Dom Daniel Saulnier

GREGORIAN CHANT

,

a guide

Translated by Edward Schaefer

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Pincipal abbrevations used

D.A.C.L. : Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, Paris, 1907

E.G.: Études grégoriennes, Solesmes, 1954...

G.T.: Graduale triplex, Solesmes, 1979.

P.G.: Patrologia græca, Migne, 1857...

P.L.: Patrologia latina, Migne, 1844...

P.M.: Paléographie musicale, Solesmes, 1889...

R.G.: Revue grégorienne, Solesmes, 1911-1963.

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the history

I search everywhere for that which we have pondered, have done, have loved in the Church throughout the ages of faith. Dom Guéranger

2000 years ago, the Christian message left the holy city of Jerusalem and the Syro-Palestinian territories and spread quickly throughout the Mediterranean basin. As the message spread, so too did the newly developing Christian worship, that is, the liturgy, the Christian public prayer. Contrary to a process of centralization, every region soon celebrated the liturgy, and sang in its own language.

This diversity of languages is preserved even to our own time in the liturgies of the Middle East. In the Mediterranean West, however, things progressed differently. After two centuries of liturgy in the Greek language, Latin, that is, the current language of the time, was adopted. Thus, every region of the Christian West began with its local repertoire of sacred chant: only one language (Latin), but different texts and music. Today we are certain that the following existed:

- a Beneventan chant for southern Italy,

- a *Roman* chant for the city of Rome and its territories,

- a *Milanese* chant in northern Italy,

the history

– an *Hispanic* chant on the two sides of the Pyrenees,
– a (or several?) *Gallican* chant(s) in the territories of Roman Gaul.

THE ROMAN ORIGINS

Of all these Latin repertoires of the ancient West, only the Milanese has remained in use up to today. The church of Milan preserved, not without difficulties nor compromise, her own liturgy. Her chant is called "Ambrosian," in honor of the spiritual patronage given to this tradition by the bishop Saint Ambrose (d. 397). This repertoire is consigned to manuscripts of the twelfth century.

Knowledge of the primitive Roman tradition has come to us through a few somewhat vague' historical testimonies and especially through Sacramentaries.⁸ We are, thus, well informed on the order of the ancient liturgy of Rome,³ but what do we know about her chant? Without a doubt, it was transmitted only through oral tradition. Five books, written between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, give us the repertoire sung in certain Roman basilicas during this time. Even though there were some distortions and corruption [of the oral tradition], they were minimal, as evidenced by the few variants among these manuscripts. These five books, therefore, permit us to see, in large measure, the tradition of the primitive Roman chant.⁴

The composition of the Roman repertoire goes back, for the most part, to the fifth and sixth centuries. At the beginning of the fourth century the Church is freed from persecution, and the administrative appara-

the history

tus of the Roman empire is now almost completely at the service of the Church. The construction of large basilicas allows the worship to grow publicly and to acquire a new solemnity. All the arts come together there, including music in its own place. Indeed, up until this time most of the chant had been reserved to a soloist. But now the *schola cantorum* is born, a group composed of about twenty clerics (experienced singers and young pupils in formation) who lay their vocal expertise at the service of the liturgical celebration. This group of specialists develops, during the fifth and sixth centuries, a repertoire of sophisticated religious music, consisting of two types of pieces.

On the one hand, a recasting of the preexisting repertoire. The *schola* replaces the soloist henceforth for the execution of some of the pieces that had been reserved to him up to this time. However, the *schola* also gives these pieces a more ornate style and a more complex structure.

On the other hand, the creation of original compositions, linked to the development and the pomp of the rites in the large basilicas, for example, the chant linked to the imposing entry procession of the celebrant.

By the time of Pope Gregory I (590), the composition of the corpus of Roman melodies seems to be finished.

THE FRANKISH-ROMAN CONFLUENCE

During the second half of the eighth century a rapprochement is initiated between the Frankish kingdom of the Pépins (Pépin the Short and his son Charlemagne) and the papacy (Stephen II and his successors). This rapprochement is, first of all, of a political nature: territories of the Supreme Pontiff are being threatened by the Lombards, while the young king of the Franks is anxious to assure his legitimacy to a throne conquered through great struggle. Pépin the Short commits to protect the papal territories, while the pope comes to France with his court, renews the consecration of the Frankish king (754), and stays for a long time at the abbey of Saint-Denis.

These circumstances give the new ruler an appreciation for the Roman liturgical practices. Pépin the Short sees in them a means to assure the religious unity of his territories, thereby strengthening their political unity. He adopts – and this measure will be reinforced vigorously by Charlemagne – the Roman liturgy in his kingdom.

Speaking practically, the introduction of the Roman liturgy involved the suppression of the Gallican chant repertoire and its replacement by the Roman repertoire. We see in correspondence and various records of the time several references to requests for Roman books to be sent to Gaul. The sending of these books was accompanied by exchanges of cantors, since at this time the chants were not yet written down : at best, only books containing texts, without melodies, could be sent.

What occurred then, in the second half of the eighth century, in Frankish Gaul, between the Seine and the Rhine (in Metz?), has not been transmitted to us in

written documents. Liturgists and musicologists have compared the Roman books (of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries) and books of Gregorian chant. Their findings permit us to pose a highly likely hypothesis.⁵ At the time of the confluence of the Gallican and Roman repertoires, there occurred a kind of cross-fertilization. The texts of the Roman chant, written down in books, were easy to impose, and became the texts of reference. However, it went otherwise for the melodies. The Gallican musicians adopted most frequently⁶ the general nature of the Roman chant and its modal architecture.7 However, they clothed these chants with a completely different ornamentation than that to which these melodies had been attached previously. Said differently, instead of the pure and simple replacement of one repertoire by the other, there was a hybridization. This can be summarized by the equation :

Roman * Gallican → Frankish-Roman

in which the asterisk symbolizes this cross-fertilization.

The oldest musical witness of this hybridization goes back to the end of the eighth century; it is the tonary of Saint-Riquier,⁸ which gives only the first words and the modes of some pieces of the new chant. We must wait yet another century to see books of chant that include musical notation: the first extant books come from the very end of the ninth century and especially from throughout the tenth.

As is the case with all liturgical chant of antiquity, the new Frankish-Roman chant repertoire was born of the oral tradition. Internal analysis demonstrates this abundantly. However, in the historical theory that has just been posed there was a rupture in this oral tradition: the suppression of a local repertoire (Gallican) and its replacement by a foreign repertoire (Frankish-Roman). The imposition of this new repertoire throughout the West met with strong resistance, in Gaul, in Milan, in Rome and in Spain. Two conditions, however, helped bring about the ultimate success of this overhaul:

 the invention of a process of writing the melody, which represents a considerable turn in the history of music;

– the attribution of the composition of the new chant to one of the most famous characters in Christian antiquity, Pope Gregory the Great.⁹

The historical context of the composition of this Gregorian chant (so-called because of its attribution to Gregory I) is one of significant development in civilization that historians call the first "Carolingian Renaissance." During this epoch, the barbaric peoples, in the process of stabilizing, turn their attention toward the culture of Greco-Roman antiquity, and take it upon themselves to emulate the Byzantine empire. The new repertoire, therefore, immediately becomes the subject of study by the musicologists of the time. Those whom we call theorists classify the musical pieces into rhythmic and modal categories, sometimes quite distant from the realities of the original compositions. They also promote – from as early as the ninth century, that is, even before the music is first written down – the practices of syllabization and of organum, both of which would furnish this new repertoire with unforeseen developments.

NEW COMPOSITIONS AND REFORMS

Several factors coincide here.

The progress of the notation

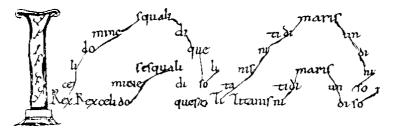
The first notation systems did not indicate the melodic intervals, but only the rhythmic values and agogic nuances. This certainly suited a music whose essence was to sing the words following freely the inflections of the declamation. Soon, however, the notation was asked also to indicate the values of intervals. By comparing manuscripts, we see that this new concern consequently rendered impossible the precise maintenance of the rhythmic nuances.

Progressively, the appearance of lines, then of the *cursus* and clefs, and finally their interconnection with the system of the Guidonian staff, restrict the rhythmic possibilities of the notation as much as they benefit the dissemination of the music and the alleviation of the need for memory. The Guidonian staff – perfected during the first half of the eleventh century – acts a little bit like a filter with regard to understanding the original composition. It will probably always prevent us from reaching the complete truth about the primitive scales, micro-tones, and the practice of mobile degrees.

In its genesis the musical notation is bound intimately to the oral tradition. Before its invention every-



Trope for the Offertory Ave Maria



Polyphonic sequence Rex cæli Domine

one sings from memory. During the decades when the notation develops, everyone still sings from memory, but before the ceremony the cantor refers to the book to get ready. Once the system of notation is established, everyone sings with eyes fixed on the book. Little by little, the role of memory diminishes; the singer is no longer joined to the original vocal gesture as an interpreter: he is prevented from such mediation by the drastic reduction of the signs.¹⁰ A new stage in the history of music begins.

"The loss of the momentum of Gregorian thought, immobilized by these fixed reference marks, opened to music a new era of creation."¹¹

The syllabization of melismas

The melisma, or jubilus, is a vocalise, a moment of pure music that blooms on a syllable; it is a process of ornamentation that is essential to Gregorian chant. However, beginning in the ninth century, the trope develops, that is, the syllabization of certain melismatic pieces (*Alleluia, Kyrie* and other chants). Having at the same time witticism and cleverness of composition, not to mention being somewhat mannered and pedantic, this prosulation (the process of syllabization of melismas) enjoyed an incontestable success from the tenth century onward.

"But to underline a counter-part: when melismas, originally pure vocalises, were transformed into syllabic songs by the addition of literary texts, this modification did not only change the original style, it also contributed to denaturing the rhythm; indeed, notes that were often varied in their value, as the first notation systems indicate, are all rendered equal by the articulation of a syllable on each one of them."¹²

Organum

The treatise *Musica enchiriadis*, from the ninth century, contains the first written polyphonic piece known in the West, as well as the first theoretical writings concerning chant in several voices. It is eminently clear that a simple doubling at the fourth reduces to nothing all the modal virtualities of the original monody, while the efforts of the singers to assure the simultaneity of parts irreparably ruins the rhythmic suppleness.

After the Council of Trent (1545-1563), Gregorian chant entered into a state of complete decline, in its editions as well as in its execution. The manuscripts offer no more than a "heavy and overwhelming succession of square notes that cannot suggest a feeling and that can say nothing to the soul."¹³ The Renaissance with its "humanists"¹⁴ delivers the final blow: the melodies, corrected officially, are submitted to the canons of classical Latin. The long melismas, having become trying since everyone has forgotten the art of singing them, are dissected and reduced to just a few notes.

THE RESTORATION IN PROGRESS

In 1833, a young priest of the diocese of Le Mans, Dom Prosper Guéranger, undertakes the restoration of Benedictine monastic life at the priory of Solesmes, after an interruption of forty years caused by the French Revolution.¹⁵ According to the Rule of Saint Benedict the monk's day is centered completely around the solemn celebration of the Mass and the Divine Office. To recapture the Benedictine life, therefore, would involve a return to the liturgical forms of Christian antiquity, especially the chant. Not a musician, but a man of taste, learning and discernment, and propelled by a supernatural charisma, Dom Guéranger takes up the restoration of Gregorian chant with enthusiasm.

He starts by addressing its execution, and he asks his monks to respect in the chant the primacy of the text: pronunciation, accentuation and phrasing, all so much the guarantees of intelligibility, at the service of prayer. In a few years, thanks to the invaluable counsel of a priest of the region, Canon Gontier, the style of execution at the small monastery is entirely renewed and begins to set an example followed by others. The first law of the interpretation of Gregorian chant is formulated:

"The rule that dominates all rules is that, except in the pure melody (melisma), the chant is an intelligent reading, well accentuated, well phrased, with good prosody..."

From 1860 to 1865, Dom Guéranger charges one of his monks, Dom Paul Jausions, with the restoration of the authentic melodies, according to the following principle:

"If one can sometimes be correct in believing that he possesses the Gregorian phrase in its purity for a particular piece, it is when copies from several distant churches agree on the same lesson."¹⁷

The works begin in a very austere way: the copying of the oldest manuscripts of Gregorian chant at the municipal library of Angers. Their writing "in scrawls" is, for the moment, indecipherable.

In this effort to recover the primitive Gregorian cantilena, the abbot of Solesmes is not alone. He is part of

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Comparative table (Solesmes, atelier de Paléographie musicale)

a larger movement of interest in this sacred repertoire¹⁸. It is, however, at Solesmes that the restoration assumes the requisite scientific dimension. The first attempts at comparisons between manuscripts, done by Dom Jausions, were followed by the efforts of Dom Joseph Pothier. These led, in 1883, to the publication of the first book of chants for the Mass (Gradual). In this book the restitution has already reached a very respectable level. The publication of the Gradual had been preceded, in 1880, by *Les mélodies grégoriennes*, the first treatise on the composition and the interpretation of Gregorian chant. In what it reveals, this book remains current.

Dom André Mocquereau further developed this scientific enterprise by establishing a collection of facsimiles of the principal chant manuscripts in the libraries of Europe. He founded the workshop for creating the facsimiles and the publication known as *Paléographie Musicale* (1889).

This collection of facsimiles, enhanced by such indispensable tools as catalogs, index files, and summary tables, constitutes the material foundation of the restoration of the Gregorian melodies.

Research led, at the beginning of the twentieth century, to an official edition¹⁹ of chants of the Mass (*Graduale Romanum*, 1908) and of the Office (*Antiphonale Romanum*, 1912).

The publication of the *Antiphonale Monasticum* (1934), marked a new threshold of progress with regard to the fidelity of the restitutions.

However, the Gregorian restoration is not finished, since the recent Vatican Council II (1963-1965) has asked for "a more critical edition of the chant books already published."²⁰

In the assumption of this task, today's researchers are aided greatly by the work of Dom Eugène Cardine (monk of Solesmes, 1905-1988). It is he to whom we give credit for having elucidated the laws governing the writing of the primitive neums. It is also he who laid the foundation for a "critical edition of the *Graduale Romanum*." The mystery that hovers over the origins of the Gregorian repertoire²¹ does not permit us today to conclude with certitude the existence of a single "archetype," that is, a unique and absolute source of all the documents preserved to us. The publication of this critical edition, therefore, cannot be envisaged with a short deadline. However, all the important witnesses of the tradition are now known, listed and studied; little by little, they deliver their secrets.

The word *restoration* should be understood here in the totality of its sense. To improve the melodic restitution of pieces constitutes a fine contribution to the work of the Gregorian restoration. The restoration, however, will only be completed when Gregorian chant has been integrated, in a customary and vibrant way, into the liturgical practice of an assembly (monastery, parish, etc.). To this end, there are entire communities that work assiduously for the Gregorian restoration, but they do so in a quiet, hidden way, and without the least musicological pretension.

NOTES

1. Notably allusions in *Liber pontificalis*, a sort of chronicle of the successive pontificates of antiquity. *Liber pontificalis* has been published by L. DUCHESNE (Paris, Bibliothèque des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome, t. I, 1886, t. II, 1892. Reedited by Boccard, 3 volumes, 1955 and 1957). It has been shown since, however, with what prudence the historian must read its directions. (Peter JEFFERY, *art. cit. infra*).

2. These books, intended for the celebrant, contain the main prayers (prayers and prefaces) for each of the Masses of the liturgical year.

3. Of the various books, *Ordines romani*, has preserved to us detailed descriptions of it; cf. Michel ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines romani du haut Moyen Age*, Louvain, 5 volumes, 1931.

4. The oldest has been published in facsimile by Max LÜTOLF: *Das Graduale von Sancta Cecilia in Trastevere*, Cologny-Genève, Foundation Martin Bodmer, 1987.

5. Philippe BERNARD, "Sur un aspect controversé de la réforme carolingienne : 'Vieux-romain' et 'Grégorien,'" *Ecclesia orans*, anno VII-1990/2, p.163-189.

