

THE ATTACK ON THE VATICAN EDITION*

A REJOINDER

By Dr. Peter Wagner

Member of the Papal Commission on the Vatican Chant Books

INTRODUCTION

It was seen in advance that the praiseworthy initiative of Pius X to give to the church a new liturgical song book in harmony with the admirable tradition of plain chant, would be met with opposition. In any event one must be impressed by the passive resistance of many circles which could not immediately accustom themselves to the new order. Each restoration has its opponents. If, because of that, the practical acceptance of the Pope's decrees does not as yet keep equal pace with the profession of obedience to the Church's final authority, this occurrence was not disturbing. Time will heal many wounds and the fog which prejudice and ignorance produce will be dispersed. Even if the present generation should prove itself incapable of adopting the great Papal reform, then the next will more readily give their work to the reform. There is indeed no lack of numerous indications of improvement, and there need be no yielding to pessimism on this point.

In addition to this latent opposition, there is already another, coming from a quarter where one ought not expect it, moving to an actual attack. It presented itself first in the lofty guise of philosophical reflection, and as usual passed into a direct or hidden recommendation of a form of chant edition which is not that of Pius. It recommends neither the edition of the chant books already in use, nor those still to be compiled. Even the *People's Paper* of Cologne willingly opened its pages to a contribution of this sort. It started with an article on April 5, 1905, describing the command of the Pope through the Cardinal Secretary of State to the President of the Papal Commission in such a way as to awaken mistrust against the proper plan of procedure. Further articles concerned themselves with the Vatican *Kyriale* and the chant for the Common of the Saints. Through all of the press discussion, drawn like a red thread, there is a sharp reproach directed against Abbot Pothier, on the one hand, and an unconditional confidence in the labors of the Solesmes researchers on the other. The feud was not without conspicuous phenomena; there was a kind of political insinuation

* This little-known work of Peter Wagner was first published by the "Styria Press" in Graz and Vienna in 1907. To the best of our knowledge it has never before appeared in English.—*The Editor*.

that the contributions of the more learned had been set back or had only been published after a long wait and without a definite date.

These newspaper articles had the purpose indeed of bringing public opinion to an attitude against the procedures already set forth in the previously mentioned communication of Cardinal Merry del Val of June 24th, 1905. These events served (so those who know assure us) only to prepare a new sorrow for the heart of the Holy Father at a time not exactly full of joy for him. Pius X found himself obliged to make it clear that the authentic character of the *Kyriale Vaticanum* might undergo alteration at best in the distant future, on the occasion of an explanatory communication to his Eminence Cardinal Fisher of Cologne. In a memorandum to his clergy, a certain well known Prince of the Church told of his desire to see the new discussions in the press omitted, without much success. Scarcely had the second volume of the *Editio Vaticana* been sent to the publishers for reprinting when a new communication which made several changes in the liturgical text became the point of departure for further criticisms.

So great had distrust toward the Vatican Edition become, that without the slightest proof, complaints which in the end only exposed the ignorance of those who expressed them were rampant. Generally these polemics appeared in a hitherto unthought of tone. To see the published instructions of the very highest Church authorities tossed around and criticised—that was a rare event; the well known Spectator-letters of the supplement of Munich's *Allgemeinen Zeitung* seemed to be experiencing a repetition. If the attacks against the Vatican Chant Edition had been carried on from the comfortable and perhaps necessary darkness of anonymity there soon stepped forth a bold champion with open vision. The January, 1906, number of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in Dublin contained a signed criticism by H. Bewerunge, music instructor in the College of Maynooth. This was translated into French and German, and was published in the *Düsseldorfer Tagblatt*. A second part, which concerned itself with the *Vatican Commune Sanctorum* appeared in the same Irish periodical, and has just recently been made known to the German public. Apparently other articles were to follow as soon as new sections of the Vatican issue were at hand. Thus

WE STAND BEFORE AN ORGANIZED POLEMIC AGAINST THE NEW ROMAN CHANT BOOKS.

As Bewerunge had not appeared before the public with works on the science of chant, grave doubts arose as to the original source of his liturgical discoveries. Even in the first brochure the members of the Papal Commission were struck by expressions, turns of

phrases, and entire arguments which were known to them through correspondence, whose content they conveyed to one another. In spite of the author whose name appeared on the title page of the brochure they realized that here too an anonymous person was directing the word. But inasmuch as Bewerunge explained that he had received the materials for his work from the Benedictines of Solesmes on the Isle of Wight, the state of affairs could no longer remain hidden. The original polemic against the *Editio Vaticana* was consequently the work of the Benedictines and Bewerunge was only the middle man. That the establishment of this fact pained most deeply many friends of the restoration of the chant needs no proof.

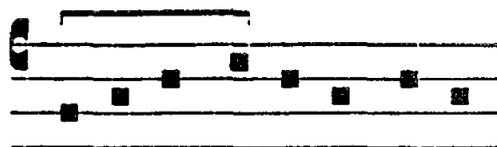
The split within the Papal Commission has thus found striking confirmation, and to veil the state of affairs serves no further purpose. How this person or that looks upon the chant restoration could indeed be a matter of indifference to the Catholic choir member. He is accustomed in such things to look towards Rome and to receive the directions he needs from the authority of the Church. And so I should make it plain why I write these lines. *They are written to please no one and to harm no one. But indeed I look upon it as a matter of honor to defend the measures of the Holy See, and that is the sole purport of my undertaking.* It will alas produce in our choir directors a sense of puzzlement and dissatisfaction. Only a few are in a condition to form their own opinion. And as things stand they can do so only on the basis of arguments brought forward by the critics of the *Vaticana*. And these have either been so one-sidedly selected, so presented as to move in one direction, or are simply false. I wish so far as lies in my power, to prevent any injury to the honor which we owe to the command of the Roman See in the person of Pope Pius X, and more especially to the confidence of our people in the restoration of the traditional church-song.

CHAPTER ONE

The polemic took its point of departure publicly, with the Papal Decree of June 24, 1905. Over and over this was pushed into the foreground of the discussion, and inadequate and unjust reports about its origin were spread abroad. It would have been tactful perhaps in matters of this kind not to enlighten the great public. Since, however, manifold indiscretions have been committed, we cannot refrain from the task of turning back briefly to preceding events. They hold the key to understanding and passing verdict upon the controversy.

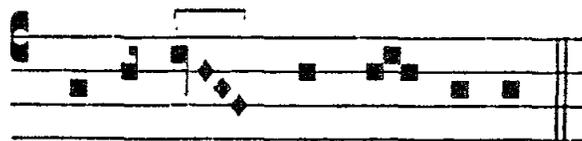
At the assembling of the Papal Commission members in September, 1904, on the Isle of Wight, in the house of the fathers of

Solesmes, an understanding was reached on certain significant points; the discussions justified the hope of a prompt and happy success of the task set for the commission by Pius X. A bitter disillusionment indeed seized upon many when the first proof sheets of the Vatican *Kyriale* were sent to the members; until then the people were, in general, of the opinion that the oldest version of the choral manuscripts might be chosen as the ground work of the *Editio Vaticana*, without prejudice to the choral praxis of the present time. Thus the proposed edition of the *Kyriale* opened up historical points which no one had thought of until then, but which must be of the greatest significance for the publication of the Vatican Chant books. People were amazed, for example, to find the following bit in one of the *Gloria* melodies proposed to the commission.



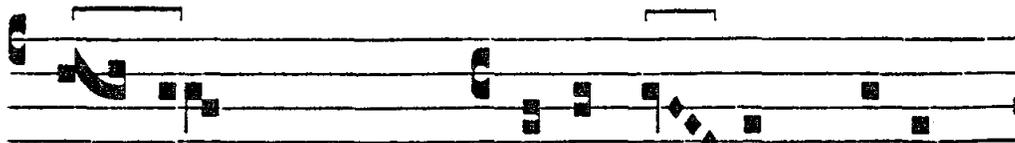
Grá-ti-as á-gi-mus ti-bi

The hypomixolydian melody begins with the tone F, falling on an accent-syllable and goes on step by step to the next accent-note B. Another example was similar.

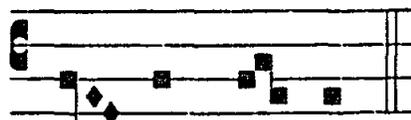


Ho-sán-na in ex-cél-sis

Here one must take into consideration that after the word *Hosanna*, many will insist on a breathing space. Further examples of the same sort are these:



dex - tro } in Vidi aquam Agnus De - i ... mi-se-
di - cent }



ré - re no - bis.

Many a member of the commission, and indeed the very ones whose scientific activity protests against the suspicion of indifference

in regard to facts about the oldest choral tradition, said to themselves that one would not dare to expect such things of the ordinary church singers of the twentieth century. They call attention to the fact that difficulties of such a kind would have been felt even early in the middle ages and would have been improved upon; that finally, the present restoration had no reason to turn back to such archaisms!¹ Above all they believe that in a collection of pieces from different centuries, the *Ordinarium Missae* or *Kyriale*, consideration must be made especially for the beautiful, melodiously impressive, not too difficult melodies. If any part whatsoever of the *Editio Vaticana* could be made suitable to become a popular church song-book, in the best sense, it would be the *Kyriale* with its texts which remain uniform in each Mass, and are therefore easily learned by the people. With this view, which will certainly be condemned by no one who knows the needs of his country's singers, the new editors are not in accord. In the parts of the music which are allotted to the liturgical soloist, such as the verses of the *Gradual* and *Alleluia*, one might let such things pass; a soloist is able to climb cliffs. In certain circumstances one could permit such difficulties even in a melody for the choir since the choral group is composed of more or less trained singers. But in a book for the people they would not be in place, for such a book cannot be a museum of Gregorian antiquities.

