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1905 *Plainchant and Solesmes* by Paul Cagin & André Mocquereau

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Note on Tables facing page 50

TABLES I and II have been made especially to elucidate this English edition of Dom Mocquereau's articles.

In Table I eighty-six MSS. are condensed into fourteen lines, instead of being given *in extenso*, as in the synoptical tables actually used. The readings *A, B, D*, and those which give no information, called *X*, will be found analysed and distributed under the four columns to the left, but the capitals, not in italics, to the extreme left, show the analysis and distribution of MSS. among the different groups (see further *The Criticism of the Evidence*, p. 45 ff).

Table I shows at a glance why the *Pause before the Virga* in the *Liber Gradualis* of 1895 was suppressed in the *Liber Usualis* of 1904, as explained in Ch. IV on "The History of a Neum."

Table II shows the Sarum Gradual with *nine* repetitions.

To Our Beloved Son PAUL DELATTE, O.S.B.,
Superior-General of the Gallican Congregation,
Abbot of Solesmes

PIUS X, POPE

Beloved Son, health and apostolic benediction.

FROM the time when Prosper Guéranger of illustrious memory, your first predecessor, by his whole-hearted devotion to liturgical science aroused and inflamed your endeavours by his own, everyone is acquainted with the renowned name of the monastery of Solesmes, especially through the work so skilfully given to the restoration of the ancient teaching of Gregorian melodies. And you, who were pressing forward this equally difficult and fruitful undertaking, did not, and indeed could not, lack signs of praise from the Apostolic See. For Leo XIII, of blessed memory, more than once testified this and particularly in a letter addressed to you by name in 1901; and, moreover, quite lately in the month of February, the Sacred Congregation of Rites both confirmed and willingly approved the liturgical books of Plain Song edited under your care and already widely in use. We, however, hold that the time has come for our office to deal authoritatively with the work of restoring the Gregorian chant according to the traditional order, and we have shown quite recently that we hold your labours in this department in very high esteem, as we have frequently testified elsewhere. For in the solemn ceremonies which we celebrated at the tomb of Gregory the Great in honour of his centenary anniversary, when we wished, as it were, to consecrate the beginnings of the restoration of the Gregorian chant, we ordered the Solesmes melodies to be used as an example. Now, moreover, there is a special reason why we should extol, in addition to this great skill of yours, your most devoted feeling towards the Roman Pontiff. For when We were thinking of deciding on a Vatican edition of liturgical melodies, which should be adopted everywhere under Our authority, and appealed to your zeal with this object, We received from you, Our beloved son, in the month of March, a most gratifying letter saying that you were not only ready and prepared to help on the desired work, but were willing for that purpose to yield Us even the fruits of your toils which had already been published. It is then easy to understand how much this signal indication of your love

and regard costs you, as well as the gratification it affords Us. And in order to express the thanks deserved by such an exceptional service, as by Our Motu Proprio We have charged chosen men to prepare Our said official edition, so at the same time We wish it to be the work of the congregation of which you are the superior, and especially the duty of the community of the Solesmes, in their own manner and method, to go through the entire field of ancient records now existing, and when they have thence elaborated and arranged the materials of this edition, to submit them to the examination and approval of those whom We have appointed. And as to this toilsome but most honourable duty, although you had already been informed of it, We gladly apprise you by Our own hand that we have laid it upon you, beloved son, whose chief care it is to see that your companions carry it out. We know your great love for the Apostolic See and Church, your zeal for the seemliness of divine worship and your care for the holy rule of the monastic life. The further practice of these virtues will assure you hereafter, as it has done hitherto, a happy issue to your labours; and verily the saying, which Gregory uttered concerning the Father of the Rule, may not unfittingly be applied to you his children: "His teaching could not differ from his life." But We trust that abundant assistance will be afforded you in your endeavours to carry through the work committed to your care, and particularly that there will be no hindrance to your investigation of the ancient Codices; and We are sure that the principal thing, the divine assistance, which We earnestly implore, will not be wanting. As a presage whereof, and as an evidence of Our singular good-will, We most lovingly dispense to you, Our beloved son, and to your companions, Our apostolic benediction in the Lord.

Given at Rome at St Peter's, on the Feast of Pentecost, May 22, 1904, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS PP. X.

To Our Beloved Son, the monk PAUL DELATTE,
O.S.B., Abbot of Solesmes

LEO XIII, POPE

Beloved Son, health and apostolic Benediction

WE are aware, and have elsewhere expressed our commendation of the diligence you have so ably devoted to the study of those sacred chants, traditionally ascribed to the authorship of Gregory the Great.

In like manner, We cannot but express Our approval of your well-known labours, so industriously and constantly renewed, in collecting and publishing ancient documents bearing on this subject. We see the varied fruits of these labours in the many and most welcome volumes which you have been so good as to present Us from time to time. And now, as We hear, these works are everywhere receiving the attention of the public, and in many places are coming into daily use. Every effort undertaken for the purpose of explaining and extending the use of plainsong, the companion and handmaid of the most holy rites, must assuredly be commended, not only for its intelligence and industry, but for what is much more important, the much desired gain which it brings to divine worship. For the Gregorian melodies are most discreetly and wisely adapted for bringing out the meaning of the words: and there is in them, if only they are skilfully rendered, a great potency, and a certain marvellous blending of gravity and sweetness, which easily glides into the minds of the hearers and just at the right moment calls up pious dispositions and holy and wholesome thoughts. Therefore all, and especially the clergy of either order, who feel themselves competent to effect any progress in this science or art, should take up the work to the best of their ability with thoroughness and freedom. Provided that mutual charity and the respectful obedience due to the Church are properly observed, many may contribute much assistance by their efforts in this matter, as you have hitherto done by yours.

As a presage of heavenly graces and as an evidence of Our fatherly goodwill, We most lovingly confer upon you, Our beloved son, and upon your brethren, Our apostolic benediction in the Lord. Given at St Peter's, Rome, in the 24th year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII, POPE.

May 17, 1901.

PLAINCHANT AND SOLESMES

I

Introductory

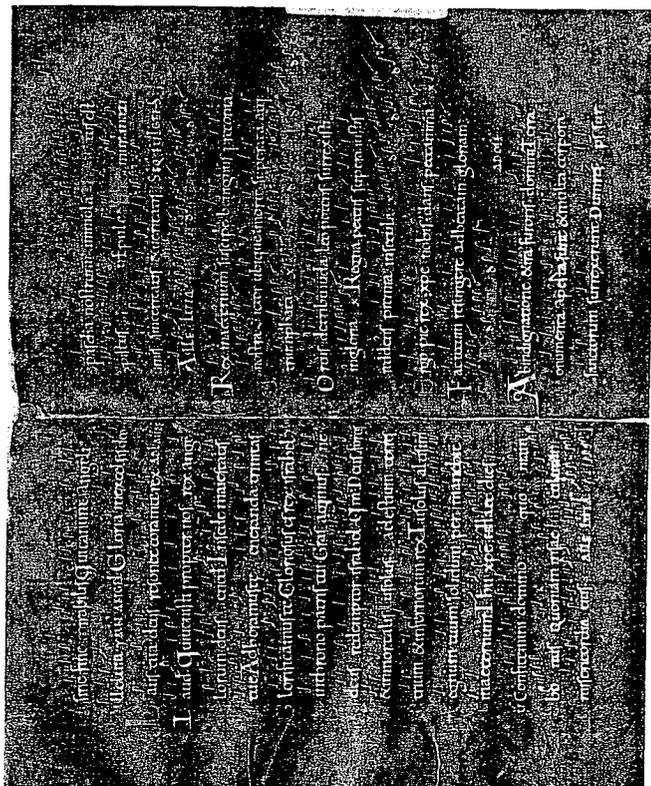
THE following historical expositions by Dom André Mocquereau and Dom Paul Cagin are now presented in an English adaptation with the consent of the editor and publishers of the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, and with the approval of the learned authors. It is hoped that they may enable the public to appreciate more fully the reasons which led Leo XIII and Pius X to address to Dom Delatte, the Abbot of Solesmes, the two remarkable letters prefixed to this booklet. Dom Mocquereau has very kindly allowed a member of his staff to revise the adaptations.

The translator, an English layman, adds here a few remarks drawn chiefly from personal observation.

Ever since the monastic church has been open to the public, there has been a constant stream of visitors to Vespers, and though High Mass is at the awkward hour of 9 a.m., it is not rare to see strangers present. Often the charm of the Chant visibly works like a spell upon the auditors. Its power receives many striking illustrations. A priest reads a paragraph about Solesmes methods, and resolves to look in at Appuldurcombe House for a couple of days at the beginning of his next holiday. His flying visit results in rooting him for about a week in the neighbouring village of Wroxall, and he

vows to come back again. A young fellow stopping in a more distant hamlet drops in to Vespers. He returns to his friends, and sits up all night to be sure not to miss Matins and Lauds next morning at 4.15, stays on to High Mass, and finally has to make the journey home all the way on a bicycle, except for a short sea-trip. "No, sir, I am a Protestant," says a typical English country gentleman, in reply to the question of an eminent Italian Papal Commissioner as to whether he is a Catholic, "but I cannot help feeling a very deep reverence and respect for the Church which chants the sacred words of Scripture to such dignified and delightful melodies." Frequently, again, one hears remarks like these: "Now I see what Plainsong really ought to be," or, from a Catholic layman who has apparently suffered for the Faith, "If the Holy Father succeeds in giving us music like that, what a relief it will be!" "It was the Chant of Solesmes that gave me the final fillip," explains a convert in setting forth his reasons for taking the fateful step; "I came to hear the monks when they first arrived in England."

It is, indeed, evident that to many, especially to the thoughtful and reflective, the singing of the monks is nothing less than a revelation of the divine. Their rendering of the Chant is given not only *suaviter* and *fortiter*, but there is soul in it as well. The secret of their proficiency is well explained by Dom Mocquereau, the director of the monastic choir, in his *L'Art Grégorien*. "Art is necessary," he says, "but it is not enough. For the right rendering of the Gregorian melodies there must be preparation of the soul as well: the soul must be well-ordered, upright, serene, passionless, self-controlled, awake, full of light, straight with God, abounding in charity." And again, "we get a finer interpretation from the *élite* of souls than from the most consummate art



SAMPLE OF PHOTOGRAPHS USED IN PREPARING THE VATICAN EDITION.
A Troper of the Xth Century.

taken by itself." When it is remembered that the Abbot and his monks in a Benedictine community are nothing more nor less than a united family under the fatherly, loving guidance of a spiritual head, chosen by themselves for the purpose of helping them to prepare their souls for the perfecting of divine praise, is it any wonder that the Chant of Solesmes should win conversions?

The scientific side of Dom Mocquereau's work is vividly brought home to the visitor who is fortunate enough to be favoured with an invitation to see the workshop where the Vatican edition is being prepared. He may indeed be struck with the monastic severity and poverty of the furniture, the bare floor, the plain deal tables and desks, the hard kitchen chairs, and with the packing-cases that do duty for book-shelves. But in numbers of these rough boxes, which safely conveyed the valuable library of Solesmes to its present place of exile, he will note orderly rows of packs of cardboard mountings, each pack neatly tied together and containing an entire Gradual or Antiphonary made up of a long series of carefully numbered photographs from some important ancient manuscript. There are already over a hundred and fifty such complete reproductions in this Gregorian collection. The photographs are taken directly on permanent bromide sheets, which arrive undeveloped. Recently the fathers now on tour succeeded in taking the record number of six hundred prints in a single day. Two lay-brothers are constantly engaged in developing, mounting and numbering these prints at the rate of between three and four hundred a day. It is reckoned that from Italy alone twenty thousand such sheets have been received at the monastery during the last few months.

One of the young fathers explains the contents of the workroom to the inquiring visitor. After turning

Plainchant and Solesmes

over the pages of a number of original manuscripts with their quaint illustrations or beautiful illustrations, for the benefit of his English interlocutor, he takes down the famous Sarum manuscript in the edition so handsomely brought out by the English Plainsong and Mediæval Society. He places it by the side of some of the more celebrated continental Antiphonaries, and points out that, in the English musical text, the short unstressed syllables receive quite as many notes as they do in the foreign graduals. To take one instance out of many, he indicates in the Sarum Gradual *Oculi omnium* the word *aperis*, and calls attention to the fact that thirty-eight notes are given to the second syllable *pe*, quite as many, that is to say, as are found in the last Solesmes edition. He thus delicately hints that the English critic, who objects to the French editions because they assign too many notes to the short unstressed syllables, will gain nothing from this point of view by recurring to the best English manuscripts. In fact, such a critic has failed to observe that Plainsong in the English Graduals and Antiphonaries, like Plainsong everywhere else, treats syllables not as long and short, but as accented or unaccented.

It is indeed this sort of criticism, which crops up again and again, that makes it necessary to insist that accent is essentially different from quantity, and that the two things are often quite independent of each other. In English, for instance, the accented syllables are often short, as in such lines as

To be, or nót to be ;
I cóme to búry Cæsar, nót to praise him ;

or in many common words, as *cúp-bearer*, *géntile*, etc., where the stress falls on the short syllable and the unstressed syllable is long. Yet it is true that in English



A CORNER OF WORKSHOP AT APPULDURCOMBE HOUSE, WHERE THE VATICAN EDITION IS BEING PREPARED.

accent tends to coincide with length, while the unaccented syllable is often almost indistinguishable. This makes it more difficult for an Englishman than for a Frenchman or an Italian to appreciate the undoubted fact that in Latin, at the time of the rise of Plainsong, when stress began to predominate over quantity and to coincide with or replace pitch, the tendency of the accent was to shorten rather than lengthen the part of the word on which it fell. The *arsic* or rising portion was marked by *intensio*, an instinctive tightening of the vocal chords resulting from stress, and was followed by *remissio*, a slackening or lingering of the voice on the *thesic* or falling unstressed part of the word. Hence the unaccented syllables tended, by an unconscious clinging retardation of utterance, to make up for and counterbalance the sharp prominence imparted by stress to the accented syllables.

