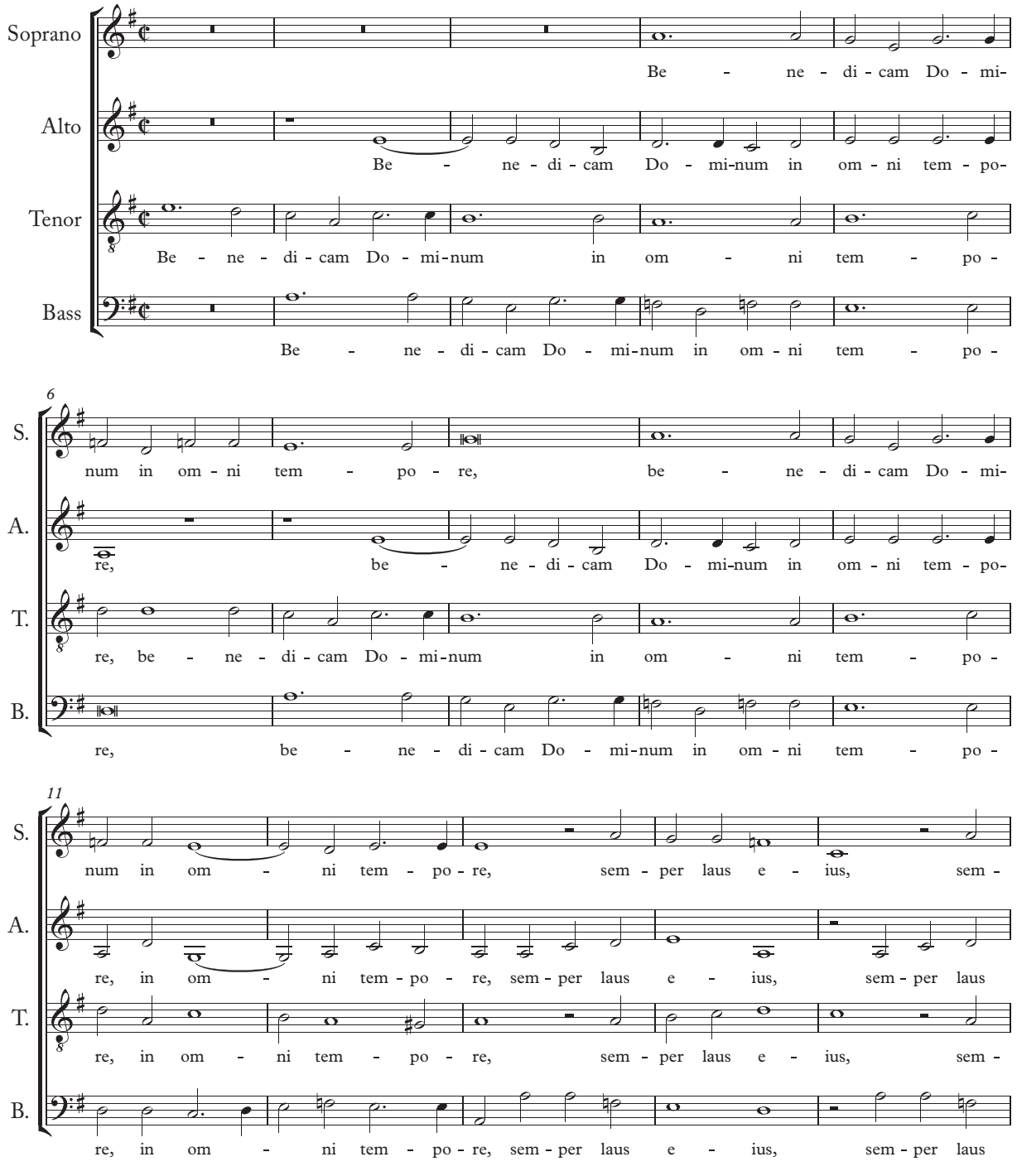
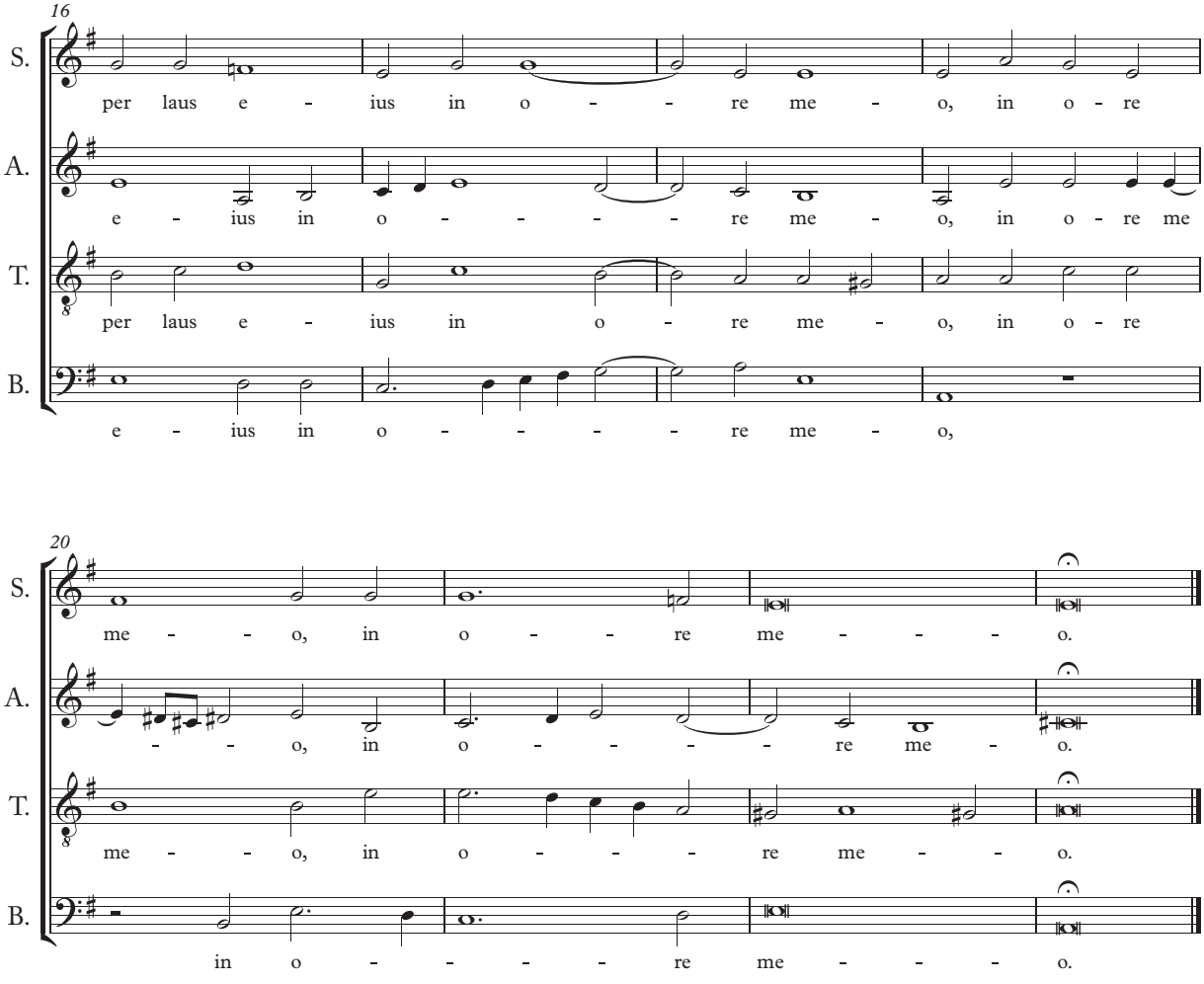
[3]Lilypond files are difficult to use for musicians without computer programming experience, but a free editing program called Frescobaldi can be used to transpose Lilypond files with minimal difficulty.