6. That is to say, the pivotal points of the composition, the main cadences and recitations and important melismas.

7. For a large part of the repertoire, the Roman and Frankish-Roman pieces are quite comparable. There are exceptions, concerning which a study is in progress.

8. Paris, B.N. lat. 13159. Cf. Michel HUGLO, *R.G.* 31 (1952), p. 176 and 224.

9. This attribution was much easier to make than that of Gregory being the presumed author of the Sacramentary (the book of the priest's prayers), of which the liturgical order coincided with that of the Roman antiphonary of the Mass. However, there was a gap of more than a century between the fixing of the Sacramentary called "Gregorian" and the development of a homogeneous chant. 10. The oral tradition can stay vibrant, however, with an insufficient notation. Just as the writing in pure neums was preserved into the fifteenth century in certain Germanic centers, in the same way an authentic interpretation was able to be maintained here or there, when melodies were consigned to the staff.

11. Marie-Elisabeth DUCHEZ, "Des neumes à la portée," Notations et séquences, Honoré Champion, Paris, 1987, p. 60.

12. D. Eugène CARDINE, "Vue d'ensemble sur le chant grégorien, "*E.G.* XVI (1977), p. 184

13. Dom GUÉRANGER, Lettre d'approbation à la méthode de chanoine Gontier, op. cit. infra., p. xii.

14. José DA COSTA RODRIGUEZ, *Les répercussions humanistes sur le plain-chant*, mémoire de maître d'éducation musicale, dirigé par Edith Weber, Paris Sorbonne, 1975 (mimeographed). Contrary to a too well-spread legend, one cannot impute to Palestrina the mutilations inflicted on the Gregorian repertoire. (D. Pierre COMBE, *Histoire de la restoration du chant grégorien*, Solesmes, 1969, p. 9.)

15. Dom Louis SOLTNER, Solesmes et Dom Guéranger (1805-1875), Solesmes, 1974.

16. Chanoine GONTIER, *Méthode raisonnée de plain-chant*, Le Mans, 1859, p. 14.

17. D. GUÉRANGER, Institutions liturgiques, t. 1 (1840), p. 306.

18. Lambillotte, Nisards, and Danjou worked in the same area.

19. Ordered, promulgated and printed by the Holy See, this is currently called the "Vatican" edition.

20. Constitution Sacrosanctum Concilium (1963), no. 117.

21. Especially the questions relating to the passage from the oral to the written.

the liturgy

The Church acknowledges Gregorian chant as specially suited to the Roman liturgy.

Vatican II

The Roman Catholic liturgy gives to chant a place of great significance. Many actions of the rite are accompanied by chants (processions, for example). At certain moments the ritual action amounts merely to a sung text, by the soloist or by all the assembly (chants between the readings, for example). Since chant is bound so intimately to the liturgy, it is clear that a survey of Gregorian chant requires a good knowledge of the liturgy.

The heart of the liturgy is the celebration of the Mass or Eucharist, sacred action in the course of which the Church, solemnly united in the diversity of her members, renews through the ministry of priests, the gestures and words of Christ on the evening of the Last Supper, the eve of the day when He delivered Himself freely to death for the salvation of mankind. For two thousand years, in accordance with the explicit order of the Christ,¹ the Church has never stopped repeating these gestures,² and it is through this repetition, Sunday after Sunday, that she transmits them to us. Since the sacred chant developed and grew with this celebration and now dresses it like a garment, we can see how it is the repetition of the liturgical action itself that has brought the chant down to us.

Everything spread from Jerusalem where the Church was founded, and from Antioch, where, for the first time, Jesus' disciples received the name "Christians."

The celebration of the Last Supper constitutes a radical departure of Christian worship from that of Judaism. However, even if the first Christians quickly separated themselves from the sacrificial practices of the Temple of Jerusalem, they inherited much from Jewish ritual practices.³ Thus, the synagogal rite for the morning of the Sabbath, composed of scriptural readings, chants, commentaries on the Scriptures and prayers,⁴ is the origin of the first part of the Mass. Simply, the celebration of Mass found its place on Sunday,⁵ the memorial of the Resurrection, instead of on Saturday, that is, the Sabbath ; it integrated the Christian writings that compose the New Testament and gave rise to a liturgical creativity that led, among other things, to energetic apostolic clarification.⁶

The Christian liturgy also includes the Liturgy of the Hours or the Divine Office. This set of prayers punctuates the different moments of the day, and achieves a veritable consecration of time. The cycle of the Hours developed gradually, also from Jewish roots.⁷ Even though this daily prayer touches all Christians, it is in the monastic environment that it receives its definitive form. The Rule of Saint Benedict (ca. 530) exercises a decisive influence in this respect. The day is structured around two major celebrations: Lauds in the morning,

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the liturgy

and Vespers in the evening. The morning rising is anticipated shortly after the middle of the night by the long Office of Readings (Matins), in which readings (from the Bible, the Church Fathers, and the lives of the saints) have a notable place. During the day, the community meets again for the "Little Hours:" Prime⁸ in the beginning of the morning, Terce at about 10:00am, Sext at the end of morning, None in the beginning of the afternoon, and Compline just before retiring for the night.

For Saint Benedict the Divine Office is above all a work of praise:

"Therefore, let us offer in these moments our praise to our Creator, and at night, let us get up again to praise Him."⁹

The chanting of the Psalms and the reading of Holy Scripture hold the highest priority here; but Saint Benedict also admits some non-scriptural poetry (hymns) and other ecclesiastical compositions (litanies, blessings and prayers).

THE BASIC LITURGICAL UNIT

A testimony of Tertullien, from the beginning of the third century, describes for us the structure of the Sunday liturgy:

"They read the Scriptures, sing Psalms, pronounce homilies and say prayers." $^{\!\!\!^{\rm NO}}$

This testimony provides us with a diagram of what we could call "the basic liturgical unit:"

reading - chant - prayer



Easter Vigil: Canticle connected to the reading from the Book of Exodus

the liturgy

We can place this schema in parallel with the various liturgical ministers and the books containing their respective parts:

reading	lector	Lectionary
chant	cantor	Cantatorium
prayer	priest	Sacramentary.

This schema remains intact today in the first part of the present Easter Vigil. Seven times this succession of reading - chant - prayer unfolds. The third time, we see yet today the Canticle come organically out of the reading. (cf. p. 22).

Here we are in the presence of an archaic musical genre, that of the *lectio cum cantico*, in which reading and chant are given by the same liturgical minister, since by this time (second to third centuries), the vocal involvement of the people was already reduced, most likely being limited to a few simple acclamations, that is, responses to the celebrant and his ministers.

Centuries will add new rituals that will ulimately constitute the solemn Mass of the eighth century," nonetheless, without changing the basic schema. It will subsist within all the ritual filigree of the celebration (p. 25).

THE VARIOUS LITURGICAL MINISTERS AND THE STYLES OF THEIR MUSIC

In the solemn liturgical celebration the community is organized according to the diversity of its members. Each of them participates according to his proper role.¹² The Gregorian chant adapts itself to this situation by granting to each of the ministers a repertoire adapted to his abilities.

The celebrant

The priest received through the Sacrament of Holy Orders the power to sanctify and to teach the faithful. It is he that presides over the assembly, but he is not especially prepared to take an elaborate musical/vocal part. His repertoire, therefore, remains in an extremely simple style. The quasi-syllabic recitatives utilize a reduced scale with variations limited to a simple punctuation of the text. Memorized easily, they are recalled every day and are a matter of the pure oral tradition. Simplicity, however, is not poverty in this case. The celebrant does not lose anything aesthetically in these simple cantillations. Didn't Mozart himself write that he would have given all his compositions for the glory to have composed the melody of the Gregorian preface (p. 26)?

The people

The assembly responds to the spoken parts of the celebrant and his ministers with short acclamations that remain in the same very simple style. Little by little, a popular repertoire is elaborated, composed of chants for the Ordinary of the Mass (*Kyriale*), hymns for the Office and certain chants for processions.

Schola cantorum

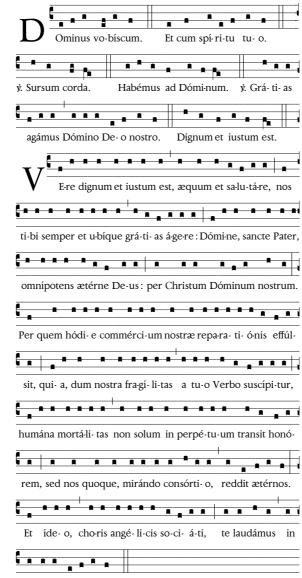
The *schola* is composed of a group of singers, who are more gifted vocally, more experienced, and who place their musical talents at the service of the sacred celebration, thereby accomplishing a genuine liturgical

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MATINS (Off. Readings) LITTLE HOURS	The second seco	A 8 8 8 8	Long Readings Short Reading	Great Responsory <i>Te Deum</i> & its verses Versicle	Gospel] Gospel	Short LitanyShort LitanyPaterPaterPrayerPrayer	Benedicamus Dño Benedicamus Dño
	<i>ې. Dñe ا</i> Invit Hx	Antij & Pi	Long R	$\begin{array}{c} \text{Great Re} \\ T_e I \\ \& \text{ its} \end{array}$	Gos	Short Pr	Benedicc
VESPERS & LAUDS	§. Deus in adiutorium	Antiphons & Psalms	Short Reading	Short Responsory Hymn Versicle	Gospel Canticle	Litany <i>Pater</i> Prayer	Benedicamus Dño
MASS	Introit + Psalm Kyrie Cloria	Collect	Reading Readings	Gradual Chant Tract Alleluia	[Gospel	Prayer General Intercessions	Offertory Canon - Sanctus Pater Agnus Dei Gommunion + Ps. Ite Missa est

N.B.: This table is to be read as an historical and pedagogical schema and not a theological one. It is quite evident that prayer shapes the whole celebration, and especially the Canon.

the liturgy



gáudi- o confi-téntes

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Preface for the Mass of Christmas

ministry¹³. The repertoire of the *schola* is musically more elaborate, consisting of the processional chants: the Introit, the Offertory and the Communion.

Among the members of the *schola* we find true specialists, the "soloists." The Gregorian repertoire reserves to them the most difficult pieces with the most highly ornamented melodies: the chants between readings. As all are seated, they actively listen to what is, in fact, "the musical homily."

The Gregorian repertoire, thus, comes to us bound intimately to the liturgy of the Roman Church. As the Fathers of the Church were producing the exegesis of Divine Revelation through rhetorical and literary processes, another commentary on Divine Revelation was being elaborated at the same time, one of a lyrical and musical type: a "musical patrology."

NOTES

- 1. "Do this in memory of Me." (Luke 22: 19).
- 2. Sacrosanctum Concilium, nos. 6 and 106.

3. The Acts of the Apostles testifies that the distinction between the two religions developed progressively, with Christianity appearing for a long time as a simple sect of the Judaism. The synagogues of the diaspora provide the first network of evangelism in the Mediterranean basin (Acts 13: 5,14). Note, too, the resolutions passed by the first "Council" of Jerusalem (Acts 15).

4. Regarding this question, see first Israël ADLER, "Histoire de la musique religieuse juive," *Encyclopédie des Musiques Sacrées* (Labergerie, Paris, 1968), vol. I, p. 469-493. Then, on the relationship between Jewish and Christian chant, see Solange CORBIN, *L'église à la conquête de sa musique* (Paris, 1960), p. 52-70; and Eric

WERNER, *The Sacred Bridge*, 2 volumes (New York, 1959 and 1984), which is controversial in places.

5. From the Latin dominica die: "the day of the Lord."

6. Cf. I Cor 11: 17-34 and 14: 26-39.

7. Acts shows again Peter and John going to the Temple for the prayer of the ninth hour (Acts 3: 1).

8. This Office appeared later than the others, and for reasons strictly monastic. The liturgical reforms following the Vatican Council II (1963-1965) have suppressed it.

9. Règle des moines, c. 16.

10. De anima, IX, 4.

11. This order of the Mass is preserved in descriptions from documents that go as far back as the eighth century: cf. ANDRIEU, *op. cit. supra*, and dom Jacques FROGER, *Les chants de la messe aux VIIf et IX siècles*, (Desclée & cie, 1950).

12. Instruction Musicam sacram (8 mars 1967), nos. 5, 6 et 11.

13. Sacrosanctum Concilium, no. 29.

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the chant of the psalms

The Psalm was recited with such minimal inflections of the voice that this recitation resembled speech more than song. Saint Augustine¹

The traditional and ancestral manner of transmitting a sacred teaching, such as we see in religions that venerate the Bible as well as in other religious cultures, has received the technical name "cantillation." This neologism, created in the beginning of the twentieth century,² designates a style in which the speech has the quality of music, but in which this quality plays the roles of regulator and of a kind of solemn vesture. It is a sort of declamation that is midway between speaking and singing and that has for its goal not to decorate the text, but to amplify the speech.³ The cantillation gives to words a burst of volume and a range that they would not have in a simple declaration; it gives them a very specific presence, one adapted to the holy nature of a sacred space. From the instant it resounds, it evokes another world and generates an ethos propitious to religious rites. However, its musical material remained so rudimentary that it hardly deserves the name of chant.

It is in this context of such "stylized speech"⁴ that we must situate the birth of Western sacred chant. It was a



Holy Week: Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah

style that was assimilable by an assembly at a time when the faithful did not have the capacity to read; therefore, it was one that was well suited to solemn, oral teaching.

THE MUSICAL PROCESS OF CANTILLATION

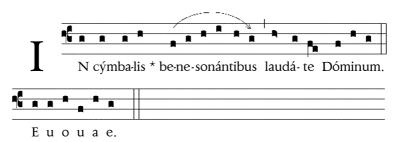
The musical material of the cantillation is extremely limited, generally confined to only a few degrees and rarely exceeding the ambitus of a fourth. One of these degrees assumes the function of the principal note, and the others function as its ornaments. However, the word *ornament* must not be taken here to have the meaning that it donned in the later musical tradition. Ornaments, "agréments," of classical music have a superfluous aspect. The ornamentation of the cantillation is, on the other hand, absolutely essential. It consists of neighboring/contrasting degrees, which, when heard, give prominence to the principal note and also clarify the modal structure.

All musicality is ordained by the text: the ornamentation is in the service of words or the phrase; the rhythm is one of solemn declamation.

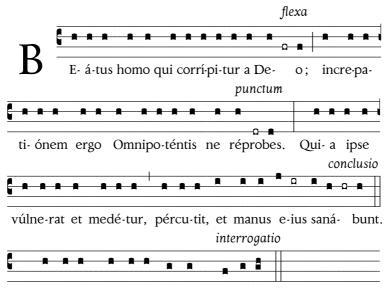
This musical enhancement of the text is assured by three processes:

- the accentuation,
- the punctuation,⁵
- the jubilus.

In reality, it is analysis that distinguishes these processes. They are not completely independent of each other. The two last are particularly closely overlapped.



The melodic shape of the Latin word



... Quis e-nim cognóvit sensum Dómi-ni?

Tone for for the readings of the Office

The accentuation

The languages of the Mediterranean basin generally have a singing quality, and they are endowed with accents that are somewhat melodic. Such was also the case with the old Latin, according even to Cicero's testimony, which recognized in words a *cantus obscurior*, that is, a latent or hidden song.⁶

In the Gregorian cantillation this singing quality results in a tendency toward a melodic elevation of the accented syllable; in elaborated musical compositions the accented words end up even taking the shape of the melodic curve of a perfect arc.

This is the phenomenon of the *accentus* (from *ad cantum*: "for the chant"); the accent, "the soul of the word and the germ of musicality,"⁷ that orders all musical invention. Because there is a veritable dynamic in the Latin word, the word itself is a melodic movement. The accented (or tonic) syllable lifts itself upward, while, correlatively, the final syllable rests on an architectural note.⁸ The other syllables are carried along in this movement: pre-tonic syllables in preparation of the high point and post-tonic syllables in transition toward the final, all in the unity of only one rhythm, that of the word.