Numerous other things in the edition of the *Kyriale* gave rise to serious consideration. Thus the editors insist on a change of the recitation part in *Vidi Aquam* (÷ *et omnes ad quos pervenit* ÷) which in the oldest Italian codices is recited on B, but in by far the greatest number of documents on C. Even if all the members of the commission knew that in the 8th (and 3rd) church tones the entire recitation was on B, still the practical advantage of the tradition of the late middle ages was not perceived. Finally the psalm formulae of the 3rd and 8th tones would have had to be altered accordingly; no other alternative remains if the principle of the oldest version available were to be carried out. The logical consequence is incontrovertible as will be shown later. Is there in fact a demand for the restoration of the recitative tone B for the Introit psalmody of the 3rd tone? (Bewerunge, second brochure, p. 14ff.)

Whither further research will still carry us and what desires will arise is scarcely to be foreseen, for our knowledge of the relationship of the Roman chant with the Greek ones of the Middle Ages is still in its infancy. That all these unorganized materials

¹ In the *Volkszeitung* of June, 1905, no 483 the wish has been expressed that the Papal commission might hinder the acceptance of "archaistic melodies" in the Vatican books. That has happened; have the members who strove for it not merited the thanks of our singers?

were to be introduced under serious disadvantages must be clear to all who have their eyes open to the present day conditions.

So we find ourselves faced with the fact that the editors of the Vatican books were in no way prepared to consider the objections raised by the members of the commission. From the standpoint once adopted they would not depart at any price. References to the regard for current practice were regularly rejected with the argument that we must hold to the most ancient manuscripts. It also became clearer that they had accordingly considered examination of the proof sheets as a pure formality: remarks of the editors to that effect became known. Naturally all the members of the commission did not agree with this concept of their rights.

It is nothing less than a misleading of public opinion, if people are told that the differences within the Papal Commission were limited to the quarrel of a few monks. Several not undeserving members thought it was their duty to raise their voices in warning, and they dared to take into consideration the responsibility which the Holy See had laid upon them to deal earnestly with the matter, according to their best knowledge and conscience. They agreed even at the price of material sacrifice to bring their voices to a proper recognition. Since of course the decision about the difficulties which arose naturally had to be made in Rome, the meeting of the Papal Commission in March and April, 1905 was attended by especially great numbers. Here it was plain that the rules of the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X which had governed the composition of a *Vatican Edition* were to be the toy of opposing factions. The champions of the archaeological cause wanted a book produced according to exclusively philological-critical rules; a book which would enjoin upon the future of church music only that which is to be found in the most ancient documents. Contrariwise it was emphasized that under the circumstances a more recent version could merit priority over one that was older; that among the later variants many real improvements were present which one simply could not push aside because they were more modern, or were handed down only in more recent manuscripts. It is a question then of a work serving a useful purpose. With all respect to the monastery of Solesmes, to the great sacrifice entailed in amassing paleographical material, and to the ambition, easy to understand and condone, that Solesmes become the authoritative source for the total Gregorian practice of the future, one could still not avoid the conviction that the interests of the whole Church would be identical with those of a single body, albeit deserving. It is easy

to understand that both tendencies, the extreme archaeological and the moderate, (during the deliberations of the commission) constantly collided and not only retarded their tasks but even threatened to make them of no avail.²

Nothing remained then but to ask the lawgiver for an authentic interpretation of the *Motu Proprio*. This followed in the communication of April 3, 1905, which was published in part in my paper for the Strassburg Chant Congress, (p. 5 ff.) and fully in the February, 1906, issue of the Strassburg *Caecilia*. This paper disposed of the difficulty with all desirable clarity, and it spoke out for the most moderate interpretation. But the champions of the extreme archaeological point of view were not to be satisfied. Until then every member of the commission was free to adopt either interpretation. Now however it would be the duty of each one to push aside personal preferences and to use every means in their power to attain the goal proposed ever more clearly by the Head of the Church. Unfortunately this did not happen. The archaeological party—one now found himself in opposition against a real party—sought with all means to further their desires to a practical victory, and the rift within the commission grew wider each day. The discussions turned constantly toward the same point, a point which one was justified in considering settled by the intervention

² In the treatise "Concerning Traditional Hymnology" which I dedicated to the Strassburg Congress (see its Acts, p. 32ff), I undertook to justify the standpoint of the lawgivers of the Gregorian restoration, historically as well as aesthetically. I referred to what had been said in that very place, especially to the difference between tradition and archaeology. One must, not without astonishment, see clearly that the expression *legitima traditione* of the *Motu Proprio* of April 25, 1904, is still constantly interpreted erroneously—all explanations of the editors notwithstanding. The mind of the Holy Father was to permit the choice of a version not belonging to the most ancient codices, if it deserved preference for other reasons. But the matter was still presented as if it were concerned with the *earliest* version which had been handed down in the manuscripts. If such were the case the term "legitimate tradition" would have been *superfluous* as a criterion. As to the third criterion, the requirements of the present day, I can imagine without difficulty circumstances which make desirable and necessary a departure from the entire manuscript tradition, and a prudent revision in the spirit of ancient times. Except for the researchers of Solesmes, there will be only a few hymnologists of scientific repute who manifest so mechanical an acceptance of chant restoration. Father Dechevrens remarks in his *Chants du Paroissien Romain (extraits des plus anciens manuscrits, Annecy 1904, I p. 12)* that in a re-establishment of the ancient music, one would have to allow for later versions. These may be in spite of all, a faithful echo of more ancient traditions, and sometimes, also, offer a correction truly inspired by the primitive melody. The same was said in other words in 1895 by Gevaert, (*Melopée Antique* p. 211). This scholar speaks of the possibility of bringing an antiphon back to the form which it had in the eighth or ninth century. "But supposing that such a reform is possible, is it desirable? There is room to doubt that historical research has as its sole mission the exhibition of monuments of the past just as they were; the traditional practice is not bound to appropriate to itself docilely all the results of this investigation; it should respect, to a certain extent, the work of time." The extreme archaeological interpretation has been set forth in an article by Cagin in the *Rassegna Gregoriana* (July-August 1905) in its crassest form. Bewerunge (first brochure Page 8) calls this latter excellent. Others think it skillfully glosses over the most ancient question of chant history.

of Pius X. Often, alas, the impression was given that the commission would be useful for the attainment of the purpose desired by His Holiness, since the purely archaeological interpretation did not bias them. It was further stressed that the determination of the oldest version often depends on chance and that the total manuscript material is not now available, and surely never will be entirely independent of the eventuality of discoveries of research which could throw new light on these matters. New findings in the archives could modify or entirely reverse earlier versions. If the *Vaticana* were to be based only on the oldest codices, then perhaps the necessity would arise to improve it each year, here and there, in order to make available the very newest discoveries. Indeed there have not been lacking those who would have gladly left this possibility open. An unspeakable confusion in church music would have been the inevitable result. It was proposed that a definitive version, even according to the interpretation of the spokesman of the archaeological party would be possible "only in 50 years", and that principles of that sort would be altogether unacceptable for the regulation of a chant praxis. The situation gradually came to a point where any value of further proceedings of the commission was considered useless. Painful moments were not lacking. A member of the commission, to whom the Holy Father had made known his will with full firmness and clarity in a private audience, awoke the next day to see the partisans of the extreme archaeology defending their biased views as the will of the liturgical lawgiver, and with a violence which bordered on fanaticism. The foreign members of the commission left the Eternal City with bleeding hearts, although they doubtless knew well enough how indignant Pius X was at the stubborn lack of understanding of what was clearly his thought, at the constantly renewed and underhanded efforts to attain a goal which he had rejected. It was a great relief to learn that an order had been sent to the president of the commission not to assemble it again. Meanwhile, (in Vatican circles) the possibilities of an improved reorganization of the business management of the commission were weighed. An extreme archaeological continuation of the work, such as the editors had wished, was excluded. "Rather no *Editio Vaticana* that such a one"—this word had come down from an authoritative post. Several possibilities had to be considered. The rumor spread that the editors wished to conform their work to the Vatican Edition in case their wishes were not fulfilled, although there are many who considered such a procedure toward the Holy See as scarcely becoming Religious. Perhaps this circumstance accelerated the catastrophe. However it may be,

there followed on June 24, 1905, the instruction, frequently enough threatened, which took away the editorship from the monks of Solesmes and gave it over to the officers of the commission with a renewed request to all the members to support their president with all their might.

That is the history of the reorganization of the board of editors of the *Editio Vaticana*. After what had come to light within and without the transactions of the commission, one could hardly be surprised that Bewerunge, who could have only incomplete and biased knowledge of all the procedures, is so eager to write "that the generous plan of His Holiness has been destroyed through the vanity of a single person" (Brochure 2, p. 35). Amid the numerous attempts to claim the wish of *one single person* as the view of the head of the Church, this monstrous attack really surpasses them all. I stress further that several members of the commission repeatedly and most earnestly warned against bias, against an extravagant course, when the goal at hand was still far from realization. But, while idle rumor would have it that the Holy Father had been turned aside from his original purpose, others assure us that quite the contrary is so. Pius X at first gave the patriarchs of the chant-restoration his entire confidence, and then, about the time of the Roman chant-congress (March-April, 1904) was induced to transfer it to the Benedictines of Solesmes, and to give to Dom Pothier the honor of the presidency of the Papal commission for the Vatican-books. In this case, the decision of June 24, 1905, signifies the return of the Pope to his original purpose. However the matter may be, one should really refrain from publishing statements which besides being threadbare give testimony neither of tact nor nobility. Generally, in public discussions, individuals have been unduly pushed into the foreground. However great the personal differences may have been, it is, in any case, a *great impropriety to wish to make people believe that such considerations had influenced the decisions of the Holy See*. The Holy See was obliged to choose between two utterly different tendencies: the one archaeological, the other traditional; the one which refurbished the primitive state of affairs simply and without change, and the other, which labored for a sympathetic evaluation of the ecclesiastical tradition as well as the requirements of the present. It was not a matter of this man or that, but a question of who was disposed to bring to completion in the most loyal way, the will of the highest lawgiver of the Church; and it was a question of the most difficult and most important problems of the historical work of restoration. The absolute refusal of the archaeological party to yield or to make usable in a suitable way the choral tradition of the late Middle Ages, where it offers a version

preferable to the earlier ones, made the Papal decision nothing less than an *act of necessity*.

