

THE GRADUALE ROMANUM:
A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO CHANT RESTORATION
A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE
MASTER OF MUSIC
BY
KEVIN A. FRECKER
DR. MURRAY STEIB, ADVISOR
BALL STATE UNIVERSITY
MUNCIE, INDIANA
DECEMBER 2011

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my advisor, Dr. Murray Steib, for his continuous support throughout the development of this thesis, for his numerous suggestions to improve my writing and my arguments, and for his advice on continuing my education. I would also like to thank Dr. Heather Platt for serving on my thesis committee and for being a necessary difficult voice toward my continuous academic improvement. Also, thanks to Dr. Kirby Koriath for serving on my committee and for providing two years of organ lessons. I am also grateful to Dr. Linda Pohly for clearing up several formatting issues concerning this thesis, as well as for her advice throughout my time as a music history student and for her direction as I taught MUHIS 100.

Special thanks go to several individuals who have not been directly involved with my thesis but have made important contributions to my two years at Ball State and to this work. Thanks to Linda Elliott for answering questions and for admitting me into classes and lessons for which I needed permission to enter. Thanks to Amy Edmonds at the Ball State University Music Collection for helping me search through resources on Gregorian chant and for continuous interest in my thesis. Thanks also to the entire Music Collection staff for their assistance in my frequent visits and checkouts. Special thanks go to William P. Mahrt and Jeffery Tucker from the Church Music Association of America,

musicasacra.com, and *Sacred Music* for providing the inspiration to pursue this direction of study and for making available several of the resources used throughout this project. I would also like to thank my parents—Melvin and Nicki—and siblings—Nicholas, Melissa, Joy, Nina, and Lydia—who have witnessed my progress on this thesis and have supported me throughout the entire process. Finally, I must thank God for giving me my musical talent and the desire to learn and study the art and science of music.

CHAPTER 1

The *Graduale Romanum* of 1908, an Exposition

The work of the monks at the abbey of Solesmes during the nineteenth century dominated the attempts at the restoration of Gregorian chant for the Roman Catholic liturgy. Their influence on the official Vatican chant books published in the early twentieth century is an eloquent witness to that dominance. The dynamics and conflicts that arose in this era of chant study both from within Solesmes and from without have been well documented and discussed. This thesis will convey a new perspective on this period of chant restoration by focusing on the *Graduale Romanum*, one of the early twentieth-century Vatican chant books. This first chapter has a fivefold purpose: to briefly introduce to the dynamics surrounding chant restoration during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to identify the issue addressed in this thesis, to introduce some key terms and sources that will be used throughout the thesis, to review some of the relevant literature that discusses this period of chant restoration, and to outline the direction taken in the remainder of the thesis.

From its founding in 1833, the abbey of Solesmes in France was the leading center for chant scholarship. Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805–1875), the abbey's founder, placed a strong emphasis on the Roman Catholic liturgy and on the use of Gregorian

chant within that liturgy. His work was continued and expanded by Dom Joseph Pothier (1835–1923) and Dom André Mocquereau (1849–1930), who returned to medieval chant sources and reproduced them as closely as possible in new chant books. At the same time, members of the Cecilian movement, particularly in Germany and to a lesser extent Italy, were also interested in chant. This movement, although rather disorganized, was unified in its attempt to free music in the Catholic liturgy from secular influences. While the Cecilians promoted a return to chant, they advocated the use of already existing chant books and issued new ones based on sources no earlier than the 1500s; for example, their edition of the *Graduale Romanum* of 1871 was based on the Medici *Graduale* of 1614.¹ Despite criticisms of its inaccuracy in relation to medieval chant sources, this edition became the official Vatican edition of chant. The monks at Solesmes, determined to replace this version with one of their own, began to promote their publications of chant, particularly Pothier's *Liber Gradualis* of 1883, which was reissued in 1895.

Eventually, enough support was garnered for the Solesmes chant books that the Vatican did not renew its contract with the publisher Pustet, who held the rights to the 1871 *Graduale Romanum* which was supported by the Cecilians. In 1903 Pope Pius X called for the creation of a new and official edition of chant based on the Solesmes editions; this new edition was to be used throughout the Catholic world. This edition is often referred to as the Vatican Edition, and was to include not only the *Graduale Romanum* but other chant books such as the *Kyriale* and the *Antiphonale*. Pius's preference for Solesmes was tempered by his appeal to model modern editions that

¹ Anthony Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform: Treasures and Transformations* (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2007), 97.

considered chants from throughout history rather than from any single time period. With this in mind, he established a commission to approve the form of the chants to be printed in the new edition. The commission, comprised of chant scholars with varying opinions on the proper approach to editing the chants, became a stage for heated debates particularly between Doms Pothier and Mocquereau. The latter wanted the new edition to be based on early medieval manuscripts while the former advocated a more eclectic approach that would consider both the oldest available sources and more contemporary practices. Mocquereau left the commission, and the *Graduale Romanum*, completed in 1908, was based largely on the 1895 version of Pothier's *Liber Gradualis*. This will be discussed further in chapter 2.

One question yet to be addressed by modern scholars is whether any contemporary nineteenth-century chant studies affected the Solesmes and Vatican chant publications, particularly the *Graduale Romanum*. To answer this question, my study will move beyond Solesmes to examine the dynamics at play among other chant scholars active at the time, including those in the Cecilian movement. I will show that the nineteenth-century restoration of Gregorian chant resulting in the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908 developed a comprehensive historical perspective to the creation of chant editions, reflecting not only the work of Solesmes but also of other chant scholars of the time.

To support this thesis, I will investigate two aspects of late nineteenth-century chant restoration. First, prior to the publication of the *Graduale Romanum*, the conflict between Solesmes and the opposing Cecilian movement over the proper approach to chant restoration brought restored chants from Solesmes into the hearing of a large

number of Catholics in Europe, including Rome. This increased the awareness of how inauthentic the standard chants of the late 1800s were when compared to manuscripts from the Middle Ages. Even Pope Leo XIII, who had supported the *Graduale Romanum* of 1871, realized by the 1890s that through its research Solesmes supported stronger arguments of authenticity than did Pustet.² Second, because the revision of Gregorian chant was intended for use within Catholic liturgy, chant scholars defended the use of more recent sources of chant since these were more recognizable than the medieval chants and thus were well suited to aid the practical implementation of a new version of chant. This position, raised most vocally by Peter Wagner,³ did not convince Mocquereau, who wanted the new edition to be based only on the medieval manuscripts. After he left the commission, the remaining members turned toward a more comprehensive approach to chant scholarship.

Some of the terms that I use in my thesis have a variety of definitions; in order to avoid confusion I will give the definition as I use it. Perhaps the most important is the term “restoration.” This will be used in its nineteenth-century context, denoting the renewed importance given to Gregorian chant in the Roman Catholic liturgy and the interest in returning to authentic chants.⁴ The authentic ideal took many forms, but this

² Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore N. Marier and William Skinner (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 135–37.

³ Peter Wagner, “The Attack on the Vatican Edition: A Rejoinder,” *Caecilia* 87 (1960): 10–44. Originally published in German, 1907.