The punctuation

Punctuation is an integral part of discourse. It is, first of all, a vital requirement for the reader, who can fulfill his role only on the condition of being able to take breaths and, in the process of so doing, of momentarily interrupting the sung delivery. It is also required just as much by the listener, who is guided toward a full understanding of the sung discourse by the prioritized ensemble of pauses, divisions and caesuras treated tactfully by the singer.

Moreover, isn't silence also part of the music? Is not the silence its breathing and its life?

In fact, several centuries before the invention of musical notation, the first signs that appear in manuscripts are related to those of punctuation. They indicate to the reader the less important, normal and more important punctuations. Questions are often specified by means of a special sign. These first musical indications, called ecphonetics, testify to an oral tradition that has the tendency of placing caesuras in the discourse on lower pitches, and more precisely on the degree immediately below that of the recitation note. As we will see while studying the pentatonic scale, this degree of the caesura is situated a whole-step or a minor third below the note of cantillation.

This process of descending to lower notes for the finals – and correlatively ascending to higher notes for the accented syllables – will develop and grow in the tones for the readings, and will contribute to the development of Gregorian composition.

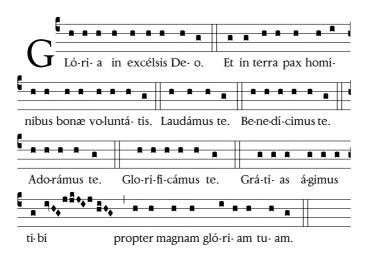
The jubilus

The third musical process utilized by the primitive cantillation seems to be very archaic. It is the jubilus, or melisma. This is a moment of pure music that interrupts the syllabic recitation and contrasts with it, while employing "a vocalise" on a single syllable. According to the unforgettable expression of Saint Au-

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gustine,⁹ the chant "then liberates itself from syllablic limits." The jubilus is not any less an authentic form of musical composition bound to the cantillation: the jubilus is not music from which someone has deleted the words, or from which something is missing. It is a song beyond words, beyond the somewhat narrow concepts that the words evoke.

The tie between the jubilus and the cantillation is of a functional order: the jubilus is traditionally situated on the final syllable of the penultimate logical division of the discourse.¹⁰ Over the centuries, this traditional placement of the jubilus, which goes back to the ancient cantillation of the Jewish Bible, was little by little forgotten. The jubilus was moved progressively toward the ends of phrases and especially toward the word accents, which were perceived as a lyric and expressive pole of the composition.



First strophe of the Ambrosian Gloria

PSALMODY: ITS MUSICAL "MATERIAL" AND ITS FORMS

The basic liturgical unit studied in the previous chapter has taught us to recognize the *lectio cum cantico* as the ancestor of Western sacred chant. Literarily, it was first a scriptural Canticle, then later a Psalm. But what shape, what musical style did this chant take over the course of the centuries?

Psalmody without refrain (or in directum)

The liturgy of the first two centuries is not directly accessible to us. It is only known only by means of a set of deductions. During this early time, the chanting of the Psalm is not yet very distinct from the reading [of the Scripture lesson]. It is the same minister who gives the reading and the Psalm successively. The cantillation of the Psalm is hardly more ornamented than the reading, and it joins harmoniously with the reading.¹¹ The chant is assigned to the soloist, while the assembly exercises its involvement in the liturgy simply by praying through listening. This is perfectly appropriate during a period when the education of the faithful is yet somewhat limited and the texts are not yet widely disseminated. The music is recalled solely through the oral tradition: it is a rare commodity. Musical creativity is encountered only in the soloist's repertoire, and even there it touches only the ornamentation.

The musical form is adapted to this situation both historically and liturgically. The psalmist "unfolds" the Canticle or the Psalm, verse after verse, "in a line" ("trait" from the Latin *tractus*), or "directly", that is, without intervention of the assembly, in the same manner that he would a reading. Saint Benedict speaks about singing the Psalm *in directum*, which we can translate today as psalmody without refrain.

We find, in the melodic shape of the elaborated Gregorian pieces, some of the characteristics of psalmody. The recitative notes of the cantillation are, in general, easily identified, according to the three musical processes studied above. Some special melodic formulas are adapted to the beginnings of verses (intonations) and others to the ends of verses (terminations). When the middle of the verse is ornamented, it too has a special formula (mediant). The whole of the piece is generally introduced by a solemn intonation, which is sung only once, and finished by an amply developed formula, which has a strong tendency toward the melismatic (example p. 22).

To recognize this musical form, that is, the psalmody without refrain, in the repertoire as it has come down to us, it is necessary to know how to disregard both the later ornamentation that may be covering it and especially the "singing personnel." These archaic forms were initially reserved to the soloist, but subsequently entered into the domain of the *schola cantorum*.

Heeding these precautions, the psalmody without refrain chant remains today recognizable in the Versicle of Vespers, in the Canticles of Good Friday and Holy Saturday, and in the Tracts of Lent.¹²

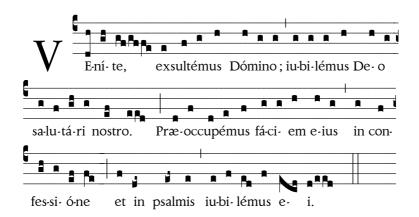
Psalmody with refrain (or responsorial)

The next stage (third to fourth centuries) is one of active intervention of the assembly in the psalmody.



tu- i Sanc-to.

Short Responsory with melisma in the traditional place



Matins (monastic): strophe of the invitatory Psalm

The historic testimonies of this are innumerable.¹³ They attest to the immediate and general success of a new form of the chant in the West: the Responsorial Psalm.

In this style the soloist loses none of his autonomy, and he continues to sing the entire Psalm. However, the assembly answers him, at the end of every strophe or every verse, with the help of a simple and very easily memorized refrain, which the psalmist intoned for the assembly at the beginning of the Psalm. The oral tradition thus continues to reign.

The first refrain utilized for this idea of the assembly "answering" the cantor is evidently the first verse of the Psalm, or more precisely the second half of this verse. "To answer," then, becomes for the assembly the continuation of the text intoned by the cantor. Another refrain, *alleluia*, was also used from beginning, at least on Sundays, since it evoked the Resurrection.

Eventually there came a time when answering "mechanically" the beginning of the Psalm, was discontinued in deference to the use of a verse chosen from the interior verses of the Psalm, that is, a text more evocative of or more in keeping with either the sacred mystery or the liturgical season (thus the notion of "selected verse").

In the Gregorian repertoire, it is in the Short Responsory of the Office that the responsorial form is most visible today, even though the Psalm is abridged. Some have even preserved the traditional melisma (cf. p. 38). Under a considerably "decorated garment" we find still the vestige of psalmody with refrain (responsorial) in the A - B - A form of the Gradual of the Mass and the Great Responsory of the Office.

The invitatory chant in the monastic liturgy appears as an ancient Psalm without refrain which has been adapted to the responsorial form.¹⁴

The question of alternation (antiphony)

With the development of the monastic life (fourth to fifth centuries), the Christian prayer is profoundly marked by the daily or weekly recitation of the entire Psalter, *per ordinem*, that is, in the order in which it is presented in the Scriptures: Psalm 1, 2, 3... Communities of monks and of nuns live this recitation-meditation as a means of perpetual prayer. They learn the Psalter by heart, and they might possess some of the manuscript copies. The celebration of the liturgical prayer, as Saint Benedict codifies it, plays a large part in this recitation of the Psalter. The community is organized into two choirs which face each other and alternate the verses.

This alternation is compatible with the two forms of psalmody studied above. In psalmody without refrain, the verses unfold one after another, in alternation from one choir to the other.¹⁵ In the psalmody with refrain, this alternation can be preserved, but with the two choirs joining together to sing the refrain after every verse. The choirs will end up one day singing the refrain together only at the beginning and at the end the Psalm. The alternated recitation of verses is then framed by the singing of the refrain. This practice be-

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comes inevitable when the refrain becomes long and develops musically.

There is, however, at least from the time of Saint Benedict, an ambiguity in the terminology.¹⁶ Indeed, in the Latin *Rule of the Monks* the word *antiphona* seems to designate the alternation (which refers to the style of execution of the chant) as much as it does the *refrain* of the Responsorial Psalm, that is, the antiphon.

This ambiguity in the vocabulary led all the commentators to envisage a third form of chant, which they baptized as "antiphonal" chant, and of which they saw examples in the "antiphons" of the Mass (Introit, Communion) and of the Office. However, such a distinction is relevant to the execution of the chant or to the "singing personnel," and not to the musical form of the work being sung. In reality, an analysis faithful to the liturgical and musical evidence can retain only two forms of psalmody: without refrain (*in directum*) and with refrain (responsorial), both of which can be executed with or without alternation.

The musical destiny of the antiphon

While being detached from the succession of verses and being relegated to the beginning and the end the Psalm, the refrain progressively acquires a certain autonomy. Soon composed for itself, the antiphon becomes the focus of unequaled musical invention.

From this time on, the word "antiphon" will designate any piece that is sung with a verse of a Psalm, even a piece as ornamented as the Introit. However, the "musical career" of the antiphon does not stop there. In later books the term is applied to all pieces that do not fit into any specific category, even though they are sung without even one Psalm verse! Thus the famous collection of "Marian antiphons," of which the best known is the *Salve Regina*.

THE THREE ARCHAIC MODES: "MOTHER-MODES AND MOTHER-CELLS"

The musical material of the cantillation is rudimentary, limited in the number of its scale degrees and in its ambitus. Nevertheless, it is organized. When we study the oldest cantillations of the Latin repertoire of the West, we note that they are ordered around a principal scale degree, that note around which the other sounds of the melody make ornamental figures. In other words, in these primitive melodies a single degree assumes all architectural functions : it is the dominant of the composition, the final of the piece, and possibly the tenor (reciting note) of the Psalm.

Thus, in this Sunday antiphon, the structural note of the cantillation is ornamented above by a whole-step and below by a half-step:



On the other hand, in the following example, the structural note is surrounded, above and below, by whole-steps:



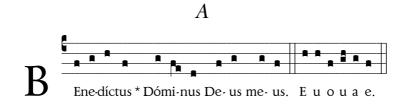
Finally, the note of recitation here is ornamented above by a half-step and below by a whole-step :



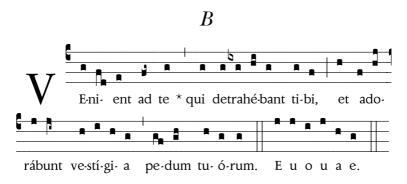
When we search, in the facts, to find which notes are used in this primitive repertoire, we are always brought back to one of these three cases. Musicologists have called these three archaic modes "mother-modes," because all the later melodic developments originate in them.¹⁷ To speak of them using solfege is delicate since they preexist the invention of note names – and even of all musical theory – by several centuries. However, we cannot escape its use entirely.

If we attempt to express these three modes with the help of the classic solfege vocabulary, we can give them the anachronistic names of DO (C), RE (D) and MI (E) and place them in the context of a pentatonic scale, that is, without half-steps. It is even possible to schematize the specific structure of each of these archaic modes. In doing so, there appears a pentatonic "mother-cell "which groups its most important degrees together. The recognition of a mother-cell permits the identification of a corresponding "mother-mode," even when it is integrated into a more complex composition. We end, then, with the following diagram:

Evolution by the ascent of the tenor and accents



ascent of the Psalm a third from the final of the antiphon



ascent of the Psalm a fourth from the final of the antiphon

Mother-mode C	Mother-cell	g - a - C
Mother-mode D	Mother-cell	<i>a</i> - <i>c</i> - D
Mother-mode E	Mother-cell	<i>c</i> - <i>d</i> - E

THE LAWS OF MODAL EVOLUTION FROM THE MOTHER-MODES

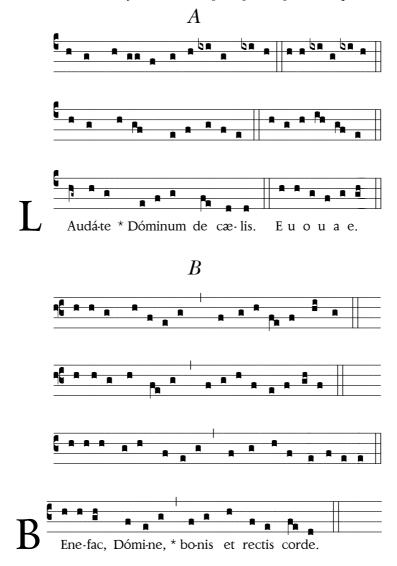
The three archaic modes constitute the first state, the basic structure of Western melodies. Everywhere, they were submitted to an evolutionary process that took the development of modality in two directions.

The ascent of accents and of tenors (reciting notes)

A piece in one of the archaic modes, when it was sung with a Psalm, easily acquired for this Psalm a "tenor" note which was higher than the dominant of composition of the piece. The refrain (given to the people) remained unaltered, but the Psalm (given to the soloist) began to be sung a third or a fourth higher than the original note (cf. p. 44).

This evolution may have been caused by a soloist's temperament, eager to make his voice impressive by singing on the more brilliant, elevated notes, while the assembly's response remains unaltered. It may also have been a genuine process of composition. Thus, in the Introits *De ventre* (p. 76) and *Resurrexi* (*G.T.* 196), the tenor of the Psalm, barely sketched in the antiphon, contrasts with the antiphon in a very pleasing manner. The raising of the tenor may also have happened purely to satisfy theorists' concern, that is, the integration of a piece into the theoretical setting of the eight modes of the Octoechos.

Modal evolution by the descent of the final of the antiphon



Correlative to this ascent of the tenor, we see in the refrain a tendency to raise the accents toward higher scale degrees. Thus, an internal dynamism in the composition develops as the melody rises, along with a tendency to enlarge the intervals.

Such a tendency with the rising melody is well within the nature of the accent. It is the progressive blossoming of *cantus obscurior* studied above (p. 32-33).

This evolution by means of the ascent of the tenors and accents eventually results in the development of new modes. These are not as archaic, but they remain very near the mother-modes. We might call them "semi-archaic" modes.

The descent of finals

Another evolution occurs in the sense of the lowering of pitches, similar to what happens in speech: the ends of pieces gravitate toward lower pitches (p. 46):

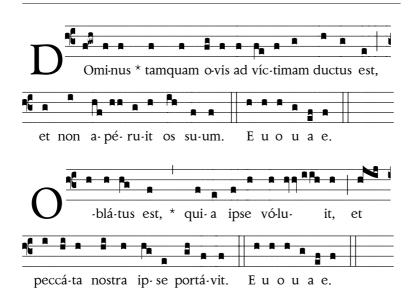
Antiphon	Clamor	meus / Rectos a	lecet / Lauda	te
final	a	e	d	
Antiphon	Auribus /	′ Dñe in cælo /	Portio mea /	Benefac
final	b	a	g	f

Bipolar modality and the table of the Octoechos

These two phenomena of evolution from the archaic melodies play against each other in a complementary manner. Ultimately, the pieces of the repertoire – that is, a great majority of them – thus partake of a bipolar modality.¹⁸

	Tenor of the Psalm						
no		third fourth plagal modes		fifth authentic			
ntiuph	D Protus	f 2 nd mode		a 1 st mode			
Final of the Antiuphon	E Deuterus		a $4^{^{ ext{th}}}$ mode	b 3^{rd} mode			
Final c	F Tritus	$a 6^{th}$ mode		c 5^{th} mode			
	G Tetrardus		$c 8^{th}$ mode	$d _{7^{ ext{th}} ext{ mode}}$			

Official table of the Octoechos



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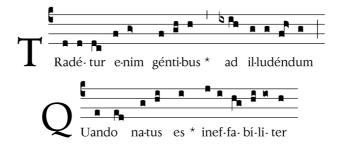
Depending on the interval that separates these two poles (the dominant of the composition or the tenor of the Psalm and the final of the piece), and depending on the organization of the scale degrees within this interval, that is, the placement of half-steps and wholesteps, the modes came to be designated by means of numbers or by means of specific terms developed in the Medieval Period (*Protus, Deuterus*, etc.). In spite of the serious inconveniences that this nomenclature presents, writers have commented upon it universally; therefore, it must be mentioned.