And even if the new organization had a mind to set aside the original purpose, had not Pius X, in the *Motu Proprio*, reserved the right to take other measures? Are not these just as worthy of honor and have they not the same validity? Is it loyal continually to disregard the decisions of the *Motu Proprio*, and to represent as less valuable the complementary, interpretative directions of June 24, 1905?

How the crisis was brought about is well known. Far from finally bringing their procedures into harmony, the archaeological party offered to the Catholic world the disedifying example first of an anonymous, then open "war" against the Vatican chant-books. Having projected their own notions, in spite of innumerable requests from the most varied sources, they have refused to collaborate even to the present hour. Unlike obedient children of the Church, who would deem it as an honor to join in the realization of a noble Papal initiative, they somehow consider it as honorable to stab this initiative in the back; they arouse and maintain an opposition to an adequate and standard praxis of the whole Church, one which, moreover, comes into the world with the seal of the Holy Father. They have the boldness to warn against its acceptance, and wish even to substitute for it a chant-book of their own; (Bewerunge, Brochure 2, p. 35). It has also become the fashion when a regulation of Rome about church music appears, to ferret out who, perhaps, might have suggested it. Bewerunge (Brochure 1, p. 27) knows "that Dom Pothier has already secured for himself a very considerable number of authoritative documents in support of his edition." Such unworthy speech deserves the sharpest refutation; it was not really too much when, in my report in the *Schweizerischen Rundschau*, 1906 No. 6, I remarked that to criticize Rome's decrees in this fashion made a painful impression. Bewerunge would perhaps realize the impropriety of his conduct, if one were to turn the question around and ask how much support his backers and their friends had assured for themselves in Rome. He has furthermore (Brochure 1, p. 28) uttered the bold word that decrees of the Roman authorities have no power to support a chant-book which is not supported by its inner worth, and refers to the great number of faults overlooked in favor of the Regensburg books. As to the inner worth of the *Vaticana*, we shall indeed see elsewhere that Bewerunge seems to possess a guarantee that it will please Heaven, even after Pius X, to raise innumerable popes who will bring to the chant an interest which will be immediate and founded on technical

knowledge. One who follows the course of history in this respect will be of the opinion that such an interpretation does great honor to a musician, but unfortunately possesses scant historical support. The present experience of Rome with the champions of radicalism, who in their theories turn their backs upon the traditional spirit of the Church, points up the fact that they depend only upon themselves. Ordinary people will, therefore, always do well to show to the competent Church authorities in Rome all proper respect and obedience!³

CHAPTER TWO

In his second brochure *Bewerunge* comes back on the criticisms which I made of his first brochure in the *Schweizerischen Literarischen Rundschau*. I had challenged his argument for the most part with the reasoning that it laid a measuring-stick against the *Editio Vaticana* which is suitable for purely scientific, philological-critical writings but scarcely adequate for a work which is to serve the best interests of the praxis of church-singers of the twentieth century. I denied *Bewerunge's* understanding of historical evolution and founded this criticism on the unhistorical concept which he has of musical history, explaining as he does every alteration in the original version as a deterioration. In order that the reader may grasp the core of my explanations, I will put before him the pertinent passages of my article. "The article presented by *Bewerunge* with its abundant examples taken from the codices, may perhaps make an impression on such people as are not familiar with historical methods. Yet the view that only the most ancient version should be drawn upon for the *Editio Vaticana*, has been rejected most vigorously by the highest liturgical legislative authority in both official and private expression. The views of Pius X are remote from the extreme course which our critic follows; many of the initiated could speak of very significant remarks of the Holy Father in this connection. All that *Bewerunge* says in this connection is to be rejected.

³ The decree prefaced to the *Kyriale Vaticanum* by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, August, 1905, contains these weighty words: "The Papal commission in fulfillment of the orders and wishes of the Holy Father, presents and completes the edition here submitted with the greatest zeal and diligence." The co-signer is accordingly pleased with the work: he recognized in it the accomplishment of his aspiration. The same decree says that the Holy Father looks upon this edition as his own. The printers of the *Kyriale* in Germany have rightly grasped its significance; Coppentrath in Regensburg calls it "according to the printed edition revised by His Holiness". Schwann in Düsseldorf and Pustet in Regensburg refer to the *Editio Vaticana* as "published by His Holiness, Pope Pius . . ." These are the facts, and they lay upon us the serious responsibility to carry out the declaration and most ardent wish of Pius X that the book might be distributed as soon as possible everywhere (decree of August 14, 1905). In opposition to this, the attempt of *Bewerunge* to make propaganda for another edition is, to say the least, improper.

“A more sound, far-sighted decision, based on the history of art, must condemn the point of view of the article. The principle which considers only the oldest tradition as suitable for today’s chant is too facile an interpretation of the matter. The oldest is not always the best; what was good in the ninth and tenth centuries must not be preferred to the later variants simply because it is older. Even the Middle Ages made numerous changes in liturgical hymnology and many of these variants open up, to one who sees deeply, glimpses into the intimate process of the history of art. To reject all modern versions without investigating to what needs or strivings they owe their existence, what is or is not justified in them even today, is a truly superficial procedure. Never yet, in the reform of her institutions, has the Church taken its stand on a basis so exclusively archaeological. Never will the supreme head of the Church depart so far from the spirit of tradition in an affair touching upon the praxis of the present and the future. *Bewerunge* would condemn a development many hundred years old, highly meritorious and resting upon justice, merely because it has changed the forest primeval. What, indeed, would become of our liturgy and the liturgical books, if one should treat them as he wishes to treat chant-books? Not archaeology, but tradition must be the criterion that solves the question.”

I need not take back a single one of these sentences. *Bewerunge* makes the accusation that Dom Pothier “in numerous cases can find support for his (!) versions either in no manuscripts whatsoever, or in a small number which are for the most part still without significance.” If, by this, *Bewerunge* wishes to assert that, on principle, the majority of the manuscripts have to decide the point, then he would find on his side only those who have buried themselves so long in the ancient parchments that they forget that we no longer live in the ninth, tenth, or eleventh century, but in the twentieth. The Gregorian restoration can surely not be carried out on mechanical statistics, bound together with additions and subtractions. The matter of the insignificance of many codices is a somewhat ticklish subject, behind which not only an astute observation, but also a *petitio principii* can hide. The passages which are supported by no manuscripts deserve to be taken more seriously, and here I offer *Bewerunge* a proposition which has the advantage of disregarding the polemics about the *Vaticana* and of desisting from all personal considerations. I am ready for a discussion about the possibility of improving these passages, if *Bewerunge* will come down from his extreme position and admit, in principle, that for a practical chant-book, the use of the oldest manuscripts, or even the

majority of them, are not sufficient in themselves.⁴ I have previously made the point that the Vatican *Kyriale* does not contradict in any way the characteristics of the traditional chant. Bewerunge says that people would pay little attention to that. I say no!, that it is very important, more important than the “rhythmical” edition of his backers, who force a new rhythmical theory upon their interpretation. The Middle Ages knew nothing of this and present the whole as “traditional chant.” Herein lies one of the ironies that are so often the consequence of extreme views; on the one hand, a slavish adherence to the oldest manuscripts is demanded—on the other, an untraditional garment is draped over the melodies thus obtained. Therefore, even the few readings of the *Kyriale Vaticanum* “which are based on no manuscripts” contain more traditional chant than do the versions of its adversaries, built in accord with certainly untraditional theories. Many of the passages to which objection is made are found to be improved upon in all the copies available to me; there is also the question of slips and typographical errors; these could have been discovered promptly enough. Bewerunge also remarks on the improvement in the foot-notes. Would it not have been more courteous, after the reason for criticism had disappeared, to suppress the criticism as well? Errors in printing and the like are only dangerous when they are not pointed out as such. Therefore, no one uttered a complaint when the highly esteemed *Liber Usualis* of 1903 appeared in public with a list of 70 errata, and that an incomplete one.

How can we bring to a close the discussion of a type of change involving principle and turn towards the passages which Bewerunge incriminates? It is hardly necessary to make a thorough examination of each example for such a procedure would increase the bulk of this defense unduly. It is of interest, however, to be acquainted with the spirit which motivates the numerous complaints; thereby the reader may be able to judge whether this spirit is that of justice and reason, of thoroughness and science, or of frivolity and petty grumbling.