⁴ John A. Emerson, Jane Bellingham, and David Hiley, “Plainchant, §11: Restoration and Reform in the Nineteenth Century,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 29, 2010, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/.

study will focus on the objective of the *Graduale Romanum* and how various sources contributed to or diminished the accomplishment of that ideal.

Another important concept is what I call the “comprehensive historical perspective.” This indicates that editorial considerations are based not on a single source or one historical period but on a broad range of available sources. For chant, this means that not only are the earliest sources considered, but also later sources that contain heavily altered chants.

The following important terms will describe several epochs of chant history, which are slightly different from the generally accepted eras of music history. “Medieval” will refer to the time before the mid-1500s, “post-Tridentine” to the period following the Council of Trent (mid-1500s) until approximately 1800, and “nineteenth- and twentieth-century chant” to the chants used in the respective centuries. Paleographic studies concern the study of medieval handwriting which, when applied to chant, result in facsimile reproductions of musical scores either by hand (a diplomatic facsimilie) or through photographic technology (a true facsimile edition).

The most important edition of chant from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the centerpiece of this study, is the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908, which contains the chants for the Proper and the Ordinary of the Mass. This gradual, often considered the best of its time, is generally used as a measuring rod for other editions of chant. In chapter 3 I will compare it to selected chants from earlier editions.

One of these earlier editions, the *Liber Gradualis*, was prepared by Dom Pothier in 1895 and became the basis for the Vatican edition. Johannes Berchmans Göschl

describes the latter as a lightly edited version of the former.⁵ The observations in this study confirm the close similarities between the two. The differences that exist between the 1895 *Liber Gradualis* and the 1908 *Graduale Romanum* and the reason for these differences will form one of the key components of the discussion in chapter 3.

Another significant edition is the 1871 Pustet edition of the *Graduale Romanum* (also referred to as the Ratisbon or Regensburg edition for the name of its editor or of the town of publication). It is basically a reprint of an earlier chant book, the Medici edition of 1614,⁶ which altered a large number of chants from their medieval originals to fit post-Tridentine ideals.⁷ It also was a rival edition to the chant books published by Solesmes, and as such was the driving force to develop a chant book that was more true to the chant as it was practiced in its origins. Because this important edition was used both in the Vatican and in other places throughout the Catholic world, it was bound to have at least some effect on the newer Vatican edition, which attempted to be comprehensive in its historical examination of chant. Chants from this edition will therefore be compared with those in the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908. I have found many differences between the two, which will be noted in chapter 3.

Several other sources of chant will supplement the three main sources mentioned above to make this study as complete as possible. The H. 159 Montpellier is a tonary from the eleventh century that includes the full chants of the Propers of the Mass, organized by church mode. It was published as a facsimile in volume 8 of Mocquereau's

⁵ Johannes Berchmans Göschl, "One Hundred Years of the Graduale Romanum," *Sacred Music* 135, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 18.

⁶ Sometimes called neo-Medicean. See Combe, 136.

⁷ Göschl, 14, 15.

Paléographie Musicale from 1901-1905, the same time frame in which work on the Vatican Edition was beginning.⁸ I will use the H. 159 Montpellier as an exemplary medieval resource. The *Graduale Pataviense*, published in Vienna around 1510, will provide an example of chant a few decades prior to the Council of Trent. The manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 13254 is a late twelfth-century monastic book from around Paris.⁹ Another source is the *Graduale Cisterciense* from the late twelfth century, which is catalogued as the Congrégation des Feuillants de la rue Saint-Honoré (Paris), Latin 17328. The Cistercians made frequent revisions to chant in their manuscripts, which included limiting the Graduals to an octave range, beginning and ending Intros on the final of the mode, and shortening melismatic passages.¹⁰ The thirteenth-century *Graduale Rotomagense* or the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 904, originated from Cathedral church at Rouen. Pothier knew this manuscript because he wrote about it in a three-author book (1907) at almost exactly the same time the *Graduale Romanum* was published (1908).¹¹ A final manuscript source is the fourteenth-century St. Thomas Gradual from the St. Thomas Church in Leipzig, Germany. This medieval manuscript was likely used or available for two hundred years

⁸ *H. 159 Montpellier: Tonary of St. Bénigne of Dijon*, transcribed and annotated by Finn Egeland Hansen (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1974), 16*.

⁹ David Hiley, "Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 249 (A. 280) and the Early Paris Repertory of Ordinary of Mass Chants and Sequences," *Music & Letters* 70, no. 4 (Nov., 1989): 473.

¹⁰ Henry Beverunge, "Plain Chant," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 12 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), accessed September 21, 2011, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12144a.htm/>.

¹¹ Henri Lorient, Joseph Pothier, and Armand Collette, *Le Graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIIIe siècle* (Rouen: J. Lecerf, 1907), accessed September 27, 2011, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl.loeb:2191699/>.

or more after St. Thomas became a Protestant church, and it was consulted by many famous cantors of the church, including Johann Sebastian Bach who used a chant in his B-minor Mass that matches the manuscript exactly.¹² Other chants will be taken from multiple nineteenth-century French and German graduals that are reprinted in Theodore Karp's study of post-Tridentine chant.¹³ This last source also will help determine the influence that chant scholars outside of Solesmes exerted on the 1908 *Graduale Romanum*.

The secondary sources that will be consulted in this study reflect the relatively small but significant literature on chant restoration. Early twentieth-century sources such as those by Raphael Molitor and Peter Wagner give an insight to the reasons surrounding the need for a new edition of chant and some of the difficulties that faced the preparation of the *Graduale Romanum*. Several later publications concerning chant literature focus on the involvement of Solesmes in Gregorian chant restoration, including monographs by Dom Pierre Combe and Katherine Bergeron and an article by Johannes Berchmans Göschl. Other articles or sections of larger works that have appeared within the last ten years emphasize other sources of chant during the nineteenth century; the authors Theodore Karp, Anthony Ruff, and Antonio Lovato exemplify this position.

The earliest of these publications, a booklet written by Father Raphael Molitor, appeared in June of 1904 addressed to German Catholic musicians regarding the

¹² Alexander Blachley, *Schola Antiqua - Plainchant and Polyphony in Medieval Germany (LP)* (program notes). Accessed on October 3, 2011, <http://sonusantiqua.foroactivo.com/t1529-schola-antiqua-plainchant-and-polyphony-in-medieval-germany-lp/>.

¹³ Theodore Karp, *An Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*, vol. 2 (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2005), 314-39.

forthcoming Vatican edition.¹⁴ Here he reveals that the contents of the new Vatican edition essentially will come from the early manuscripts of chant as compiled by Solesmes. Still, these chants closely resemble those found in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century German sources and can be easily accepted by the Germans. The proposed Vatican edition builds on the work of Solesmes by incorporating chants from numerous local traditions, thus fulfilling Pius X's *Motu proprio* on Gregorian chant and preserving chant tradition in the best possible way. In a practically oriented conclusion, Molitor points out that these medieval chants will not be too difficult for properly trained choirs and advises choir directors to continue using their current edition of chants until the Vatican edition comes out. Molitor's booklet both demonstrates optimism for the future of chant as work on the Vatican edition was in its earliest stages and addresses those who were suspicious of its intention.