The major inconvenience of this table lies in the fact that it conceals, under an single mode number, pieces coming from two different evolutions and which are actually constituted of different "modal types."

```
Antiphon Dominus mother-mode D
ascent of the tenor to f
ascent of the accent to f and g
Antiphon Oblatus mother-mode C (= f)
descent of the final to a (= d)
```

Both receive the same modal number (2), because they have the same final and the same tenor, but they actually constitute two "modal types," different internally from the 2nd mode, since their dominants of composition, and, therefore, their aesthetics are completely different

On the contrary, some "modal equivalences" can be detected. Thus, two antiphons assigned to different modes can have the same intonation: *Tradetur enim* $(1^{st} mode)$ and *Quando natus es* $(3^{rd} mode)$.



This discovery of "modal types" and of "modal equivalences" proves that the table of modes is a work achieved by theorists, after the repertoire was composed. This table, called the "Octoechos," does not give an account of musical facts that have been objectively noted. Rather, it tries to list the whole of the repertoire under a number of limited categories.

If the study of the different modes and the objective laws of Gregorian modality go beyond the scope of these introductory pages, nevertheless, it is fitting to devote a few more lines to the fundamental substratum of this modality: the pentatonic scale.

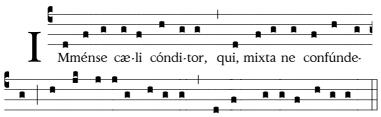
THE PENTATONIC SCALE: THE ORIGIN

The scale from which the Western sacred chant was born is the "asemitonic" pentatonic scale, that is, without any half-steps. We encounter it in the music of numerous regions of the world: China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Mongolia, and Greek and Hungarian folklore. It was probably brought to us by the migrating Indo-Europeans. In addition, all authentic Negro spirituals recall it, the fact of which extends its reach at least to western Africa. Finally, it is also observed in Latin America.

In the vocabulary of music theorists since Guido d'Arezzo, it can be notated in three ways:

g - a - * -	C - D - E	- * - g - a
c - d - * -	F - G - A	- * - c - d
d - e - * -	G - A - B	- * - d - e

It is a fact that there exist some Gregorian pieces, from the Mass and from the Office, that are fully constructed from this scale: Communion *In splendoribus* (p. 78), Hymn *Immense cæli conditor*.



rent, aquæ flu- énta dí-vi-dens, cæ-lum de-dísti lími-tem,

The three middle degrees of this scale are the three notes of the mother-modes of archaic psalmody, from which developed the modal evolution studied above.

The two lower degrees are the first finals to which the evolution of the archaic modality leads by means of the descent of the final; and the two higher degrees are the first dominant peaks reached by the ascent of the tenor.

The asterisk written inside the minor third designates the *pien*. It is a weak, non structural note, which

may often be absent or which may also appear in the melody, but with a negligible weight. It is mobile, that is to say, it moves up or down, depending on the "center of gravity" of the melody, toward the top or toward the bottom of the minor third. This phenomenon is characteristic of chants in the oral traditions.¹⁹

It is quite remarkable that the primitive musical writings immediately made use of some special signs to translate certain particulars of this scale: the quilisma for the weak degree (*pien*), and the stropha for the strong degree, above the half-step. In the writing that finally prevailed only one *pien* remained mobile, *b*, with two possible positions: *b-natural* and *b-flat*, in principal exclusive of each other.

The survey of the evolution of Gregorian modality, from archaisms that we have just described up to the composition of evolved modes, constitutes an entire branch of world musicology, in which comparisons are made between this repertoire and that of other ancient repertoires. It is an integral part of the history of the melodic language of the West.

*

There is in Gregorian chant a multitude of compositional layers, from the most archaic to the most recent. A large part of the repertoire (especially that of the Mass) underwent a considerable overhaul on behalf of the *schola*, and it constitutes a repertoire of music known since the sixth century. All these chants were

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then submitted to the Frankish-Roman hybridization of the eighth century. In spite of all this, the old genres and the archaic scales have left many vestiges. This is not, then, the least mysterious aspect of the origins of the Gregorian: the reformers (of the sixth and the eighth centuries) respected the old forms, while adapting them. Oral tradition obligates!

NOTES

1. Concerning the manner of singing instituted by Saint Athanasius, *Confessions* X, 33.

2. Solange CORBIN, "La cantillation dans les rituels chrétiens," *Revue de Musicologie* XLVII (July, 1961), p. 5.

3. Solange CORBIN, L'Eglise a la conquête de sa musique (NRF Gallimard, 1960), p. 43.

4. Jacques VIRET, Le chant grégorien, L'Age d'homme, 1986, p. 65.

5. Marie-Noël COLETTE, "L'invention musicale dans le Haut Moyen Age : ponctuation et transposition," *Analyse musicale* 18, 1^{er} trimestre 1990, p. 7-17.

6. "Il y a dans le parler un chant latent... car la nature a inséré dans chaque mot un son aigu" (*De oratore*, XVII, XVIII).

7. Anima vocis et seminarium musices, as beautifully expressed by Martianus Capella (fifth-sixth centuries); cf. D. Paolo FERRETTI, *Esthétique grégorienne*, Desclée et Cie, 1938 (repub. Solesmes 1989), p. 9.

8. Jean JEANNETEAU, "Style verbal et modalité " in *R.G.* 36 (1957) no. 4, p. 117.

9. *Enarrationes in psalmos* **32**, **1**.8 and 99, **4**. It is important to note that, in these texts Saint Augustine has in mind the chant of the Responsorial Psalm, and not that of the Alleluia.

10. Msgr. E. T. MONETA-CAGLIO, Lo jubilus e le origini della salmodia responsoriale, Ed. Jucunda Laudatio, Venice, S. Giorgio Maggiore,

1976-77; D. Jean CLAIRE, "La place traditionnelle du mélisme dans la cantillation," *Yuval*, volume V, Jérusalem, 1986.

11. In certain manuscripts, the reader is warned of the passing from the reading to the Canticle by the rubric: *Hic mutas sonum* [Here, you change the melody]. Cf. *P.M.* t. XX, tables p. 37^{*}.

12. D. Jean CLAIRE, Le répertoire grégorien de l'Office. Structure musicale et formes, Colloque International de Musicologie, Louvain 25-28 septembre 1980. Olivier CULLIN, "Le répertoire de la psalmodie *in directum* dans les traditions liturgiques latines," *E.G.* XXIII (Solesmes, 1989), p. 99.

13. The most illustrative is given by Saint Augustine in his commentary on the Psalms.

14. Saint Benedict seems clearly to envision two ways of singing them: *cum antiphona* [with refrain], *aut certe decantandum* [or in the manner of a *cantus* (= tract) = without refrain] (*Règle* c. 9, 3).

15. It is notably preserved in the singing of Compline (*Règle* c. 17, 9).

16. D. Jean CLAIRE, Le répertoire grégorien de l'Office, op. cit., p. 44.

17. D. Jean CLAIRE, "L'évolution modale dans les répertoires liturgiques occidentaux," *R.G.* 40 (1962), p. 236.

18. This is a pedagogical simplification. There are also more complex cases of double evolution: the ascent of the tenor at the same time as the descent of the final; or the descent in cascade, by stages, of the final, etc. Cf. *R.G.* 40 (1962), p. 243, et 41 (1963), p. 25.

19. The word *pien* comes from the Chinese language. It serves to designate two notes that transform the Chinese traditional pentatonic range into a seven-note scale. Joseph YASSER, *A theory of evolving tonality*, American Library of Musicology, New York 1932, p. 34.

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the office

When they come together in the church, I do not see what Christians can do that is more useful or holier than to sing the Psalms.

Saint Augustine

Musical, as well as liturgical, study leads us to distinguish in the Gregorian repertoire, two distinctly differentiated entities: the Office and the Mass.

Chants of the Mass appear in the first notated manuscripts of the tenth century. Throughout all of Europe these first manuscripts already have the same texts, the same melodies and nearly the same rhythmic nuances : they form a unified repertoire of monolithic proportions.

The chants of the Office are only found in manuscripts from about the year 1000 and later. Yet, they transmit well to us forms from much earlier. In comparison to the chants of the Mass they constitute a group that is much less homogeneous, containing successive layers, which testify to the evolution of this liturgical music. Submitted to various regional influences, they are marked more often with musical and textual variants, which are sometimes considerable.

the office

The Rule of Saint Benedict, written around 530, constitutes the most precise code that has been left to us from early times concerning the organization of the Liturgy of the Hours. However, a careful study of the Rule¹ shows that its author departs somewhat from a pre-existing practice, that of the Church of Rome. There were, therefore, two very early and concurrent paths of liturgical practice: the Roman (or secular) and the monastic. These two currents are not without some influence on each other. Materially, the content of the Office is the same in both practices: readings from Holy Scripture, and the chanting of Psalms. However, the organization is slightly different. Both distribute the singing of the Psalter over the course of a week,² but each in a different order. The musical forms are also common. However, the Rule of Saint Benedict granted a considerable place to versified hymns in the sixth century, while Rome only admitted them in the thirteenth century.

An important difference between the Office and the Mass is the lack of influence by the *schola* on the musical forms of the Office :

"The monastic and clerical environment is 'erudite' from a biblical perspective, but it is hardly so from a musical point of view, and nothing can change in its daily practice."³

This is a remark that must be understood within the context of the primitive monastic Office. Thus, it explains the presence of simple and archaic forms, which witness to the oral tradition. By the time of the Carolingian Renaissance the situation is much different. The monastic environment is now no longer a stranger to composition or to musical theory – quite to the contrary.

The musical forms of the Office are connected to the major forms of psalmody: psalmody without refrain is the origin of the Versicle, while responsorial psalmody gave birth the Short Responsory, to the antiphon with psalm tone, and to the Great Responsory with its verse.

THE VERSICLE

The word verse, in a liturgical and psalmodic context, can have several meanings. Let us specify that this discussion concerns the "Versicle of Vespers," the repertoire's shortest piece, which is sung after the Hymn and before the *Magnificat* at Vespers.⁴

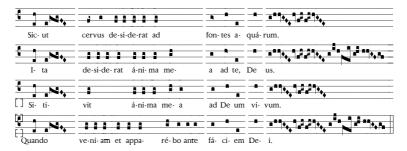
Everything demonstrates the antiquity of this piece.

First, its text. "May my prayer rise, Lord, as incense before Your face". It is the second verse – the most important – of the Psalm 140. In Jewish prayer it evokes the vesperal offering of incense.⁵ In Christian worship, the elevation of hands for the evening sacrifice (in the continuation of the Psalm) symbolizes Christ's death on the cross on Good Friday afternoon. There is here a remarkable point of contact between the Jewish and Christian cults. The use of the Psalm 140 is attested for the evening Office from the end of the fourth century.⁶ Next, its modality. The version given in the present books seems to have a bipolar modality f - d. However, in several manuscripts there has been preserved a more authentic version, in the archaic mode of D. In certain



cases the ornamentation is even reduced to a strict minimum, that is, to the degrees above and below the mother-note.

Finally, its style : a syllabic recitation on a single note, followed by a melisma on the final syllable of the last word, a perfectly classic situation in the ancient pieces. In certain manuscripts the melisma is found on the next to last logical division of the text. It is precisely in this rudimentary form that the Canticles of the Easter Vigil have been preserved in the Beneventan repertoire (which is notably older than the Gregorian).



The "Versicle of Vespers," therefore, constitutes a particularly archaic musical form in the Office, that of psalmody without refrain. With time and other ritual

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developments, the chanting of Psalm 140 ended up being reduced to a single verse, the most significant one.

THE SHORT RESPONSORY

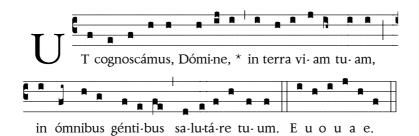
The second manner of singing a Psalm in the Office is in responsorial fashion. A soloist sings verses or strophes, and the faithful answer him with a short formula that is repeated all through the Psalm. This form of psalmody with refrain has been preserved up to today in the Short Responsory (example p. 38).

Musical analysis easily distinguishes the part of the soloist from that of the faithful. The name "responsory," traditionally given to this piece, gives witness to its original form. However, this original form is completely veiled by the present manner of execution, which does not respect the authentic distribution of roles between soloist and people. In addition, the number of verses sung today is reduced to the minimum. Later came the addition of a doxology (*Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*), of which the melody, while evolving higher in the majority of cases, betrays the older character.⁷

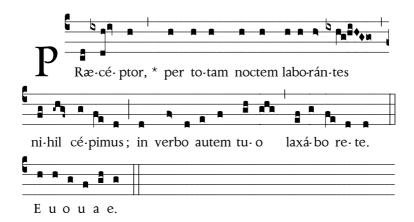
If we disregard the adventitious doxology, the Short Responsory again recalls the archaic modality. We encounter it in various Responsories in each of the three mother-modes.

THE ANTIPHON

When the monastic Rules codified the recitation of the entire Psalter over the course of a week (*psalterium currens*), an upheaval occurred in the structure of the



Antiphon. Melody-type "IVA"



Antiphon. Centonized melody

Office. The primitive forms of the chants – which have just been presented – were from this time forward preceded by the singing of several Psalms.

We have seen above (p. 39-40) how this practice sparked the history of a new musical genre, the antiphon. Sung for its own sake today, the antiphon introduces and concludes the psalmody.

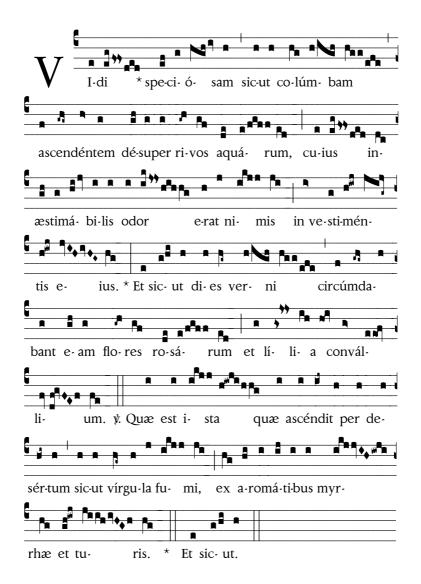
In the considerable repertoire of antiphons (about 4000 authentic pieces), we distinguish various layers of composition, all very identifiable musically.

Antiphons of the ferial Office, that is, of the daily psalmody, are brief refrains, consisting of a few words (a half-verse in general) and taken most often from the beginning or the end of the Psalm. Many are still in an archaic modality; most recall a modality that is hardly evolved (p. 46).

The antiphons for the ancient feasts are more developed. These are often "melodic types" of three or four incises in length. Demonstrating remarkable balance and perfect construction, they are major musical works in miniature. Their melodies could be adapted to many texts without showing weakness (p. 60).

The third layer of composition, more recent, arises from the process of centonization, composition by the connection of melodic-verbal formulas, somewhat like the creation of a mosaic.

Finally, in the later compositions, the musical invention gives itself free reign to succeed to the forms of the madrigal and figured music that announce another musical era (p. 66).



Great Responsory for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin

the office

THE GREAT RESPONSORY

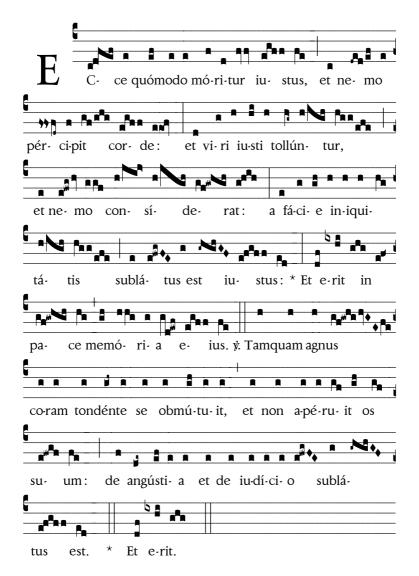
In the Night Office (Matins), the readings from the Bible and from the Fathers are interspersed with chants: the Reponsories. There are nine of them in the Roman Office and twelve in the monastic Office.