Benedicam Dominum

(transposed up a tone, for SATB)

Giovanni Croce

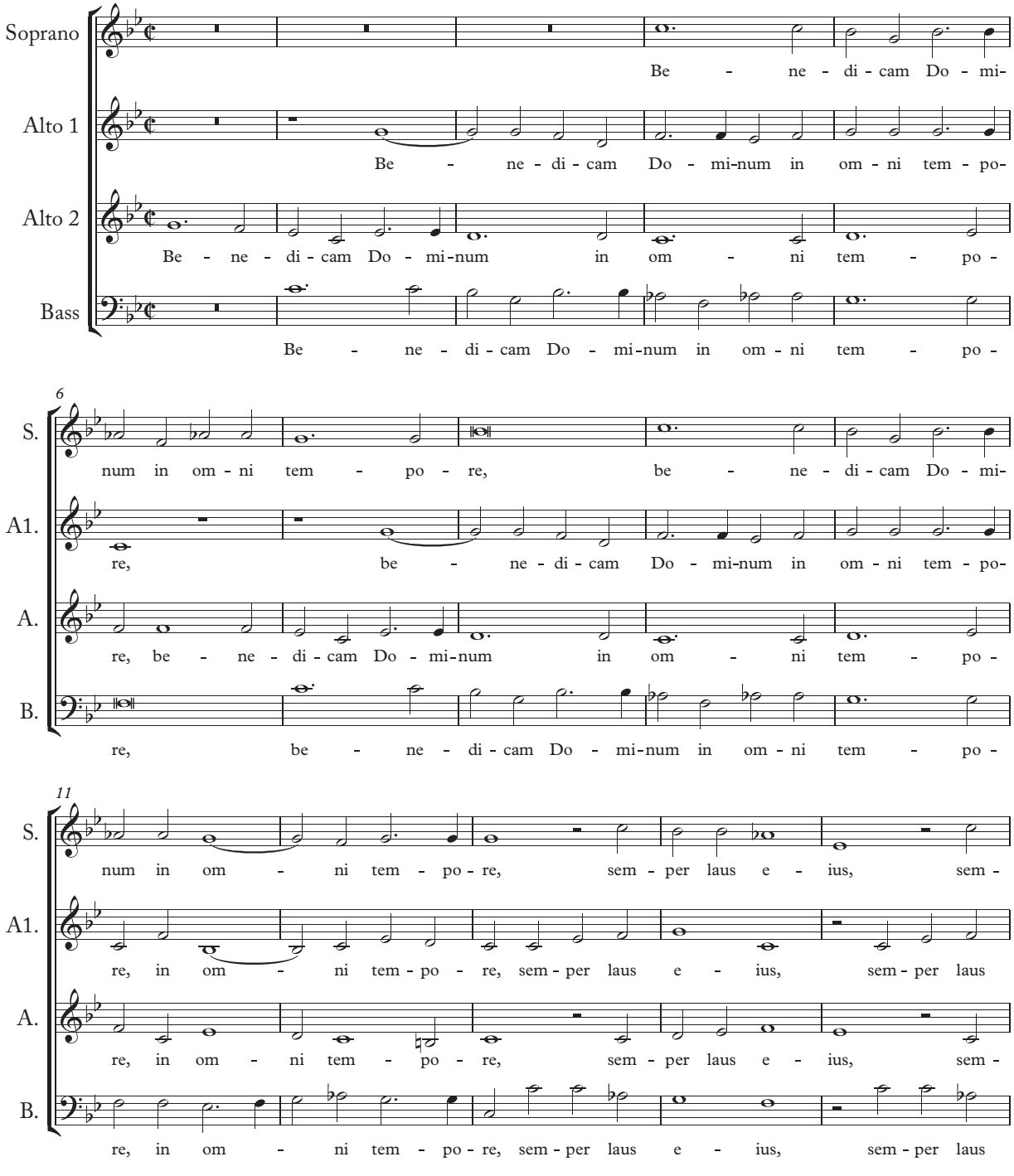


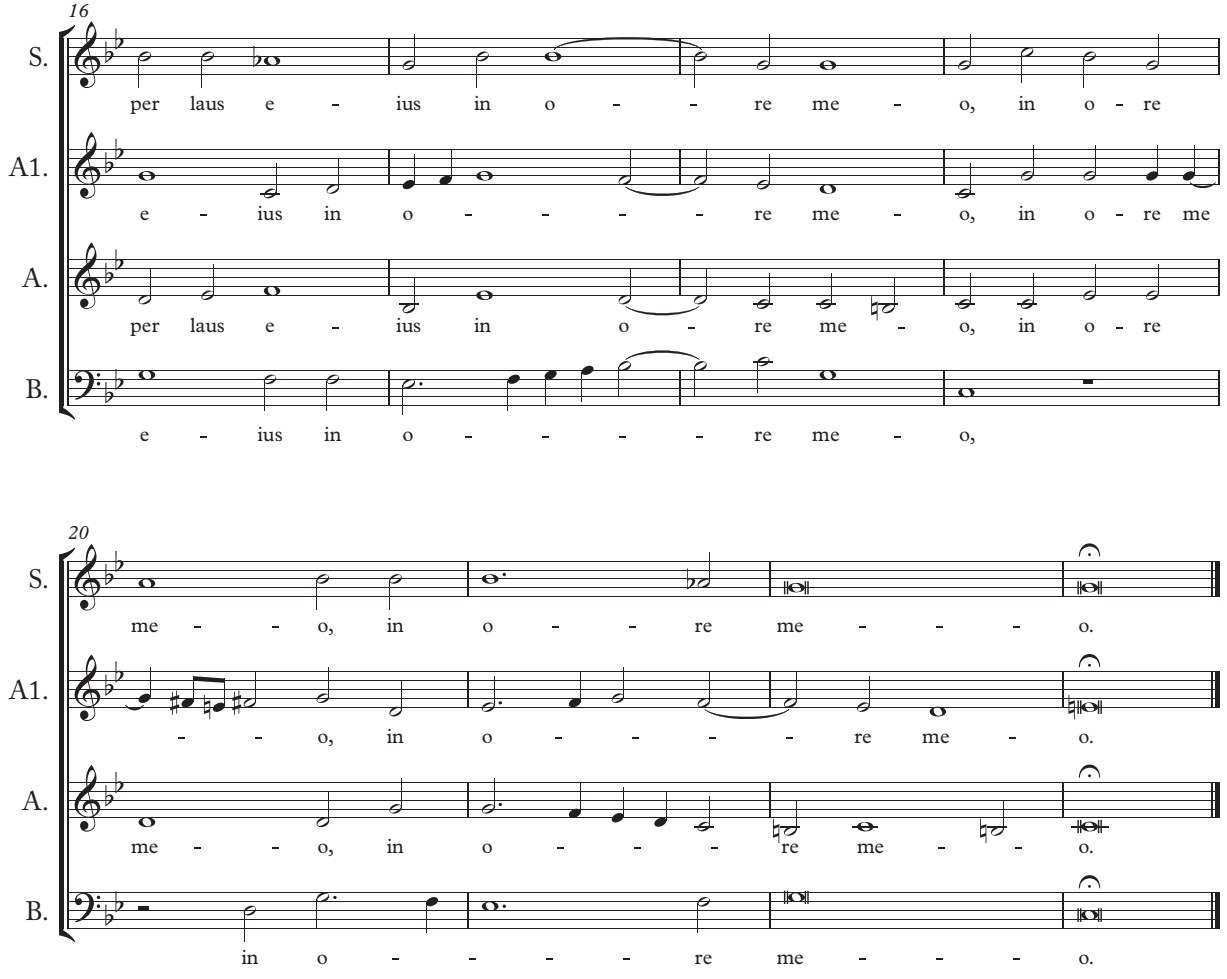

16
S.
per laus e - ius in o - - re me - o, in o - re
A.
e - ius in o - - - - re me - o, in o - re me
T.
per laus e - ius in o - re me - o, in o - re
B.
e - ius in o - - - - re me - o,
20
S.
me - - o, in o - - re me - - - o.
A.
- - - o, in o - - - - re me - o.
T.
me - - o, in o - - - re me - - o.
B.
in o - - - - re me - - - o.

Benedicam Dominum

(transposed up a fifth, for SAAB)