It follows from this that when the Gregorian Chant assigns a number of notes to a short unaccented syllable rather than to the preceding one which has the accent, its procedure is in perfect harmony with the rhythmical tendencies of spoken Latin at the time of the blossoming out of the ecclesiastical melodies from the musical cadences of the sacred text. Gregorian music, in fact, so distributed its notes and *ictus** as to make the strong flexible rhythm of the language of the Church still more elastic and mellifluous. It always appears "unequally yoked

* *Ictus* must not be identified with *stress*. In a compound rhythmical movement it marks not the place of stress, but the exact point where one rhythmical unit ends and the next begins, or the end of the whole movement. It is a sort of stepping-stone on which the movement is carried forward till it comes to a stop. Hence the *ictus* is strong or weak according as it coincides or not with a tonic accent, or a secondary accent, or the beginning of a group of notes, or the close of a musical phrase. In the last case it is always very weak, length and not stress being the distinguishing mark of such endings.

together" with the "vulgar tongue" of any single nation, however great and powerful, because it has been indissolubly joined to the words of the divine liturgy, and is, therefore, essentially and inherently inseparable from the holy hieratic vernacular of the city that hath foundations, whose citizens count it not the least among the privileges of the Catholic franchise everywhere to praise and pray in the potent and venerable, the mystical and gracious speech of their imperial mother—Rome.

How melodious the Latin language was in the early days of the Gregorian Chant, and how sweet was the sacred song that broke into bloom like a flower out of its smooth and flowing cadences, may be judged from what is recorded by the biographer of St Gregory in words which are still not wholly inapplicable. After relating how enraptured the nations of the north were with the Gregorian melodies, he adds that the forced efforts of the Gauls and the Germans to give their intractable vocal organs the pliancy required by the soft sweetness of the Chant only resulted in the production of harsh, rough sounds like the rumbling and rattling "of chariots rolling down a flight of stone steps." It is precisely this dragging and thumping which comes from the English tendency to accentuate Latin like English, dwelling heavily on accented syllables and failing to give distinct articulation to the rest so as to reduce the prominence of stress and impart smoothness and lightness and undulancy to the chant, that often mars the execution of Plainsong in England to-day.

Yet there is no reason why English-speaking people, who may well stand for the Germans of St Gregory's biographer, should not make as much progress in the musical enunciation of Latin as the successors of his Gauls. It is the latter who have given the Church the school of Solesmes, whose efforts have recently won the

praise of the last two Italian Popes who have followed in the footsteps of St Gregory. How justly that commendation has been merited every one may judge for himself by listening to the chanting of the monks at Appuldurcombe House. He will observe how these Frenchmen, who have perhaps greater congenital difficulties to overcome than even Englishmen, have attained a smooth southern enunciation of Latin well adapted to Plainsong, and how skilfully they execute the melodies they have recovered with so much care. He will probably conclude that with a little good-will, application and patience, the average choir could achieve better and more attractive results in unisonous music than in the more intricate and showy part-singing. For, as Dom Mocquereau justly remarks in his *L'Art Grégorien*, "there is in our Gregorian melodies an *air* and a *rhythm* that children and the humblest performers catch up and learn by heart with extraordinary facility."

There is, moreover, proof of something more potent than vulgar curiosity in the constant attendance of a well-behaved and reverent congregation in the part of the monastic church assigned to the public. Though the monastery is situated amidst the wilds of profoundest Protestantism, and is over two miles from any town, and though the Offices of Vespers and Benediction are sung at the awkward hour of four o'clock without any sermon, yet on Sunday afternoons the numerous seats provided for visitors are generally occupied, and sometimes people have to be turned away for want of room. Certainly this experience proves that the Chant of Solesmes is the reverse of repellant to the English public, and one is tempted to ask oneself whether the truly Catholic Office of Vespers, sung at a convenient hour in the style, if not with the finished skill of Solesmes, followed by the *Tantum ergo*, Benediction

and *Laudate*, as at the monastery, would not bring more Protestants under the influence of the Catholic teaching of the parish priest than some of the latter-day substitutes, which have scarcely turned out to be more alluring if they be judged by visible results.

But assuredly the best way to estimate the value of the School of Solesmes is to come to it while it is within reach in the Isle of Wight. Not long ago the Papal Commission, appointed to give the Church an official edition of the Gregorian melodies, met at Appuldurcombe House to see at first hand the resources and methods of the community, and to hear their practical execution of the Chant. The result was a unanimous expression of confidence in Dom Mocquereau and the staff working under him. This year (1904), too, by way of experiment, on the suggestion of the Rev. Michael Moloney, of Westminster Cathedral, a Summer School was started at Appuldurcombe House. About sixty pupils took advantage of the lessons offered by the monks, and the result was so encouraging that the effort will be repeated on a larger scale next year (1905).* Those who make use of this opportunity may verify for themselves the accounts given by Dom Mocquereau and Dom Cagin of the work of Solesmes. In examining at first hand the apparatus of the laboratory, where the official Vatican edition is being prepared, they will gain a striking object-lesson in that scientific method which guarantees the conclusions attained from being vitiated by individual caprice or erudite faddism.

No one who has visited the monastery can fail to be struck with the arduous work that is continuously being carried on. Lately the photographs of original manuscripts have been arriving literally by thousands a week,

* Details of the proposed arrangements may be obtained from Dom Eudine, Appuldurcombe House, Wroxall, I.W.

and all these are constantly being carefully examined, sifted, tabulated, and turned to account. The two monks, now visiting the libraries of Italy, are armed with a special commendatory epistle from the Holy Father, and with an order from the Italian Prime Minister, calling upon the authorities to render them all the assistance they may need. It is indeed not want of will or skill but only want of funds that prevents the labours of the monks from taking a still wider range. If this were more generally known, and the importance of the work they are doing more fully realized, one cannot but believe that loyal Catholics would be anxious to come to their aid in carrying out still more thoroughly the charge which has been entrusted to them by the Holy Father.

And what is this charge? It is the work of helping the Church to manifest her divine unity amidst the confusions of our times. It is the work handed down to the monks of Solesmes by their illustrious founder Dom Guéranger. For this great restorer of the Benedictine Order in France, when engaged in reviving the contemplative life under the Rule, lifted his eyes above the petty and distracting exigencies of practical politics, and saw that if the Church was to make her mark on a world of increasing anarchism in government and religion, she must speak with one mind and one voice. He not only brought back France to the use of one Liturgy, but laid it upon his sons to restore and revive the one Chant, which flowed, like a river from its source, out of the deathless Latin language in which that Liturgy was written.

It is not a question of pitting Gregorian melodies against later developments of music. It is not a battle between rival schools of art. It is radically a question of felicitousness and fitness. The Parthenon may be a finer product of architectural art than York Minster or the

Cathedral of Chartres, but the latter are more fitting and, therefore, more ideally beautiful, as expressions of Christian thought and feeling. So later and more intricate forms of music may be more perfect in the abstract than the Gregorian, and nevertheless the earlier and simpler compositions are better suited to the text which they perfect and complete, filling up the chasms left by the insufficiency of human speech, linking thought to thought with the melodious expression of refined and spiritual emotions, which are indefinable except in the music which calls them forth.

There is, indeed, no need for a form of art so full of divine afflatus as is Plainsong to go cap in hand to any other school of musical instruction. If Mozart would have given all his finest creations for a short piece of the simplest, earliest Plainchant of the Mass; if a critic of such unerring and delicate taste as Walter Pater found in the Gregorian melodies the only fit exemplar for "the city of the perfect"; if Richard Wagner borrowed the underlying ideas of some of his most wonderful passages from the ancient Catholic chants, there is no need for the Church to wait upon the musical genius of later times for the evolution of a perfect melodic outfit; but rather should she bid modern composers give heed to the rule laid down in his recent *Motu Proprio* by the present Holy Father: "*The more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration and savour, the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple.*"

If this be true, how important it is for Catholics to encourage, rather than hinder, the work of those who are restoring us this "*supreme model*" in its pristine purity! They are, indeed, providing the Church with a practically fresh, because long neglected, weapon and with another

strong centripetal influence to counteract the centrifugal tendencies of the day, in acting upon the advice of the Sovereign Pontiff. "Special efforts," says the *Motu Proprio*, "are to be made to restore the use of the Gregorian Chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times."

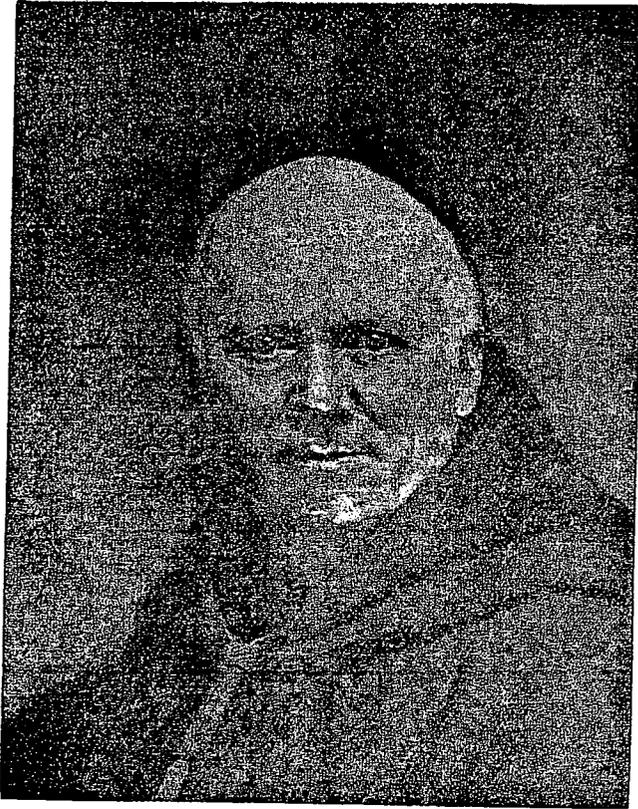
It is said of soldiers that they march to victory when they advance to the attack in singing. And what is Plainsong but the singing of the Church militant in her war with evil? But these songs, unlike those of the blood-stained battlefield, do not merely inspire courage and *élan*; they also impart humility and penitence and peace. If they disturb the soul at all, it is with pity and compassion for suffering, or with "sorrow unto repentance not to be repented of." If through some of the chants we catch the sound of falling tears, we know that this is only such weeping as foretells the joy of harvest, or prepares the soul for its up-lifting to the summits of purest aspiration. Religion was once defined, very defectively but with a dash of truth, as "morality touched with emotion." But what refines and moralizes, nay, spiritualizes emotion, like Plainsong? What so sets the soul astir with the sense of immortality? What so fires the heart with the love of divine law? What more effectually turns the deadness of the letter into "spirit and life"? Plainsong does, indeed, not only achieve all this, but much besides. As sung by the monks, whose whole lives are a preparation for their singing, it becomes even more than a weapon and an inspiration in the spiritual warfare. It is a rod and a staff as well. It is a comfort and support to the children of the Church amidst the weariness of their earthly pilgrimage. To one such at any rate the Chant of Solesmes has been, and the memory of it will be to the end of his days, "as

12 Plainchant and Solesmes

an hiding-place from the wind and as a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

It is the hope of the translator that the statements of Dom Mocquereau and Dom Cagin may help on the cause of the Chant that truly deserves the name of Catholic, and thus enable him to discharge some fragment of the debt which he owes to Solesmes.

November, 1904.



DOM PROSPER GUÉRANGER, O.S.B.
First Abbot of Solesmes.

II

The Work of Solesmes in the Restoration of Plainchant

By DOM PAUL CAGIN, O.S.B.

IN his *Motu Proprio* of April 25, 1904, the Holy Father, "in recognition of the work done for the restoration of the genuine melodies of the Roman Church," declares that "it is Our will that the editing (of the Vatican edition of the Chant) be entrusted particularly to the monks of the French Congregation and to the Monastery of Solesmes." It is therefore *apropos* to give a *résumé* of the "work done," to show its continuity, development and progress—a progress which has now received the highest official recognition.

I. Early Days. Dom Guéranger.

FOR a long time our only object was to provide the monastic choir of Solesmes with the necessary chant-books. Dom Guéranger, who was then engaged in the work of restoring sound liturgical traditions in France, wanted the Chant as well as the text to begin at home.

Competent writers in France and abroad have rightly done honour to Dom Guéranger for having been the first to lay down certain principles of execution which, after being perfected by practice and study, were to issue in the result we have reached to-day.

Canon Gontier of Le Mans "had noticed how in his monastery the famous Abbot had succeeded in giving

the Gregorian melodies an accent and rhythm which no one appeared to have dreamt of. It was like a revelation."* A friend of Dom Guéranger, in 1859 he had submitted to him the manuscript of his *Méthode raisonnée de plainchant*, in which he had incorporated the principles of execution that had so struck him at Solesmes. The result was a very brisk correspondence between the Canon and the Abbot. In short, the *Méthode* appeared with the approval of the Bishop of Le Mans, M. D'Ortigue and Dom Guéranger, who declared that it was the "only true theory of the execution of Gregorian Chant."

The part thus played by Dom Guéranger in the restoration of the ecclesiastical Chant was well known in his time. It is he who was consulted by M. Nisard, in 1850, as to important discoveries bearing on Gregorian notation. To him it was that Father Lambillotte communicated his project of a Roman Antiphonary and Gradual in 1854. In a word, the opinion of Dom Guéranger on the subject had such weight that in 1860 the Conference at Paris for the restoration of Plainsong resolved to publish in its records the letter written at this date by the Abbot of Solesmes to Monsieur D'Ortigue at the request of Canon Pelletier of Orléans, and which had already been published in the *Maîtrise* and in the *Monde* (November 15 and 29, 1860).