These chants are connected to the psalmody with refrain (responsorial). They distinguish themselves from the Short Responsory of the Office, by their musical length. The Reponsory consists of two parts: the "respond," which is sung by the *schola*, and the "verse," which is reserved to the soloist. After the verse the *schola* repeats the "respond":

- either in its entirety (Roman usage) as in the Gradual of the Mass; we speak of this repetition as *a capite*;

- or in part only (Gallican usage); we speak of this repetition as *a latere*.

These chants are sometimes very ornate, in which case the influence of the schola is distinctly evident. Their composition arises from the processes of cen-However, the soloist's part, that is, the tonization. "verse" of the Reponsory, received a stereotyped melody, the same for all the Reponsories of a given mode of the Octoechos. There are, therefore, eight verse-types. They are highly defined psalmodic formulas, with their tenors, their intonations and their pentasyllabic cadences. These eight formulas can be arranged neatly into a summary table in which such systematization of the shape and of the modal concept betrays the influence of theorists and permits us to fix the date of this repertoire in the Carolingian period.



Great Responsory for Holy Week

the office

The liturgical situation, the processes of centonization, and its ornate style relate the Great Responsory closely to the Gradual of the Mass. Like the Gradual, it is *par excellence* a chant of meditation, a contemplative musical commentary on the sacred text. In the climactic moments of the liturgical year (Christmas and Holy Week), these Responsories perform somewhat the function of the choir in the classic Greek tragedy: a lyric and emotional commentary on the events of the drama, designed to arouse the participation of the audience.

*

The repertoire of the Office, even though less known than that of the Mass, constitutes a veritable summary of the history of sacred music in the West. With its vestiges of different styles of psalmody, its slightly ornate melodies, and a modality that demonstrates a continuity with its origins (the archaic modes), this repertoire is a preferred choice for those who wish to begin learning about the Gregorian aesthetic.

NOTES

1. C. CALLEWAERT, *Sacris erudiri*, Steenbrugge, 1940; Adalbert de VOGÜÉ, *La Règle de saint Benoît*, tome V, Le Cerf, Paris 1971, p. 433.

2. The Psalter of the present Roman Office covers four weeks.

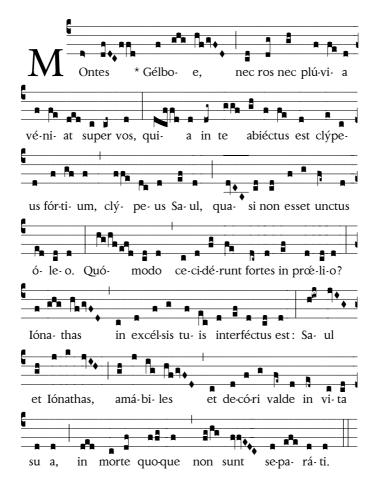
3. Jean CLAIRE, Le répertoire grégorien, op. cit. supra, p. 34.

4. A similar Versicle is sung at Lauds and Matins. [The French word discussed here is "verset," which can be translated to mean a (Biblical) verse or a Versicle of the Office. In English, the normal practice is to differentiate between these terms. Thus, the explanation here may seem, in English, a bit superfluous.]

5. A narration of it is given in the beginning of the Gospel of Saint Luke.

6. Saint JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Exp. in Ps. 140*, *P.G.* t. LV, col. 426-427.

7. Amalarius (ca. 835) says it was added by the modern popes (*De ordine antiphonarii*, t. III, pars I, c. I, n. 13, Studi e testi 140, 1950).



A late antiphon

the proper of the mass

Every day, nourished with heavenly bread, we say: "Taste and see how good is the Lord."

St. Jerome

THE TRACT AND THE CANTICLE

The Tract and the Canticle represent the oldest layer of the chants of the Mass, that of psalmody without refrain or *in directum*. In accordance with a law well known to liturgists,' we encounter them in the most venerable places of the liturgical year, the Easter Vigil and Lent.

The actual Canticles in the Easter Vigil are three in number: *Cantemus, Vinea* and *Attende*. Each of these is a (non-psalmodic) scriptural Canticle, originally tied to a reading, according to the schema *lectio cum cantico* (p. 23). The melody of these three Canticles is in the 8^{th} mode. It fits comfortably into a summary table and clearly demonstrates a psalmodic structure, with its three tenors (*g*, *b* and *c*), and its formulas for intonations, mediants and terminations. Such a melody, capable of being adapted to different texts, is called a "melody-type."

During the Sundays of Lent, we encounter the Tracts, that is, chants between readings that are related



Gradual of the 7th mode

to the same type of psalmody. Here it is not a Canticle but a Psalm that is sung, verse after verse, without response by the assembly, originally by a soloist and later by the *schola*.

The Tracts are of two melodies.²

One, in the 8th mode, is related to that of the Canticles of the Easter Vigil.

The other, in the 2nd mode, is found notably on the First Sunday of Lent, Palm Sunday, and Good Friday. This is an ornate psalmody, with its set of formulas for intonations, mediants and terminations. However, it is not a melody-type. It visibly recalls the mother-mode of D.

THE GRADUAL

This is also a chant between readings. As is indicated by its authentic name (*responsorium graduale*), it is a form of psalmody with refrain (responsorial). In the beginning, the assembly responded by means of a simple formula to the chant of the soloist, who sang the successive verses of the Psalm. Such was the practice during the time of Saint Augustine³ (end of the fourth century).

However, the Responsorial Psalm was changed and taken over by the specialists of the Roman *schola* (fifthsixth centuries). The resulting expansion of the ornamentation coincided with an abbreviation of the text. Indeed, the Psalm was reduced to two of its verses, the "respond" of the Gradual and its "verse." In certain cases, it is the beginning of the Psalm that was preserved.⁴ In others, the "respond" of the Gradual was chosen to evoke the sacred mystery or to comment upon the previous reading; the "verse" is then taken from the beginning of the Psalm,⁵ a vestige of a more ancient psalmodic form; or from the continuation of the Psalm,⁶ depending on the case. In still other cases, the "respond" and the "verse" both seem to have been the objects of a particular choice.⁷ In extreme situations, the respond and the verse are taken from two different Psalms!⁸

The responsorial form is always A - B - A form, at least in its execution, since the "respond" of the chant is repeated after the "verse".

If the composition of the Tracts was limited to two somewhat archaic modes, with the composition of the Gradual, we are further advanced in the course of modal evolution. Indeed, the Graduals appear in only four modes, the odd-numbered modes $(1^{st}, 3^{rd}, 5^{th}, 7^{th})$ of the Octoechos, that is, the authentic modes. In addition, it is necessary to add a family of Graduals, all constructed on a single melody-type flowing distinctly from the mother-mode of D: the Graduals of the 2^{nd} mode on *a*.⁹ The family of Graduals of the 5^{th} mode is also distinguished by its number (barely fifty, or half of the entire number of Graduals).

Apart from the melody-type of the 2nd mode, the Graduals are composed by centonization. This is a process that consists of taking from a traditional musical collection a certain number of compatible, modal formulas and chaining them together – like a mosaic or

a "patchwork" – in a manner that is adapted well to the text to be sung. Centonization is the basis of the compositional process for a large part of the Gregorian repertoire; it is not reserved to the Graduals.

THE OFFERTORY

Regarding its origins, this is the most mysterious of all the chants of the Proper. A reference by Saint Augustine¹⁰ concerning an African Church at the end of the fourth century reputedly constitutes the first testimony of a chant connected to the ritual of the Offertory. Because of the close relations between North Africa and Rome, many commentators are inclined to think that the Offertory chant also existed in Rome in the fifth century.

In descriptions of the Mass from the eighth century, the rites of the Offertory are accompanied by a chant that is sung by the schola, just as with the Introit and the Communion. In the first books of chant, the respond of the piece is followed by several verses,¹¹ the characteristics of which leave no doubt that these verses were reserved to the most virtuoso soloists of the *schola*. With the reduction and then disappearance of the offering procession, these verses were not retained for very long. From the eleventh century on, they gradually disappear from the chant books. At the end of the verses a part of the respond of the Offertory would be sung again. The tradition seems to vary somewhat as to the exact place of this reprise.¹² The Mass for the Dead, however, has preserved the verse its Offertory up to the present day.



Offertory of the 4th mode The Prayer of Daniel. Note the concluding melisma.

Often compared to the antiphons of the Introit and Communion, the Offertory, nevertheless, distinguishes itself from them in several ways:

- It employs a more elaborate ornamentation than that of the Introit or the Communion, with a frequent tendency toward melismatic writing, especially near the end of the piece.

– While the Introit and the Communion very often demonstrate a close connection with the liturgical action or the sacred mystery, the text of the Offertory, heavily worked, does not evoke the offering procession, except in some very rare – and even then debatable – cases.¹³ During the more important liturgical seasons and for the principal feasts of the liturgical year, the Offertory harmonizes well with the other texts of the Mass for that season or day. During the rest of the year, however, the Offertory, often drawn from the Psalms, regularly expresses one of the innumerable facets of Christian contemplation.

A few grand non-psalmodic frescos, which are common to several liturgies, stand out:¹⁴ Vir erat, Precatus est, Oravi, Sanctificavit, etc.

Some Offertories are not even taken from the Scriptures: *Domine Iesu Christe, Protege*, etc.

- The Offertories are proportionally fewer in number than the Introits and Communions (about a third fewer), which requires the repetition of some pieces on various occasion throughout the liturgical year. This situation leaves us inclined to judge in favor of a certain antiquity of the Offertory.



Offertory of the 6^{th} mode



Introit of the 6^{th} mode

All these observations lead us to think that the Offertory is neither a "functional" type of chant (like the Introit and the Communion), nor a type of chant that constitutes the very essence of the sacred rites (the chants after the readings). Rather, it would be a simple accompaniment to the ceremonies,¹⁵ a form of musical ambiance, a piece of religious vocal music, shaped by the epoch in which it appeared : in a sense, a sumptuous "musical" offering. Some centuries later, the organ will fill this role.

THE INTROIT

A "functional" chant, the Introit accompanies the entrance procession of the celebrant with his ministers. With this procession, it constitutes the first rite of the Mass.

The Introit is a chant that testifies to the importance of the vocal element in the celebration : the unity of the voices begins a unification of the faithful that will deepen gradually during the course of the celebration.

Strictly speaking, it is a rite of entry: it admits us into the sacred mystery. First of all, by its text, but also indissolubly by its melody, it gives the "tone" of the day or of the feast. Consider, for example, Introits of a simple, quasi-descriptive style:

Puer natus est nobis: A child is born to us (Christmas) *Resurrexi*: I have risen (Easter).

or Introits that suggest a disposition of the soul:

Venite, adoremus: Come, let us adore the Lord (5th Sunday of Ordinary Time)



Introit for the feast of Saint John the Baptist

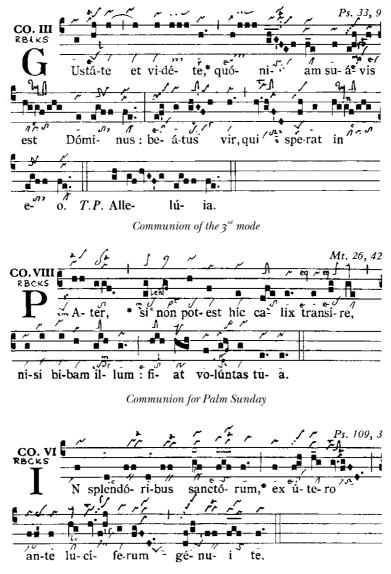
Ad te levavi: To you I lift up my soul (Advent).

Generally, the Introit is taken from the Psalms. Sometimes, however, its text is furnished by another book of the Scriptures. In this case, it often shows a close relationship with the readings that will follow.¹⁶ There is a rapprochement between this type of Introit and the antiphon *ad prelegendum* of the Gallican liturgy. A few rare Introits are taken from one of the aprocryphal books, the 4th book of Esdras, which was highly venerated in the first centuries.¹⁷

The composer of the Introit respects the sacred text, without becoming a slave to its materiality. He cuts his libretto from the scriptural text, knowing sometimes how to set aside certain expressions that do not serve his intentions, to bring together separate verses or to introduce a word that helps to orient the sense. In extreme cases, we find some Introits the ambiance of which is quite scriptural, but which themselves are not actually scriptural. These are true ecclesiastical compositions.¹⁸

There are Introits in all the modes of the Octoechos, which shows that the Introit constitutes a layer of composition later than that of the Gradual, and *a fortiori* of the Tract.

The Introit is a "morsel of splendor, "¹⁹ a piece in "ornate" style, that is connected to the genre of the antiphon. Its execution is confided to the *schola*, in alternation with verses of a Psalm, which are sung by a soloist. The chant can be prolonged for as a long as the duration of the procession of celebrant and his ministers.



Communion for Christmas night

Such a type of chant could only have appeared once the solemn rite was well established in the great basilicas. An ancient tradition attributes the introduction of the Introit to the Pope Celestine I, (d. 432), but this tradition seems well subjected to caution.²⁰

THE COMMUNION

The function of this chant is to accompany the procession of those who go to Communion. In the first centuries, most liturgies in the Mediterranean basin used Psalm 33, especially verse 9: *Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus* ("Taste and see how good is the Lord"). At that time, then, the Communion chant did not vary throughout the year; it was probably sung by a soloist, with or without the response of the faithful, depending on locale.²¹ The Roman liturgy has retained a recollection of the particular history of this verse in the Communion for the 14th Sunday of Ordinary Time: *Gustate et videte* (p. 78).

When this chant is confided to the *schola*, the *schola* chooses texts of a eucharistic nature or texts tied directly to the celebration of the day, from the Psalms²² and the New Testament, and the especially the Gospel of St. John.

The Communion chant frequently has a rapport with the Sacrament that is distributed. It also often seeks a synthesis between the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Eucharist. The best example of this is the Communion *Pater*, for Palm Sunday: "Father, if this cup cannot pass from me unless I drink it, let your will be done" (p. 78).

But the choices made by the composers of these chants are also sometimes astonishing to our modern mind set: the Communions for the weekdays of Lent were simply chosen from Psalms 1 to 26 - in numerical order!

These compositions are in a semi-florid style, similar to that of the Introit. The execution of this final chant of the Proper ultimately comes to the *schola*, singing in alternation with the Psalm sung by a soloist. When the Communion is not taken from a Psalm, Psalm 33 can al-



Communion of the 1st mode

ways be used for the verses. We also note that when the Communion is not taken from a Psalm, the old antiphonaries tend to use the same Psalm as that of the Introit, most likely out of concern for liturgical unity.

The Communion rites include another song, more specifically tied to the fraction, the *Agnus Dei*, which belongs to the chants of the Ordinary (p. 98-101).

THE ALLELUIA

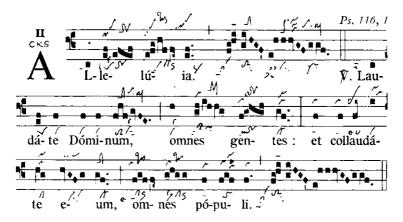
"Praise the Lord" is the literal translation of this Hebrew word, which is common to the heritage of both Christian and Jewish liturgies.

In the first manuscripts of Gregorian chant, the Alleluia appeared as a chant between the readings. In the Mass – because it also exists in the Office²³ – it is a chant originally reserved for Easter day. From there its use spread to the paschal season, then to Sundays of the year, that is, weekly celebrations of the Resurrection; but its use never spread to Lent, where the more ancient Tract subsisted.

In its definitive form, it constitutes the latest of the chants of the Proper. The composition of the Roman Alleluias was probably not finished when the Roman liturgy was brought to Gaul, in the middle of the eighth century. Its origins are extremely complex. However, analysis will distinguish three elements in its composition.

– The word "alleluia" itself, is often a somewhat ornamented reprise of a syllabic form of the same word from the Office.