Giovanni Croce

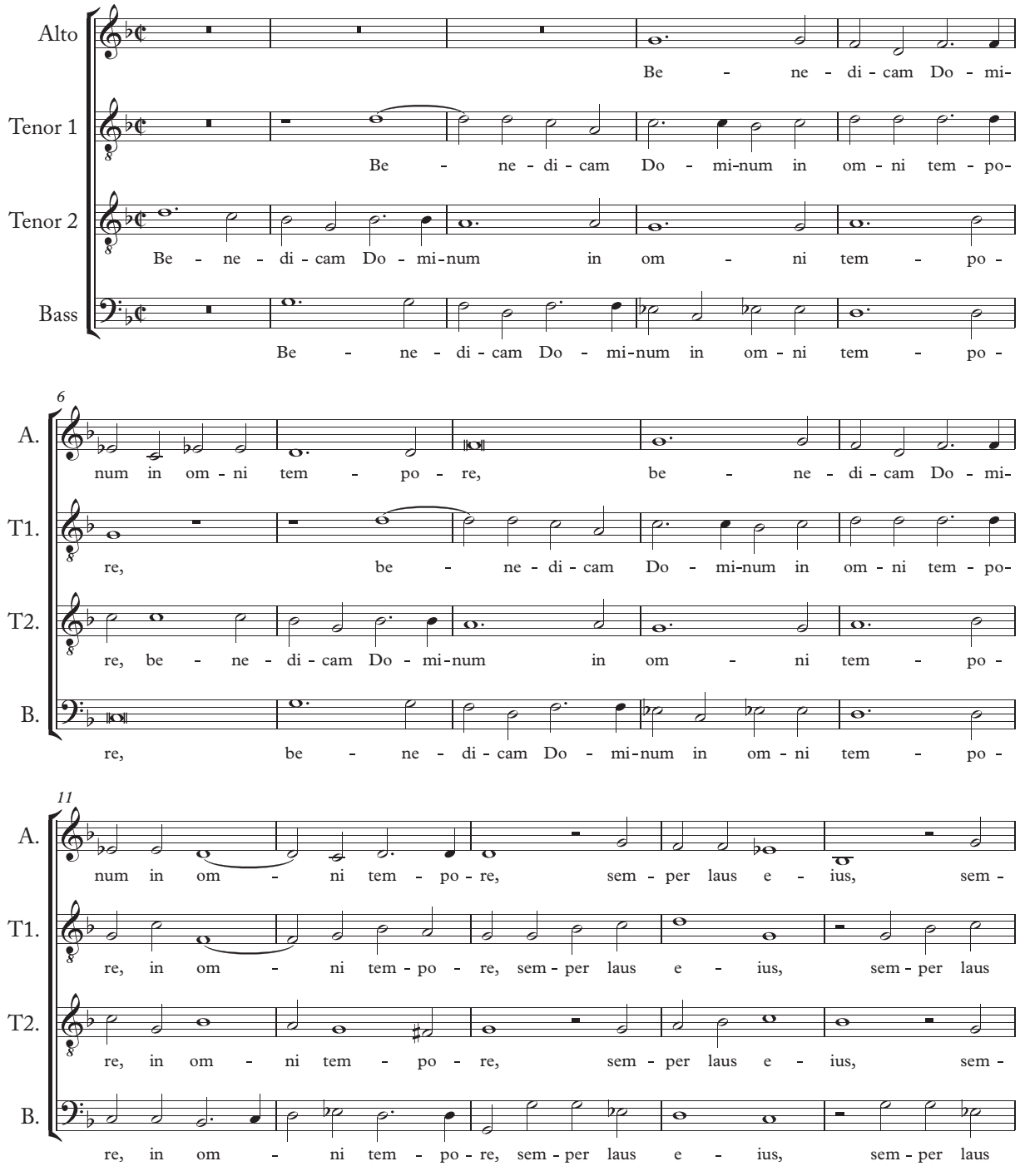


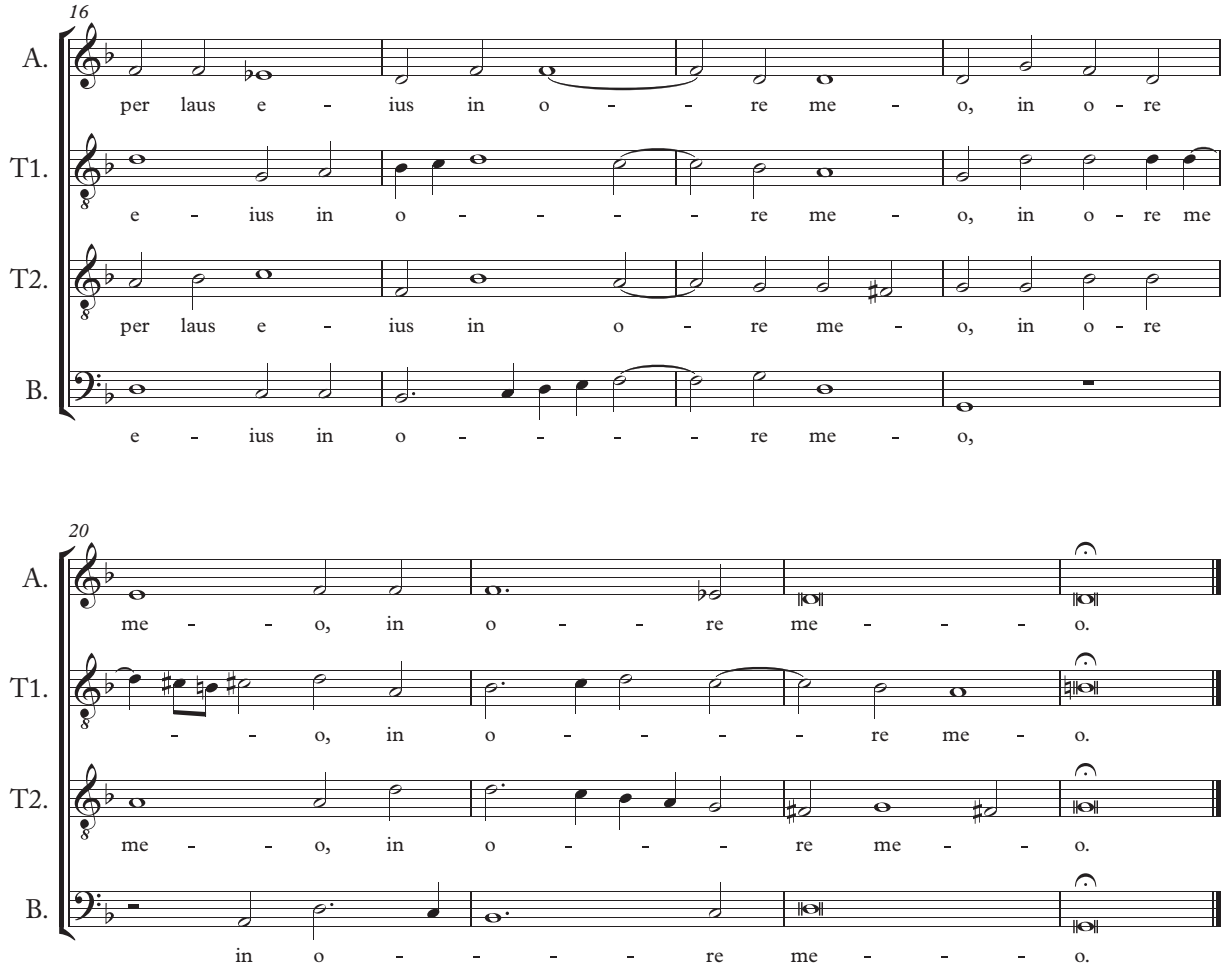

16
S.
per laus e - ius in o - re me - o, in o - re
A1.
e - ius in o - - - re me - o, in o - re me
A.
per laus e - ius in o - re me - o, in o - re
B.
e - ius in o - - - re me - o,
20
S.
me - - o, in o - - re me - - - o.
A1.
- - o, in o - - - re me - o.
A.
me - - o, in o - - re me - - o.
B.
in o - - - re me - - - o.

Benedicam Dominum

(original pitch, for ATTB)

Giovanni Croce




16
A.
per laus e - ius in o - - re me - o, in o - re
T1.
e - ius in o - - - - re me - o, in o - re me
T2.
per laus e - ius in o - re me - o, in o - re
B.
e - ius in o - - - - re me - o,
20
A.
me - - o, in o - - re me - - - o.
T1.
- - o, in o - - - - re me - o.
T2.
me - - o, in o - - - re me - - o.
B.
in o - - - - re me - - - o.

Commentary

Choral Warm-ups: From Necessity to Delight

Effective warm-ups promise to contribute to the progressive improvement of a choir.

by Mary Jane Ballou

Is the title of this article overly optimistic? Perhaps. Every director knows that a choir that has been warmed up will learn faster and sing better. At the same time, choral warm-ups can feel a bit like dental hygiene: a recognized necessity that is no fun at all, something to be endured. After a quick review of two likely warm-up scenarios, I will offer some suggestions and resources that may change this view.