Bewerunge, in his second brochure, dedicated more than eight pages to the change of *b* and *c* respectively to *e* and *f*, the change

⁴ I cannot, however, refrain from stressing the fact that some of the changes from the version of the codices were attained through entirely traditional means; thus in the *Hosanna*, (Bewerunge, Brochure 1, pp. 22-23), the version of the Worcester manuscript would be today quite impossible, and rightly the *Vaticana* altered it, as it would have been altered in the Middle Ages, had the melody become more wide-spread; in the *Amen* (*ibid.*, p. 20) where the hard tri-tone is eliminated through the transposition of the figure into the third above. The complaint (*ibid.*, p. 14) that the Vatican version of *templo* is found in no manuscript, is an impropriety; it is only the version 9a with the liquescence, and it is known that even in the eleventh century, in Guido's time, it was now observed, now neglected.

which makes the comparative study of medieval chant tradition so interesting. He illustrates his statements by more than thirty examples which strike the eye of even the superficial reader. One quickly comes to the conclusion that these are thirty errors of the *Commune Vaticanum*. I have been forced to conclude that Bewerunge's presentation makes this impression on those who have not learned to occupy themselves with manuscripts and are not so much at home in the *Graduale*, from several communications which came to me shortly after the brochure was published. If one looks into it, it is apparent that of all these passages, not even half are to be found in the *Commune Vaticanum*; most of them apply to chants whose final draft had not as yet been established.

The items which are sometimes peculiar to the German chant, I have already explained (*Neumenkunde*, p. 281) as deriving from the tendency to eliminate or to evade the difficulties inherent in the interval of half-tones. Bewerunge "fears" that he must admit that I am correct (p. 13). A fear of any kind at all is out of place here: but perhaps one can perceive in this change an indication of the fact that choral music was life and art to the medieval man, and not a collection of petrified rows of notes. An effort to clear the way of difficulties governed the various teachings of the psalmody as it did other areas of choral praxis, and it deserves the full recognition of the historian.

That the recitative tone of the third as well as that of the eighth church-tones was originally *b* is undisputed by any student of chant. It is also just as certain that in the whole Church, in the area of art singing, the tendency prevailed to substitute *c* for it—here earlier, there later. In this case, then, a peculiarity of the German codices by no means enters into the question. As to the reason for the change, only conjectures can be expressed up to date; that suggested by me and accepted by the inspirers of Bewerunge's brochure, has the advantage of possibility, nothing further. It may have, however, influenced things more important, and I shall say a word about this later. To me, it seems certain that the tone *b* is an inheritance from the childhood of chant, from a time when plainsong had not yet come to a consciousness of its mission within the Latin Church, and that with the recitative *c*, one of the first steps was taken on this glorious path of conquest. The use of the final as tonic could be a second; yet I will not discuss here this very difficult material. Bewerunge is trying to present the excellence of the recitative on *b* by means of considerations which appear too aesthetical (p. 14, ff.). This is certainly gratifying, for he ought then to accept the validity of artistic motivation in the reform

of the chant. It is a pity that he did not include these passages with his aesthetical evaluations given previously (p. 12). *Bewerunge* indeed seizes upon such arguments only when he wishes to condemn the older reading; in order to be impartial, he must, however, present some examples from manuscripts which are not exactly the oldest, and support them by the aesthetic argument. *Bewerunge* would have preferred, for the Introit, *Ego autem sicut*, which begins the *Commune Sanctorum*, the following psalmody:

Quid glo-ri-á-ris in ma-lí-ti-a: qui po-tens es
in in - i-qui-tá-te?

The Vatican has:

Quid glo-ri-á-ris in ma-lí-ti-a: qui po-tens es
in in - i-qui-tá-te?

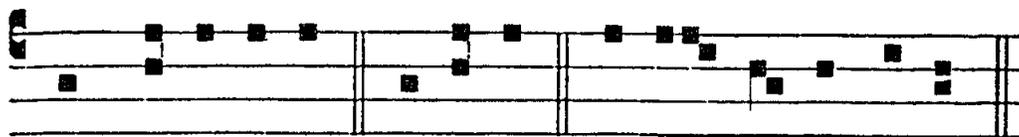
Let us cite several witnesses to the different chant-traditions. The *Carthusian Graduale* (belonging to the 12th century and referred to in what follows as Codex A) from the north of Italy, uses this versicle for the Introit *Ego clamavi quoniam*; the Introit *Ego autem sicut* is not found in the same book . . .

Ex-áudi Dómine justí-ti-am me-am: . . . saecu - ló-rum. Amen.

Here the recitative is on *c*, not on *b*.

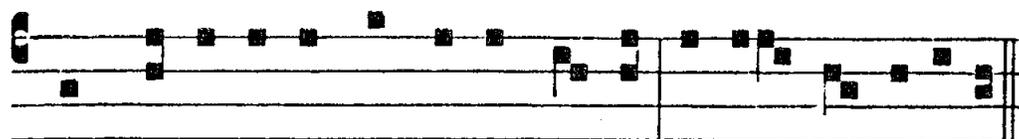
From the same century the Codex 1235, a new acquisition of

the Paris National Library: (Cod. B). It adds to the Introit *Ego autem sicut*, this entry . . .



Quid glo - ri - á - ris. Gló - ri - a. Sae - cu - ló - rum. Amen.

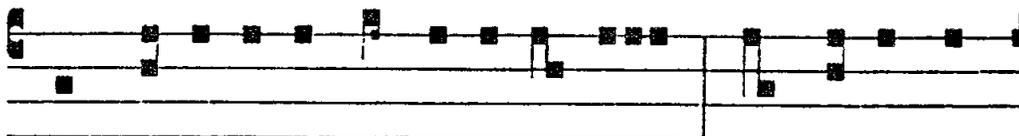
That again is the wording of the *Vaticana*. The still older manuscripts from Montpellier also indicate the Introit verse only briefly. It has a direction on the margin which guarantees the *c* as the recitative-tone (p. 35 of the edition of the *Paléographie Musicale*, Volume VIII). Let us go to England. The *Graduale Sarisburiense* issued in 1894 by the English Plain Song Society, and dating from the 13th century, gives the notes as follows (Codex C):



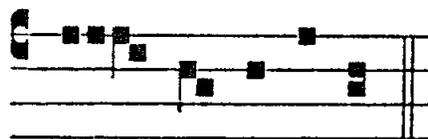
Quid glo - ri - á - ris.

That is the version of the *Vaticana*.

A manuscript of German origin which is now in the City Library at Trier (Codex Bohn) and which was written in the 12th-13th centuries, gives the notes of the versicle as follows (*Paléographie Musicale* III, Plate 133):

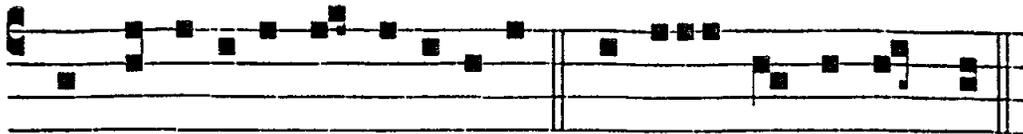


Quid glo - ri - á - ris in ma - lí - ti - a: qui po - tens es



in - i - qui - tá - te?

Accordingly, we find the version of the *Vaticana* represented in decisive individual instances in Italy, France, England, and Germany. Spain gives no exception. The oldest published record of Spanish neums, in the *Paléographie Musicale*, Volume II-III, which can give us information on the Introit *Ego autem sicut*, a Missal from Toledo belonging to the 13th century, has this version:



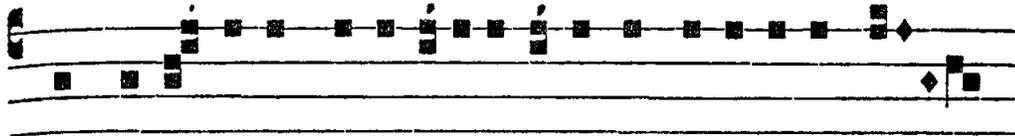
Quid glo-ri-á-ris in ma-lí-ti-a. E u o u a e.

Here, too, the recitative-tone *c* is taken up immediately after the beginning of the psalm-form. The observation will be forced upon anyone who takes the trouble to go through the more than two hundred reproductions from the old documents containing the Introit *Ego autem sicut*, (those of all the manuscripts with lines, for only these are directly decipherable for us), that only the medieval ones in Beneventum or Monte Cassino show the recitative *b* carried on for a time. The documents of all other types of neum show that either *c* is used from the beginning or introduced shortly thereafter. One can therefore say without exaggeration: *The archaistic recitative-note of the 3rd Mode is b, the traditional c.*

Is the Vaticana now to prefer a long-outmoded, perhaps never general version to the collective testimony of all the churches of the Roman Liturgy? To ask this question is to answer it in the negative. Nothing would be less in accord with the spirit which has brought about the movement toward reform in the Church.