- Then comes the jubilus, a vocalise on the divine name divine *Yah*, which is an abbreviation of a holy and unpronouncable tetragram. This manner of singing and of pouring out one's inner life by means of a vocalise that transcends the limits of syllables and, therefore, of thoughts, is probably as old as humanity. Such a chant is well suited as a preparatory acclamation to



Alleluia of the 2^{nd} mode



Alleluia for Easter Sunday

the reading of the Gospel, but this reveals nothing of its original function in the liturgy; thus, the Hispanic liturgy admits this chant as an acclamation after the Gospel.

– Finally, the verse, drawn from the Psalms or other book of Scripture (with a few exceptions). This verse, in general unique, constitutes an elongation of the primitive chant of the Alleluia. Several old manuscripts have preserved Alleluias without verses.²⁴ It is by means of this scriptural verse, that the Alleluia gradually slipped into the category of chants between readings.

The end of the verse often repeats the melody of the jubilus. Sometimes, the repeat of the chant of the Alleluia after the verse was given yet a new, more developed jubilus: *sequentia, sequela* or *longissima melodia.*²⁵

The Gregorian repertoire has three great Alleluia "types," those of the 2^{nd} , 4^{th} and 8^{th} modes, 26 as well as a large number of original melodies.

The late character of the chant of the Alleluia – in the form that has come to us – manifests itself in several ways.

– Generally, the repertoire of Alleluias is gathered together at the ends of the oldest manuscripts. The cantor, then, would choose the chant that he wanted for each Sunday. The tradition had not yet had time be become fixed.

- The melodies of the Alleluias often do not conform to the "canons" of Gregorian writing. They are subjected to regional variations, something that never happens with the other pieces of the Proper. – The musical creativity in the Alleluias is more evolved than that in the other pieces.²⁷ The concept of musical themes is already very present, and it foreshadows new musical forms in which repetition, imitation, and opposition and contrasting of melodic motives will become fully-fledged compositional processes.

NOTES

1. "The old practices maintain themselves with more tenacity in the most sacred times of the liturgical year." A. BAUMSTARK, *op. cit. infra*, p. 29.

2. D. FERRETTI, op. cit. supra, p. 135 and 139.

3. Msgr MONETA-CAGLIO, op. cit. supra, c. I.

- 4. Ecce quam bonum (G.T. 351), Bonum est confiteri (G.T. 327).
- 5. A summo (G.T. 27), Haec dies (G.T. 196), Iuravit (G.T. 486).
- 6. Universi (G.T. 16), Timebunt gentes (G.T. 265).
- 7. Audi filia (G.T. 406), Viderunt omnes (G.T. 48).
- 8. Tollite hostias (G.T. 272).

9. Bernard RIBAY, "Les graduels en IIA", *E.G.* XXII (Solesmes, 1988) p. 43-107; and D. FERRETTI, *op. cit. supra*, p. 162-174.

10. "At the altar, let one sing chants drawn from the Book of Psalms, either before the offering or when what has been offered is distributed to the people" (*Retractations*, II, 11). This sentence is cited by all the commentators since the seventeenth century, but the information is meager, since it refers to a book by Saint Augustine that is lost today. See Joseph DYER, "Augustine and the 'hymni ante oblationem' The Earliest Offertory Chants?" in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* XXVII 1-2 (Paris, 1981), p. 85-99; and on the works of St. Augustine, *Œuvres de Saint Augustin*, traduction et notes de Gustave BARDY, Bibilothèque Augustinienne (Paris 1950), t. XII, p. 469 and 579, note 45.

11. From one to four, depending on the pieces, their execution perhaps being tied to the length of the procession (Joseph-André

JUNGMANN, *Missarum sollemnia*, Aubier, Paris, 1952, t. III, p. 302 n. 18). The aesthetic and the ornamentation also seem varied from one verse to another, even within the same Offertory.

12. Such a form of the response would connect the Offertory to responsorial psalmody.

13. Reges Tharsis (G.T. 58), Sicut in holocausto (G.T. 299), Dominate Deus (G.T. 401).

14. Perhaps they are of Gallican origin. Cf. Kenneth LEVY, "Toledo, Rome and the legacy of Gaul," *Early Music History* 4, Cambridge, 1984, p. 49-99.

15. Is this not what is understood in the liturgical books promulgated after Vatican II? When the offertory is not sung, it is simply omitted [*General Instruction of the Roman Missal* (1969) no. 50]. This would never happen for the entrance chant.

16. For example: *Puer* (*G.T.* 47); *Viri Galilaei* (*G.T.* 235).

17. Requiem (G.T. 669), Accipite iucunditatem (G.T. 243).

18. Ecce advenit (G.T. 56); In excelso throno (G.T. 257).

19. Joseph-André JUNGMANN, op. cit. supra, t. II, p. 73.

20. DUCHESNE, *Liber pontificalis*, t. I, p. 230; Peter JEFFERY, "The Introduction of Psalmody into the Roman Mass by Pope Celestin I (422-432): Reinterpreting a Passage in the Liber Pontificalis," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 26 (1984), p. 147-165.

21. See the table for the different liturgies in H. LECLERC, *D.A.C.L.*, t. III, col. 2428-2433, article "Communion."

22. Of 130 old Communions, only 64 are taken from the Psalms, proportionally less than for the other genres.

23. D. Jean CLAIRE, "Aux origines de l'Alléluia," *Essays in honor of Edith Gerson - Kiwi, Orbis musicae* IX (Tel-Aviv, 1986), p. 17.

24. Chartres 47 (tenth century), notably: P.M. t. XI, p. 116-118.

25. Cf. "L'Alléluia *Redemptionem* et les *longissimae melodiae*," *E.G.* XXIV (1992), p. 203.

26. Published in summary tables in *E.G.* XXI (1986).

27. D. FERRETTI, op. cit. supra, p. 182-190.



Chant for the Fraction in the Liturgy of Lyons

the other chants

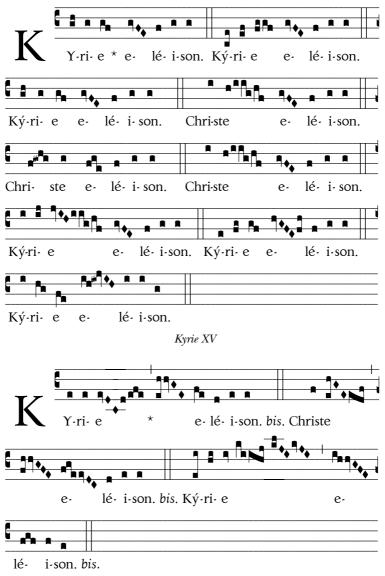
The musical tradition of the universal Church is a treasure of inestimable value. Vatican II

In the liturgical repertoire of the medieval West there are, yet, additional chants, which are not classified in the forms studied in the two previous chapters. These are principally the chants of the Ordinary of the Mass and of the hymns.

THE ORDINARY OF THE MASS

The celebration of the Mass contains chants whose texts are fixed, regardless of the day or the feast. They constitute what are called the chants of the Ordinary. They are always designated by their first words. They are the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria*, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*, to which it is necessary to add the *Credo*. Together, these chants of the Ordinary are sometimes called the *Kyriale*, a name taken from the first of them.

In the modern books these chants have been grouped in order to form "Masses", that is, collections each of which contains a *Kyrie*, a *Gloria*, a *Sanctus* and an



Kyrie IX*

Agnus Dei. Thus, there is a "Mass I" for the Easter season, a "Mass IV" for feasts of the apostles, a "Mass XI" for Sundays in Ordinary time, etc. However, we should not be deceived by these groupings.¹ They date only from the Gregorian restoration of the nineteenth century, and only rarely do they reflect historic truth. In reality, the *Kyriale* constitutes a composite repertoire, of regional origin. The chants for the Ordinary of the Mass were composed in every region, and at the different times.² The number of these compositions is much greater than those passed down to us in the Vatican edition.³ Nonetheless, the choices made for the Vatican edition are excellent.

On the whole, these chants are popular in style. There are some, very simple in nature, that may be very ancient. Unfortunately, the tradition for the chants of the Ordinary is not as reliable as it is for the chants of the Proper, and, thus, we encounter numerous local variants.

In several cases the influence of the *schola* is felt, which resulted in pieces in a more highly elaborated style.

The Kyrie.

Kyrie eleison (Lord, have mercy) is a Greek formula by which the faithful "acclaim their Lord and implore his mercy."⁴ This chant, situated today in the beginning of the Mass as a penitential ritual, prepares the faithful for the celebration. Originally, it was an expression of praise and an invocation that found itself in other places in the liturgy.⁵ In the old manuscripts the text was written in an undivided stream *quirieleison*, and it forms a unique word. The music respected this philological element by developing sometimes a rather long melisma on the "e," thereby assuring the junction of the two words *Kyrie* and *eleison*.

In the Vatican edition, the *Kyrie* chant is preceded by some Latin words: *Lux et origo, Cum jubilo, Orbis factor*, etc. These are the first words of the trope that usually accompanied the *Kyrie*. The *Kyrie* and its trope appear together in the primitive manuscript tradition. The liturgical reform following the Vatican Council II revives, to a certain extent, this ancient custom, because it permits, as an option, the singing of a trope to introduce the *Kyrie*.

When we study the melodic and modal construction of the *Kyrie* repertoire, we see that a large number of the pieces flow out of a formula from the archaic mode of E.

Indeed, the melodic theme c - d - e - e (or its transpositions) constitutes the architecture of three ancient *Kyrie*'s: XV, XVI and XVIII. It is also an important structural element in *Kyrie* III, IX and X (*Christe*), XI, and I *ad libitum*. This theme also opens the composition of *Kyrie* II, V, VI, XII, VI *ad libitum* and the *Kyrie* for the Dead. In *Kyrie* I and XVII this initial theme is somewhat hidden by a later ascent of *b* to *c* (or of *e* to *f*).

It is also the primitive theme of the chant for the Roman litany. In certain cases it has subsisted purely in the archaic modality (*Kyrie* XVIII). In others it is easily recognizable behind an evolution of the final of the

composition lower: a major third (*Kyrie* for the Dead), a fifth (*Kyrie* II, XI and XVI). The laws of modal evolution seem to apply here well in an analogous manner (See p. 45). We see once again how the composition of Western sacred music evolves in an organic way, while remaining faithful to archaic themes and processes.

The Gloria

This non-scriptural hymn,⁶ in prose, arises from the primitive Christian hymnody. The Latin liturgy preserved only a few relics of this genre, which has always retained a place of honor in the Oriental liturgies.

The *Gloria*, attested in Greek and Syrian sources of the fourth century, may go back to a Greek origin in the second century.⁷ The Latin text first appears in the West in the seventh century and stabilizes by the ninth century. This hymn, which has been called the "Great Doxology,"⁸ and which appears in the Milanese liturgy in a longer version, *Laus angelorum magna*,⁹ was not originally a part of the Mass, but a hymn of thanksgiving and of jubilation concluding the Office of Matins.

In the Roman liturgy the *Gloria* was admitted at first only for the Mass of the Christmas night, due to the appropriateness of its text. Soon extended to the major feasts of the year, it remained for a time reserved to the bishop.¹⁰ The *Gloria* has now become a chant of all the assembly, for Sundays (except in Advent and in Lent) and feast days.

After the intonation, the text is composed of two parts: an expression of praise to the Father and one to the Son. The terminating mention of the Holy Spirit





Gloria IX, for feasts of the Virgin

gives to the whole a Trinitarian character that does not seem to be early: it was most likely added after quarrels related to the development of the dogma of the Trinity.

The Vatican edition gives us nineteen different melodies for this hymn. Two among these distinguish themselves by a simplicity that reveals their archaic character. The "Ambrosian" *Gloria* (p. 35) has preserved the style of the primitive cantillation, with a recitation on a (mother-mode of D), cadences on the lower degree, and a jubilus on finals of words, at the next to last logical division of the text.¹¹ The melodic nature of the final *amen* separates it from the rest of the composition: it is a late addition.

Gloria XV has also kept the structure of a cantillation on a (mother-mode of D), in the manner of a very simple psalmodic schema (intonation - tenor - mediant final), adjusted when the text is too short. The modal evolution is here more advanced (cadences descending a fourth), and the final *amen* is again adventitious.

Other melodies of the *Gloria* are connected to an analogous aesthetic, although less rigorously so.

The mother-mode of D is very visible and hardly evolved in *Gloria* XI, II *ad libitum*, and III *ad libitum* (leaps of a four and a fifth). In *Gloria* VI there is an evolution toward the 8th mode. This evolution toward the 8th mode is completed in *Gloria* III (by means of an ascent of the accents and tenors), as is the evolution toward the 7th mode in *Gloria* IX (by means of a descent of the finals).¹²

Another archaism met in the *Gloria*'s composition is that of litany-like passages of the text that have frequently preserved the characteristic melody of the litany signaled in the *Kyrie* compositions. This is especially visible in *Gloria* XIII, where the theme of the Roman litany appears in the archaic mode of E.



Dómi-ne De-us, Agnus De-i, Fí-li-us Patris.

A similar theme, in D and probably of Gallican origin, appears in *Gloria* XI.

The Credo

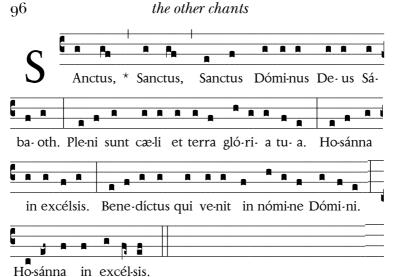
This is the Creed of Nicea-Constantinople, that is, the profession of the Christian faith, specified during the two great Trinitarian councils of Nicea (325) and of Constantinople (381), and promulgated officially on occasion of the Christological Council of Chalcedon (451).

The chant of the Creed would have been introduced into the liturgies of the Orient at the end of fifth century,¹³ in a baptismal context and in variable places in the liturgy depending on the locale.

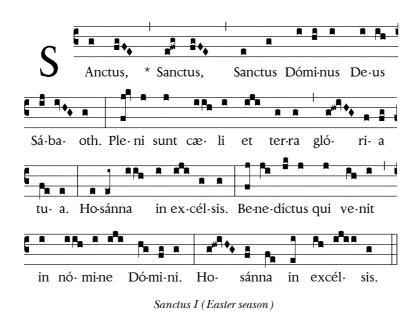
In the West the Creed enters the Hispanic liturgy at the end of sixth century and the Gallican liturgies during eighth and ninth centuries, but only for Sundays and major feasts.¹⁴ However, it is not admitted to the Roman Mass until 1014. Arriving late among the chants of the Ordinary, it has, thus, a particular status.

Of the six melodies transmitted to us in the Vatican edition, none departs from a simple syllabic style. *Credo* I represents the original form of this chant.¹⁵ Its musical shape connects the Creed more closely to a few prose hymns preserved in the liturgy (notably the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria*). The structures of the cantillation are here again very visible. As in the Psalm tone called *peregrinus*,

the other chants



Sanctus XVIII (weekdays in Advent and Lent)



two tenors alternate: *a* and *g*. All the phrases end on *g*. The intermediate half-cadences on *e* prepare for the concluding, adventitious *amen*, summing up the piece. The adaptation of the melody to the text is perfect.¹⁶

The five other melodies are reprises of the first (II, V) or of later works (III, IV, VI) that depart from the laws of authentic composition.¹⁷

The Sanctus

At the beginning of the eucharistic prayer, the *Sanctus* chant is introduced by the long recititative of the Preface. This is "the hymn of the Seraphim," heard in the temple of Jerusalem, by the prophet Isaiah, at the time of the first vision of his ministry (Is. 6:3). It invites the Church on earth to join herself to the celestial hymns and thereby manifest the unity of the liturgies on earth and in heaven. This solemn affirmation of the holiness and the transcendence of the God of the universe is completed by an acclamation to the Christ the King, taken from the Gospel (Mt. 21:9) and citing the Easter Psalm (Ps. 117: 26).

Among the melodies in the Vatican edition, that of *Sanctus* XVIII, which is reserved to the weekdays of Advent and of Lent and to the Masses for the Dead, distinguishes itself by its simplicity. It links perfectly the Preface that has just finished with the Canon that follows. Its evolution and its ornamentation are halfway between these two recitatives.¹⁸ It is probably the oldest version of the Sanctus that has come down to us.