Scenario One: You are the new director with a brand-new degree in choral conducting, just hired to invigorate the choir at St. Marilyn's. Perhaps the choir saw you during auditions but only briefly. When you announce the beginning of warm-ups at the start of your rehearsal, the first thing you hear is: "We don't do warm-ups because [insert name of former director] thought they were a waste of time, and we didn't need them." Not an auspicious start, but you ask them to humor you. Hoping you can get the singers on your side; you quickly try to remember what warm-ups the college chorus director used and launch forth amid groans from the basses and sighs from the front row of sopranos.

Scenario Two: You are an experienced director with or without a degree in choral conducting and your choir at St. Joe's is sagging. What warm-ups you do are perfunctory and seem to have little effect on the quality of your choir's singing. You wonder if there isn't a better way or should you just save time and start on this Sunday's music. It would certainly make the singers happier, and they've let you know it. You need some new ideas that will translate into better singing and faster mastery of new music.

The first person who needs to be convinced of the value of good warm-ups is the director him/herself. Be the believer! Otherwise, you will be simply going through the motions for five to ten minutes and, believe me, the choir will respond accordingly. So—why warm-ups? Here are five great reasons taken from Christine Mulgrew's blog at *Total Choir Resources*.

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

1. Warm-ups will focus your singers. They arrive at your rehearsal from the rest of their lives—work, family, traffic, etc. They will be sitting and chatting with their friends, texting, and checking their email. That first warm-up will stop all of that.
2. Your warm-ups can build teamwork. Mix things up and have people move around from their favorite seat. Combine the sopranos with the basses. People born in the summer on one side of the room to sing to the rest of the ensemble. Next week try a different season or part of the alphabet for last names.
3. Warm-ups can build skills that will improve the ensemble's singing as a whole. Posture, breathing, clean intervals, and blend. There is an exercise for each of these and there is not a single style of singing from chant to polyphony to contemporary that does need all of them.
4. Warm-ups can help smooth learning a new piece by focusing on problem areas that lie ahead. Look over the music and see what exercises could help with the difficult intervals, changes in rhythm, challenges with octaves and unison singing.
5. Make those warm-ups fun and the rest of the rehearsal will be happier. Point out everything that is being done well. Make sure that some of the exercises are easy enough to increase your choir's confidence and make them ready to sing.

Thank goodness for the internet! There is a myriad of resources available to you, the director, at no cost. This article will end with a brief list of these. Some of these also offer subscriptions to enhanced materials. Continuing education is your responsibility; all of us can still learn something new. The world is awash with blogs, podcasts, books (online and print), and membership organizations. Go for it!

Thank goodness for the internet! There is a myriad of resources available to you, the director, at no cost.

When you begin to review warm-up exercises, you may feel overwhelmed. Instead of throwing up your hands, think about what areas you want to work on.

1. Always start with some physical loosening up. If you have space, unlock the singers from their seated rows and have them spread out. Head, neck, and shoulders are obvious. Add some overhead reaching and some gentle core rotations. Nobody should do anything uncomfortable. Those who can't stand should sit up on the front of their chairs with their feet flat on the floor. (This is the "no lounging" rule.)
2. Then you can move on to some breath work. How long can they sing a single note before they run out of gas? Their hands on their bellies will help them feel the contraction of an explosive

"Ha;" then placing their hands on the sides of their rib cages will let them feel the sideways expansion of a startled breath.

3. As you start working on range, don't forget the breathing. There are many exercises that combine range with vowels. Don't accompany the warm-ups on the organ or piano; let the singers listen to each other and to themselves.
4. Draw some additional exercises in articulation or vowel purity from a selection you are working on right now.
5. Finish with a round. Teach a short one that everyone can commit to memory. Swap out who sings which part to keep it fresh. Even better, build a short repertoire of rounds—some religious and some not. This can also help develop memory skills.

How long should your warm-up last? Some choirs give or take ten minutes, others, quite a bit longer. If your choir is "warm-up resistant," keep it short to start, but never omit it altogether. One other thing is essential: you must know the exercises cold. Your confidence will keep the choir with you. Of course, you should have written down what you're going to do at a given rehearsal and no one is saying you can't have a "cheat sheet." Just be sure you are prepared!

Warm-ups should be familiar but not so familiar that you and the singers can sleepwalk through them. This is where that plethora of resources can come to your aid. Print out several exercises for each of the categories—physical, breathing, range, vowels or articulation, and rounds. Remember to include notes that let you know where you found these, whether it is online or in print. While you can assemble this electronically, the low-tech solution is a warm-up notebook. Number the exercises in each area and then mix and match the numbers to create different warm-up sessions. Always combine some of the "tried and true" that the choir knows with the new ones. When you add something new, repeat it for a couple of weeks. Doing this will also require some work on your part. Remember the part about knowing the exercises?

Switching up your warm-ups requires your singers to sharpen their brains as well as their voices.