Let us suppose that the Introit Psalmody of the 3rd Mode was prescribed to be recited on *b*. What would be the result? The logical consequence is that the simple psalmody of the Office, Vespers, for example, must also make the change. Bewerunge (p. 15) says "yes, its old form has more impetus than that of today." This still would not be satisfactory: the dozens of Antiphons in the 3rd Mode in which the melody movement has *c* as its midpoint would have to be changed, even such as have been handed down only with *c*. Consider what all of this would mean. Nothing less than a real revolution in chant singing! And one must ask himself seriously whether such a revolution is possible, let alone practical. However, if people are willing to refrain from going so far, willing to keep the recitative on *c*, which has become second nature, and which has been customary for more than eight centuries for all who chant in choir, then the greatest confusion can be avoided. What would become of our psalmody, homogeneously developed up to now? The change could not be undertaken without the most serious injury to practical execution, and the result would only be "archaic". One is astonished at the talent which the archaeologists have for such world-shaking plans. The ordinary chant-singer may, however, perceive what awaits him, if these people were to guide the cultivation of the musical arts. In

8th tone also, the recitative was originally on *b*. The last of this practice is also found particularly in the Beneventum codices in the Tract-psalmody, as well as in several other passages, of which the Antiphon *Vidi aquam* appears in the *Kyriale*. *Bewerunge* says (p. 20) that in the Tract *Beatus vir*, the recitative note "should" be *b*. He is to be flatly contradicted. It *should* be *c*, just as it stands in the *Vaticana*; *b* in the archaistic recitative, not the traditional. It is easy to draw evidence for the psalmody of the 3rd Modes from the manuscripts themselves. Compare the following examples from the liturgy of Holy Saturday, which uses the tract melody of the 8th Mode several times (from Codex A):



Tr. Cantemus:

℣. Hic Dé us mé-us et hono-rá-bo e - um

℣. Dó - - - mi-nus cónterens bel - la

Tr. Vinea:

℣. Et ma-cé - ri-am circumde - - dit et circum - fó - dit

Tr. Sicut cervus:

℣. Si-tí - - - vit á-ni-ma me - a

℣. Fu-é-runt mí-chi la-crimae me - ae.

The French Manuscript B writes:



Tr. Cantemus:

℣. Hic De-us me-us et honorábo e - um

℣. Dó - minus cón-terens bel - la

Tr. Vinea:

℣. Et ma-cé - ri-am cir - - - cúmdedit et circum- fó - dit

Tr. Sicut cervus:

℣. Si-tí - vit á-ni-ma me - a

℣. Fu-é - runt mí-chi lá-crimae me - ae.

The Montpellier manuscript, from the 11th century, puts the recitative in all the tract-verses of the 8th Mode on *c*, not on *b* (cf. p. 132):



℣. Qui se - des su-per Ché-ru-bim

This transfer holds as well for all the examples which follow the one given in manuscripts, but are expressed only in neums without the explanatory letters. The French tradition, from the 11th century, justifies the *Vaticana*. And the English? Compare Codex C:



Tr. Cantemus:

Ÿ. Hic De-us mé-us et hono-ri-ficábo e - um

Ÿ. Dó- minus cónterens bel - la

Tr. Vinea:

Ÿ. Et ma-cé - ri-am circumde - dit et circum - fó - dit

Tr. Sicut cervus:

Ÿ. Si- tí- vit á - ni - ma me - a

Ÿ. Fu- é- runt mi- chi lá- cri- mae me - ae.

The German diastematic tradition comes to light from the following examples (Codex Bohn, from the Trier City Library):



Tr. Cantemus:

Ÿ. Hic De- us meus et ho- no- ra- bo e - um

Ÿ. Dó - mi- nus cón- te- rens bel - la

Tr. Vinea:

Ÿ. Et ma-cé - ri- am cir - cúmde - di et cir- cum - fó - di

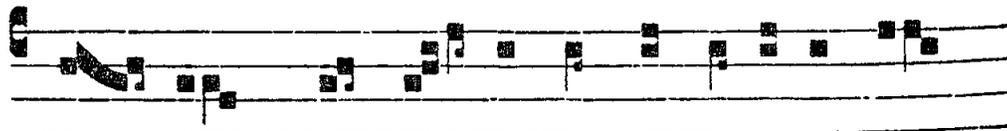
Tr. Sicut cervus:

Ÿ. Si- tí - vit á - ni - ma me - a

Ÿ. Fu- é - runt mi- chi lá - crimae me - ae.

If we draw together the facts which emerge from these examples, our insistence upon the traditional recitative-note of the 8th Mode being *c* is proved. The *Vaticana* usage would have to undergo the most harsh revisions if it were to accept the archaistic recitative of the 8th Mode which has been handed down in only a few codices.

Moreover, the reading of the Antiphon *Vidi aquam* in the *Kyriale Vaticanum* has been attacked in a completely improper fashion. (Bewerunge, p. 13) The recitative-part *omnes ad quos pervenit* is completely traditional. I know very well that a few rare codices write the notes in the following fashion (Codex Regensburg, 334, Vatican Library, 11th and 12th century, folio 89):



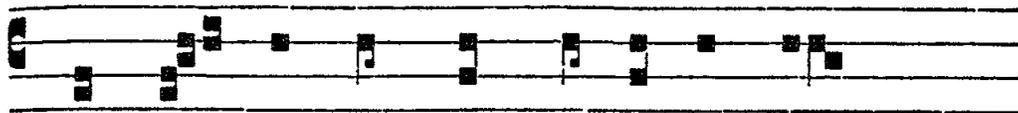
dex - tro . . . et om - nes ad quos pervé- nit a - qua

and that this recitative-tone had been maintained in Spain until the end of the Middle Ages. But a not much more recent *Troparium von Nonantola* in the *Bibliotheca Cassanatense in Roman Codex* 1741 from the 12th century writes:



dex - tro . . . et omnes ad quos pervé-nit a - qua

Here the recitative-tone has already become c, the same is so in the *Latin Codex* 4750 of the Vatican Library, likewise from the 12th century:

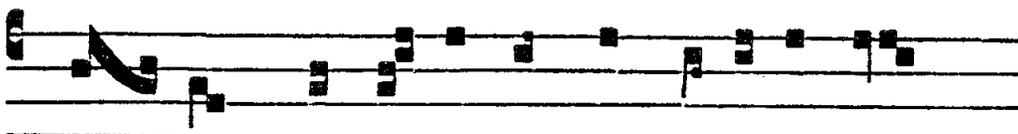


et om - nes. ad quos per - vé - nit a - qua

(Our manuscript A does not contain the passage.)

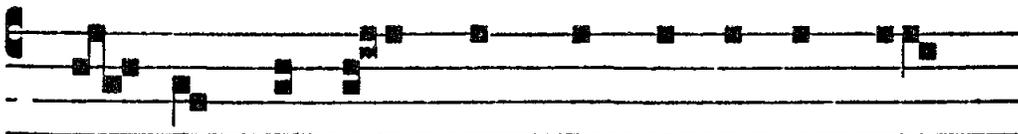
I cannot at the moment consider the testimony of the French manuscript. The copies and excerpts which I made for myself from the French documents are not available at this writing, but there is no doubt that they agree with the other codices.

The *English tradition* is this (Cod. C):



dex - tro . . . et omnes ad quos per-vé-nit a - qua

The *German tradition* reads (Cod. Bohn):



dex - tro . . . et omnes ad quos per-vé - nit a - qua

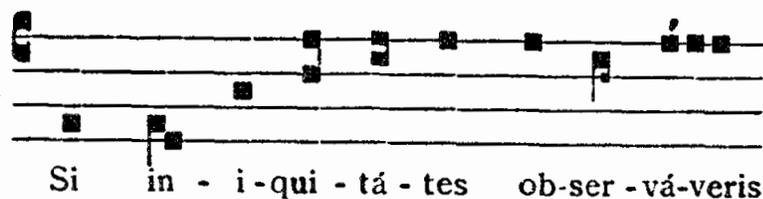
Compare also the version of the highly important *Graz manuscript* 807, dating from the 12th century, to which I first called attention in my publication on the neums. In view of this report of genuine chant tradition, I pass over the quite superfluous witticism of Bewerunge about Dom Pothier's "amiability" (p. 14). Yet perhaps it would not be amiss here to point out the archaeological

rarity which would result from the acceptance of *b* while the following versicle *Confitemini* is recited on *c*!

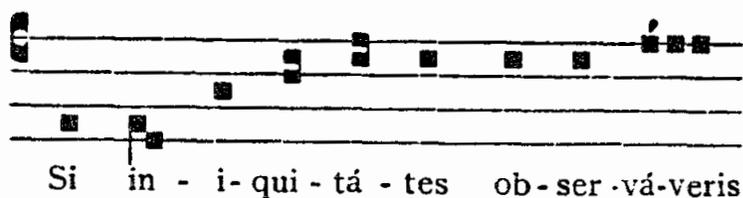
The time has not come for the final discussions about the fluctuation of *c* and *b* as well as of *f* and *e*. In my *Neumenkunde*, incident to the varying changes which certain neums in the manuscripts have assumed with Guido's line-system, I expressed the possibility that a note which lay halfway between *b* and *c*, *e* and *f*, might have been sung, and that when the tone steps were stabilized on the line-system, or staff, it was lowered or raised a trifle. That such intervals already were used in the 11th century in everyday choral praxis, is clear from comments of the theorists; this is especially so of the Montpellier manuscripts (*Paléographie Musicale*, VIII) which even have proper signs for them. According to my research on this point, there remains no doubt that more and more the staff made the chant-melodies diatonic, whereas before little intervals in great number were made use of for practical purposes. Perhaps the unity of the choral tradition in the Middle Ages, with which we are now occupied, is of the same sort. If that is the case, then, from the standpoint of the earliest version, the note *b* would be just as incorrect as *c*, and *e* just as wrong as *f*. In other words, the archaistic version, which, in contradiction to the numerous other manuscripts, is handed down as the only one, and is recommended by *Bewerunge*, would deserve the same criticism which *Bewerunge* makes of the *Vaticana*. One may gather from this, that in the study of chant manuscripts, there are things which elude statisticians.