Just three years later, Peter Wagner criticized the activism of Solesmes against the Vatican edition.¹⁵ He begins by describing the opposition to the Vatican chant books that developed during 1905–1906 as the commission was holding its meetings. (Solesmes by this time was no longer contributing to the editorial work on the Vatican edition.) While the opposition began anonymously, it found a voice in the writings of the monk Henry Berwerunge, a close ally of the Benedictines at Solesmes.¹⁶ Finally, Solesmes itself openly condemned the work of the Vatican commission. Wagner then refutes such

¹⁴ Raphael Molitor, *Our Position: A Word in Reference to the Plain Chant Question; In View of the Recent Pronouncements of Pius X and the Congregation of Sacred Rites* (pamphlet, 1904).

¹⁵ Wagner, 10–44.

¹⁶ Henry Berwerunge, "The Vatican Edition of Plain Chant, a Critical Study," *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 19, no. 457 (January 1906): 44–63.

criticisms that appear in a brochure by Berwerunge, illustrating his rationale with numerous examples of chant. While Solesmes claims to give the historically accurate and original chants, Wagner contends the contrary because they use sources dating back only to the late Middle Ages (approximately 1000–1400), resulting in melodies that never existed and thus destroying tradition. To find the melodies as they were first notated, one would have to look at manuscripts from the eighth to ninth centuries. Solesmes used manuscripts such as Laon 239, St. Gall 359, and H. 159 Montpellier,¹⁷ which come from the tenth and eleventh centuries, long after the first notations of chant. Finally, by believing their methods to be infallible, Solesmes was rebelling against the wishes of the highest authority in this matter, the pope. Despite these difficulties, Wagner confidently expected the new edition to be trustworthily and successfully published. This publication illustrates the conflict that developed during the preparation stages of the *Graduale Romanum* from the point of view of the most vocal supporter of the comprehensive historical perspective. While the sources by Wagner and Molitor illustrate opinions and issues raised in the process of the chant restoration, a more complete picture is needed.

Pierre Combe, a monk from Solesmes, traces the work of the monks at Solesmes, begun by Dom Guéranger in the first half of the nineteenth century and continued by Doms Pothier and Mocquereau into the early twentieth century.¹⁸ The bulk of this monograph consists of primary resources such as letters, memoranda, official church documents, and other writings, which Combe uses to follow the work of Solesmes. Often,

¹⁷ Göschl, 12.

¹⁸ Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore N. Marier and William Skinner (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003).

the monks worked under significant difficulties, including their exile from Solesmes between 1880 and 1895 and later from 1901 to 1922, suspicion of their chant studies by authorities in the Catholic Church, competition from the official Vatican edition published by Pustet, and opposition to their work from Germany. Eventually, their chant publications achieved enough widespread acclaim that Pope Pius X supported the creation of a new official Vatican edition of chant based on them. The commission established for this work became rather politically charged, but succeeded in bringing forth the desired editions. While Combe's work is a good resource concerning the role of Solesmes in chant restoration, it approaches the history mostly from the perspective of Solesmes and focuses on the success of Solesmes over other advocates of chant restoration. It is doubtful if such triumph was indeed complete.

Katherine Bergeron authored the only recent monograph concerned solely with Solesmes and chant restoration.¹⁹ Like Combe, she traces the history of the chant restoration conducted at Solesmes from the revival of the monastery in the first half of the nineteenth century through the appearance of the *Graduale Romanum* in 1908, although she draws on nineteenth-century cultural trends to explain that history instead of simply listing facts and evidence for them. Utilizing cultural theory, Bergeron often writes as if telling a story, filling in gaps in the documentary evidence with a great deal of conjecture. Most of this conjecture successfully relates chant restoration at Solesmes with architecture, literature, and politics from nineteenth-century France, although the latter is used almost exclusively in relation to the reestablishment of the abbey. Occasionally

¹⁹ Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

Bergeron attempts to connect two widely differing items without sufficiently explaining the connection between them. She focuses primarily on the difference between the approaches of Dom Pothier and Dom Mocquereau in the physical process of making chant editions. The contest between the two culminates with the controversies of the commission for the new Vatican editions of chant. In the end, Pothier's method emerged victorious as it was incorporated into the *Graduale Romanum*. While this is an engaging exposition of two important characters of chant restoration, the result is rather narrowly focused. Jann Pasler points out that Bergeron dwells almost exclusively on Solesmes and overlooks its connection to broader historical contexts such as nineteenth-century French society, the European-wide interest in chant restoration, and the pre-monastic lives of Doms Pothier and Mocquereau.²⁰ Bergeron's creative writing, particularly in the gaps of documented evidence, also seems to undermine the scholarly character of the work.

Johannes Berchmans Göschl gives a smaller-scale outline of the history of chant restoration prior to and during the creation of the Vatican edition of 1908, focusing on Solesmes in particular.²¹ He comments on the differences between the methods and positions of Doms Pothier and Mocquereau. Both men originally worked on the Vatican chant commission with Pothier as the leader, but after Mocquereau withdrew, the new edition became mostly based on Pothier's *Liber Gradualis* of 1895. The author compares readings of this *Liber Gradualis* with the *Graduale Romanum* to point out the similarity between the two. As a secondary point, he demonstrates the improvements of the

²⁰ Jann Pasler, Review of *Decadent Achievements: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*, by Katherine Bergeron, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (Summer 1999): 370-83.

²¹ Göschl, 8-25.

Graduale Romanum over the Pustet edition, illustrating his position with a sample chant from each *Graduale*. Despite the many mistakes that exist in the 1908 *Graduale Romanum*, the author praises it as a good basis for further improvements to the chants used in Catholic liturgy that have been made in the past 100 years. Although Göschl is correct to say that the Vatican edition is an improvement over the Pustet and very similar to the 1895 *Liber Gradualis*, a closer examination of the *Graduale Romanum* with the *Liber Gradualis* sources reveals that the situation is not as simple as he indicates.

The three preceding sources have all dealt primarily with the role of Solesmes in chant restoration. While the work of the monks was crucial for the appearance of the Vatican editions, numerous other chant scholars published graduals that reflected their own scholarship. Theodore Karp examines several chant editions that appeared throughout the nineteenth century and traces the trend toward a historical awareness of chant.²² After briefly mentioning the importance of notation and text in these editions, Karp compares thirteen different nineteenth-century sources of chant. These include numerous French sources, two editions by Pustet, two editions by the German chant scholar Michael Hermesdorff, and the *Liber Gradualis* of 1895 from Solesmes. The many differences among the chants indicate that the push toward historical revisions was by no means unified. In fact, even the historical approach could vary—some used post-Tridentine sources, others used medieval sources, and still others simply revised contemporary versions instead of restoring historical chants. Karp concludes that even though Solesmes attempted to clear up the inconsistencies between editions, such

²² Karp, vol. 1, 271-91.

differences persisted to a minimal degree even after the appearance of the 1908 *Graduale Romanum*. Solesmes was aware of the inconsistencies in the various movements concerning chant restoration, but believed their own solution was the best. It is likely that the diversity of approaches prevented Solesmes from attaining their ultimate goal of a universal edition of chant that was the direct product of their work.