The fact that this version appears late in the manuscripts does not in any way invalidate this assertion : the simplest pieces, which are sung every day, are the last to be subjected to notation. The chant of the *Sanctus*, sung by both the priest and the people, is attested since the end of the fourth century, at least with regard to the first part. The second part (*Benedictus...*) would probably have been added in the Roman Mass during the seventh century.¹⁹

The other melodies developed progressively, especially from the eleventh century on. They all represent a compositional palette, on which nearly all the modes are represented.²⁰ If certain melodies are quasi-syllabic (XIII), others are much more ornate (II, VII, XI).

With its repetitions the text was suited to reprises and imitations. Composers didn't miss this invitation (II, III, V...); they even amplified the process with transpositions (XIV).

The Agnus Dei

Functionally, it is the chant that accompanies with the Fraction of Bread that has just been consecrated, the Fraction before the distribution of Communion to the faithful. The origin of this chant is often assigned to Syria and its introduction into the Roman Mass to Pope Sergius I, at the end of the seventh century. The Oriental influence is certainly incontestable: the fraction placed in relation to the Savior's sufferings, and the designation of the eucharistic species as the "Lamb." Now we know that the second half of the seventh century is marked by a massive immigration into Italy and to Rome by Christians escaping persecutions in the East.²¹ However, the chant of the Agnus was not completely unknown in Rome: we find traces of it, with the archaic melodies, in the litany-like passages of the *Gloria* (p. 94-95).

the other chants



The Milanese liturgy has preserved a Proper chant, variable during the liturgical year, with the evocative name, the *confractorium*. An analogous chant of the old Gallican liturgy in Lyons has also been preserved (p. 86), and there is the collection of antiphons *ad confractionem panis* from the Hispanic liturgy.²²

The singing of the *Agnus Dei* chant comes back to the congregation, who makes profitable use of the time between the Consecration and the Communion "to give homage and humble supplication to the One made present under the species of the bread."²³

The melody of *Agnus Dei* XVIII, with its noble simplicity, is certainly connected to the primitive litany. The invocations were repeated for as long a time as the Fraction rite lasted. After the development of the use



Agnus Dei XVIII

of small hosts and the reduction of the reception of Communion, the chant was maintained, but with the number of invocations fixed at three (tenth century) and the conclusion *dona nobis pacem* gradually adopted (tenth to eleventh century).

The literary repetition of the text was the one most often followed by composers. In the collection of the twenty *Agnus Dei* chants in the Vatican edition, nine melodies have the form A - A - A, nine have the form A - B - A;²⁴ only two do not follow one of these schemas: *Agnus Dei* VII (A - A - B) and *Agnus Dei* XI (A - B - C). However, these two melodies go back only to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, respectively.

We note that in several *Agnus Dei* chants, the middle invocation received a very simple melody, that of a Psalm tone (notably XII and XVI). This is probably a vestige of the primitive chant of the litany.

The Agnus Dei is the last chant to come into the Ordinary. Inspiring numerous musical compositions, from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries,²⁵ it has been treated in a particularly sumptuous and solemn fashion. Three melodies retained in the Vatican edition (III, V and VI) distinguish themselves as truly major works in the history of music.²⁶

THE PROSE HYMNS

The hymn tradition is composed of two different branches: one of prose hymns and one of versified hymns.

Prose hymns have always enjoyed considerable success in the Orient, where the melodic tradition has continued uninterrupted since St. Ephrem of Syria.

The West has preserved only three pieces of this type: the *Gloria in excelsis* (p. 91), the *Te Deum* and the *Te decet laus*. On the other hand, the versified hymns have found a place of choice, especially in the Office.

The Te Deum

The *Te Deum* is a long hymn of praise, in prose, traditionally situated near the end of the nocturnal liturgy. But its use spread to solemn occasions of thanksgiving.

Its origin has been discussed for a century. A legend contended for a long time that the *Te Deum* was composed by Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine, on the day of Augustine's baptism (in Milan in 386). Actually, an analysis of the text and music shows it is a composite work, elaborated progressively by successive additions. Today, specialists assign the final version of this hymn to Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana (present Mediterranean Romania), at the end of the fourth century or in the beginning of the fifth.

The first part (up to *Paraclitum Spiritum*) is very similar to a eucharistic anaphora: it is a Trinitarian acclamation of praise addressed to the Father. It even contains the three-fold *Sanctus*. The melody is visibly constructed on the note a (= mother-mode of D), with a slight rise of the tenor to b, of the accents to c, and a descent of the punctuations to g. It is very close to an archaic modality.

The second part (from *Tu rex gloriae* to *sanguine redemisti*) is an expression of praise to Christ the Redeemer. The literary change is accompanied by a musical modification. The note remains a, accentuated simply to the degree above (b), and with punctuations on the fourth below (e). The verse Æterna fac... serves as the conclusion of this part.

The third part (*Salvum fac...* to the end)²⁷ marks a new literary and musical change. It is a series of supplications, composed essentially of Psalm verses. The melody uses principally the mother-mode of E, recognizable in the mother-cell *c*-*d*-E with recitative developments on *g*; it returns at times to the melody of the second part. It is the least homogeneous section of the work and probably the last to enter the composition.

the other chants

E De-um laudámus, * te Dóminum confi-té- mur. Te ætérnum Patrem, omnis terra vene-rá- tur. Ti-bi om-ti-bi cæ-li et u-ni-vérsæ pot-e-stá- tes, ti-bi nes ánge- li, * * * * * <u>*</u>* * * * * * * * * * * ché-ru-bim et sé-raphim incessá-bi-li vo-ce proclá-mant: <mark>a³ e || a³ e [|] ^e e e _e ³ ^ere || a</mark> «Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dómi-nus De- us Sá-ba- oth. Ple-ni sunt cæli et terra malestáltis gló-ri-æ tu-æ.» Te glo-• • • • • • • ri- ó-sus aposto-ló-rum cho- rus, te prophe-tá-rum laudá-bi-lis núme-rus, te mártyrum candidá-tus laudat exérci- tus. <u>.</u> Te per orbem ter-rá-rum sancta confi-té-tur Ecclé-si- a, <u>.</u> ----Pa-trem imménsæ ma-iestá- tis: vene-rándum tu-um ve-rum et ú-ni-cum Fí-li- um; Sanctum quoque Pa-rácli-

tum Spí-ri- tum. Tu rex gló-ri-æ, Chri- ste. Tu Pa-tris sem-. <u>e e î</u> ╢ . . . pi-térnus es Fí-li-us. Tu, ad li-be-rándum susceptú-rus hó-mi·nem, non horru- í-sti Vír-gi-nis ú-te-rum. Tu, de-vícto mor-tis acú-le- o, a-pe-ru- í-sti credénti-bus regna cæló- rum. * * * <u>*</u> * ^{*} * <mark>*</mark> * * Tu ad déxteram De·i sedes, in gló·ri·a Pa·tris. Iudex **** cré-de-ris es-se ventú- rus. Te ergo, quæsumus, tu-is fá-mu·lis súbve·ni, quos pre·ti· ó·so sángui-ne redemí- sti. cum sanctis tu- is in gló-ri- a nume-rá- ri. Æ-térna fac <u>A</u> A A et béne-dic he-¶ Salvum fac pópu·lum tu·um, Dómi·ne, et extólle il·los re-di-tá-ti tu- æ. Et re-ge e-os, <u>.</u>

usque in ætér- num. Per síngu-los di-es be-ne-dí-cimus te;

The Te decet laus

The *Te decet laus* is a brief prose hymn that acts as a conclusion to the monastic vigils for Sundays and feasts. Saint Benedict borrowed it from the Orient: indeed, it is the Latin translation of the hymn that concludes the nocturnal psalmody in the Byzantine liturgy²⁸.

The present books have two melodies²⁹ for the *Te decet laus*. The authentic melody is that given for the Easter season. The other melody is a late adaptation by the Maurists (seventeenth century).



THE VERSIFIED HYMNS

We have been reminded of the importance of hymns in the Western liturgy by the liturgical reform that followed Vatican Council II. Henceforth, all the Offices may begin with the Hymn, whereas in antiquity, the Hymn had a variable place within the different Offices. This change is as if to say, as for the Introit of the Mass, it is the Hymn that "gives the tone" and helps the faithful to enter into the liturgical theme or the sacred mystery.³⁰ This specific character of hymns is accentuated by their popular side. Often, they are fairly simple, particularly singing compositions. Too, the repetition of a same melody for all the strophes facilitates the memorization of music, and through it, the memorization of the text. Since antiquity, they have played a considerable role in the teaching of orthodox doctrine, as well as of heresies....

Saint Ambrose

Saint Ambrose composed some hymns, some of which have come down to us.³¹ The future Pope Celestine I, while staying in Milan, even recounted how he had seen Ambrose singing the *Veni Redemptor gentium* to his faithful.³² These hymns were probably composed in the context of struggles against Christological heresies. The simplicity of their meter rendered them an immediate success.

Probably because their texts are not scriptural, hymns entered the official Roman liturgy late (thirteenth century). But the monastic Rules, such as those of Saint Benedict or Saint Caesarius of Arles, welcomed them very early.

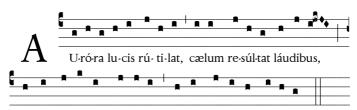
The Carolingian Renaissance

The Carolingian era marks a return to the forms of Greco-Latin antiquity. Numerous hymns, then, are composed in the classic meters of the works of Virgil and Horatio. Curiously, it is over the strophes of the Odes or in the Aeneid that the first neumatic notations appear.³³ This compositional development occurs especially in monasteries, where the communities had used hymns in the Office from the sixth century. But some secular authors also left their names on hymnic compositions. This leads us to think that, little by little, the use of hymns spread into the secular churches, without waiting for their official adoption by the Roman liturgy. The hymnary, for the most part constituted in the Carolingian era, has continued, however, to develop up to our own time.³⁴

The composition of hymns

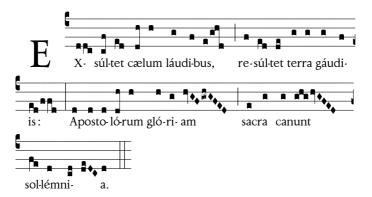
The meter, that is, the organization of the text in long and short syllables and the obligatory placement of certain caesuras, as well as the regular return of an identical melody for the different texts, make hymns a unique genre within Western sacred music. They obey specific laws, similar to those of classic versification; they disregard the free-rhythm declamation, which is fundamentally characteristic of Gregorian composition.

The relative indifference of the melody to the text creates a difficulty in judging the antiquity of these pieces, at least on the musical level. It would be necessary that an ancient hymn, that is, that hymn and only that hymn, received the same melody always and everywhere, for us to consider its melody to be "authentic" (conforming to the original). But did this case ever occur? Furthermore, does the notion of an original melody even make sense for these compositions, some of which may come from popular melodies? In any case, the musical notation appears only in the tenth century, and it does not permit firm conclusions.³⁵

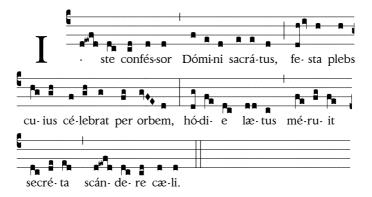


mundus exsúl-tans iú-bi-lat, gemens inférnus ú-lu-lat,

Hymn for Easter (iambic, very ancient)



Hymn for the Apostles (iambic, Carolingian)



Hymn for Saint Martin (Sapphic)

Among the meters possible, two enjoyed a particular history.

The iambic diameter

The Ambrosian hymns normally have eight strophes of four lines each. Each line is composed of eight syllables, alternately short and long. This is called iambic diameter. When it is indeed a quantitative measure (length and brevity) that differentiates syllables, we speak of metric hymns. However, in many cases the quantity was disregarded, and replaced with a regular return of accentuated syllables. These are what we call rhythmic hymns.

The Sapphic strophe

This meter was developed especially during the time of the Carolingian Renaissance, because it is a classic meter in Horatio. The strophe has three lines of eleven syllables each, with a caesura at fifth syllable; it concludes with a line of five syllables (the adonic line). Sometimes bringing together words that would be kept far away from each other in prose, this last line sounds like a small summary of the strophe. In these hymns, the syllabic quantity naturally plays a decisive role; the melody often distinguished the long syllables; but here also, the genre evolved, and certain Sapphic strophes eventually received melodies that were independent from the syllabic quantity. This, then, assimilates them into the compositions in free rhythm.

NOTES

1. Dom Dominique CATTA, "Aux origines du Kyriale," *R.G.* 34 (1955), p. 175.

2. Michel HUGLO, "Origine et diffusion des Kyrie," R.G. 37 (1958), p. 85.

3. Some repertoires of these melodies exist. Cf. Mgr. Ferdinand HABERL, *Le Kyriale Romanum. Aspects liturgiques et musicaux*, Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, Rome, 1981.

4. General Instruction of the Roman Missal, no. 30.

5. At the conclusion of the Offices, in the Rule of Saint Benedict.

6. Except the first words, taken from the Gospel of Christmas (Lk 2:14).

7. Apostolic Constitutions VII, 47. Mgr MONETA-CAGLIO, op. cit. supra, c. VIII.

8. To distinguish it from the "small doxology" (*Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto...*), added to the ends of Psalms and of Responsories as a reminder to reverence the Holy Trinity.

9. A complete transcription is given in *P.M.*, t. VI, p. 316, and in Mgr. *Moneta-Caglio*, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

10. L. DUCHESNE, Origines du culte chrétien (cinquième éd., Paris, 1920), p. 176.

11. This disposition remains visible at least in the first strophe, the original core of the composition.

12. Here again, we apply laws of the modal evolution analogously (p. 45).

13. Irénée-Henri DALMAIS, *Liturgies d'Orient*, Cerf, Paris, 1980, p. 97.

14. R. CABIÉ, "L'Eucharistie," in A.G. MARTIMORT, L'Église en Prière (Desclée, Paris, 1983), t. II, p. 149 et 162.

15. Michel HUGLO, "Origine de la mélodie du Credo 'authentique' de la Vaticane, " *R.G.* 30 (1951), p. 68-78

16. See the essay dom MOCQUEREAU, "Le chant authentique du Credo," *Monographie grégorienne* III, Desclée, 1922.

17. Ferdinand HABERL, Le Kyriale Romanum, op. cit., p. 177-189.

18. D. Jean CLAIRE, "L'Évolution modale dans les récitatifs liturgiques," *R.G.* 1963, p. 134-136 and plates **Gc** and **Hc**.

19. Joseph-André JUNGMANN, op. cit. supra, t. III, p. 45 ns. 41.

20. If the 7^{th} mode is materially absent from the rubrics of the Vatican edition, more than a few chants evoke its aesthetic (notably *Sanctus* I and VII).

21. Joseph-André JUNGMANN, op. cit., t. III, p. 262-263 and notes.

22. "Antifonario vizigótico mozárabe de la Catedral de León" (*Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, serie liturgica*, vol. VI, t. 2, Madrid, 1953), unfortunately the melody is indecipherable.

23. Joseph-André JUNGMANN, op. cit. supra, t. III, p. 263.

24. In three cases the shape is actually, A - A' - A, because of a minor variation in the second invocation.

25. The melody of the *Agnus Dei* II ad libitum was composed by Dom Pothier on a medieval theme.

26. Dom Jean *Claire*, "Trois mélodies d'Agnus Dei," *R.G.* 40 (1962), p. 6-14.

27. The singing of it is optional today.

28. This Greek hymn is perhaps inspired by a similar piece in the synagogal liturgy of the Sabbath morning. Cf. A. BAUMSTARK, *Liturgie comparée* (Chèvetogne 1939), p. 94.

29. There are some others. Michel HUGLO, "Les diverses mélodies du 'Te decet laus' A propos du vieux-romain," *Jahrbuch für Liturgy und Hymnologie* 12 (1967), p. 11-116.

30. General Instruction on the Liturgy of Hours (1971), no. 173.

31. Pietro BORELLA, *Il rito ambrosiano*, Morcelliana, 1964, p. 56; Mr.-H. JULLIEN, "La tradition manuscrite des quatorze hymnes attribuées à saint Ambroise jusqu'à la fin du XI^e siècle, " unpublished. 32. Peter JEFFERY, art. cit. supra, p. 162.