It is likewise he who determined to have the neumatic manuscripts examined in order to establish an edition in accord with them for our own use.

"The fundamental principle had been laid down and formulated by Dom Guéranger himself: to wit, that when manuscripts of different periods and places agreed on a version, it can be affirmed that the Gregorian text has been discovered" (*l.c.*, p. 1).

After several more or less successful tentative experi-

* Dom Pothier, *Mémoires Grégoriennes*, Preface, p. 4.

ments, it was still under his direction, and in obedience to him, that Dom Jausions and Dom Pothier were, in their turn, charged with investigation.

The work became more and more serious and took definite shape. This preliminary inquiry led to a two-fold result, theoretical and practical. "A memorandum had been drawn up and presented to their venerated father and master by the humble children and disciples of Dom Guéranger, who wholly approved of it and of the practical outcome of the investigation undertaken at his bidding and under his care." *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* reproduce the memorandum approved by Dom Guéranger, with corrections and additions largely suggested by himself (*ibid.*, pp. 5, 6).

Dom Jausions, and later Dom Guéranger, were never to see in this world the practical outcome of their work and initiative.

II. Second Period. Dom Pothier's work, "*Les Mélodies Grégoriennes*." The "*Liber Usualis*." The "*Liber Antiphonarius*." The *Processional*.

It was only in 1880, at the bidding of Dom Couturier, the second Abbot of Solesmes, that *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* were printed by Dom Pothier, and, in 1883, that the copies collected by the two collaborators resulted in his *Liber Gradualis*. The type used for the notation was designed by himself.

Given, on the one hand, the comparative novelty of an almost unprecedented undertaking, and on the other the conditions in which the readings of the Chant had been fixed and the divisions and pauses distributed for the purpose of singing in choir, imperfections were only to be expected. They were inevitable.

However seriously the manuscripts had been examined by the two collaborators, the copies available at Solesmes were unfortunately too few. Besides, Dom Jausions was no longer with us. So that Dom Pothier had to solve the difficulties single-handed without the check of his fraternal assistance.

Another circumstance increased the difficulty of the task. The versions adopted had not been submitted to a preliminary trial before being sent to press, except in the case of a few chants in the Processional. There had been only one way of trying experiments. For in order to lighten Dom Pothier's mechanical toil, Dom Couturier had associated with him two or three monks who were zealous for restoration, but too lightly equipped as yet for working at it with authority. The correction of proofs was among these labours: but it was often while they were singing through the proofs together, and without any further study, reflection, or reference to the manuscripts, that, on the advice of anybody who chose to speak, they resolved upon or marked down here a pause, there a dividing bar, elsewhere a breathing, or the union or division of neums.

It must be added that the editing of the *Liber Gradualis* was influenced by a double anxiety to show consideration where deference was due.

Dom Pothier wanted to follow the Rheims-Cambrai edition as far as possible. In this he saw a twofold advantage: first, he sheltered himself under the authority it still possessed; and next, there was no risk of the argument of the invariability of the manuscripts used by both parties getting indiscreetly upset by the cropping up of unexpected differences.

He was also embarrassed by the higher authority at that time enjoyed by the Ratisbon edition.

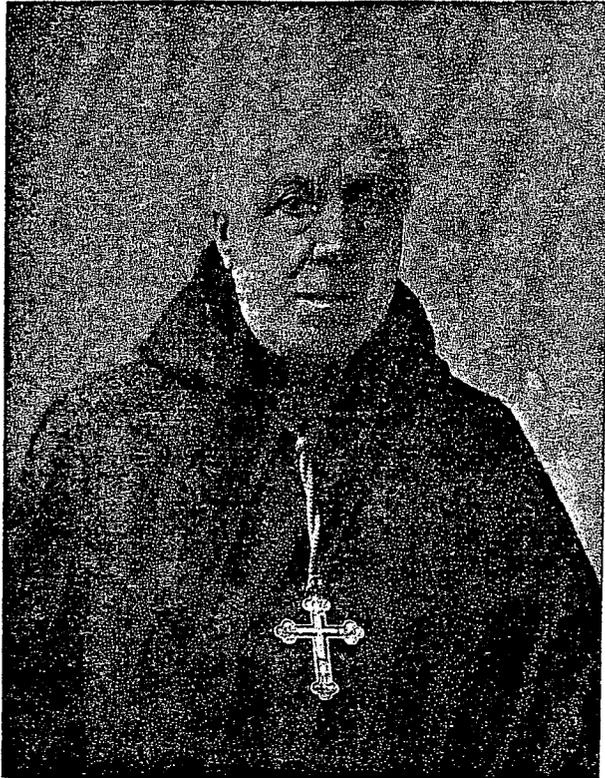
Through this twofold anxiety to be conciliatory, the

insufficiency of manuscripts, the absence of any check, and the want of practical preparatory trials, the first Solesmes edition could not help being defective. It was but a half-way house on the road of the return to antiquity.

Nevertheless, it was an indisputable advance, not only on the abbreviated editions which we ourselves had had to make use of until then, but also on various other attempts which might have surpassed ours, but which were henceforth left far behind.

Dom Pothier deserves none the less credit for having succeeded in such conditions in fulfilling a work with which his name must remain connected, and for having taken such a large share in advancing the cause of Gregorian Chant. M. Jules Combarieu has also reserved a prominent place for Dom Pothier amongst the restorers of Plainsong. We give his brief sketch below.*

* "Dom Pothier, who made Solesmes the *Ecole Normale* or training school of Plainsong, and who brings us back to the subject with which his name is indissolubly bound up, is a peaceful personality. . . . He is a scholar less inclined, apparently, to don his accoutrements daily for the extension of his possessions than to enjoy the peaceful occupation of a fixed and clearly-defined estate. He is the master of the Benedictine choir; but as a man of science he has only sketched an outline—admirable in its way—of the monument which has been, or will be, erected by his pupils. The illustrious author of the *Mélodies Grégoriennes* formulated the fundamental principle of sacred music when he said that Plain Chant was a sort of musical prose, with no other rhythm than that of oratorical prose. It is, however, to be regretted that he has not enforced his ideas with the stock of experimental proofs demanded by the modern spirit. One must say it over and over again: without study and the direct reproduction of the original sources (to enable the reader to check what is said) no musical archæology is possible. Yet Dom Pothier, though he knew the first beginnings better than anyone, did not use them as an essential, constant and visible means of support. In the *Mélodies Grégoriennes* one suspects that the man of experience and the scholar, the personality in fine, is far superior to the work through which



DOM JOSEPH POTHIER, O.S.B.
President of the Gregorian Commission.

The introduction of the *Liber Gradualis* into our own daily use was indeed the first thing to reveal the imperfection of the progress made. But we were so much under the spell of what was then so new, that during the first few years the possibility of criticizing our master never occurred to anyone.

So Dom Pothier continued by degrees to publish the *Liber Antiphonarius*, and then the Processional, the Responsorial, and the rest, always following his own plan, but with still more slender material at his disposal than he had for the Gradual. And yet, during the very years when these various publications were appearing, a new phase in the work of Solesmes was beginning.

III. The Work of Dom Mocquereau.

WHILE the work of the first days was at a standstill, new workers were taking the place of the old master. Two names, amongst others, must be put at the head of this new phase: Dom Schmitt and Dom Mocquereau.

Dom Schmitt was found side by side with Dom Pothier at the Congress of Arezzo. His *méthode pratique* made him still better known. It is he who has the credit of creating the Solesmes press and its special facilities for dealing with Gregorian Chant. And, lastly, we have his archæological studies, interrupted by death, but subsequently made use of.

Dom Mocquereau brought us the fruits of an exceptional musical training. With artistic and religious enthusiasm he devoted himself body and soul to the work of Solesmes. Not satisfied with defending this work against the attacks of the incompetent, he undertook to

we make his acquaintance (Jules Combarieu, *Études de Philologie Musicale*. I. *Théorie du Rythme* . . . suivie d'un *Essai sur l'Archéologie Musicale du XIX Siècle*. Paris, Picard, 1897, p. 178).

give it the sureness, solidity and completeness wherein it was still lacking. But in the course of his labours he soon found himself confronted with an unexpected task. He had to provide a scientific basis for a new work, the extent of which would probably be in excess of what had preceded it. He set about it with determination.

The public in general only knows one side of this effort—the *Paléographie Musicale*. Yet neither dictionaries nor encyclopædias have informed it that the *Paléographie Musicale* is actually, originally and entirely the work of Dom Mocquereau.

The Practical School of Solesmes

DOM Couturier was at a loss how to introduce the *Liber Gradualis* into the choir of Solesmes when he was impelled to entrust the training of the young religious to Dom Mocquereau. Soon the direction of the choir itself practically devolved upon him.

For those, who come from both hemispheres to study and copy the execution of Gregorian Chant as practised in the two monasteries* of Solesmes, taking it as a model, there is no need of a lengthy explanation. The training of this practical school is the work of Dom Mocquereau. Examples of the type originated by him are now scattered through a multitude of choirs, seminaries and religious communities, where the traditional chant is executed the better, the more diligently and closely his advice and that of his pupils has been followed, and the more faithfulness has been shown to his high teaching.

Two other examples of the action exercised in this

* St Pierre and Ste Cécile, now in exile, the former at Appuldurcombe House, the latter at Cowes, both in the Isle of Wight.

department by Dom Mocquereau will be enough by way of illustration, while awaiting the issue of the *Practical Course (Méthode pratique)* which is in preparation.

To Solesmes it was that the Schola Cantorum of Paris came for several days with all its staff of musical artists and performers to gather the best traditions in execution. To Solesmes, and also to Dom Mocquereau, came the Free Lecture Society of the Catholic Institute of Paris to ask for the lecture and direction that were to be a revelation of the Gregorian melodies to the highest musical circles of the metropolis. It was at Solesmes that one among the audience at this lecture and demonstration, M. Camille Bellaigue, made what was for him the entirely new discovery of a fresh musical horizon, and then described it in the essay which is famous as a masterpiece.*

In assigning this first work to Dom Mocquereau, the Abbot of Solesmes had hit upon the true artistic founder of a practical school of Gregorian Chant.

La Paléographie Musicale

THE scholar and the critic were soon to declare themselves in their turn. It is needless to say that Dom Mocquereau never put forward any such claims for himself. Nevertheless, in entering upon the new field, he began with a stroke of genius.

It was just when, on the side of Ratisbon, they began to dispute the traditional character of Dom Pothier's work. To Dom Mocquereau it seemed necessary to vindicate the honour of misunderstood ecclesiastical tradition against this call to arms. But he had already proved by experience the penury of documents then at

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, November, 1898.

our disposal. The journeys which Dom Couturier therefore made him undertake, and the acquaintances he formed, brought about an influx of photographs and copies of manuscripts to Solesmes of every school, date and church.

From that time the founding of the *Paléographie Musicale* was a matter of necessity, and its first object was attained: it was in a position to show that all kinds of manuscripts gave evidence in favour of the substantial unity of tradition. For at that time it was only substantial unity that was in question, and the proof of this, considered by itself, was overwhelming in the passage which Dom Mocquereau had selected to throw it into relief. Then turning round and passing immediately from the defensive to the offensive, the *Paléographie musicale* had no difficulty in picking out the deviations, the barbarisms, inconsistencies and mutilations, which showed that the Medicean books were not in any way dependent upon tradition. At all events the first edition of Solesmes was henceforth beyond reproach on the ground chosen by its opponents.

But at the same time the journeys and studies of Dom Mocquereau had opened his eyes to the gaps and imperfections in the work which had only been attacked on its main lines, and attacked wrongly, none of the antagonists of Dom Pothier being sufficiently equipped to carry the matter further. The alarm, however, had been given, and Dom Mocquereau saw the indispensable necessity of preparing for attacks which were sure to come, when the opposition had succeeded in taking up a really scientific position.

Another consideration also set him thinking. From this period it was plain that the Solesmes edition, leaving the modest and homely surroundings for which it had been held to be provisionally sufficient, would hence-

forth attract so much attention that one could but foresee the possibility of its adoption outside.

With these two prospects in view, Dom Mocquereau saw the need of removing to a sounder position, and thus forestalling attacks. The bishops, too, had to be provided with editions worthy of the Church and her tradition.

Hence it followed that the Gregorian melodies had an infinitely better right to be restored to their original purity than a book of Virgil, or an ode of Horace, or a speech of Cicero. And he added that, in any case, a musical work of the delicacy of Gregorian Chant has a greater need than any other of keeping or recovering the grace and spirit of the forms and nice refinements (*nuances*) intended by its author.

The Critical School. Its Methods and Laboratory

Now we come to the first studies scientifically organized by Dom Mocquereau. At first they only showed him a part of the truth: but the dawn of broad daylight was soon to break.*

* M. Jules Combarieu, however, in 1896 did not hesitate to hail Dom Mocquereau as the "originator and organizer of a musical renaissance." This is how he already summed up his work at that time:

"Among the pupils and successors of Dom Pothier the science of Plainsong has become, as it were, secularized. The editors of the *Paléographie Musicale* have had the capital idea (for which we of the world cannot be too grateful) of applying to the study of the Gregorian melodies the principles of the historic method in the same way as they are used by the *École des Chartres* and *Collège de France* in their most arduous labours. In order to restore the Gregorian tradition in all its purity, and to defend this tradition against all scepticism, they have become grammarians, scholars and philologists, palæographers and photographers . . . and in this way they have provided the open-minded reader with a wonderful abundance of exact demonstrations which allow him to check their teaching down to the smallest detail. They have published in

A few copies were all that was left of the inquiry ordered by Dom Guéranger. The investigation which gave rise to the *Paléographie Musicale* had increased their

phototypical facsimiles about three hundred passages in manuscript, proving that the unity of the liturgical chant was preserved for a thousand years from its origin; they have applied the principles of comparative grammar to the study of these documents; they have analysed them in an artistic and literary spirit so as to make their original beauty felt and appreciated, and so as to lay down the laws of their construction; they have shown, by means of acute and profound analysis, that St Gregory must still be honoured by having the Chant, which bears his name, attributed to him. Such a work marks an advance in French science, while restoring to the Church in accurate form one of her most brilliant traditions; it enriches mediæval investigation with a whole category of documents hitherto too much neglected by palæographers, adds a new department to philology, and opens to the general history of music a future which promises to be fertile in results. Lastly, from the practical point of view, it allows one to affirm that the Palestrinian edition of Plain Chant (commended though not ordered by the Roman Curia) is a musical enormity. This conclusion comes with the conviction of proof to all those who have followed the discussion with an open mind" (J. Combarieu, *Études de philologie musicale*. 1. *Théorie du rythme* . . . followed by an *Essay on l'Archéologie musicale au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Picard, 1897, pp. 179 ss.).