However that may be, it is no pleasure to realize that a writer who has hitherto taken no part whatsoever in chant research, and who purports to deal with materials so difficult that they will occupy the learned for a long time, raises complaints lightly; that he passes sentence, without even proving the facts of the case. These facts, around which the discussion turns, have become a matter of history and are to be explained. But he is neither just, nor thorough. Does all historical research, perhaps, consist in the addition and subtraction of details? Is it enough to be an antiquarian in order to express the decisive word about the most difficult questions of the history of art? Most of all it pains me that a work marked by the approbation of the Holy See must suffer such superficial attacks. Moreover, I do not agree with *Bewerunge's* "aesthetic" arguments, which are supposed to present the superiority of the recitative *b*. Even if they were to be taken seriously, they could not, in comparison with the significant, fundamental questions of the Gregorian reform, have the weight attributed to them in his

brochure. They tend in the direction in which the subjective and prejudiced verdict has far too much scope. An example: *Bewerunge* (p. 14, ff.) ventures to teach, in schoolmaster fashion, a research scholar like Gevaert that he was not entirely clear about the nature of the musical changes here in question, and then tries (p. 15) to point out in a few instances that the bi- or tri-strophe *c* after the tone *b*, impresses us more “forcibly” than after the recitative *c*. He dares to speak in this connection of “corruptions of later tradition.” This “aesthetic” verdict is quite a subjective one. The forcefulness is attained far more through the entrance of the bi-strophe and tri-strophe on the accented syllable than through the sequence of *b* and *c*. All the more so because *Bewerunge*’s third example:



is just as forceful as:

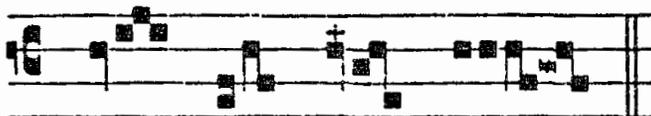


Besides, in the 11th century people already knew that an accented syllable sounds higher than one not accented, if they both have the same pitch. At least, Guido d’Arezzo, in his *Micrologus*, chap. XV, says: *quia saepe vocibus gravem et acutum accentum superponimus, quia saepe ut maiori impulsu quasdam, ita etiam minori efferimus: adeo, us eiusdem saepe vocis repetitio elevatio vel depositio esse videatur*. One sees what is to be thought of *Bewerunge*’s aesthetic. Guido’s sharpseeing and appropriate observation is sufficient to refute most of *Bewerunge*’s propositions on pp. 14-22. And if, finally, the *Commune Vaticanum*, in certain passages where a choice was to be made between *b* and *c*, or *e* and *f*, nevertheless uses *b* or *e*, it is again presenting a true picture of tradition; for in its completeness tradition reveals the pleasing picture of old and new, and keeps itself at as great a distance from extreme archaism as from extreme progressiveness. Here, while *Bewerunge* indulges in criticism, one can ponder with equal right the discretion which St. Benedict enjoined so vigorously upon his disciples.

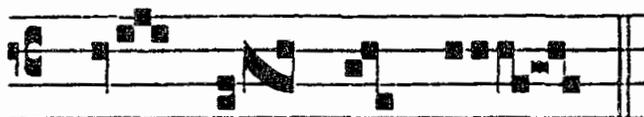
From page 22 on, *Bewerunge* gives us a great number of individual instances in the *Commune* of the Vatican *Graduale* in which

“melodic peculiarities in the *Vaticana* depart from the correct [!] version.” Both the time and the desire are lacking to take up each single one and to test its validity. I insert, however, a protest in general against expressions such as the “authentic” or “correct” version. No one has the right to use such words simply because he wishes to play off the oldest version, in his opinion, against a later one; in our problem, far different things come under consideration than the age of documents, which only hand down a version. While I cannot forego throwing some light on several of Bewerunge’s criticisms, still more interesting things await us.

On page 22, ff., in regard to a version of the *Commune*, our critic expresses an opinion which has found a defender in Gropellier (*Revue de chant gregorien*, 1906, August-September). It is very characteristic of Bewerunge’s scientific merits and his modesty that he should reproach Gropellier as a “blunderer” and cast doubt on his capacity. I do not know whether my honored friend will bestow upon his adversary the answer due him. It is a question of the *Jubilus* in the *Alleluia* versicle, *His est sacerdos*:



Bewerunge says in his communication to Dom Mocquereau that the *Virga* belongs to what goes before it, and so the passage would have to read:



Here, however, I say that the *Vaticana* has impressed on the melisma an obviously classical symmetry and lucidity. Compare only the symmetry of the arrangement:



The combinations of *Virga* and *torculus*, indicated as a and a^1 , are most beautifully appropriate and the concluding forms b and b^1 show the same ratio; that is, b^1 is nothing else than b , introduced by a very practicable tri-strophe, which leads motion powerfully in the direction of rest. One sees it immediately when I set down both figures:



For practical purposes, they amount to almost the same thing. If we were to look particularly to the clearness of the composition and the reasonableness of the grouping brought about by giving back the melismas, we shall prefer the reading of the *Vaticana* for the very reason that it is actually not found in the earliest codices. The beautifully arranged melisma appears often in the liturgical year; people will rejoice over and over at its easy comprehensibility. The “older” form, on the contrary, is out of proportion, an undigested mass which keeps on turning around the same note in a senseless way.

We read in *Bewerunge* (p. 22) “here almost all old manuscripts have, etc.”, (p. 23) “almost all manuscripts have, etc.”, “the majority of the manuscripts have, etc.”, “the great majority of the manuscripts have, etc.”; the best *neumatic* manuscripts have, etc.”, (p. 24) “the oldest manuscripts have”, “most of the oldest manuscripts have”; (p. 25) “all of the oldest manuscripts have, etc.”, “here the *Vaticana* follows the Montpellier codex against almost all the oldest manuscripts, etc.”, etc., etc.

To make assertions of this kind, even to admit, if we should admit, their correctness, is simply to miss the heart of the matter. Here *Bewerunge* would have to weigh the differing versions against each other, historically, critically, and aesthetically. He would have to show how the later one arose, what aims it pursued; whether they are today still desirable, etc. All these difficult questions, which indeed are not to be answered except with the tools of an objective, historical training, *Bewerunge* does not once put to himself. Therefore all these judgments about the worth of the *Vaticana* are to be challenged. That it is very convenient to group the manuscripts according to their readings and then to make the majority prevail against the minority, and older readings against the more recent, I am willing to believe. To these exterior criteria, however, the interior must be added, and this necessity *Bewerunge* completely denies.

Not without quiet joy, moreover, shall we be taught that in several places the *Vaticana* follows “only the manuscripts from Montpellier and Saint Gall.” The *Paléographie Musicale* has, from the beginning, established its work on the foundation of the Saint

Gall tradition and its highly prized “purity” and “dependability” in all musical forms. As a further memorial to Roman church song, it published the Montpellier manuscripts, several of the few from the 11th century, which put beyond doubt for us the pitch of the individual neums. And now suddenly the testimony of this “pure” tradition is no longer of any value. That is, to say the least, being ungrateful to these honorable documents, upon which up to now, the foundations of chant research have been built. In all these cases, trifles which can claim no great significance are brought forward for consideration. Although it would be attractive to become acquainted here with the great, extensive points of history which guide *Bewerunge*, I will not curtail his glee in such butcher-knife toil.

We learn a new peculiarity of *Bewerunge*’s criticisms from the way in which he discusses the Alleluia-verse *Justus ut palma*, p. 28. On the word *cedrus*, there is a long melisma, the peak-point of which the *Vaticana* shows:



Bewerunge wishes to say that many codices also show the figure:



With this example he says, in effect: “All other codices (except the Montpellier and the Marseille) have *c*.” I think that after all of our previous discussion we need not accept anything so apodictic. Here, we have again the change from *b* to *c*: German tradition naturally stands on the side of *c*. But just the fact that two old French codices have *b* calls for reflection; in any case, the reading with *b* is more homogeneous with the whole of Latin tradition, and that with *c*, with the German. Everyone who has taken only a brief look at the chant manuscript knows that. Accordingly, nothing is more natural than to assume that here *b* was the original Latin expression, but that in our case, the process of the change of *b* to *c* impressed its traces even in the Latin books. Whether this is the reason for which the *b* was employed in the *Vaticana*, I do not know. This use of *b*, however, is an absolutely satisfactory confirmation of the Vatican reading. One example shows that we may not take up blindly everything that occurs in the manuscripts, even if they are the “oldest”. We take them up not to *count* the readings, but to *weigh* them. Again *Bewerunge* finds the gradation of the neums in the *Liber Usualis* “much more suitable” than in the *Vaticana*. This, again, must be an “aesthetic” question for immediately afterward, *Bewerunge* remarks that the grouping of longer neums is a matter “in which good taste must play a great role, since the manuscripts frequently give no sure in-

dication." Let us see where good taste is to be found. The *Vaticana* gives this arrangement:

I illustrate only this part of the neum; the rest is similarly arranged in the *Vaticana* and in the *Liber Usualis*. We have here the repetition of a combination of notes, *A*, which very clearly is composed of three members, *a*, *b*, and *c*. Figure *a* begins with an interesting upward movement which is obviously suggested⁵ by the image of the cedar rising heavenward, but then adds two descending notes. This unusual upward swing of the figure *a* prolongs, through figures *b* and *c*, the fitting relation and rest. That the three figures are related to one another is just what makes the two clives, with which they end, significant. As a whole, the three figures offer the proportion $8+7+7$, or preferably

$$\underbrace{2 + 2 + \bar{2} + \bar{2}}_a + \underbrace{3 + \bar{2} + \bar{2}}_b + \underbrace{3 + \bar{2} + \bar{2}}_c.$$

The figures with a line above indicate the clives which correspond to one another. I think that the neums cannot be classified in a more intelligent manner, more logically placed, or more clearly grasped.

The *Liber Usualis* 1903 (pg. 660) groups differently:

⁵For the effective use of tone-pictures, it is unimportant whether the line goes up to *b* or *c*. The characteristic feature is the triumphant upward swing.