Anthony Ruff describes the development of the Cecilian movement in Europe throughout the nineteenth century and its promotion of Gregorian chant.²³ It fostered the reform of music within the Catholic Church, emphasizing both chant and sacred polyphony, but it was not well organized and viewpoints often clashed. Although chant was important to the Cecilians, the movement did not promote a return to medieval sources for chant editions as did Solesmes. Rather, the focus centered on new editions of established chant sources as shown in the German edition published by Pustet in 1871 that was based on the Medici edition of 1614. They justified the use of this edition not only because it had the stamp of church authority behind it but also because it was mistakenly believed to have been compiled by Palestrina. This became the official Vatican edition of chant for thirty years. Ruff also discusses the history of chant reform in a similar vein to the sources above, focusing particularly on the monks at Solesmes and citing the importance of their paleographic studies of medieval chant sources. He also describes the battle during the late 1800s between the Solesmes editions and the Pustet edition and the revision of the Vatican edition in the early 1900s. He notes the conflict

²³ Ruff, 74-129.

between Solesmes and the German Cecilians in the chant reform debate and is more objective in his approach than Combe.

Antonio Lovato also discusses the influence of the Cecilian movement on Catholic liturgical music, particularly in Italy.²⁴ While this movement is often viewed as a nostalgic ideal for separating church music from secular contamination, this article accounts for the cultural and anthropological reasons for its success. Several publications promoted the movement, such as the Italian periodical *La civiltà cattolica*. Through the second half of the nineteenth century, this periodical maintained that church music should emphasize textual clarity rather than emotional responses and focused mostly on plainsong and other liturgical music. Between 1887 and 1892, a series of articles appeared in *La civiltà cattolica* by Angelo De Santi in which he searches for the true role of music in worship. Echoing the earlier position of *La civiltà cattolica*, he criticizes and rejects the emotionalist music of his time for making music an end rather than a means. He explains that music is most meaningful when it engages the mind, especially when connected with words. Gregorian chant focuses on the words more than any other form of music and so is more appropriate than any other form of music for use in the liturgy. To illustrate his point, De Santi gives a history of liturgical music from its origins in Gregorian chant to the fifteenth century, highlighting those events that in his view led to the demise of liturgical music even as those same events had led to new developments in music. Lovato concludes that De Santi's role in the Cecilian movement is not merely

²⁴ Antonio Lovato, "The Cecilian Movement and Musical Historiography in Italy: The Contribution of Angelo De Santi," in *Music's Intellectual History*, ed. Zdravko Blažecović and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie (New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2009), 241-49.

propaganda or nostalgia but rather an attempt to find the true expression of prayer for the Church universal. This position is very similar to the historical approach of Solesmes to Gregorian chant. The success of De Santi and others in the Cecilian movement promoting this ideal could very well have accounted for the eventual success of the Solesmes editions.

One final resource by Karl Gustav Fellerer falls slightly out of the topical sphere of the preceding resources. While it does not directly address the restoration of chant and was written in the late 1940s, it follows De Santi's lead by tracing the history of music in the Catholic Church. Fellerer finds four phases in this history, which can very briefly be described with the following characteristics: the earliest roots of Catholic music in Judaism and the development of Gregorian chant, the age of polyphony, the infiltration of new secular forms of music into Catholic worship, and the reforms of the liturgy and renewed interest in Gregorian chant. While this resource is designed to be read by the average reader and not necessarily the scholar (restricted bibliography is probably its weakest point) it nevertheless attempts to be as clear and simple as possible, supporting its arguments with numerous musical examples. While not specifically centered on chant restoration, a significant but small portion of the book, this resource explains how music in the Catholic liturgy progressed through history toward the restoration of Gregorian chant.

As demonstrated in the sources described above, the history of the restoration of Gregorian chant from Solesmes and its influence on the *Graduale Romanum* has been well documented and explored. These sources establish that Solesmes and specifically

Dom Pothier more or less single-handedly brought about the historically-minded chant found in the *Graduale Romanum*. A discussion of the work of Solesmes has not been the focal point of a major work since Bergeron's book thirteen years ago, suggesting that the general understanding of Solesmes's role in chant restoration is adequately established. What these sources overlook, however, is the influence of chant restorers outside Solesmes and their effect on the successes and failures of Solesmes as manifested in the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908. I intend to show that Solesmes was not the only contributor to these important books, and that even their polarized relationship with the Cecilians bore fruit in the *Graduale Romanum*.

Why is it important now to return to an edition of chants that was compiled over one hundred years ago and is out of date? First, the *Graduale Romanum* was ahead of its time as a historically comprehensive edition of music—only years afterward did another appear. Second, chant was and still is a living music. Quite often it seems to be relegated exclusively to scholarly study, both one hundred years ago and today. The editors of the *Graduale Romanum* had an eye toward performance within chant's natural liturgical setting. Historical comprehensiveness covered both the origins of the chants as well as contemporary practices, and did not result in a simple reproduction of chants from old manuscripts that may differ both from other important sources and from contemporary practice. My thesis will examine the choices that go into making new editions of chant and thus aid the understanding of both scholars and performers who study chant.

To achieve these ends, I will employ a combination of historical and analytical approaches. With the primary and secondary literature I will discuss the nature of the

debates surrounding the origins of the *Graduale Romanum* and use them as documented evidence to show if any of the non-Solesmes chants had an effect on this book. This will be the major focus of chapter 2. My analytical approach will consist of comparisons between the various editions of chant enumerated above with appropriate examples, focusing on representative chants that suggest whether or not these sources had an effect on the *Graduale Romanum*. The chants are taken from the Propers of the four Sundays in Advent—from the Proper of the Mass and not from the Ordinary since these chants form the bulk of the *Graduale Romanum*. The Sundays of Advent allow me to compare chants from my sources with the nineteenth-century chants in Karp's book, which he draws from the Second Sunday of Advent. In addition, the Advent Propers demonstrate certain differences among editions that are not as strong in other sections of the *Graduale Romanum*. For example, three out of the four Introits of the Advent Sundays in the 1895 *Liber Gradualis* contain second endings; such endings occur in only five Introits from the next fourteen Sundays and important feast days. Other editions lack second endings. This and more analytical commentary will form the content of chapter 3. Chapter 4 will summarize the results found in chapters 2 and 3, propose directions for future study, and give brief concluding remarks on practical use for this study of the *Graduale Romanum*.

CHAPTER 2

Toward a New Edition of Chant

The history of chant restoration is really an account of two distinct but related time periods. Most immediately it is a retelling of the debates surrounding the nineteenth-century restoration of Gregorian chant. More remotely, however, it deals with the creation and development of Gregorian chant centuries earlier. Karl Gustav Fellerer, remarking about the manner in which one should approach history, says “a present day evaluation [for any historical consideration] is far too heavily injected into the consideration of the past and the meaning of the historical reality is clouded. A true historical method must represent and evaluate ancient art in the spirit of its own age; its present day value is a question of another sphere.”¹ In other words, scholars must be careful that the perspectives and opinions of one’s own time not distort the perception of the past. However, one cannot fully escape the perspectives of our current time nor perfectly understand the past simply because of the time gap and the experiences that a person encounters. The people and organizations who were active in chant restoration are good examples of how concurrent trends and polemics influenced their views on history.