Switching up your warm-ups requires your singers to sharpen their brains as well as their voices. Another benefit of warm-ups is the lack of sheet music. Your singers will be looking at you, not at their binders or octavos. They need to remember the warm-ups from one week to another and most of them can. This is a stealth introduction to memorization of their other music.

Keep moving forward through the exercises and look for things to praise as well as things to improve. Your focus and good humor can be contagious. When the warm-ups are ended, your singers should be vocally warm, engaged with each other, and looking forward to singing even more.

Emphasize relaxation with accuracy. By the way, how accurate are your own entry and cut-off gestures? This is probably a point that both you and the choir can work on. Make it a game of "red light, green light" with scales or some other exercise. And don't be afraid to laugh at yourself and thank the singers for helping you out.

Remember the "resistant choir"? Tell them that the warm-ups are to prepare them for the rest of the rehearsal so that their voices aren't overstrained and you care about their vocal health. You want to remind them that it isn't about you; it's about them. The choir that was going nowhere? With purposeful warm-ups that include their problem areas, you and the singers can start to move forward.

One final point: when you sing unison warm-ups, everyone is working. No one is flipping through the music, whispering to his or her neighbor, or texting. Want an easy cure for texting? Start a clap to go with the singing. It's almost impossible to text and clap with both hand at the same time. Add a little body movement by moving the clapping from one side to the other. Why bother with any of this when your choir sings only chant or motets? You will help unify the sound and the expression. For chant, there will be one voice, not twelve people singing the same notes (well, almost the same notes) at the same time. Likewise with polyphony, you can begin to unify vowels, dynamics, rhythm, and the sense of forward movement that good music demands.

Resources:

Little Book of Choir Warm-ups by Victoria Hopkins and Christine Mulgrew. This is a free downloadable PDF that can form the basis of your "mix and match" warm-up program. Totalchoirresources.com.

Fifty Choral Warm-ups for Church Choirs by Ashley Danyew. Another great free downloadable PDF. ashleydanyew.com.

Both websites offer blogs, podcasts, courses—all features that are worth exploring.

YouTube is awash in warm-ups of all types—classical, choral, individual, gospel, pop, etc. Head over and look for these folks. (I'm not giving links because YouTube links are often squirrelly.)

Roger Dale (very traditional)

Maria A. Ellis (four-part gospel warm-up that teaches each part separately)

Kathleen Hansen (your singers can watch these at home, and you can use her ideas in your own warm-ups); khansenmusic.com will give you a boatload of material.

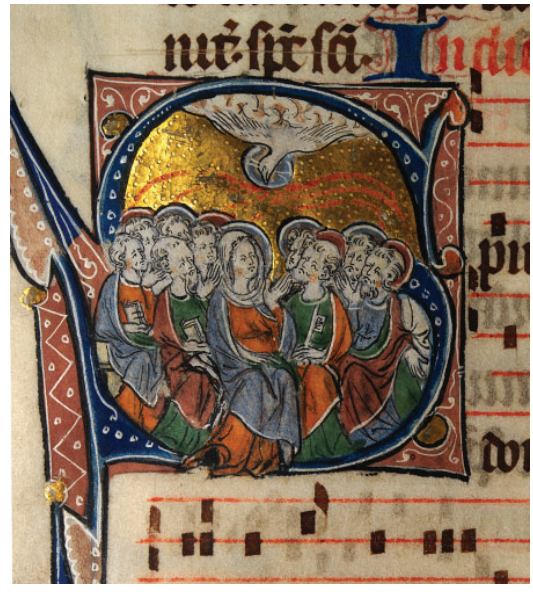
Cheryl Porter (high energy complete with boxing gloves and a pink tulle skirt)

Body Percussion (there are many sites demonstrating this) Have some fun!

Of course, you can modify anything you see to suit the needs and abilities of your singers, but don't sell them short. Everyone can learn to sing with better pitch, breath control, and articulation. So off you go!" ❖

Erratum

On page 52 of the Summer 2021 issue of Sacred Music was printed a prayer which omitted the first line of the prayer. It is reprinted here, in full, with the missing line contained therein. The editors regret this error.



Prayer for Church Musicians and the Renewal of Sacred Liturgical Music in the Catholic Church

O God our Father, who through the Holy Spirit have inspired the church's great traditions of sacred music, we ask you to send again in our days an outpouring of your Spirit on all priests, church musicians, composers, and music educators.

May they thus be filled with the fervent love of God and all those whom they serve, especially those in greatest need. May this love impel them to be good stewards of the sacred liturgy and its music, so as to humbly reveal the glory of God and draw all people of good will to conversion and communion with God in Christ.

May they rediscover and deepen their understanding of our sacred music heritage, and so foster its continued vitality and growth. And may composers, deeply rooted in this heritage but also keenly aware of the needs and capacities of people today, bring forth new inspired works which resonate with holiness and beauty in the hearts and minds of all those who hear and sing them.

May all church musicians be prayerfully diligent in the development and application of their knowledge and skills in the art of sacred music. In so doing may their music be, as it were, a worthy sacred icon which effectively points away from itself to the glory of God, for the sanctification and edification of all.