Here we have for *a*, *b*, and *c* the proportions 11+7+4; that is, no equivalence at all. I leave it to the reader to decide where the more "adequate" distribution of the neums is, and whether or not this satisfies our critic's good taste. I personally rejoice that the *Vaticana* has arranged the melisma with such understanding and logic.

The melody of the Alleluia *Haec est virgo sapiens* "calls forth criticism." *Bewerunge* finds fault with this Alleluia passage because in counting the liturgical repetitions, one and the same figure appears ten times. I do not know the origin of this melody, but I beg the critic to direct his criticism first against the Alleluia *Exivi a Patre* of the 5th Sunday after Pentecost (e. g. *Liber Usualis* 1903, p. 443) which is exactly the same. Here, too, the *Vaticana* finds itself in good company.

Bewerunge (pp. 32-33) devotes a somewhat longer treatment to the psalm-form of the Introit of the 6th mode. As this affair is of some importance for the whole *Graduale* (not only for the *Communione*) I, too, will express myself somewhat more fully on it, the more especially since very superficial things about the attitude of the *Vaticana* on this point have been said publicly.

Is the mediant of the form of the *c*-tones to be established as:

Example A

Ó-pe-ra Dó-mi-ni Dó-mi-no.

or as

Example B

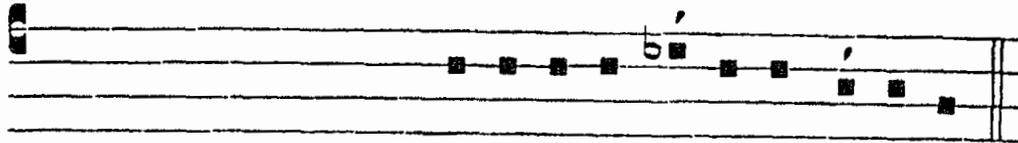
Ó-pe-ra Dó-mi-ni Dó-mi-no.

That, in the union of text and formula, is only the last word accent taken into consideration (in our case *Dó*[*mino*]) while the three notes *g*, *b*, *a* are indiscriminately assigned to the three immediately preceding syllables (Example A)—or has the form to consider two accents—so that the second last accent (in our case *Dó*[*mini*]) receives the high note *b*, with the *g* assigned to the preceding syllable? (Example B)

Here *Bewerunge* remarks that the middle cadence with *g* as its first note was not treated as a cadence with two accents before

the 14th century. Therefore B did not exist before the 14th century. This is very definitely expressed and since the *Vaticana* generally has decided for B, we have a decision readily at hand. But let us look out; perhaps here too a small misfortune has befallen our critic. In any case, I invite the friendly reader to a walk into the Middle Ages, from the 15th century backwards.

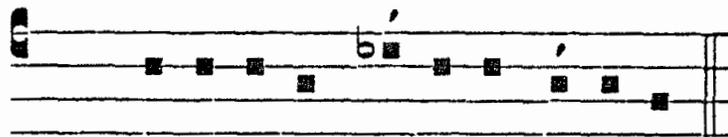
The *Karlsruher Manuscripts*, p. 16, a *Graduale* with Gothic notes from the 14th-15th centuries, furnishes me this little table.



Intr. Cantate Domino p. 146:	déxte-ra e - ius
Intr. Omnes gentes p. 149:	pó-pu-los nó - bis
Intr. Respice in me p. 163:	á-nimam me - am
Intr. Sacerdotes Dei p. 215:	Dó-mi-ni Dó-mi-no.

Here the cadence with two accents is treated as in the *Vaticana*.

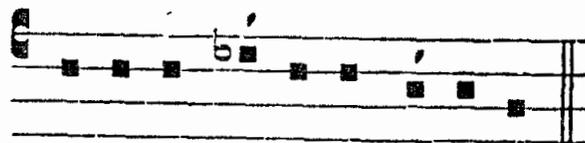
A *Graduale* from the 14th century which its owner, Mr. L. Rosenthal, kindly lent me for study some years ago in Munich. It was written in Italy for a Franciscan Church. There too we read:



p. 75:	e - um ¹) déxte-ra e - ius
p. 84:	le-vá - vi á-nimam me - am
p. 161:	ó-pe - ra Dó-mi-ni Dó-mi-num.

That is the reading of the *Vaticana*, including the preparatory g.

To the 13th century belongs the *Graduale* of Saint Thomas Church in Leipzig, one of the few which still contains the Communion verse in full.

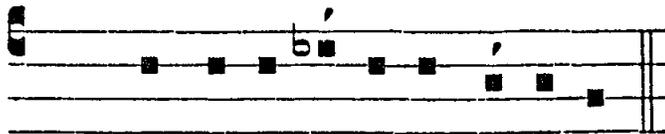


p. 127:	déxte-ra e - ius
p. 156:	á-nimam me - am
p. 159:	pó-pu-los no - bis
p. 192:	Dó-mi-ni Dó-mi-no.

¹ Here the scribe has, by oversight written "eum" instead of "sibi".

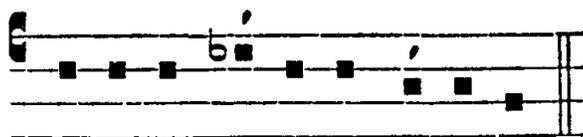
Still more numerous are the examples for the Communion verse; I refer to pp. 7, 11, 14, 55, 117, 159, and 204.

Somewhat older is the Trier manuscripts (Codex Bohn) already referred to. Here is its reading:



p. 86: imma-cu - lá - ti in vi - a
 p. 130: déxte-ra e - ius
 p. 152: á - nimam me - am
 p. 156: pó - pu - los no - bis
 p. 208: Dó - mi - ni Do - mi - no.

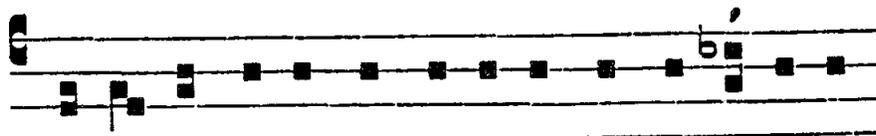
The testimony of the *Graz manuscripts* from the 12th century, likewise mentioned previously, is this:



fol. 39: Dó - mi - ni Dó - mi - no
 fol. 112: déxte - ra e - ius
 fol. 149: á - nimam me - am
 fol. 151: pó pu - los no - bis
 fol. 156: pó su - it il - lud.

That again is the procedure of the *Vaticana*.

An equally old manuscript of the Munich City and State Library, (Codex 14.95a) gives the following example:



Gló - ri - a Pa tri et Fi - li - o et Spi - rí - tu - i

Here, both notes in question, *g* and *b*, are assigned to the accented syllable. Accordingly we find this cadence not first in the 14th century, but also in the 12th century. *Bewerunge* has made an error of a trifle of two-hundred years. But the procedure of the *Vaticana* may be followed even back to the Saint Gall codices of the most ancient date.

The *Saint Gall manuscript* 381 from the 11th century contains, among other things, the complete Introit and Communion

verses of the liturgical year, expressed with neums. Some years ago I copied in full this precious memorial, and I present here its testimony. I admit that it, in most cases, exhibits the treatment of the text designated as A. But not in all; sometimes the scribe had scruples, and then he wrote the version established exactly from the Munich manuscripts; or the version of the *Vaticana*! (Here too, as in previous examples, I leave the liquescence out of consideration:)

p 58: mi-se-ri-cór·dī - am tu-am

p. 65: immácu-lá - ti in ví - a

p. 80: in cor - de su - o

p. 80: conspéctu e - ius ma - lignus.

Compare also p. 116, *homines in nos*; p. 123, *gloriam Dei and neque sermones*; p. 132, *repulisti in finem*; p. 134, *immaculati in via*. Here the treatment of the *Vaticana* is recognizable everywhere.

Perhaps you wish to decide whether errors of this kind establish beyond doubt the possibility of, and the justification for, a struggle against a Papal chant-book.

The question of practical performance may be only touched upon here. One may doubt whether the interpretation proposed by *Bewerunge* could really pass over into flesh and blood for our singers; it shows a somewhat forcible subjugation of a word-accent to a melody fitted to something else. In any case, that was the very reason why the effort was made as far back as the 11th century to bring words and melodic accent into harmony. Our church-singers will give thanks to the *Vaticana* for having removed one more difficulty.

What *Bewerunge* says (p. 33) of the final cadence of the same form is just as absurd; he has not even grasped the procedure of the *Vaticana*, or possesses only a warped notion of the contents of tradition.

Finally, the textual changes in the *Vaticana* do not please *Bewerunge*. He demands a separate decree from the Congregation of Rites. He may be at peace, and leave this affair to those whom it concerns more closely. Meanwhile we recommend first, that he show due obedience to the decrees of Rome, which he has condemned in such an unseemly way in his first brochure (p. 80: cf. above, p. 23 ff.).

It would be superfluous to examine Bewerunge's criticisms any further. What we have attempted along this line is enough to make possible a well-founded judgment about his polemic. Anyway, I do not doubt that other more deserving members of the Papal commission, out of the treasury of their own observations, could bring forth just as weighty and even more weighty points in defense of the Papal work.⁷

I was limited to the material which I occasionally collected in the libraries without having even the remotest idea that some of it would some day find use in a defense against attacks on a Papal chant edition. Bewerunge explains (p. 4) that only the love of truth supplied the motive for his writings. I pay all respect to his effort; but I ask: is it a service to truth when one serves the public ungrounded accusations and criticisms, such as his brochures unfortunately contain in great number? I think not, especially when it inveighs against a work which is supported by the highest authority in this world.