Returning in a note to the philological point of view of the *Paléographie musicale*, he added:

"In the *Paléographie musicale* see Dom Mocquereau's fine study on the musical *cursus*. Such a performance, taken alone, would suffice to make the reputation of a scholar; but in addition to this fine study in the manuscripts, in the history and geographical distribution of musical documents, on liquescent neums, Dom Mocquereau, the originator and organizer of this musical renaissance, has put forth certain general principles, which offer much food for reflection and give one an anticipation of a new science: it is the creation of a 'philology of music,' based upon the assimilation of the forms of the Plain Chant in the different liturgies to the dialects of a single language, the evolution of which can be traced through the ages, at any rate wherever documents are to be found; it is the ingenious and profound discrimination which he makes in a recent lecture (*L'Art Grégorien*, etc., Solesmes, 1896) between *Latin* music (Plainchant, which has adopted the rhythmical principles of Latin prose) and *Romance* music, which has borrowed its measure, its rhythm and its cadences from the words and cadences and rhythm of the Romance languages. These

number by means of transcriptions, and, better still, by photographs. Various kindly correspondents had done the rest. But specimens of the various manuscripts had been chiefly multiplied by means of extracts.

There was not enough as yet for a wholesale, conscientious, minutely thorough revision, taking account of all the pieces in the repertoire. To the first stock of transcriptions, photographs and extracts, it was becoming necessary to add in still larger quantities than ever before, by means of copyists or photographs, entire manuscripts required for the proposed work.

The usually photographic reproduction or transcription of so large a number of documents, the journeys they necessitated, naturally occasioned financial sacrifices to the Abbey of Solesmes. But Dom Delatte met the outlay generously, not shrinking from any necessary expenditure. At the same time he laid some of the specialists of the congregation under contribution.

Thus the work of Solesmes continued to develop, getting a more and more vigorous organization, under the authority of Dom Delatte as Abbot of Solesmes and Superior-General of the French Benedictine Congregation.

This is not all. We had at hand, indeed, an incomparable treasure in the way of documents; but they had to be transformed into a working instrument for ready reference, and able at once to furnish on any given point the surest, quickest and best classified means of proof. A huge and searching investigation had to be undertaken.

Dom Mocquereau did not flinch from the new task.

views are original, and as well-defined as they are suggestive, and will soon give, we hope, a new basis to the history of musical art, which has hitherto been the prey of tentative experiments, and of dry circumlocutions or the chatter of anecdotes" (*Op. cit.* p. 180, note 2).

He created the instrument. A whole group of selected workers was put at his disposal by the Abbot of Solesmes, and they entered upon a minute investigation of a whole library of manuscripts on the uniform plan laid down by their master.

It was quite another matter when Dom Mocquereau taught them how to interrogate and study these statistics. It was in this way, and by these means, that he was able himself to discover the secret of certain laws of composition in the Gregorian melodies, still unknown to any one, and perhaps scarcely fully consciously appreciated by the ancients themselves.

So Dom Mocquereau not only gathered at Solesmes the materials for the work he was contemplating, but, at the same time, created the procedure for exploring and making the most of these materials, the working instrument and the method best suited to them, and, lastly, a whole working staff of young monks, already so broken in to his method that he is sometimes obliged to take their proficiency into account, and to submit his knowledge to the superiority of their original information and presentment of facts.

Last year a German doctor of music came to consult Dom Mocquereau in our place of exile about a work which he thought of taking in hand. When face to face with the master and his pupils, at the sight of the number of manuscripts at their disposal, of their wonderful apparatus for study, and of the use they were making of it, he went away in some sort discouraged, saying that it was impossible to follow them in such a path, and that they had such a start, such an organization, and such resources, that it was impossible to prevent their being everywhere and always ahead.

The New Editions

THERE remained the publication, firstly, of the texts of traditional Plainsong, obtained and fixed, one may believe, by such penetrating methods of criticism; secondly, of the scientific *apparatus* of Dom Mocquereau.

The brief of Leo XIII to the Abbot of Solesmes not only assured the preparation of a new *Liber Gradualis* of the encouragement and freedom which was wanting to the first, but at the same time gave an impulse to a general movement in favour of Plainchant. Requests for new books flowed in from all sides.

In the face of this pressure, which soon turned to urgent entreaties, in which people did not always allow for the unexampled difficulties caused by the confiscation of our printing-press and by our removal to the Isle of Wight, Dom Mocquereau was obliged to defer the publication of his proofs.

Whole dioceses wanted musical editions, and he made them. Musicians expressed a preference for a notation showing the rhythm, and he produced it. Others prefer a purely neumatic notation. It is in the press.

In short, he is ready all along the line, and the *Paléographie Musicale*, by reproducing his tables, will soon make clear to everyone with what persuasiveness he can justify the changes which he has made. It will be neither more nor less than the eloquence of facts: *res non verba*. This was the original motto of the *Paléographie Musicale*, and it will be better deserved than ever before.

III

The School of Solesmes

By DOM ANDRÉ MOCQUEREAU

I. Its Critical Method.

IN the new Solesmes books certain inevitable changes have been made in our original editions of the Gregorian melodies.

We have already taken the opportunity of justifying one of these alterations in a pamphlet entitled *A travers les manuscrits* (Desclée, Lefebvre et Cie, Rome, 1903). It is impossible to reply in the same way—for the process would be endless—to each of the difficulties suggested to-day by one alteration, to-morrow by another.

We shall do what is better. The next volume of the *Paléographie Musicale* will begin to publish the scientific apparatus of our new editions. We hope we shall succeed in satisfying the most critical.

At present, however, we beg leave to submit some general explanations by way of preliminary; for a provisional outline of the work which precedes and goes hand in hand with the restoration of a Gregorian melody at Solesmes will be a helpful introduction to those who would master the subject.

This is something in the nature of an *apologia*; and perhaps a knowledge of the guarantees for critical and conscientious effort afforded by the Solesmes method will win a little kindly feeling and just appreciation for those who are engaged in applying it.

This, then, is how we of Solesmes set to work to construct any one of the musical texts in our Gregorian repertoire.

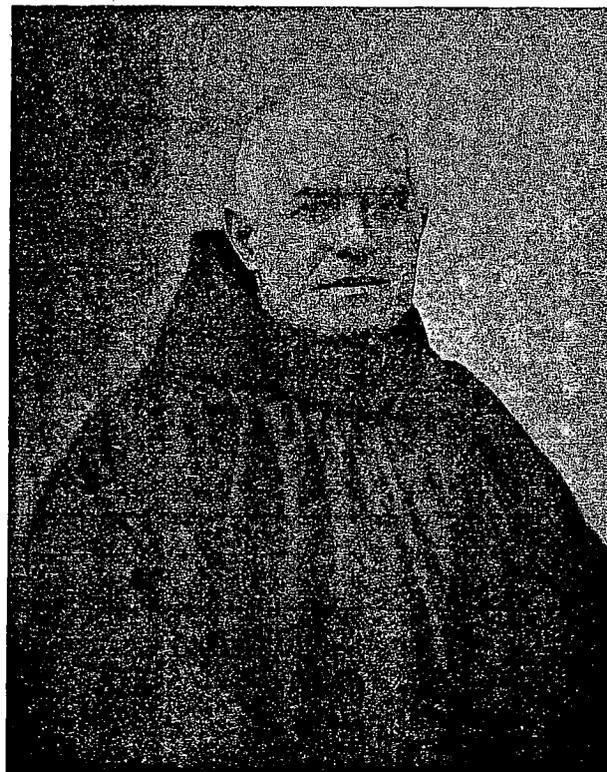
I say *we*, not merely because, as a form of speech, it is more pleasant and less egotistical, but because it expresses a noteworthy fact. For in reality it is a whole school which is on review: and he who now speaks for ten or fifteen of the workers and for their laboratory is only one of them, himself checked by their controlling influence, as they are by one another's and by his. This is said, not by way of making an empty display of scientific apparatus, but merely to offer such a preliminary guarantee as is necessarily afforded by work done under such mutual control.

Nor is there anything extraordinary in so many persons thus specializing in one particular study, when that study is so inherently fascinating: nor, indeed, can it be a matter of surprise to any one who is aware of the impulse towards liturgical knowledge and practice imparted to the sons of Solesmes by their founder, Dom Guéranger; for assuredly it is he who laid the foundations of our school. In his *Institutions Liturgiques* he thus formulates the principle of the restoration whereon he was the first to labour:

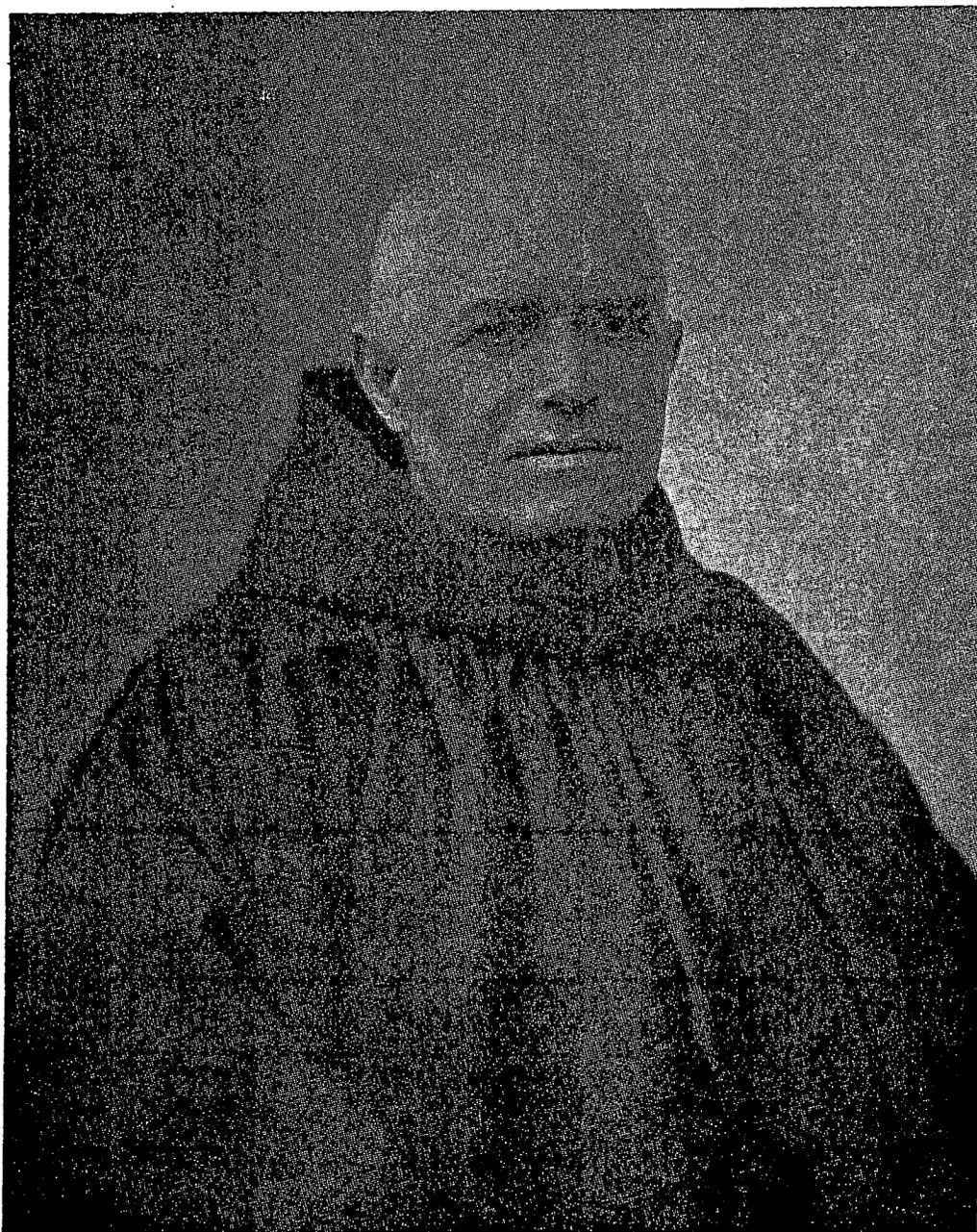
“When manuscripts of different periods and countries agree in a given version, it may be affirmed that the Gregorian version has been recovered.”

This dictum indicated the necessity of having at hand the largest possible number of manuscript Graduals and Antiphonaries of every age and source, whenever the task of unravelling the original Gregorian tradition from its earliest records had to be undertaken.

Thus, indeed, it was that the work of Solesmes for the restoration of Plainsong, long before contemplated by Dom Guéranger, was first begun. First, hand-made



DOM MOCQUEREAU, O.S.B.
Prior of Solesmes.