And wherever the need might exist, may our liturgical music be cleansed of all elements that are not in harmony with the dignity of the Mass, and its grace-filled, reverent, faithful, and loving celebration.

In communion with the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the angels and saints, we ask these things through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

P.O. Box 486, S. Lancaster, MA 01561
magnificatinstitute.org
Imprimatur:
Most Reverend Robert J. McManus
Bishop of Worcester, Massachusetts
August 2, 2021 ❖

Support the CMAA Annual Fund

In 2014, the CMAA board of directors established the CMAA Annual Fund – a campaign to generate contributions beyond dues from members and others. Monies raised through the annual fund are used to support the organization's general operating expenses as well as specific programs.

The annual fund allows the CMAA to meet the organization's day-to-day challenges and strengthens its financial foundation.

Donations are needed for these Annual Fund Projects and Programs:

- ☐ **Online publication of a comprehensive free library** of educational materials for choir directors and others including numerous books on chant as well as the many CMAA publications. **We have received a large donation of *Cæcilia* and *Catholic Choirmaster* issues ready for scanning and upload. Donate to support this effort.**
- ☐ **Publication and distribution of new publications.** The CMAA is working on a new project called the *Parish Book of Motets.*
- ☐ **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. The CMAA has commissioned a new Mass setting in Spanish for the 2022 Colloquium and plans other commissioned work that will be made available.
- ☐ **Scholarships for students and seminarians** to attend our programs. Every year we receive many requests for funding; providing scholarships and lower student/seminarian rates to support these requests is crucial for the future of the Church in promoting sacred music to seminarians and students.

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The CMAA is a non-profit educational organization, 501(c)(3). Contributions, for which we are very grateful, are tax-deductible to the full extent of the law. Your financial assistance helps teach and promote the cause of authentic sacred music in Catholic liturgy through workshops, publications, and other forms of support.

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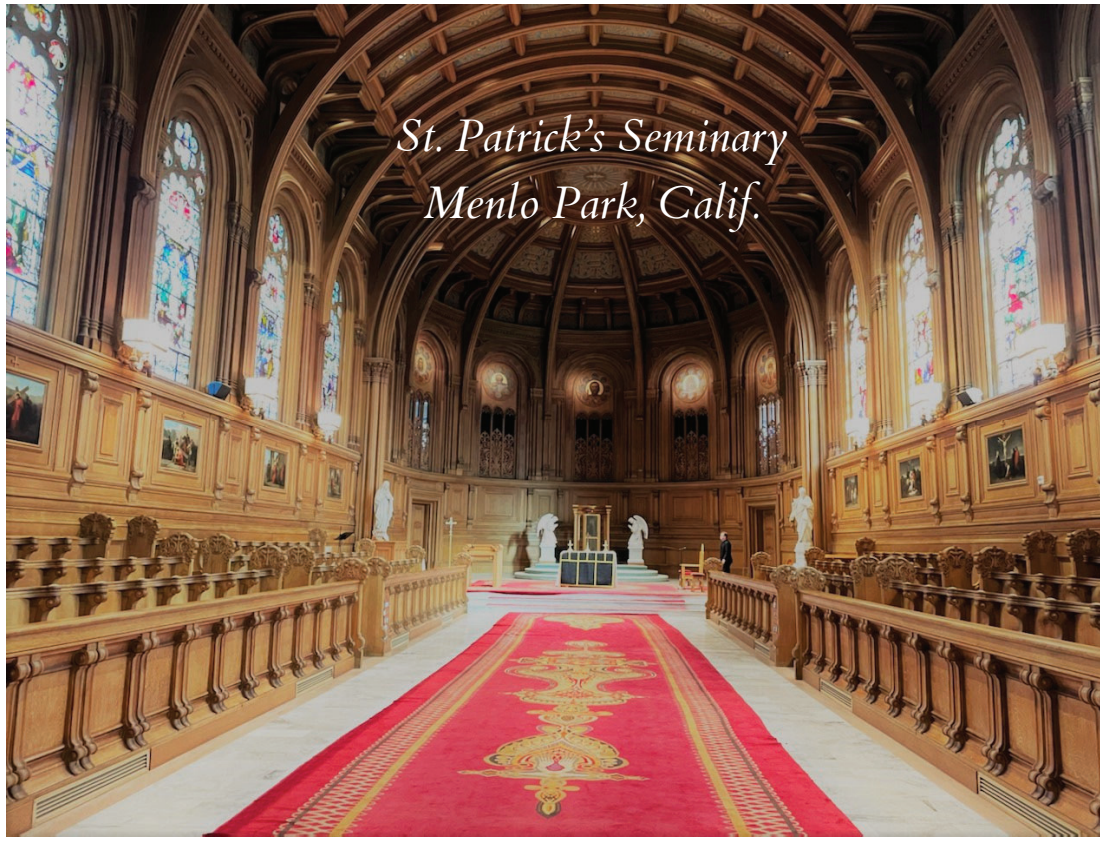

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