¹ Karl Gustav Fellerer, *The History of Catholic Church Music*, trans. Francis A. Brunner, C.Ss.R. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 5. Originally published in German, 1949.

This challenge to scholars—to not misrepresent the past while still dealing with current viewpoints of that past—also affects performers of early music. For example, as Edward Schaefer points out, eighteenth-century music is performed today by individuals such as Gustav Leonhardt, with period instruments or copies of period instruments and informed performance practices of phrasing and articulation; but for all the knowledge and research that go into this music, the group still cannot give us an exact replica of the way the same music was listened to in the eighteenth century. The three hundred years of music created since then shapes our perception of music from that century in a different way from the perception of people living in the eighteenth century. At the same time, such performance techniques bring the music of that century alive in our time and bridge the two centuries through a tradition of performance.²

The study and performance of Gregorian chant also triggers this tension between representing its practice during the Middle Ages as closely as possible and adhering to current notions of chant practice. This tension is present even in the chant melodies, since throughout the hundreds of years of their written history, the melodies have varied at different times. Ultimately, it is impossible to know the precise notes of the chants as they were originally used, since they began as an oral tradition. Still, the tradition of singing Gregorian chant has continued through the centuries, and a performance today provides a link with the performance of the past. An interest developed during the nineteenth century that sought to bring back the original performance methods of the chants in an attempt to strengthen this link in the tradition of chant performance. As

² Edward Schaefer, “The Relationship between the Ordinary and Extraordinary Forms of the Liturgy,” *Sacred Music* 137, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 12.

various chant scholars began to research its origins, they quickly understood that the greatest obstacle to this link was the melodic makeup of the chants, which could be quite different from one source to another. With that in mind, the problem that the restorers of chant in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries needed to address was: how closely must the restored chants resemble those of the Middle Ages, and if turning back to those earliest chants would destroy the subsequent forms of the chants in later years, causing an artificial break in the tradition.

Before one can understand fully the nature of Gregorian chant restoration, a minimal knowledge of the history of music in the Catholic Church is required. Fellerer traces the history of music in the Catholic Church from its earliest roots in Judaism through mid-twentieth century. He divides this history into four phases: “music of worship,” the earliest centuries of Christianity when music was established as an integral part of the liturgy; “music for worship,” the period when church music became an established form of art and not simply a part of the liturgy; “music at worship,” an epoch generated by the use of polyphony and the domination of secular music within liturgical worship; and finally the reforms of the nineteenth century, which determined the current relationship (around 1950) of music and liturgy.³ The first of these phases, spanning ten centuries from the earliest days of Christianity until what we call the later Middle Ages, saw the emergence and development of Gregorian chant. Since it was intimately bound to the texts of the liturgy, chant formed the body of the music of worship—the music that was and is the worship of the liturgy. The beginning stages of polyphony also emerged

³ Fellerer, 3.

toward the end of this phase, with the development of organum and the rise of the *Ars antiqua* of the Parisian polyphonic school, as well as the development of measured rhythm that contributed to the growing independence of the voices. Although this polyphony was first based on the chants as *cantus firmi*, voices that did not sing the chant acquired a new importance and very soon the free *conductus*—a composition lacking a chant-based *cantus firmus*—was established as an alternative form of music in the liturgy. This trend marked the beginning of the second period, lasting from the late Middle Ages through the Renaissance, which witnessed the further development and rise of sacred polyphony. For some composers such as Obrecht and Josquin des Prés, polyphony was a means of emphasizing both personal expression and structural clarity of the text. Personal expression eventually led to the inclusion of compositional material that had little or nothing to do with the liturgy, such as secular songs. This use of secular music in the liturgy, coupled with outcries against the unintelligibility of words in densely polyphonic music, led to a renewed interest in textual clarity that was underscored during the Council of Trent. Subsequently, by employing homophony and polyphony in such a way as to clearly emphasize the text, composers such as Palestrina achieved a unity of art and liturgical purpose that has given the polyphony of this period the distinction of being considered a legitimate form of liturgical music in the Catholic liturgy. The third phase of music in the Catholic Church encompasses the Baroque, Classical, and Romantic periods, in which composers desired, with some exceptions, to relegate music in the liturgy to purely theatrical or dramatic manners of expression. This movement was moderated somewhat in the Romantic period, where the reaction to the

Enlightenment's attempts to cause all differences between sacred and secular music to disappear was reversed with a renewed seriousness and sense of liturgical purpose toward the music of the liturgy.⁴ This led to the fourth phase, which gradually emerged during the nineteenth century and lasted through the mid-twentieth at the time that Fellerer was writing. Here both the restoration efforts concerning Gregorian chant centered in Solesmes and the reform efforts of the Cecilian movement to reintroduce Gregorian chant and polyphony into the liturgy projected a more complete turn to sacred music in the liturgy. My thesis will primarily dwell on this last phase of Catholic Church music.

The efforts to restore Gregorian chant to the liturgy originated with the re-established Abbey of Solesmes in France in 1833 by the Benedictine monk Dom Prosper Guéranger.⁵ This had been a place for Christian worship since the fifth century and a small monastic community since 1010. After eight hundred years of existence, the community was disbanded by the authorities during the French Revolution.⁶ Guéranger's vision some forty years later was to revive the Benedictine way of life while taking the necessary adaptations to fit the modern times.⁷ One of these adaptations was Solesmes's capacity to hold a leading role in chant research, which it has retained to this day in spite of difficulties. Twice the monks were expelled from Solesmes: the first of these lasting from 1880 to 1895 when the monks lived in local houses; the second from 1901 to 1922 when the monks left France for the British Isle of Wight, settling first at Appuldurcombe

⁴ Fellerer, 174.

⁵ Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 15.

⁶ "History of the Monastery," accessed July 23, 2011, <http://www.solesmes.com/>.

⁷ Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 13–14.

and then at Quarr in 1908.⁸ Despite the difficulties of exile, the involvement of Solesmes in chant restoration reached its greatest intensity at this time. Three Solesmes monks in particular spearheaded these efforts—Guéranger, Dom Joseph Pothier, and Dom André Mocquereau. Each will be discussed below.

Guéranger (1805–1875) was only 28 when he and a group of monks reoccupied the abandoned monastery of Solesmes in 1833. In 1837, the pope recognized it as an abbey, and Guéranger became its first abbot, retaining this position until his death. He was particularly interested in the liturgy and wrote several significant works on this topic during his lifetime. Closely associated with this interest in the liturgy was his interest in the importance of Gregorian chant within the liturgy, which he believed had a poetic beauty that could elevate the soul. To do this, the chant needed to be restored to its original, medieval qualities that had been lost through centuries of editing the melodies. This conviction led him to promote chant research within his community, especially for use within the community.⁹

Guéranger's principle for chant research was to compare chant manuscripts from churches that are separated spatially by large distances, and that wherever they agree with each other one has found the purest form of the Gregorian chant. This basic principle formed the foundation of the research conducted by the Solesmes monks ever since,

⁸ “History of the Monastery,” accessed July 23, 2011.