DOM MOCQUEREAU, O.S.B.
Prior of Solesmes.

copies had to suffice. Then photography was widely used. It was, indeed, for this object in the main, as well as for the further association of all the lovers of Plain-song in the study of original sources, that I started the *Paléographie musicale*. About ten or twelve years ago this work of reproduction suddenly made a great and rapid advance. But latterly in particular the library of Solesmes has been enriched, to an extent hitherto unknown, in copies or photographs of the whole or of the principal parts of the exemplars, which were admittedly indispensable for the work undertaken. The photographs are already reckoned by thousands.

This, then, is our second guarantee. We have not only the *personnel* working under mutual control, but also the materials, certainly not in such abundance as we should wish, but assuredly in such variety, from such important sources, and with such facilities for comparing them with one another, as are not to be found elsewhere to-day. Naturally such a collection as this is the outcome of an indescribable amount of investigation, and of every kind of sacrifice.

There is, indeed, no need to say that all this in itself is nothing, and that the abundance of materials, like the diversity of the *personnel*, would only make confusion worse confounded, if the work upon the former, like the activities of the latter, were not organized and regulated according to a well thought out and uniform plan, and according to a common method. How, then, are these advantages turned to account?

The critical study of neums and of notation derived from neums may be pursued in two ways.

The student may confine himself to examining a series of manuscripts on a given point one after the other, and thus *mentally* achieve a result which can be definitely accepted. But what is such a proceeding worth? What

guarantees does it offer beyond the conscientiousness and ability of the worker? How can such a sporadic examination yield a sound means of classification and comparison, without which it is impossible to arrive at a conclusion, and to give the grounds of one's decision with certainty and precision, when a choice has to be made between different readings? And even if a person of extraordinary abilities could do this, how, after all, could a single isolated individual answer every challenge with evidence at any moment? In a word, whence could be produced the critical apparatus of his edition?

Such a question only admits of one reply. A proceeding of this kind is, at bottom, merely domestic dilettantism, and even if learned and felicitous, it is not an open and above-board critical transaction, which admits of the evidence being verified and sifted, and of the setting forth of the grounds of the final decision.

The fact that we always in every case ruthlessly refuse, under any pretext whatsoever, to have recourse to such methods, is a further guarantee, besides the two already given, that we are strict with ourselves, opposed to mere approximations, eager for light for all and for precision.

This is what we have definitely set ourselves to do, that is to say, it is thus that we have regarded the problem, and believe that we have worked it out.

All our manuscripts had to be converted into a working instrument to reduce them in some sort to a common denominator, while retaining for each its individuality, its evidential value, and its own characteristic features. From the confused mass of our manuscripts we had to extract methodically the component chants one by one and passage by passage, and then to gather together every one of the versions in clear order, easy for reference, and capable of always immediately

supplying the quickest and best classified means of proof on a given point. The work of winnowing out in this fashion is easily understood. Our young monks took it up with enthusiasm. Each of them, as his share of the task, set about making a report on a whole library of manuscripts, drawn up on synoptical tables according to a uniform plan.

Each piece in our repertoire thus had its register or synoptical table, made by the alignment of each of its versions, like or unlike, one below the other, classified according to schools or sources, all arranged neum by neum, in parallel columns or rows, allowing the history of a neum to be traced either in its persistency or variations or corruptions. Thus each table provides at will either the entire history of a passage as a whole or the neumatic account of each of its component parts.*

No other procedure could leave upon the mind anything more than a vague, disordered, incoherent impression. It could give no permanent record, ever ready to be produced, of the grounds upon which the text was constructed.

The work, in spite of its apparent dryness and tiresomeness, succeeded in kindling those who gave themselves up to it, owing to the mathematical certainty of the results obtained.

Such is the general arrangement of our tables. Without giving in detail all the applications of this system, I will however note three to show our method of studying the Tracts of the second and eighth modes, and certain Graduals and Alleluias from the *Antiphonale Missarum*.

Suppose we have to lay down the musical text of an Alleluia of the Second mode, the one in the Mass for Christmas. We draw up a first table, giving nothing

* See Table I.

but what has been taken from the Romanian manuscripts of the school of St Gall. A second and much more extensive table in several sections, if required, embraces all the other manuscripts. But the melody of which we are speaking reappears in at least ten different places of the *Liber Gradualis*, over ten different texts.* It is generally known that these recurrences of the same melody, and adaptations of it to different texts, are not rare. So we treat the different passages which have a common setting in the same way as the various versions of the Christmas Alleluia have been dealt with in the first table. This time, for instance, each manuscript has its supplementary synoptical table, in which the Christmas version in the first two tables may be tested to see if it remains unaltered in this manuscript each time that it occurs, or whether it happens to be exceptional. In a word, the history of a melody is followed, not merely through the tradition of a country or an era, but through the way in which the same manuscript is sometimes found to handle a single melody in the several passages where it occurs. The interest of this supplementary inquiry is specially apparent in the Romanian manuscripts. The greater or less accuracy and consistency of the copyist is demonstrated at a glance. His carelessness and mistakes are found out, and consequently he is made to correct himself.

Sometimes, and not infrequently, very strange secrets of notation are perceived, especially those of certain equivalents, which, far from contradicting other evidence, tend on the contrary to substantiate it. Above all, the rules for setting different texts to the same melody are brought out, and we know now how often these rules have been misapprehended in the settings of our own days. Thus it is that the methods of the ancient Grego-

* See Table II.

rian composers become a living reality. Thus it is that the delicacy of their taste claims our admiration, as do the variety of the resources at their disposal and the suppleness with which they contract or expand the melody to make it becomingly clothe the text. Their art in these circumstances is inimitable, and the æsthetic rules by which they are guided escape detection, unless means like those furnished by our tables are at hand to supply a patient and searching analysis of their procedure. It is moreover probable that they themselves were not fully and intelligently conscious of those rules, which were the spontaneous product of their musical genius, and which can only be discovered and gauged to-day by patient, minute and searching erudition.

It is plain that however mathematically exact our tables may be in their rigorous application, however archæological they may be in the character of their materials, yet their definite result is an increasingly penetrating appreciation of true Gregorian æsthetics.

We shall have further to speak of another kind of table intended for the investigation and elucidation of the structure of the psalmody of the Introits, Responsory verses and short Responses themselves. Suffice it to say that our whole system consists of synoptical monographs, drawn up according as necessity arises, or as the interest and utility of studying certain details and singularities become evident.

Greater caution, I suppose, is hardly possible. Yet we are not at the end of our labours. We have the materials, a staff engaged in working upon them, and a regular plan for making every kind of statistical digest. So far, so good. That however, is only the material side of our endeavours. It is only after all the resources of our library, down to the most fragmentary extracts

taken from covers of books, have been exhausted, that the work of criticism begins.

I have just given a glimpse of the pleasant surprises in store in the way of fresh discoveries. But the work has serious as well as smiling aspects, and then this is what takes place.

Either tradition is unchanging, as happens generally with the most ancient portions of the Gradual, and then it only has to be acknowledged. This indeed so soon becomes self-evident that there is a given moment when reference to the synoptical table might be overlooked or dispensed with, so quickly does the eye recognize the unchangeableness of a reading, after running through a certain number of unvarying transcriptions. In such a case, criticism can achieve nothing but corroboration. The work of restoration goes on, so to say, automatically.

But cases occur which are far from being so simple. Variation succeeds variation. They increase as the inquiry extends, and at last it seems as if there were no thread to guide one through the labyrinth. But gradually the position grows clearer, the variations are classified, the evidence falls into groups, English, German, Aquitanian, French, Italian, belonging to schools, churches, and periods and so on. In short, at the end of the ever-lengthening table, there emerges with absolute certainty and perfect clearness the true Gregorian version, which may be termed the Catholic version.

Here the work of the critic is to weigh well the relative value of the elements at his disposal, and so to classify them as to permit the stream of tradition to make itself a deep river-bed, into which all tributaries shall flow, each in its own way. This work is extremely interesting and fertile in unexpected results, and is still giving rise to most suggestive discoveries.

Both of these sorts of cases clearly lead up to indis-

putable results. All would be well if there were no others. But there is a third category, which is generally that of the less ancient pieces. Here the variations sometimes occur in such numbers and in such conditions, that it is hard to tell which to accept. It then becomes extremely difficult to form an exact idea of the real tradition, especially when, in the last resort, one comes face to face with several entirely different melodies for the same text.

What is to be done in such a case? We begin by getting an overwhelming amount of information. This shows, by the way, how much, even with our tables, the work continues to be in a provisional stage in certain passages, how far it may be perfected by inquiry in as nearly exhaustive a manner as possible into all the available materials, and how imprudent and premature it would be to offer our editions as definitely final. In fifty years' time, perhaps, we may hope to obtain such a result, but not to-day.*

Thus we have recourse to fresh manuscripts, hoping that the accumulation of their additional testimony will enable us to secure a majority of decisive weight and solidity. Our correspondents, our friends, and the various relations we have with such highly important centres as Paris, London, Oxford, Milan, St Gall, Rome, etc., are laid under kindly contribution, and undertake to communicate to us the result of inquiries made on our behalf. As necessity arises, journeys are undertaken, two or three monks being sent out to explore, and going

* In this paragraph Dom Mocquereau is speaking of the "definitely final" musical text, which would satisfy the ideals of critical and exact scholarship. He would admit that the "passages" affected with uncertainty are not so extensive as to vitiate the general correctness of the musical text as a whole. From the same point of view, if the Church had decided to wait till she could satisfy the ideal of exact scholarship, she might not yet have authorized the text of the Vulgate.—TRANSLATOR.

from library to library to look for further light upon doubtful points.

When all this has been done, if no intrinsic considerations occur to determine a final decision between different melodies, if there happens to be a Roman version among those that leave us in doubt, we give it the preference. This is what we have done, more especially in the chants of the Pontifical.

But if we have no Roman version, then, weary of argument which must perforce come to an end, we choose the most beautiful melody, or, if the matter is quite indifferent, we follow the procedure used in the election of St Matthias.

What has been said of melodies taken in their entirety, also applies to certain irreducible variants. We hope, moreover, to publish by way of appendix or otherwise, *ad libitum*, various melodies and interesting versions, as to which we have no intention of making our rendering prevail.

To sum up, it is evident that caprice, personal prepossessions, and biassed selection never have anything to do with any of the circumstances of our preparatory and critical labours. Our work is primarily objective in its very essence, to the utmost extreme that we have been able to render it so, in making use of every sort of intelligence that it requires, in all its lucidity, solidity and publicity. In it the mere light of inner consciousness is never seen to supplant tradition; nor, indeed, would the constant vigilance with which we check one another permit it to do so. I cannot better conclude our *apologia* than by a further reminder of the latter guarantee.

IV

The School of Solesmes

II. The History of a Neum

I. ITS ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIVAL

TO make the explanation of our method complete, I must now try to render the practical working of our apparatus intelligible with a concrete example, and show how our synoptical tables automatically furnish answers to the questions submitted.

Let me invite the indulgent reader to work along with us in restoring a passage of Plain Chant, or, what comes to the same thing, to retrace as closely as possible the path which has led up to such a restoration.

Take the Alleluia of the Second Mode, without rhythmical pointing, from our new *Liber Gradualis: Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis* from the Mass for Christmas.



To keep the experiment from having too wide a range, let us assume that the whole of the Alleluia, except neums 9 and 10, has been ascertained. Let us confine our study to these two numbers.

Between neums 9 and 10 in our old *Liber Gradualis* a pause was introduced (see C, p. 39, also line 1 in Table I). We have been censured for suppressing the dividing bar marking this pause before the *Virga*. Why

did we do away with it? This is the question I propose to submit for our examination. Let us see.

And first, in order to have a better appreciation of the comparative value and certainty of the different methods applicable to the critical reconstruction of this musical group, imagine three states of mind or stages of information.

§ 1. DEFECTIVE METHODS

1. *Too Summary Criticism.* Take the case of a musical scholar who has only three or four manuscripts at his disposal. He may have come across others here and there. But as a matter of fact, in respect of the latter, he has only a very vague recollection of the passage in question, and, in any case, whatever confidence he or we may have in the accuracy of his recollections or in the sureness of his memory, the final solution can only be found in written documents. That is to say, its proof must be objective, not merely a matter of subjective preferences.

Suppose that the four manuscripts of our hypothetical scholar are divided thus:

Two give the group with a *Podatus*, a *Clivis*, and a *Virga*, which we will call *A*:



The other two show a *Podatus* and a *Porrectus*, say *B*:



For convenience we will call *A* the reading of the *Virga*, and *B* the reading of the *Porrectus*.

How is our scholar to proceed? He has to ask him-

self, not only if he ought to select the reading of the *Virga*, but further, how is he to interpret this reading in practice? As a matter of fact, it may be interpreted in two very different ways, i.e., either with or without a pause or rest between the *Virga* and the preceding group.

But is not such petty precision the merest trifling? Have it so if you will. But it is just as much a trifle whether the break is more or less accurately placed in reciting a line of Shakespeare. Is it, indeed, a matter of indifference whether we say:

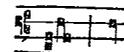
And if thou fail us—all our hope is gone,

or,

And if thou fail us all—our hope is gone?

Then, the point we are discussing is also a matter of indifference.

To return to our musical scholar. He proves that one of the two witnesses for the reading of the *Virga* comes from St Gall. The authority of the school of St Gall is decisive. He chooses the *Virga*. But this is not all. Practically he interprets this difference in the text as requiring an actual separation in the execution. Thus we no longer only have to do with the reading of the *Virga*, but we get a third reading,* *C*:



of a more or less subjective character, which we will call the reading of the *Virga with a pause*.

It must, I think, at least be granted that an interpretation made thus cannot be justified at the bar of criticism.

* This is the reading of the original uncorrected editions of the *Liber Gradualis*. (See line 1, neums 9 and 10, in Table I.)