33. Denis ESCUDIER, "Des notations musicales dans les manuscrits non liturgiques antérieurs au XII^e siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, t. CXXIX, 1971, p. 27-48. Yves-François RIOU, "Codicologie and notation neumatique," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* XXXIII, 1990, p. 255-280, and 381-396; "Chronologie et provenance des manuscrits classiques latins neumés," *Revue d'histoire des textes*, t. XI, 1991, p. 77-113.

34. Pierre-Marie Gy, "Le trésor des hymnes," La Maison-Dieu 173, 1988, p. 19-40.

35. Jacques PERRET, "Aux origines de l'hymnodie latine, l'apport de la civilisation romaine," *La Maison-Dieu 173*, 1988, p. 51.

the manuscripts

Far from being the conclusion of harmonious science, notation is, indeed, not even a part of it.

Aristoxenus

By the end the eighth century, the composition of the Gregorian repertoire is finished. This corpus of chants for the liturgical year is born in the context of an oral tradition. However, as we have already mentioned (p. 8), it is also the result of a rupture in preexisting oral traditions. Indeed, the Carolingian rulers imposed the use of the Gregorian chant throughout their empire. To succeed in this tour de force of replacing one musical tradition with another, it was necessary for the promoters of this new chant to invent a means to write the music.

Certainly, Mediterranean antiquity had known systems of writing and of musical theory, of which vestiges have come down to us.¹ However, the Latin Church had never made use of it for her chants. The testimony of Saint Isidore of Seville, bishop, scholar, and musicologist of the sixth century, is conclusive :

"If the sounds are not retained in the memory of man, they disappear, because one is not able to write them."²

elimeifd dinhumerporser mesure low ant fin The TSI Colorilacon Frite STATASSOS MEREVERACHILLEN illi-t MA fami dennige DC and 151 Ef ana Vi atimatidaie ada in COMEN then de LOCU. FRITT INA 1.4 1-720 And .OTC ATS. resible water ano Cosi A aí c ida publich. ndia AN. LACUI FR. 1777 - XN elefaitered -horis of dead it is pri Aliperry PSL D Rebb quinbaler orlance V Salari chadr qu oprofund spint inhoman he RO Di v ar al bas ITO In CONEPan A. 1. ut countrelain warmiper mane week " FAU EVEDEST INCLUME DAL CAP LENGUE familie provobil about al familiard A' De modelfu m OF Decondri Ber AX VIcon ralifier lance parto or a sunday some pudfeer wherey r psl. Bas. TAVISTAT ADDIERUSAL ELXCOM RG VI are drop of of an and TALK Lope fan dam Heatlan alm ginerde make astandust produ ITENYERDCRUCERDERINAL Beick opport The ATHANAD W. LANICUPALDE AC South roubur My Each grider any inquisition in the popondie Viero psi. INCIPCANTICA INSABALIOSCO · CANTILO EXODI-LXXXXIII

Manuscript Paris B.N. lat. 12050 (Gradual of Corbie, end of 9th cent.)

The development of a system of musical writing adapted to the Frankish-Roman repertoire required more than a century. It constitutes the first stage – the principal one – of the birth of the musical notation that we use today.

At the end of the eighth century, we see the appearance of the first manuscript collections of the chants of the Mass. These books contain yet only the text of the chants, with some being reduced to their incipits.³ The musical notation is not yet invented : we remain in the regime of the oral tradition for the music.⁴

The oldest manuscripts of this type have been published in a comparative format in *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*,⁵ a reference work for understanding the primitive tradition. We say today that a piece of chant is "authentic," that it is part of the "old Gregorian foundation," when its text appears in the best manuscripts of the *Sextuplex*.

THE FIRST GENERATION OF WRITINGS THE NEUMS

During the second half of the ninth century we encounter the first tentative musical writings: attempts of the plume in the margins, neums curiously placed on strophes of classic poetry or on the musical examples of a theorist. We refer to these writings as "paleo-Frankish."⁶

In the first years of the tenth century, the first extant book of notated chant appears: the Cantatorium of Saint-Gall. It includes only the soloist's chants (chants between readings). Its writing is perfect, as much in

April 1.1 1 10 1 mahaler frontar 1 africing e 1: 10 ION SORU BASIL 11-CAPC cuil D HINEmann 59.5 1743-72 1.0 Uno fingting Sil ui. CIPCXV t ivi SCO RUMA 3. 62 2 11. ALLYS AV 5 Molins mulare traducerto vording 나랍 10 U

Gradual of Mont-Renaud (10th cent., French neums)

the rhythmic precision as in the nobility of the calligraphy; it will not be equaled. It is a sophisticated memory aid for the rhythm and for the nuances of expression, but the melody continues to be a matter for the oral tradition. This durability of the oral tradition is fundamental if we want to understand the proper role of this newborn notation. However precise this writing appears to us - and it exceeds by far the modern notation for rhythm – it is not the foundation of the work. The musical work has already preexisted for more than a century, independently from any writing.⁷ The primitive notations are something like an attempt at a report, a tentative fixing of the vocal gestures on the parchment. In no way are they the writing of a work that would wait to be created⁸ in its execution, as has been the case now for several centuries. The musician's rapport with the musical writing was then fundamentally different from what it is today.

These first attempts were necessarily limited, first, by the musical concepts of those who elaborated the system of writing, but also by the ear and the consciousness of the first notators, who were not all sensitive to the same parameters. In its essence, music is not created to be written; it will always transcend even the most perfect system of notation:

"Some fundamental elements of music cannot be written, or, at least, if one can manage to transcribe them more or less precisely, they can then only be reproduced by departing from the notation. The process of the writing sterilized them."⁹

The proof of the limitations of this newborn musical writing is that over the course of the tenth century



Manuscript Rome, Angelica 123 (Italian Gradual, 11th cent.)

other systems of notation, multiple and various, are going to bloom. About 930, the Gradual of Laon provides the complete repertoire of chants for the Mass in "Lorraine" notation (or Messine), which is representative of the eastern part of France. Brittany also possesses, from the tenth century, its own system of "Breton" notation.¹⁰ The regions between Normandy and Lyons also develop their own neumatic writing, the "French" notation, of which the oldest witness is the manuscript of Mount-Renaud (second half of the tenth century, cf. p. 116). Also, several documents of the tenth century transmit to us a writing proper to the southwest of France, one destined for a rich development: "Aquitainian" notation.

THE SECOND GENERATION OF WRITING TOWARD THE STAFF

The tenth century is, then, the century of the birth of musical notation, with its placing the Gregorian repertoire in written form. Each of these systems has its own limitations, but they have all one in common: while they all pay particular attention to notating rhythmic information and agogic nuances, none of them indicates the distance of the intervals between tones. These are notations in campo aperto (literally, "in an open field"), or "in pure neums." Several of these systems, notably the notations of Loan, Brittany and Aquitaine, already testify to a concern about indicating the relative height of notes;¹¹ but it is to the eleventh century to perfect diastematic and solfège systems of notation. The ascribing of the invention of the musical staff to

A.s. 5. 1. . 4 19 2 co(1) Die I. POCTE EASC 22 Ast L. : 15: 11.6 2 , in 3 1.4 A :1

Manuscript Paris B.N. lat. 903 (Aquitianian Gradual, 11th cent.)

Guido d'Arezzo is an historic simplification. This pedagogical genius did perfect the system of the staff, and he presented it to Pope John XIX,¹² who showed a great deal of interest in it. His promoter (John XIX) thus established his place in posterity, but the staff itself had appeared progressively. The medieval parchments were ruled or lined: that is, some horizontal lines were drawn in advance in order to facilitate the calligraphy. In order to leave adequate space for the notator of the music, the calligrapher of the text normally wrote on every other line. The skipped line inevitably must have served as a guide to keep the drawn neums in a straight, horizontal direction. Manuscripts from all over Europe show us that this line was used as a spatial reference, and that the scribes began to write the higher pitches higher on the parchment in relation to this line and the lower pitches lower.¹³ A single line is sufficient, as long as the writing is carefully done and the ambitus of the melody is limited. When the range extends, other lines of reference can be added. It is a fact that with four lines, we can write comfortably the vast majority of the Gregorian repertoire, whose vocal ambitus is not considerably wide.

The *custos* is a sign placed at the end of a line to signal the position (relative height) of the first note of the next line. It appears during the second half of the tenth century, in Aquitaine and to the south in Italy.

Next come keys, which associate theoretical scales to the concrete system of lines, by fixing the respective places of whole-steps and half-steps, depending on the particular diatonic scale.¹⁴ At this stage of development

in fanansaral fatto inue bleng unutfifatt for offun dem fur A munder mi mach er c11073 1111575 · 41 mamh af ft A br han ut to notef fortanm ne uu popule manf legten mean Inclonant couts uform in ut! Á cett Willumina mini 200 A? farafut 10111 no 13 culufeft de minuf de uft o Inf que e ter

Manuscript Benevento 34 (Beneventan Gradual, 11^{th} - 12^{th} cent.)

of the notation the influence of theorists seems decisive, if not dominating.

With the emphasis being placed henceforth on the notation of melodic height, we note that the scribes become neglectful with regard to notating the rhythmic nuances that were the total focus of the notation of the previous century. The writing coats itself: thicker and thicker squares in France and notation "in nails" in Germany. As long as the oral tradition is passed on (which is possible in places like monasteries, which preserve it), the damage is not irreparable. However, when the memory gives way, recourse to the book gives only the melodies of pieces, deprived of the living and life-giving sap of their rhythm. Then the decadence is irreparable.

THE TURN OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

These two systems of writing that follow each other chronologically (neumatic notation and notation on lines) seem to link together in a logical way. In actuality, however, each is profoundly different from the other in its essence.

The neum (*pneuma*) is like a symbol, the projection onto the parchment of a vocal gesture.¹⁵ It aims to imitate, to draw the musical reality, and to put directly in front of the eyes a sign that is accessible to the imagination:

"At the basis of the system is the intention to translate a melody by a gesture and to fix this gesture on the parchment. In fact, the neum is a 'transcribed gesture.' "¹⁶

* N + 15/5 . 11 P inerum ucto conce pre fileum. Ce bi di [n pime maner unti duon geir mma And to they forthe 4 1 1000 gins tal de partachum exput egerflut que infatemen eminisme natul el une be let non dedig 5.01 N. 13 A ... A. J M . 1 4 eft carne maler montretim quent un presum ... pi de ne maque dumment & pien Aba Danualufht starrow tor of the thing of "te Popis que 1 11 rum ferr & s'. 7 aunul nie mfirma fulapient nobna nit eft he ma Hon Gla Beata quen & ... enmane 100, 1 4 · 1 - 1 : 1 1 1 - 41 - 49 - 11 11. 151 alum pram dere gen erm auge er and approxim ber 1 111.19 14 lef pquel erbit o uant efo fub puape poller. Aungo ber grunan quem coud if caper 11111 1144 11 19 4894 1 00 mo. poss: ofa enf intar .; Therborn atro he L 1. a bet ment to dawfor referra Eschut be •• 1.1 0 ... ٠. Dominibile commercia estante general bushans Anonal num corput furment & unigene naf n dignani eb e pound homo fine fenine laquiti eb nobif fuam reparte Diffe 200 * M ruf elt uneffabilitter ar un gune tunt amplece funt februits fant plana mudluf defeent 4 pet . nt & nes ub. . Gabum quan unberso mo yfel ine anum re launar 1.4 an be geneuse incerete p nobs bat du XG a grunn nobel falastereen quent tobs tab

Manuscript Worcester F.160 (English antiphonary, 13th cent.)

The notation on lines, especially when keys have been integrated into it, is of a theoretical order:

"It does not represent the music itself, but its theory... [Its] signs correspond to relationships between order and measure, to mathematically conceived and formulated relationships, instituted by the theory."¹⁷

Fundamentally, it is the rapport of the singer with the music that is changed; and it is probably the most significant turning point in the entire history of music in the West.

We should not imagine that the application of these two systems of notation was homogeneous and simultaneous throughout medieval Europe. Some Germanic centers preserved the neumatic writing up until the very end of the Middle Ages, while other regions appear to have adopted the staff quickly. At the two extremes, we have good reason to believe that the "old Roman" repertoire was written directly on staffs, without the intermediary of neums *in campo aperto*,¹⁸ while the Hispanic repertoire never saw the passage of the neums to the staff.

* * To access today the authentic musical reality of the Gregorian repertoire, therefore, requires that we place the melodic version side-by-side with the the oldest neumatic manuscripts (Saint-Gall, Laon, etc.). This is the basis of a new science : Gregorian semiology.¹⁹ The comparative study of the various manuscripts, while set-

ting aside the limitations proper to each of them, per-

*

mits the recovery of the rhythmic and expressive sense of graphic neums. This is how we can reconnect, at least to a certain extent, with the concrete *actio canendi* that these graphics attempted to freeze on the parchment. Even so, there are – let us say it once again to conclude – so many things that the writing cannot transmit: the pronunciation (vocalization and articulation), the accentuation, micro-tones, the vocal technique of another age... without counting the ten centuries of civilization that separate us from the mind set of the first notators.

NOTES

1. Jacques CHAILLEY, *La musique grecque antique*, ch. VII, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1979.

2. De musica, c. XV; P.L. 82, col. 163.

3. That is, the first words of the chant, used as a designation for the entire piece

4. The designation of modes, however, appears in the ninth century, in the margins of the Graduale of Corbie (cf. p. 114) with regard to pieces that are sung with psalmody (Introit and Communion).

5. Antiphonale missarum sextuplex, published by D. René-Jean HES-BERT, Vromant and Co, Brussels-Paris, 1935.

6. D. Jacques HOURLIER and Michel HUGLO, *E.G.* II (1957), p. 212-219. Kenneth LEVY, "On the origin of neums," *Early Music History* 7, Cambridge 1987, p. 59-90.

7. Kenneth Levy, in his article quoted in note 6, considers one or two attempts at notation during the ninth century, perhaps even by Charlemagne. This very appealing hypothesis has a great deal of merit, but it demands deeper study and discussion.

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8. The word established by use should be given its full weight here: before its creation the musical work does not have the least substance, however written it may be.

9. Alain DANIÉLOU, *Sémantique musicale* (Hermann, Paris, 1967), p. 27.

10. Sometimes called "Chartrian" because the principal manuscript that contains it was deposited at Chartres (P.M. t. XI). But its origin is Brittany as is proved in *E.G.* I (1954), p. 173-178.

11. We refer to these as partially or relatively diastematic.

12. GERBERT, Scriptores, t. II, P. 43-44.

13. Cf. Marie-Elisabeth DUCHEZ, "La représentation spatio-verticale du caractère musical grave-aigu et l'élaboration de la notion de hauteur de son dans la conscience musicale occidentale," *Acta Musicologica* LI, 1979, p. 54-73.

14. There were attempts other than the staff, notably the alphabetical notation (antiphonaire Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, called "de Montpellier," *P.M.* t. VII). This attempt spread to the Norman monasteries, but didn't acquire universal recognition.

15. The term "chironomic" notation has been used sometimes. The term is not without ambiguity, but it has the value of being evocative.

16. D. Eugene CARDINE, op. cit. infra, p. 2.

17. Marie-Elisabeth DUCHEZ, "Des neumes à la portée", Notations et Séquences, Honoré Champion, Paris, 1987, p. 58.

18. The date of the presentation of the method of writing of Guido d'Arezzo to the Pope (John XIX, 1024-1033) is a little earlier than the copy of the "old Roman" Gradual of Saint-Cécile in Trastévère. The paucity of rhythmic indications in the "old Roman" manuscripts is, in this respect, quite indicative.

19. The foundations of this science were laid by Dom Mocquereau, and the scientific framework were established by Dom Eugène CARDINE: *Beginning Studies in Gregorian Chant*, trans. and ed. by William Tortolano (Chicago, 1975) and *Gregorian Semiology*, trans. by William Fowles (Solesmes, 1982).]

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