⁹ Anthony Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform: Treasures and Transformations* (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2007), 108–109.

including Pothier and Mocquereau, whose individual interpretations of this basic approach will be discussed later.¹⁰

A quote from Guéranger serves to illustrate his opinion on the revision of chant:

New texts called for a new chant [in the 17th century]... That task was addressed and a host of compositions was born, masterpieces of boredom, incompetence and bad taste... Father Leboeuf, a learned compiler, was asked to notate the Paris Antiphonal and Gradual. After spending ten years placing notes on lines and lines beneath the notes, he presented to the clergy of Paris a compositional monstrosity, almost all of whose compositions are as tiring to perform as they are to hear. God wanted to make it understood in this way that there are some things that simply should not be imitated, because they should never be changed.¹¹

Guéranger believed the seventeenth-century chants were bad because they were changed from their original form, and that they were boring for both musicians and listeners. However, he observed this music from a perspective of two hundred years later. The clergy and church musician of the time likely did not regard the edited chants with such negativity; otherwise the reworked pieces would never have become commonly used. Guéranger seems to use the concept of bad taste as an excuse for dismissing something he does not like. On the other hand, he was very concerned that chant capture

¹⁰ Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore N. Marier and William Skinner (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 12.

¹¹ Combe, 15.

what could be called the spirit of the liturgy. If these chants were indeed boring, not conducive to prayerful worship of God, perhaps to the point of causing other musical alternatives to be found, then Guéranger's concern could be warranted. One way or the other, these were the chants inherited by the nineteenth century, and Guéranger sought to return to an earlier, more authentic form of chant that provided the intended prayerful music of the liturgy.

Pothier (1835–1923) was a young priest when he came to the Abbey of Solesmes, taking his vows in 1860. He had a solid background in Gregorian chant prior to this time and was already teaching chant courses at Solesmes at around this time.¹² He also worked with another young priest of Solesmes, Dom Jausions, in preparing a new edition of chant for the monastery to use. This eventually became the basis for the *Mélodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition*, which he brought out in 1880 after Dom Jausions's death, and for the *Liber Gradualis* of 1883 (reissued as the *Liber Gradualis* of 1895) which became the basis for the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908. He left Solesmes in 1893 to become prior of Ligugé and in 1898 became abbot of Saint-Wandrille. Beginning in 1904, he served as president of the editorial commission on the Vatican edition of the chants and was fully in charge as the books were published between 1905 and 1913.¹³

Pothier's method of chant research closely follows Guéranger's principles of comparing the sources to find agreement and in so doing establish the most authentic

¹² Combe, 34–37.

¹³ Eugène Cardine and David Hiley, "Pothier, Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 18, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>. Here is the complete list of chant books published during this time: *Kyriale* (1905), *Missa pro defunctis* (1905), *Cantus missae* (1907), *Graduale Romanum* (1908), *Officium pro defunctis* (1909), *Cantorinus seu toni communes* (1911-1912), and *Antiphonale Romanum* (1912).

form of the chant. In cases of disagreement between sources, Pothier did not advocate the use of a strictly regulated system but instead relied on the most natural construction—whatever best fit the voice. Concerning this issue, he writes:

What is important is to know how to give the chant a movement of natural recitation; this is for the division of the tonal groups or of the syllables necessary to sung language, a language simply accented; to choose, among the various ways of establishing groups, what makes the text more intelligible and, at the same time, makes the melody more agreeable. Doubtless, tradition must be respected as well as the manuscripts, but when the double purpose has really been achieved, which is apparent in the singing, almost always the tradition and the manuscripts are found to be in accord.¹⁴

The above quote also raises an important point in Pothier's methodology: that of the living tradition of chant. For him, not only the oldest manuscripts should be considered in the restoration of the chants but also more recent versions, which may contain a more natural version. The combination of Pothier's ideas of natural construction and living tradition conflicted with the methodology of Mocquereau, as will be shown below.

Mocquereau (1849–1930) took vows as a Benedictine monk of Solesmes in 1877, two years before being ordained a priest. For thirteen years, he assisted Pothier in his

¹⁴ Combe, 65.

work on the chant editions and succeeded him as choirmaster of the Abbey in 1889. He was prior of the Abbey from 1902 to 1908, and during this time, in 1904–1905 headed the editorial board made up of Solesmes monks for the Vatican edition of chants. However, disagreements concerning the content of the melodies caused him to withdraw from work on the chants for the new edition.¹⁵

In contrast to Pothier, Mocquereau believed that the manuscripts themselves should be the sole consideration for the restoration. One of the ways in which Mocquereau did this was in establishing the *Paleographie Musicale*, a series of facsimiles in which he published several manuscripts used in the compilation of Pothier's *Liber Gradualis*. Between 1889 and 1901, he released seven volumes of this periodical which served not only to promote his method of chant research but also to prove the authenticity of the Solesmes research in comparison with the rival 1871 edition of the *Liber Gradualis* published by Pustet and used by the Vatican. More will be said about this edition below.

According to Katherine Bergeron, Mocquereau used a scientifically academic approach to chant restoration which brought the discipline away from total clerical control and gave it to the academics as a secular and not religious science. Mocquereau is significant for establishing the discipline of Music History. The necessary limits of this discipline, according to Mocquereau, were the use of the hard evidence of chant—the neumes—and the rejection of treatises.¹⁶ This was in opposition to Pothier, who relied on

¹⁵ Eugène Cardine and David Hiley, "Mocquereau, André," *Grove Music Online*, accessed on August 1, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

¹⁶ Katherine Bergeron, "A Lifetime of Chants," in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, edited by Katherine Bergeron and Philip Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 186–88.

the authors of medieval treatises and whose *Mélodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition* was itself a treatise.¹⁷

Mocquereau's studies promoted a disciplined approach to the study of chant. The monks would create tables that compared the neumes of different versions of chant with each other. Bergeron points out that the intent here was to move away from biography and anecdote so that the neumes themselves told the story of chant. This discredited the myth of the "Gregorian" origins of the chant and also the common approach to chant studies at the time (late 1800s) as "undisciplined."¹⁸

The Solesmes academic ammunition was much more political than academics is today, since they actively sought and won the attention and acclaim of the both the Vatican and of academia, and became the most respected group for the revival and preservation of Gregorian chant. They set themselves up for this by staying ahead of all competitors.¹⁹ Once Solesmes won approval from the Vatican it came into conflict with church authority. Solesmes claimed authority over chant by virtue of their scientific discipline, the Church saw chant as its ancient property, and each wanted complete authority. The monks, led by Mocquereau, wanted to continue their research while the Church pronounced it finished and demanded obedience, essentially firing Solesmes from the Vatican commission (see p. 39 for commentary on this). The church allowed them to

¹⁷ Combe, 83.

¹⁸ Bergeron, "A Lifetime of Chants," 188–91.

¹⁹ Ibid., 191.

continue researching along with other chant scholars, minimizing their effectiveness while preserving the integrity of the Church's chant.²⁰

The church believed there was a limit or a stopping point to progress in academia. However, it may have promoted an idea that Mocquereau believed was not an option: that of considering not only the oldest chants as most valid, but also chants from subsequent ages. While this was quite practical—the nineteenth-century chant would not be suddenly transfixed into the early Middle Ages—it also opened up a venue for researchers to consider not only the oldest versions of chant, but also subsequent versions as viable for practical usage within the liturgy.