2. *Confused and Shallow Criticism.* Take another musical scholar. He has before him twenty, thirty, fifty or perhaps a hundred manuscripts of all ages and origins. He opens one after another. While going through them one by one, and at the same time laboriously looking for the Christmas Alleluia and for the readings of the *Porrectus* and of the *Virga* in this Alleluia, which the manuscripts alternately present to his vision and immediately withdraw, he classifies in his memory the transitory impressions made by this stream of testimonies as well as he can. Probably his fiftieth manuscript is hardly closed when his powers of recollection give out and become less clear and less able to attribute to each testimony its due weight. When at last there is an end of this discursive laborious inquiry, of which nothing but a mental record remains, *Virga*, *Porrectus* and the rest are in a regular whirl in his brain:

He really something seems to see—
Yet hardly knows how this may be
That nought is very clear.

But hitherto we have only been speaking of a neum. Just think what a number of operations of this kind are required for the scientific restoration of a whole piece, if indeed an entire passage could ever be restored by such a method.

I do not wish to press the point. I only want to give a hint by the way as to the inexactitude and instability of such a system of investigating manuscripts. There is no need to remark how small a help it is to a thoughtful and well-considered study of a difficult and involved problem.

§ 2. OUR METHOD.

A. *Inventory.*

I AM in a hurry to reach my journey's end, the experimental use of our working instrument.

After reckoning up all our extracts and complete manuscripts, we have eighty-six available witnesses for the Christmas Alleluia.

But one important observation must be made at the outset. The melody of our Alleluia is found about ten times in each manuscript. It is a type much favoured by the ancients, and generally it has not suffered much from the corruptions of more degenerate days. The copyists of the good manuscripts, whenever they come across this melody, write it invariably in the same way. Thus it is with manuscript 359 of St Gall. Yet there are first-rate copyists, who are satisfied with writing out the melody the first time it occurs, but who afterwards only indicate it by giving the opening as a cue.

Other manuscripts, and good ones too, allow indeed in these parallel passages a few variations in the notation; but these variants are unimportant, being rather equivalents without any practical influence on the execution. But there are, of course, worthless and careless copyists. In proportion as they took more or less pains, the resultant variations in the Codex have an appreciable effect in practice. The execution will then probably vary according to the vagaries of their pens. In this case real melodic variations should be met with. But these cases are rare. One may say that, in general, the same manuscript exhibits either uniform or equipollent notations.

I make this remark for the following reason. Since our 86 manuscripts have on the average ten repetitions of the Alleluia, we really have to do with 860 testimonies,

or to put it in round numbers and excluding extracts, simple opening cues, and the bad manuscripts, roughly speaking between 700 and 800.

B. *Apparatus.*

WHAT then are we to do with these materials, and how are we to reduce them to a scientific and handy exponential apparatus? I have already explained this, but it is well to recapitulate briefly.

One of us gets the manuscripts with the Romanian signs, and copies once for all from left to right, on as many horizontal lines as there are manuscripts to be ransacked, the whole reading of the Christmas Alleluia, just as they give it. He takes care to write the neums widely apart and arranges the corresponding groups beneath one another in a perpendicular row. Thus he has a vivid presentation of them in order in separate rows, enabling him to follow from top to bottom the various possible vagaries of the neum, the history of which he is tracing. Generally, through a luxury of lucidity, which is not without its advantages, each one of these analytical and synoptical columns of neums has its number. There is no need to say more.

When the table of this first group of manuscripts has been drawn up the compilation of the second, intended to include all the rest, is begun on the same plan as the first. The same is done for the supplementary tables, drawn up for the ten repetitions occurring in each manuscript. (See Table II.)

As for the eighty-six witnesses of the two first tables, I can only furnish a kind of sample of them, though it may suffice for the subject of our present study (see Table I).

C. *Classification of Testimonies.*

OUR eighty-six witnesses are seen at a glance to be grouped into two great classes. The first is that of the neums written *in campo aperto*: the second is that of the manuscripts provided with a musical staff.

Thanks to the tables, we have our eighty-six witnesses constantly in full view before us: we can try, so to speak, instantly and without hesitation to make every kind of classification, experimenting tentatively in all the ways which may be suggested by a carefully comparative observation, made so easy by our tables, but otherwise unattainable. This is what we now have to do. We must not forget that the exact point we want to clear up is this:

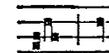
Must the reading of the *Virga, A.*



be considered practically equivalent to the reading of the *Porrectus, B.*



or must it be treated as so far distinctive as to admit of a *caesura* between the part of the group that precedes the *Virga*, and the *Virga* itself? *C.*



Universal Suffrage

TO come to the point at once. If the mere bulk of the testimonies and written material is to decide the question it would be settled without further circumlocution. Out

of eighty-six witnesses sixty-seven are in favour of the *Porrectus*, eight only for the *Virga*, eight for an eccentric reading which we will call *D.*, and three in fact say nothing, for the very good reason that they do not contain the group in question in any shape.

But this verdict of universal suffrage is only founded on the mere written material of the testimonies. There still remains the actual significance of the eight testimonies in favour of the *Virga*. They are a consentient minority, it is true, but this minority, on account of its worth, is not less weighty. It might even form a very serious counterpoise to the majority of sixty-seven if it really contradicted them, which it does not, as we shall see.

We shall soon have the matter cleared up. But first let us make a careful reckoning, or rather proceed to test the value of all these representatives of tradition.

Criticism of the Evidence

I. The Three Groups of Manuscripts without a Staff

FIRST we have forty-three witnesses among the manuscripts without any staff. These must naturally receive most attention. Twenty of them belong to German tradition, i.e., to the tradition of St Gall, seventeen comprise the English, French and Norman, and also belong to the *accent-notation*. As for the third and last group of this first class, it is the Metz and Aquitanian notation of accents and points. There are six witnesses in this group.

Now see what these three groups * respectively have to say about the reading of the *Virga* and that of the *Porrectus*.

* I reduce this class of manuscripts to three groups for the sake of simplicity. In our actual studies the divisions are more elaborate, and take minute account of the period, origin, school and, in fine, of all the elements which go to make up a rigorously scientific classification.

Firstly, the deposition of the last two groups.

Let us clear the ground by eliminating at once the six representatives of the third group, that of Aquitania, Metz, etc. Four of them (A) give the *Porrectus*, only one (B) the *Virga*, one (C) is for the eccentric reading *D.*

Let us first eliminate the seventeen representatives of the second group, the French, Norman and English. Fourteen of them (D) are for the *Porrectus*, only one (E) for the *Virga*, and two (F) for the reading *D.*

Secondly, deposition of the group of St Gall.

Now we come to the German group, the twenty manuscripts of St Gall. Here is the decisive point. Well, fifteen (H and I) are for the *Porrectus*, and only five (G and K) for the *Virga*. And what is still more significant, the four witnesses of the monastery of St Gall itself are divided into two equal parts, two (G) for the *Virga* on the one side, and two (H) for the *Porrectus* on the other. But I am wrong in saying "on the one side" and "on the other." For here there are not two sides in opposition to each other. What, indeed, can be clearer than the answer of the German manuscripts, and in particular of the manuscripts of St Gall, supported as it is in addition by the suffrages of the other manuscripts? What can be plainer or more significant? St Gall becomes its own interpreter, and since the *Porrectus* and the *Virga* are used indiscriminately, the plain reason is that the two readings are equivalents and not mutually contradictory. Above all, there is not such an extreme contradiction as the *distinctio seu pausa minor*.* Here tradition protests with an almost unanimous voice. Such a pause or breathing would upset the arrangement and

* *Liber Gradualis*, 1st Edition, Preface, pp. vii, viii. *Distinctio seu pausa minor, ad hoc signum* (see example C above), *dat etiam cantanti respirandi copiam.*

æsthetic meaning of the group, so religiously preserved throughout the ages. Moreover, the composer's intention is so obviously cherished by him, it is so repeated and so discreetly enshrined in the body of the versicle, that once recognized, it cannot afterwards be mistaken or evaded.

Thus the insertion of a pause before the *Virga* is condemned practically with one voice by the manuscripts without a staff.

II. *The Manuscripts with a Staff* *Their General Testimony*

HERE my demonstration might end. But in the forty-three manuscripts of our second class I find a corroboration of such significance, that considering its character, I cannot help putting it in relief. For the rest, I shall confine myself to a summary of the general verdict of the forty-three post-Guidonian manuscripts of every source, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

Here the proportion in favour of the *Porrectus* is overwhelming: thirty-four (L) to one (M). I put on one side the five (N) in favour of *D*, and three (O) which say nothing, either omitting the group altogether, or presenting it in such a way as to be unrecognizable.

Significant Testimony of the Carthusian and Dominican Manuscripts (P and Q)

AMONG the thirty-four *Porrectus* are two extraordinary convincing cases, to which I have just alluded. We know how freely the Dominican and Carthusian books made use of dividing bars and pauses: we know how disastrously at times these bars dislocate the neums which should remain united. This would have been an opportunity, if ever there was one, for putting one of the

bars before the *Virga*, or for dislocating the *Porrectus*, if any tradition could have authorized them in doing so. Yet the *Porrectus* is found in both cases intact—a clear proof that there was no such tradition.

Thus the manuscripts with a staff agree with those without a staff in excluding a pause before the *Virga*.

The books of Rheims-Cambrai (R) give the same version as the original edition of the *Liber Gradualis* of Solesmes.

D. *Conclusion*

HERE we conclude the work we have been doing together. The version in our last edition is justified by the identical verdicts given by all the best readings, both those of the *Porrectus* and those of the *Virga*. But it will be noted that we retain the reading of the *Virga*, in spite of its being in the minority, because the authority of the old manuscripts of St Gall deserved the respect we have shown for an archaism, which has even persisted here and there, as we have seen, in several manuscripts from other sources, and which is as unmistakably against the pause before the *Virga* as the reading of the *Porrectus*.

II. THE ÆSTHETIC RESTORATION ITS NECESSITY

ONE word more. It must not be supposed that the whole question of the restoration of Plainsong is confined to minutiae of this kind. When each of the elements of a Gregorian melody has once been archæologically ascertained neum by neum, one is far from being able to congratulate oneself that this, and this alone, guarantees the recovery of the melody itself. It might as truthfully be said of a work of architecture, that it was purely a

matter of the mathematical proportions of geometry. But here we enter into another order of ideas.

Elements thus restored one by one, without going any further, do not construct a chant, as a whole, and in its parts, of such harmonious proportions as are indispensable to a work of art. A book printed without any intervals but the divisions separating word from word, that is to say, without paragraphs, without punctuation, without signs of the beginning and end of sentences and clauses, might be a masterpiece so far as the type was concerned; but it would be far from a triumph of clearness. A scholar would have to revise it to make it intelligible. The musical text of Plainsong is subject to similar conditions. The component parts have to be grouped into different divisions according to their affinities, and the different divisions in their turn must be in such relation and proportion to one another that their product is a perfectly consecutive, connected and animated period of melody.

The musical scholar's studies must now be directed to the discovery of these various parts, relations and proportions, and of their respective convergence into a musical organic whole.

The Written Characters; Texts, Signs and Groups.—In syllabic or quasi-syllabic chants the punctuation of the liturgical text for recitation rather easily solves the problem. The melismatic chants also afford passages where the liturgical text is equally decisive and gives a clear rule. But what is to be made of the purely vocal arabesques which are developed in embellishing the text?

Doubtless archæology does not altogether leave us in the lurch in facing our new task. It gives us the precious assistance of the Romanian signs, which give us certain details with an extraordinary nicety, and some-

times even help us to recognize certain melodic phrases. And sometimes the very character of the notation alone, as we have just seen, is a help to punctuation.

The part played by personal observation, whether æsthetic or practical.—Yet henceforward the clearing up of problems of grouping and arrangement is mainly the work of æsthetic criticism.

It is quite a study in itself to make divisions and phrases, to find out their proportions, their balance in relation to one another, their resemblances and contrasts, and even certain musical rhymes; cadences sometimes ending on the last note of the mode, sometimes on specially favourite notes; the general scheme of the melody, the characteristic movement and contents of the whole so as to become thoroughly impregnated with them oneself in the first place, and then to make the practical pointing of the piece clear by means of written signs and a whole hierarchy of distinctive dividing bars.

The toilsome, dry, and sometimes petty work of the archæologist in drawing up his statistical tables is at an end. Now begin the compensating pleasures of the artist who has to show delicacy of taste and finished experience in his individual treatment of the matter.* Here, without forgetting æsthetic analysis and observation, the daily use of the sacred Chant in the Divine Office becomes an additional, and, in a sense, an indispensable adjunct. This is not at all a question to be settled in the study. A regular Gregorian temperament has to be acquired, and, verily, it is to be expected that those will be specially trained for the work whose whole life is consecrated to the religious execution of this sacred Chant.

Here we can almost verify the saying of the tenth

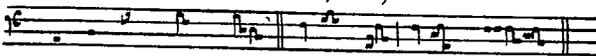
* For the development of these considerations, see *L'art Grégorien* (Solesmes, 1896, in 8vo).

century, that it took ten years to train a chorister. It is true that, in the absence of the Guidonian lines the study of the repertoire was complicated by the necessity of learning its contents by heart, *ex auditu*. But even today it is really only after having chanted the melodies so often as to have learnt them by heart, so as to be able to compare readily the *loca parallela* of the various melodies, that one can recover the secret of the life and soul of Plainsong.

Limits of the Rights of Æsthetics.—And now that æsthetics intervenes as an interpreter in the restoration of Gregorian melody, it must not be allowed to intervene on other grounds, especially on the ground of claiming to modify and improve tradition. But this intervention raises the whole question of the rights of æsthetics. Nor has the question only one aspect. It deserves to be treated apart and from a wider point of view.

Table I

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.



Alleluia.