Our critic has the honorable privilege of wearing the clerical dress. Perhaps he is thereby pledged to special loyalty to the Apostolic See. That honor was not granted to me, and so, not without difficulty, do I hold back the thoughts that I have in my heart, and which are pressing to flow from my pen. I keep silence all the more willingly since he is not the instigator of the polemic against the *Vaticana*. I claim the right to defend, without any restriction, the decrees of the Holy Father against anyone, whoever he may be; especially when disdain for the clearly expressed will of the pope, scientific incompetence, the inability to grasp the events of history according to historical principles, and unfortunately, too, a certain levity, are making trouble.

People will sympathize with me if, in the study of Bewerunge's writings I have often been angered at the superficiality which accompanies an exhibition of big words. Yet the feeling was always choked down because of the pain over the unworthy treatment given a work springing from the initiative of the pope.

⁷ I, too, know that the *Editio Vaticana* is not an absolutely complete work; to be sure, some of my suggestions for improvement lie in another direction than those of Bewerunge. Thus it would have been very advantageous, if the *Vaticana*, in the grouping of melismas, had departed still further from the procedure of the *Liber Usualis*. Yet the public has no interest in learning my private opinion in these things. I am satisfied with the fact that Rome has not excluded the possibility of a later revision of the *Vaticana*, though fortunately not at an early date (cf. the communication of the Papal secretary of state to the archbishop of Cologne). All reasonable demands should be satisfied with that. Indeed, I believe that the progressive realization of the Vatican standpoint in chant affairs and the numerous details taken up by the *Vaticana* will justify it more powerfully than I have.

He who knows the leaders of the struggle against the *Vaticana* and their stubborn defense of the ideas which they have made their own, has, unfortunately, little hope that the distressing spectacle which they present to the Catholic world will soon have an end. But I ask, *whither is this to lead?* Has a religious society the right to show contempt for the will of the head of the Church before the whole world? Has it the right to assume the position of true ecclesiastical authority, and in a matter which is within the competence of the Church, give to the Catholic world its teachings and counsels about these matters?

How, finally, must the world judge the fact that a rival edition is to be opposed to the Vatican edition? *Bewerunge* is already announcing it and actually concludes both of his brochures recommending it. Indeed, he hopes that the rival *Graduale* will see the light of day even before the *Graduale* of Pius. And then they will call out: *Here Pius X, there Solesmes!* But what will the publication of their frond offer? The oldest interpretation, the ancient form of the liturgical chant? The highly esteemed "purity" of the Gregorian melodies? Their "authentic", "correct", etc. version? On this point, I must give a very brief answer.

No one, I think, will reproach me with rejecting, on principle, the evidence of the chant manuscripts; for it is known that I have been working with them for more than fifteen years. Nevertheless, I am convinced that if any memorials whatsoever of early art are to be treated with critical prudence and a consideration of the *milieu* from which they originate, it is the chant manuscripts. I have already pointed out that liturgical melody, up to far into the 12th century, did not make exclusive use of diatonic tones, such as we have since Guido's line-system. Later research will have still more interesting things to determine on this point. Furthermore, it is certain that from this period of the chant, surely not yet to be described as "archaic", numerous peculiarities penetrated the later tradition and had to be tolerated as modifications. Here we are treading upon the highly interesting frontier between medieval-Greek and Latin music, which has not yet disclosed the historical facts hidden beneath it.

One who makes pretence of awakening the "oldest" choral tradition, must, in the name of historical accuracy, be required to present the total mass of non-diatonic scales of the period before Guido, and to some extent after this period. If he does not do that—and the chant edition of Solesmes will, for good reason, not do it—then the *work has no title to historical accuracy*. To that I add, that *this one argument is most unfavorable to the method of work*

of the Solesmes chant research-workers, but is in a position to justify splendidly the fundamental attitude of the Vatican chant edition. Those who call for the "oldest" chant version do not in the least suspect what an unscientific position they have placed themselves in. It will avail them nothing to disregard this argument and to carry on ostrich-politics. We have the right to hold before them constantly the fact that they have not even once proposed the fundamental question of their restoration, that they are building in the air without noticing that there is no foundation. It has been said that the *Editio Vaticana* will be a patchwork; with far greater right may this reproach be raised against the rival edition, the foundations of which are so unhistorical. It will never, never present the chant of the oldest documents, because it cannot.

In this connection, there is an especial chapter of the archaic chant praxis, the *ornamental notes*, which have been able to maintain themselves even in our diastematic tradition. No human being knows to this day exactly how they were brought in; quite generally one quickly accepts note-forms which are somewhat like our trills, mordents, etc. Even the explanation of the bi-strophe and tri-strophe is not established beyond all doubt. The *Vaticana* has its treatment in the late Middle Ages as a precedent and rightly so. But let him who clamors for the version of the "oldest" manuscripts first explain to us what the numerous ornaments of the *Saint Gall* mss. mean. (cf. for example, Dechevrens, *Etudes*, III, pp. 140-ff., or Houdard, *Rythme du chant dit gregorien*, p. 8, illustration X). Then we will put to him the question of whether or not things of this kind are still possible under modern conditions. I fear that still powerful illusions prevail in the case of some chant scholars. But, surely, here too the edition rivalling the *Vaticana*, in spite of all promises, would not present the oldest version, but the praxis of the late Middle Ages.

These facts and many more could be amassed to confirm the assertion that a *philological-critical restoration of the oldest chant form is a matter of impossibility and its resurrection in practice is equally so*. It would be better to accept this state of affairs, dry and cold as it is, than to give oneself up to fantastic aspirations and exclamations.

It is a fine thing to have in one's work-room many valuable photographic reproductions of chant manuscripts, and I envy those who are in this fortunate situation. The Fathers of Solesmes possess, we are told, about four-hundred such photographs of manuscripts. For part of these treasures, they are indebted to the favor of the Holy See, whose letter of recommendation opened to them

libraries which they would otherwise never have entered. So much the more could we expect that they would selflessly place their archival material at the disposal of the Holy Father. The Catholic world would have considered this as a quite ordinary gesture lending powerful support to the Papal project. Such is not the case. A promise was made, to be sure, by a highly placed person to one in a still higher position, but later the promise was not kept. Rather, weapons were forged against Papal intervention. Since such a procedure passes sentence on itself, I shall go no further into it. It remains only to say a word about the manner in which this material was worked upon. The Solesmes "critical" method investigates each single note or group in accord with its manuscript tradition; the melodic text of each individual portion is established on the basis of the whole material. This method certainly testifies to much labor, to diligence and high endeavor. But is it free from bias? This question I cannot answer in the affirmative. For the possibility is that we end up with a mode of singing which has never and nowhere existed. The newly employed statistical investigation of the materials of the readings for individual notes or groups, brings nothing but scraps of melody, each of which, looked at in itself, appears in its "purest" and "oldest" reading. However, together they all produce melodies which have never existed in that form. The purely statistical method of research for the "oldest" version can thus logically turn into the other extreme *to the denial of any tradition*. This is a grave matter, and what has recently been announced about the treatment of versions by the Solesmes chant scholars, is in no way calculated to dispel this idea.

One of the most characteristic traits of the Solesmes school is what I might call the *dogmatic* interpretation of the problem of tradition. Recently they have gone further and constructed for themselves a hieratic art *ne varietur* (Cagin in the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, 1905), a fiction against which the whole traditional choral science as handed down to us raises loudest protest. The difference between the Solesmes method and the historical could not be better proved. Here lies the last defense of the idea that only the most ancient version should be used for chant reform. It arouses the feeling of infallibility, which none of the other chant scholars claims for himself, and which has such a corrupting influence on a writer without scholarly qualifications. Here, too, lies the ground for the musical asceticism which in the course of years has settled down upon the chief representatives of the Solemn research, and developed into a certain heroism. How could one judge otherwise, when in all seriousness, completely archaic practices were to be

imposed upon the singer of the 20th century? Everyone else knows that at best a thing of this kind is possible only when it can be more or less hermetically sealed off from art in general; but it is not possible for those who must have a direct and living intercourse with it. How much such autocratic teachings impose upon the lowly, we see from the fact that *Bewerunge* (first Brochure, p. 26) already speaks "of a morbid fear of the Tritonus." Is the state of health, here portrayed in the leaders of archaeology, to consist solely in a lack of musical and historical culture? It has been clearly pointed out that just such weighty considerations make themselves felt with regard to the rhythmical side of choral reform. It will require a real transformation of choral writing from the ground up, if, for example, the nuances in rhythm of the Saint Gall manuscripts are to be incorporated into it. There has not, indeed, been an absence of effort in this matter. However, much of it is an arbitrary product, and even more a direct falsification of tradition by means of a new rhythmic theory. In any case, the Catholic Church is a poor field for the experimentation of immature, unscientific amateurs.

All in all, the rival edition will exert no heaven-storming influences, and the *Vaticana* can go peacefully on its way. The authority of a pope will give it secure guidance, when the sad shortsightedness of his unruly children permit the giving. Besides, the war of brochures against the *Vaticana*, which perhaps will be renewed from time to time, will lose the charm of novelty. It is to be hoped, however, that men who will take up the struggle for the work of Pius X will not be found wanting.

There is no reason for dissatisfaction. Everyone may, with full confidence, accept the Vatican edition. The illuminating word of a pope called it forth and guards it from danger. It will have, as a consequence, a vigorous reawakening of the ancient art, in a way that corresponds to the will of the highest law-giver of the liturgy and the traditional rules of choral art.