During the period of chant restoration, Solesmes demonstrated its dominance particularly in its three most important figures introduced above. But while it was the most important impetus for the restoration efforts, Solesmes was not alone. A movement was in place that sought to reform Catholic Church music in general and to restore the use of chant in particular: the Cecilian movement.

While this movement was a nineteenth-century phenomenon, models for it, called Cecilian Leagues, already existed in German-speaking lands in the eighteenth century.²¹ During the early nineteenth century, it focused on reintroducing both known and recently unearthed compositions by the Renaissance masters (Palestrina, Lassus, etc.). While these pieces were intended to replace vocal and instrumental music inspired or even adapted from opera for use in the liturgy, new music was not entirely overlooked. Centered first

²⁰ Bergeron, "A Lifetime of Chants," 192–93.

²¹ Siegfried Gmeinwieser, "Cecilian Movement," *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 29, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

in Munich and later in Regensburg, the efforts were directed particularly toward the revival of Renaissance polyphony by composers such as Palestrina and Lassus. They were led by Carl Proske from the late 1820s until his death in 1862 and Msgr. Franz Xavier Haberl from his appointment as music director of Regensburg in 1871 through the early twentieth century.²² Haberl persuaded the Vatican to use his edition of the Medici Gradual (1614), published in Regensburg in 1871, for a full thirty years. This post-Tridentine edition was criticized as having chants that were grossly altered from their more original, medieval form, with most of the criticism coming from Solesmes itself.²³ A key moment in its development was the founding of the Cecilian Society by Franz Xavier Witt, which received papal approval in 1870 and which was formed specifically to cultivate the singing of chant and polyphony in the liturgy as far as was possible. While it is evident that both chant and polyphony were important pillars of the Cecilian movement, practically speaking polyphony received more emphasis. Indeed, disagreements over the exact principles of the revival were common and the movement was never sufficiently organized to formulate exact principles.

Italy was another important location for the Cecilian movement. Father Angelo de Santi (1847–1922) was one individual who was associated both with this movement and the Vatican-used Regensburg edition of chant. In the late 1880s, de Santi had written articles praising Solesmes in the journal *Civiltà Cattolica*,²⁴ although he was committed to defend the Regensburg edition. After a few meetings with Mocquereau, de Santi

²² Ruff, 76–78, 83–86.

²³ *Ibid.*, 96–98.

²⁴ Combe, 125–26.

became convinced that the Solesmes chants were better than those in Haberl's edition.²⁵ Once he committed himself to promoting Solesmes chants he was exiled from his position in Rome,²⁶ but continued to support Solesmes's position through the creation of the Vatican commission for the restoration of chant books and even throughout the conflicts that ensued through the meeting of the commission.

Msgr. Carlo Respighi (1873–1947), another Italian, disproved the belief held by Msgr. Haberl that Palestrina edited the chants used in the Medici edition of 1614, which formed the basis of the Vatican-approved Regensburg edition. According to Respighi, Palestrina evidently was commissioned by the pope and had begun the necessary revisions for a new edition of the chants, but after the Spanish composer Don Fernando de Las Infantas petitioned Pope Gregory XIII, the composer stopped working on the revision in 1580. Respighi also argued that it is impossible to prove that the manuscript that Palestrina was working on was the same used in the completed Medici edition.²⁷ At practically the same time (late 1899-early 1900) Dom Raphael Molitor discovered and published correspondence between Don Fernando and King Philip II of Spain, and letters from this king to an ambassador and to the Pope which further established the intervention of the Spanish composer in preventing the revision of the *Graduale* at that

²⁵ Combe, 135–36.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 165.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 181–82. *Grove Music Online* states that Fernando de las Infantas wrote to the king of Spain (his patron), who in turn wrote to the pope. Subsequently, Palestrina was told to stop working on the revision of the gradual. This is more in agreement with the following sentence based on Molitor's findings. See "Infantas, Fernando de la," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed on October 12, 2011, <http://oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

time.²⁸ The combination of these factors effectively dissociated Palestrina from the Medici-based Ratisbon edition, which destroyed the last vanguard of authority that it demonstrated in opposition to the Solesmes manuscript-based editions of chant.

Another chant scholar active at the time was Dr. Peter Wagner (1865–1931). He began his musical studies at the Cathedral School in Trier and later at the University of Strasbourg, where he received a doctorate in musicology in 1890. He studied under the tutelage of several renowned scholars at the time—Michael Hermesdorff, Gustav Jacobsthal, Heinrich Bellerman, and Philipp Spitta. In 1893 he became a lecturer of music history at the University of Fribourg and remained there for 38 years. He established the Académie Grégorienne at this university in 1901 and also served as rector of the university in 1920–1921. In 1904, he was appointed to the Commission for the Vatican edition of chants and vocally supported the procedures established by Pothier in opposition to the protests of Solesmes and their faction.²⁹

Having introduced the major players in the restoration of the chants, we now come to history of the formation of the 1908 Vatican edition of the *Graduale Romanum*. A major impetus for the project that produced this book and several other official chant books was Pope Pius X, who was elected in 1903. As Cardinal Sarto, he had already exhibited strong support for the research of Solesmes, having presented a regulation on sacred music that was largely written by de Santi, which later became his *motu proprio* of

²⁸ Combe, 182.

²⁹ John A. Emerson, “Wagner, Peter (Joseph),” *Grove Music Online*, accessed on June 18, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

1903.³⁰ This document does not specifically legislate anything concerning the Solesmes restoration of chant, but it contains a section that regards Gregorian chant as the highest form of liturgical music, the model for new compositions of liturgical music, and a liturgical form that should be encouraged for use by the people in the congregation.³¹ On the other hand, this document displays ideas promoted by the Cecilian movement—the primary importance of Gregorian chant, the promotion of sacred polyphony as an approved form of sacred music, the outright forbidding of secular music and music modeled on secular compositions, and the relegation of instrumental music to a subordinate position. The man who wrote the bulk of this document, de Santi, was both a Cecilian who wrote for the Cecilian journal *Civiltà Cattolica* and a convert to Solesmes’s Gregorian cause. He exemplifies the converging of the two forces of musical and Gregorian reform. This intersection was then transferred to the hands of church authority in a pope who was himself intent on Gregorian reform, and with this document instigated chant scholars to action toward this end.

In the next several months the procedure for revising the chant books was settled and the Vatican Edition was formally announced through a second *motu proprio* issued by Pius X, signed April 25, 1904. Three of the norms that this document establishes were critical to the procedures used in creating the edition. First, “The melodies of the Church, so called Gregorian, will be restored in their integrity and purity in accordance with the true text of the most ancient codices, in such a way, however, that due attention be given

³⁰ Combe, 158–59.