Liber Gradualis.
Solemnis. 1895.

| | Version B. | Version A. | Version D. | Version E. | | | |
|-------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---|--|------------------------|
| A | 4 | | | | Drit. Mus. Eg. 857. fol 5' | | ϕ. Hic est discipulus. |
| B | 1 | | | | Laon. ms 239
X th cent | | ϕ. Dies sanctificatus. |
| C | | 1 | | | Paris Bibl. Nat. lat 1132. fol. 11'
X th c. | | ϕ. " " |
| D | | | 14 | | Montpellier Ecole de Med H. 159.
X th c. p. 100. | | ϕ. " " |
| E | | 1 | | | Cambrai 75 fol 40'
X th c. | | ϕ. Vidimus. |
| F | | | | 2 | Chartres. 130 (148) fol. 50.
X th X th c | | ϕ. Dies sanctificatus. |
| G | | | | 2 | Saint Gall. 359. p. 42
IX th X th c. | | ϕ. Hic est discipulus. |
| H | | 2 | | | Saint Gall. 376 p. 103.
X th c. | | ϕ. " " |
| I | | | 13 | | Bamberg. A. II. 54 fol. 8
A D. 1002. 1024. | | ϕ. " " |
| K | | | | 3 | Modene. Est. XII. c. 6. fol 4'
X th XII th c. | | ϕ. Video caelos. |
| L | | | | 34 | Paris. B.N. lat. 10508. fol 47'
XII th c. | | ϕ. Dies sanctificatus. |
| M | | | | 1 | Bruxelles. Bib roy Féris 1172.
XIII th c. fol. 13 | | ϕ. Iustus non conturb. |
| N | | | | 5 | Marseille Abb. S Madelene.
XII th c. fol. 3' | | ϕ. Dies sanctificatus. |
| O | | | | 3 | Paris. Ars. lat 112. 157. fol. 75
XVII th c | | ϕ. Hic est sacerdos. |
| P | | | | | Grad. Cartusianum fol 27.
Cod. Rosenthal (München) XII th c | | ϕ. Dies sanctificatus. |
| Q | | | | | Grad. S. O. Praedicatorum. p. 33
Tournai 1890 | | ϕ. " " |
| R | | | | | Grad. Romanum Paris. Lecoffie
1860 p 34 | | ϕ. " " |
| 86=67 | 8 | 8 | 3 | | Liber Gradualis. Editio Solemnis
Tornaci 1904. | | ϕ. " " |

Acquitanian, Metz, etc., mss.

French, Norman and English mss.

St. Gall and German mss.

Mss with staff.

Table II

Aleluia 2^d Mode.

Santum Gradual.

(Plain-song & Mediaeval Music Society 1894)

Museum p. 17
Ed. 12.194.

V

The School of Solesmes

III. Evolution in Taste and Tradition

I. THE ÆSTHETIC EVOLUTION

SOMETIMES the new Solesmes editions are attacked on the ground of archæology, on the pretext that our first editions said what is believed to be the last word of the manuscripts, and hence all that modifies the first editions is only evidence of our faithlessness to tradition.

Sometimes we are censured for our attachment to tradition on the ground that good taste—it is hard to say whose—shows that we carry things to extremes. We are charged with disregarding the law of evolution, which in the course of the ages has justified, as it still justifies, ameliorations, modifications, or, to put things plainly, downright changes.

So we get blamed from both sides at once; on the one hand, for refusing to make changes, and on the other, for having made them. Yet it is impossible for us to be at the same time *sub schino* and *sub primo* (Dan. xiii, 54, 58).

If, however, archæology is required, then we are ready with an archæological justification for all our changes. *Archæologi sunt? ut minus sapiens dico: plus ego.* From this point of view the question has been thrashed out perhaps almost too thoroughly, and now the claims of æstheticism will be heard more imperiously than ever. Let us consider this.

I. THEORY

Art and the Work of Art

WHAT does æstheticism demand, and with what kind of æstheticism have we to do? What rights must be granted thereto? Whereon do these rights rest? Æsthetic rights cannot dispense with reason and authority. On what principles do they intervene? I hear, indeed, much talk of "evolution," along with oral and living tradition, without prejudice to the legitimate requirements of time and place. It may be all very fine, but after all it is rather vague, and what does it exactly mean? Would not a few preliminary definitions and distinctions be opportune?

Wherein can the Gregorian melodies be subject to the law of evolution? How and in what shape, and to what extent, could they manifest evolution? Lastly, how could their identity be reconciled with and how could it persist after their evolution?

There is, I greatly fear, an ambiguity in applying so grand a word to such a simple, concrete and definite thing as a Gregorian melody. People pass unconsciously from one order of ideas to another, that is to say, from the Art of Music, or one of its forms, to a product of this Art or form of art.

They apparently forget that though art unquestionably develops, yet the work of art does not do so. Gregorian art itself develops; who thinks of disputing it? Yet such and such Responses, Graduals, Offertories or Antiphons do not develop.

Clearly the products of Plainsong of the eleventh or twelfth centuries are neither like those that went before them, nor like those that came after them down to the days of Lebœuf, Dumont, La Feuillée, going through the

more or less Gregorian forms of the scholastic middle age. But, once more, these works do not develop in so far as they are finished products. In the thought of the composer there may have been, broadly speaking, a succession of efforts, trials and sketches, from the first stroke to the finished work—well and good. But this is not, properly speaking, development. The works themselves, at all events, are and remain what they are as long as they exist.

On the other hand it is very evident that these works, at the different epochs in which they were produced, may represent as many different manifestations of musical art. Is it not the very permanence of these manifestations, henceforth fixed in their characteristic identity, which allows us to vouch for evolution in the art of music? The work marks out at a given moment the stage reached by this evolution: further evolution does not affect the work that preceded it, but will be manifested in some subsequent product.

So, then, the same Gregorian Gradual is not insensibly transformed by small degrees to become Josquinian, Palestrinian and the rest, including forms of Wagnerian polyphony, and those which are to be hereafter. This Gradual, if it is primitive, will remain, and ought to remain, such as it is throughout all the development of Gregorian art, just as a book of Virgil and a speech of Cicero keep their original identity unbroken throughout the vicissitudes of Latin literature and language.

This granted, what follows? Must we accept all musical forms which, once sprung from Gregorian art, have remained in the Church? If so, how can such an admission authorize the claims of æstheticism of any kind to intervene in the question? Is it desired to renew the Medicean experiment? Was this experiment, after all, such a success?

Or, indeed, will it be said that now, keeping strictly to plainsong, we must give a place in our repertoire to everything that liturgical exigencies have introduced therein at various periods, and in each of the styles characteristic of these periods respectively?

Here, perhaps, we should agree in principle. This system, at any rate, could be argued about and upheld. It could be examined. But then, I fear, we should be the first to protest in practice in the name of good taste against the plainsong of Dumont and other diatonic highnesses of modern times. Furthermore, how could the hypothetical granting to novelties of the right to be treated according to the fashion of their time and the style of their period, authorize Lebœuf and Nivers, for instance, to overlay our ancient chants with their *improvements*? Is our old Antiphonary, then, so much in need of the "periélèse" * and other Gregorian (?) discoveries of the time of Louis XIV?

There is hardly any need to labour the point. Thus put, the question appears scarcely arguable, and one may be rather surprised at having to stop to consider it.

Musical Raw Material and its Production of Fixed Forms

Now here is a point of view from which the same question no longer appears nearly so simple. Let the repertoire of official chants be divided into two parts: one historical, comprising compositions of known authorship and date; the other prehistoric, not only anonymous, but quite impersonal in construction. The melodies of the latter period are like nebulæ, only succeeding slowly and

* "Periélèses," or *circumvolutions*, were extra notes, frequently interpolated to mark the ending of Intonations, etc.

by degrees, and through the ages, in becoming solidified within certain clear, exact and definite outlines. From this point of view the Gregorian melodies would no longer be products which do not develop, but a form of art, trying to find through evolution its most adequate expression.

So, then, we must not consider ourselves henceforth face to face with a definite concrete work, but rather with a certain melodic raw material which has no exact individuality, but is essentially changeable and indeterminate. Such, at least, is the notion I have of the thesis, so far as one can delineate the vague propositions which are put forth in regard thereto.

Now just picture to yourselves what the Gregorian melodies are, their spontaneity of style and rich simplicity. I cannot understand, I confess, with what melodic experimentation they began, what changes may have been wrought in them with the lapse of time, so as to turn out one fine day, through the mere action of the latent, impersonal and continuous forces of evolution, such homogeneous masterpieces as the Antiphon *Hodie Christus natus est*, the Responsory *Ecce quomodo moritur justus*, the Easter Gradual and Alleluia, the Offertory and Versicles of Job, the Communion *Videns Dominus flentes sorores Lazari*, the Introit *Suscepimus*, and many others, not omitting the pieces which are not masterpieces, and, nevertheless, have a native individuality such as no movement of an alluvial character could ever produce. It would be like saying that, if, *per impossibile*, the name of Beethoven were to disappear, the *Pastoral Symphony* was the work of musical evolution, whereof the first germ had no historic origin, the present form being the only term known to us to-day.

2. FACT

LET it be granted, however, that the Gregorian repertoire is not an assemblage of works fixed at the outset once for all in their individual identity, but a collection of products or forms, only obtained by tentative experimentation, by successive refinements and evolutions. Does this hypothesis in any way strengthen the æsthetic argument? Not in the very least. Look at the facts.

Take the Gregorian melodies as they are found in the earliest documents. This carries us back to the tenth century, or, at the outside, say to the ninth. Suppose that there was before this date as much evolution as is demanded (though one would like to see some written proof of it), but note what was happening at the time when the pertinent witnesses, the manuscripts, begin their testimony.

Well, from this moment, the form is fixed against change, *ne varietur*, and henceforth throughout the ages there is nothing but a long string of extraordinarily concordant evidence, witnessing from beginning to end in favour of identity of form. Nothing is so crushing and conclusive as this fact. From the very moment that proof becomes possible, the claims of evolution disappear, if ever they existed at an earlier period. When once the form has historically acquired—always hypothetically speaking—its personality, it follows the law of the work of art, and never shows any sign of evolution.

In saying this I pass over two or three time-honoured facts, of secondary importance for that matter, which are facts of development having nothing more to do with the text of the chants than facts of development in the pronunciation of Latin have to do with the text of an ode of Horace. Once more I leave the field free for all further

discoveries, whereby it may be thought possible to make out a modal or other evolution of the Gregorian melodies, either by the help of Greek, Ambrosian, or even Roman comparisons, or in a few rare neumatic modifications or peculiarities which are more or less constant and universal, and of known significance. If an appeal is to be made to pre-historic archæology only, let it be frankly acknowledged; but then we must give up all idea of restoring fully, I will not say the body of Gregorian melodies, but even any single melody. This would certainly be pushing archæology to extreme lengths.

Here I have not in view the ideal Antiphonary of St Gregory the Great; but rather the most ancient of actual and effective Antiphonaries that can be found in the manuscripts. That is where I lay my hand upon tradition, because there alone it can be found.

But everyone can see that from this time the old Gregorian melodies, properly so called, are unalterable. Musical art and Gregorian art, of which they are the oldest known manifestation, will continue to develop. But they, whether they are the works of art or forms, whether their authorship is known or anonymous, are henceforth in possession of an identity, which neither time nor place nor ideas can touch: they do not develop. This is all that had to be proved.

II. DIFFERENT VIEWS OF THE SUBJECT

ÆSTHETIC pretensions, put forward to justify certain changes in tradition, cannot then make use of the principle of evolution. Can they be put forward on other grounds? Certainly there are many aspects from which one can view, or attempt either to justify or censure definite and conscious departures from tradition. Without enumerating all, here are a few of them:

Pure Archæology

THERE is, first, the purely archæological point of view. I have no more to say about this. Archæology is absolutely, and without ambiguity, against these departures.

Subjective Æstheticism

THERE is the purely æsthetic point of view. Independent and abstract, or purely subjective, æstheticism affirms their lawfulness with no less absoluteness. It is, for instance, in the name of this free æstheticism that the humanists corrected the hymns of the Roman Breviary regardless of their failure to recognize the special kind of rhythm which belongs to such hymns. It was in the name of this free æstheticism that the Renaissance everywhere, when it was possible, sacrificed the rude Gothic to its humour for pagan art, and went so far as to enrich the Pantheon with turrets, though happily all trace of them has vanished except the proverbial "donkey's ears" of Bernin. After such proceedings it would beseem the æsthetic sense to be modest and not to hasten rashly to subject forms of worship indiscriminately to the rate and fluctuations of the artistic Exchange. It may also be appropriately observed that, in the name of this æstheticism, which is as unstable and changeable as fashion and temperament, the pure and simple suppression of Plainchant might be quickly brought about; and already I hear some musicians ready to cry out at such a possibility: "Yes, and small loss after all!"

Traditional Æsthetics

QUITE opposed to this point of view, but without leaving æsthetics, there is that which springs from the real respect, shown, and rightly shown, by true artists in the matter of art for the work of a master, whether known or

unknown. Such a work is taken as it is found, with all its excellencies and defects. Even if it has to be restored, the work is undertaken exactly on the lines of the original, and not with a view to making improvements or corrections, except where the unknown has to be treated. And even here, the arms of the Venus of Melos have not brought such experiments into favour, and the vehement protests aroused by the restorer of St Sernin of Toulouse are well-known. What is demanded by the archæologist's respect for exactitude is here insisted upon by the artist with no less jealousy out of regard for a manifestation of art, which loses its peculiar æsthetic value, unless its integrity is scrupulously preserved from being tampered with by the exigencies of subsequent æstheticism, which may be transitory or incongruous. On the pretext that the *Agesilaus* and *Attila* are not masterpieces, no one will ever take it into his head to correct them so as to make them worthier of the *Cid*. It will never occur to a true painter, if he has to do, for instance, with the restoration of a Cimabue, to correct or modify the original. So it is with the frescoes of the catacombs and the Byzantine mosaics. The archæologist and the artist are agreed that the restoration should be carried through on the original lines, if possible, and without any change.

Practice

IN an entirely different sphere there is the practical point of view. I merely note it by way of memorandum. There is no need to express any solicitude on this head since the *Motu Proprio*. Let us hope that we have for ever done with the mutilations that Plainsong has had to undergo since the sixteenth century, on the pretext of making it easier for singing everywhere and by everybody.

The Church

FURTHER, more important than all these points of view is that of the Church. What the archæologist demands in the interest of history, what the artist requires for the sake of art, the Church insists upon no less imperatively, in her turn, for the higher good of worship. It is not that she seeks immobility for its own sake, as if a canon of Byzantine art was at stake. But it is, after all, a fact that she clings to her traditions, especially in the matter of her Psalms, so closely bound up with that of the chants. Why is not advantage taken of the progress in Hebrew studies to amend the text where the Vulgate has not the sense of the original? Why has the Vulgate occupied the liturgical field since the days of St Jerome in spite of the translation from the Hebrew, where-with the hermit of Bethlehem enriched his contemporaries? Why does the Church hold so tenaciously to the Vulgate? Furthermore, why have the scriptural portions of the Antiphony and Gradual been retained in the text that is older than Jerome, and why is it desired in the very interests of the Chant itself, that future editions should revert to this text, wherever Breviary and Missal have strayed away from it? Is there, then, in this case a principle held in higher esteem than that of emendation? Or does the Church, in the last resort, find fewer disadvantages in conservative retention, even to the point of routine, than in risking the opening of the door to endless innovations? It is, indeed, plain that the Church is and must be essentially conservative, and that she dismisses all idea of change *a priori*, more especially in those institutions which touch faith and prayer. Changes in customary forms of prayer always give a certain amount of offence. Of course the will of the Pope, who is above the Canons, determines the occa-

sions in which the law of conservation shall no longer be applied absolutely. Doubtless such changes have nothing arbitrary about them, and are only imposed when modifications are imperiously demanded by common sense and history. And in those questions which depend only on tradition, to allow fancy, even when it claims to be æsthetic taste, the licence and right to undermine established tradition, is thoroughly in accord with the modern spirit, but the Church will always keep at arm's length a proceeding so inimical to unity.

Facts

LASTLY, there is the point of view of facts, and this is where *living tradition* is invoked. Here again, I fear, is a word which conceals an ambiguity. This is but one more reason for trying to discover what may lurk beneath it.

III. VARIANTS AND LIVING TRADITION

WHAT, as a matter of fact, is meant by this living tradition? If it is not evolution, what is it? Is there really, somewhere or other, a stream of continuous accretions and incessant modifications running side by side with the current of conservative and established tradition? If so, where are we to find this *progressive* current?

Oral Tradition

THERE can be no question of opposing oral to written tradition. Who ever heard of esoteric schools, or of any organizations for the unbroken transmission of a tradition which have been able to maintain it pure? In the face of documentary tradition like that of the manuscripts, what is the good of the so-called oral tradition, which has no evidence in its favour other than that of individual fancy?

Liturgical institutions have nothing in common with folklore. So that in the last resort we are always brought back to the manuscripts. Then what is the evidence of the manuscripts? What tradition do they embody?

Liturgical Accretions

THERE is talk of accretions. Have they a tradition? No doubt they have. It is the tradition of liturgical additions. The melodies assigned to these accretions manifest by their very style, as has been said already, the degree of development reached by the Gregorian art which produced them. Furthermore, here we have to do, not with a tradition, but with a multiplicity of traditions, so many are the melodies which are found adapted to the same additional text. How, then, are they to be reconciled with one another? Or, if there is only one, then up to what point is it allowable to accept new compositions inspired by an art in its decadence? Gregorian art is still living, it is true, and in this sense tradition is always alive, but with a dying life, with an activity that gets lost in all the deviations:

Clearly, so far as liturgical accretions are concerned, living tradition has about the same value as evolution.

Does æstheticism require us to carry respect for living tradition to such a point as to keep in our repertoire such musical monstrosities as could be easily replaced to-day by melodies taken from the better periods, or inspired with the purest Gregorian genius?

Let us, then, put on one side this tradition of accretions, and confine ourselves henceforward to the tradition which has handed down the old melodies.

Life in the Conservative Tradition

WHEREIN does the life of this tradition consist. Is it in its calm permanence and in its age-long faithfulness in the constant preservation of its identity? Why not? Is it not really life, and life of the most intense kind, since it is almost immortal, to last on from cycle to cycle, imparting year after year to the text of the liturgy the same mysterious accent, wherein from century to century successive generations find and revive the spirit of prayer, which we ourselves recapture again and again every year, always fresh and undiminished and ever-living? Yes, verily, a tradition like this may well be said to be alive.

Life in Decadence

BUT no. So far as the pretensions put forward by progressive æstheticism are concerned, it is not a question of permanence, but of modifications. According to this argument, it is the transmission of modifications that forms the true, the living tradition. The other is only stupid, lifeless routine. The modifications have a monopoly of vitality. Are they not in themselves a proof of life?

In reality this simply comes back to the evolutionary position which we have just abandoned. It would be enough to reply once more that whatever the modifications may be, they have no more right to override the traditional musical text of the Gregorian melodies than the text of Cicero. Cicero does not show development. Scholars work to reconstruct his writings in their purest native originality, mercilessly rejecting any modifications which claim to perfect or improve the author's text. So should it be with the Gregorian melodies. Or ought we, indeed, to be less jealous of preserving the individuality

of the sacred chants from violation than the masterpieces of pagan art?

As Dom Pothier has put it excellently well: "It is acknowledged that this Plainchant, by its origin as much as by its character, belongs to ancient art, and consequently that it is the fruit of a civilization complete in itself, though differing from ours. We enjoy the literary products of this civilization as they have come down to us, and why should we not likewise enjoy its music as it is? We repeat the text, as it has been handed down to us from of old, without any alteration; and why should we not repeat the melodies which accompanied that text with the same fidelity? These melodies are masterpieces, and that which has the stamp of genius cannot be touched with impunity. Indeed, as a matter of fact, through not having taken care in our own times to respect a music which was formerly executed with so much love and care, have we not brought it to a pretty pass?*"

This last sentence brings us back to solid fact. The privilege, which it is desired to ascribe to the modifications of the past, present, and future, really raises the whole question of the variants. It is in virtue of the existence of these variants that æstheticism would make good its rights against the best and oldest manuscripts. Let us have done once for all with this system. Let us not be satisfied with words and abstract theories. Let us simply face the facts.

Origin and Nature of the Variants

VARIANTS indeed exist, and some of them even come to acquire the force of tradition. The whole question is, what value do these variants possess either from their origin or nature; and what is the importance and weight of the tradition they set up?

* Dom Pothier: *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes*, p. 6.

Now it may be said without hesitation that we are here entering all along the line upon the region of decadence, and we should be sanctioning its principles, we should be giving a fresh status and home to the various causes of the degeneration of the true tradition, if we were to assign to the step-mother, the mother of the dead child, the rights which belong only to the true mother, the mother of the living one.

Let us go back to the beginning of the variants. It is, after all, easy to trace the hand which introduced them in the first instance. It is sometimes an ignorant or careless copyist, sometimes an artist; but the artist intervenes either almost unconsciously influenced by some haunting strain, or else consciously, of set purpose, and this perhaps in virtue of a fixed theory, or perhaps because he does not grasp the sense of the text which he is modifying. Let us briefly examine the different classes of variants, or rather deviations, in which these various kinds of incursion, whether taken singly or in combination, finally result, whether intentionally or not.

How easily a slip of the pen, a blunder, a copyist's mistake is perpetrated is well known, as is also unhappily how distracting it continues, spreads and gathers force. What rights can be ascribed to a modification with such an origin? Assuredly none whatever. And what is the good of a tradition formed in such circumstances? No use at all. Error, even an error of penmanship, has no more rights than any other kind of error.

The Vitality of Custom

HAS, then, custom any greater rights? St Augustine shall answer for us. "Such is the force of habit," he says in his treatise, *De Musica*, "that when once inveterate, it becomes, if the daughter of error, the most mortal enemy of truth" (Book V, ch. v, 10).

Is there any need of recalling what a *vis inertia* in our time the attempts at the restoration of the Gregorian Chant have had to encounter at every step through a number of various customs, which naturally always excused themselves under colour either of the requirements of taste or else of fidelity to tradition: and what struggles have had to be gone through to make good against these customs an equal number of notions, which were not new, but forgotten, lost and obscured, and requiring to be brought again to light?

The whole history of the restoration of Plainsong has been merely a long struggle, or rather a long series of reactions against the inveterate routine and custom of centuries, wherein the deviations took their rise: a struggle, as to tonality against the systematic alteration of the subtonic used in our modern scales: a struggle in notation, to establish the indifference of the shape of the note, whether *virga*, square or diamond, as to signifying strength or length, a neutrality demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt by Dom Pothier: a struggle, as to accentuation, which still has to be carried on without flagging, even after the irrefragable proofs of scholars and Dom Pothier, in order to show that its true character leans rather to shortness than length: a struggle, in the adaptation of the chant to the liturgical text, to combat the prejudice which transferred to the accented syllable all the notes supposed to be an intolerable burden when found on short penultimates (and the Rheims-Cambrai edition had not got beyond this stage): a struggle, in the matter of execution, to get rid of hammering and jerkiness, and—its correlative—a heavy note-for-note harmonization in the accompaniment: a struggle, on the question of the integrity of the melodies, in affirming the duty and necessity of returning to the ancient tradition

as against the systematic abbreviations of the shortened editions: and this is not all.

These customs were as perennial as weeds, and the tradition, upon which they based their pretensions, was only too living and inveterate. Whence, in fact, did these traditions spring? This is what those who followed them blindly did not try to fathom, but now we know their origin.

Causes of Decadence

THE history of all these deviations has been put on record, showing how they originated the false notions, whence bad customs arose.

There has also been put on record the history of the constant decadence of Plainsong from the thirteenth century under the influences of discant, polyphony and the prejudices of the humanists.

It is now known that the principal cause of the decadence of Plainsong has been the free and easy way in which it has been allowed, sometimes to be treated as an experimental field freely open to all attempts of mensuralists and harmonists, sometimes to have its melodies disfigured on the pretence of improving or reforming them. One fine morning such and such a fashion of conceiving things crystallizes in the mind of a St Bernard, and forthwith this conception gets embodied in a series of chirographic emendations, and these in turn, from the twelfth century onwards, hollow out for a whole congregation a channel of tradition, and would that they had been kept within these limits!

Here again we must quote the eminent author of the *Mélodies Grégoriennes*, Dom Pothier: "The manuscripts at the end of the fifteenth century," he says (p. 11), "as, indeed, already those of the fourteenth, though they were

sometimes the work of very clever calligraphists and consummate miniaturists, often leave much to be desired so far as the integrity of the chant is concerned, especially where the exact reproduction of note-groups is in question. The negligence of the copyists in this matter was, it must be confessed, remarkably encouraged by that of the singers. Hence arose a confusion, which could only be got rid of by going back to the original sources, and by revising the chants according to the ancient manuscripts, an archæological undertaking, which could not possibly enter the mind of anyone in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hence we must recognize that, during this period, Gregorian traditions had everywhere fallen more or less into oblivion."

Now this shows the worth of the so-called traditional modifications. Is it then necessary in the work of restoration to ascribe to these traditions, on the ground that they once had life, and even a tough life, the right of setting up the very pretensions, which have rendered restoration indispensable, through hastening on the decadence of Plainsong? Is not this to accord to the destructive element an asylum in the very heart of the place that has to be reconstructed?

CONCLUSION

The Need of Keeping to the Old Manuscripts

LET us be frank: when an archæological testimony is certain, when its tradition is seen to flow in a clear and unmistakable stream, it is always dangerous, not to say fatal, to accord to subsequent variants a right to override the old manuscripts on any pretext whatever.

People talk of taste, and it is easy to do so. But the rules of Gregorian æsthetics are scarcely fully known as

yet. I challenge most people to show that they have the faintest suspicion of the existence of some of them, which we ourselves have only been able to discover with the help of comparisons, analyses, and statistical observations, permanently recorded in our synoptical tables, not to mention those still undiscovered by us, and which the future is assuredly keeping in reserve for us.

Moreover the wish to introduce modifications on one's own authority, on the pretence of making emendations or of following a living tradition, whereof one would be the only medium in the particular instance, would too often, even if legitimate, lay one open to misunderstand an unperceived delicacy, a beauty of rhythm or melody, which had passed unnoticed. Too often it would be likely to leave a man under the influence of an alien style of music, and perpetuate an error or a corruption.

I do not mince matters. The more one studies, the more one probes things to the bottom, the more one sees that, in the last resort, it is always archæology, the old melodies, that are right, and that ought to prevail even from an æsthetic point of view. Examples abound. It suffices to refer to the *History of a Neum*. Sing over the *Alleluia* of the second mode in both styles, and then judge.

In the history of the altered editions of the nineteenth century, certainly not excepting the Rheims-Cambrai edition, that is to say, in the editions which have claimed to have improved upon tradition, there are an example and a warning that may be useful to us. Read through the Prefaces of these editions once more. In one form or another they were constantly invoking the claims of æsthetics as above tradition. The tree is now known by its fruit. The past, in this matter, will answer for the future. There is no principle which has been more fatal in bringing ruin upon Roman Plain-

chant. There is none that is more fraught with danger for the future. It is a principle to be distrusted.

Gregorian melodies must not allow their historical and structural integrity to be tampered with, either on the pretext of evolution or of living tradition. *Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.*

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