³¹ Pius X, “Tra le sollecitudini,” (translation), paragraph 2, accessed August 25, 2011, <http://adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html/>.

to the true tradition contained in the manuscripts throughout the centuries, and to the practical usage of contemporary liturgy.”³² As is often remarked, this passage in particular set up two opposing polemical viewpoints among the editorial personnel: tension between restoring the chants based solely on the oldest manuscript evidence against the consideration of later chant practice in mind. The second critical norm in this document was that Solesmes was given the responsibility for submitting the melodies and text for use in the new edition. Third, a Roman Commission was set up to review the work submitted by the editorial board.³³ Thus two separate entities were created to work on the edition, an editorial board of Solesmes monks headed by Mocquereau and a review commission. The members of the commission included Pothier as President, Respighi, Msgr. Lorenzo Perosi, Msgr. Anntonio Rella, Mocquereau, Dom Laurent Janssens, de Santi, Rudolf Kanzler, Wagner, and H. G. Worth—ten in all. Another ten served as consultants to the commission—Father Raffaello Baralli, Father François Perriot, Father René Moissenet, Father Norman Holly, Father Ambrogio Amelli, Father Hugo Gasser, Father Michael Horn, Molitor, and Amedée Gastoué.³⁴ According to Mocquereau and de Santi, eleven out of the twenty individuals listed here were favorable to Solesmes.³⁵

This organization of editors for the Vatican Edition lasted from 1904 through the middle of 1905, and the first book to be edited was the *Kyriale*. In 1904, the Commission met at Solesmes’s place of exile in England at Appuldurcombe, and the decisions that

³² Combe, 263.

³³ *Ibid.*, 264.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 266.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 338.

they made were mostly broad, overview decisions. Combe gives five key items on which decisions were reached: the proper notation for the Vatican Edition and its relation to rhythm, the editions of chant that would be approved for use, diocesan Propers, Psalmody, and the principle guidelines for the Commission's work.³⁶ For the most part, the meetings held here went smoothly, although this is because the most divisive issues were not directly addressed.³⁷ Such issues were to come to the forefront in the meeting of 1905 in Rome.

Of the twenty meetings held in Rome between February and May of 1905, Mocquereau was able to attend only the last six. Prior to this point, he was informed of the procedures applied by the commission in reviewing and correcting his work in a memorandum by Pothier. The members would read through the copies of the chants at their meetings and when one of the members took issue with a certain reading, that member would give his reasons for disagreement. After this, there would be a discussion among all the members present if necessary and a final decision would be made.³⁸ Mocquereau criticized this procedure for being random,³⁹ as did several of the commission members who supported his position, particularly de Santi. This group advocated creating a new set of rules that would allow the work on the chants to be done in a manner more solidly based on the manuscript evidence, which Mocquereau argued was the basis for the texts that his team of monks drew up for the *Kyriale*. To counter this move, Pothier had recourse to the pope in defense of the procedures that the commission

³⁶ Combe, 288.

³⁷ Ibid., 297.

³⁸ Ibid., 319.

³⁹ Ibid., 320.

was following, a move which both de Santi and Mocquereau opposed since they maintained that the entire commission should determine whether or not make an appeal to higher authority.⁴⁰ Ultimately, as the meetings broke down, the Cardinal Secretary of State Merry del Val sent a letter to Pothier that redefined the work of the commission to be based on the *Liber Gradualis* of 1895, while still using the research work of the Solesmes monks.⁴¹ Once this occurred, the editorial board and commission could no longer function as they were designed, even while officially the editorial board and review commission were still in place. Mocquereau and his monks left Rome and did not send any more proofs for revision, and de Santi and others favorable to Moquereau did not attend any more meetings of the commission.⁴² Pothier's position for living tradition, in which the oldest chant readings are not the best or most practical, would seem to have the final say here, but suggestions made from Mocquereau's research were in fact taken into account. Combe mentions that an estimated two thousand passages in the *Graduale Romanum* were taken from the *Liber Usualis* that Mocquereau edited in 1903.⁴³ This supports my thesis that the work on the *Graduale Romanum* in particular accounts for both the oldest chant manuscripts and newer developments in chant. Göschl believes the *Graduale Romanum* to be the product of one man: Pothier;⁴⁴ I contend that although he was the primary impetus, his was not the only work reflected in the final product. The following chapter will discuss some of the variations between the *Liber Gradualis* of

⁴⁰ Combe, 324.

⁴¹ Ibid., 362.

⁴² Ibid., 366–70.

⁴³ Ibid., 415.

⁴⁴ Johannes Berchmans Göschl, "One Hundred Years of the Graduale Romanum," *Sacred Music* 135, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 18.

1895 and the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908 in hopes to find the origins of some of these differences.

I have pointed out above that for Bergeron the departure of the Solesmes monks from work on the *Graduale Romanum* was the result of Vatican authority essentially firing them because the authorities believed that work on the chants was already completed while Solesmes wanted to continue researching. However, what I have discovered shows a slightly different picture. The major dispute was not between Solesmes and the Vatican but rather two opposing factions within the commission itself, Mocquereau (Solesmes) and his followers and Pothier and his followers. The commission had the authority to make any decisions on the chant that would be produced in the new Vatican chant books, but because of the disputes made very little progress. Each side attempted to lobby so that the other would be forced to accept their view. Solesmes and their followers did this by working to create a newer, clearer set of rules for the commission to follow; Pothier and his faction by defending the established procedures in an appeal to higher authority. The Vatican was not so concerned with how the work was done, but that it was done in a timely fashion. Hence the mandate to base the work on the 1895 *Liber Gradualis* provided a clear plan for all the members of the commission to follow. Mocquereau and his followers could not accept this mandate based on their methods of research, and so the entire editorial board from Solesmes no longer sent drafts of their chants and the members of the commission from that faction withdrew entirely.

It is quite possible that the same thing may have happened in reverse had Solesmes won the political maneuver. Pothier was on the verge of leaving Rome about a

month before the cardinal secretary of state's letter was released. Wagner did leave two meetings after Mocquereau came to Rome, but it is likely that this was not in protest to the direction of the commission since he expressed his regret on leaving before questions were settled.⁴⁵ However, as vocal as he was on certain issues, it is quite possible that he would have withdrawn if his positions were blocked from their full expression.

Once Solesmes and their friends stopped working on the Vatican edition, the remaining members of the commission indicated that not having their expertise was a loss to the commission. Pothier wrote two letters to Mocquereau after the latter had left Rome, stating that he did not intend to exclude Solesmes and that he invited them back.⁴⁶ A letter by de Santi to Mocquereau indicates that he expected to have draft prints sent to him for revision in spite of his close connection with Solesmes, indicating that anyone who was already a member of the commission was not excluded from making editorial contributions.⁴⁷ What this shows is that Pothier and his allies were willing to work with Solesmes, but only on terms that were favorable to the president and his supporters.

To conclude my response to Bergeron, Solesmes was not fired from work on the Vatican chant books if one understands the word “fired” as meaning that an employee is removed from a position by an employer (in this case Solesmes as employee and the Vatican as employer). In contrast, the Vatican believed that nothing in the editorial board and editorial commission had changed after it issued clear guidelines on the editorial procedures to be used—Solesmes was still an employee. Once Solesmes had left

⁴⁵ Combe, 342.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 367; 375–76.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 369–70.

voluntarily (not forcefully), their opponents, who had successfully lobbied the employer to make a decision that would have required Solesmes go against their scholarly convictions, still invited Solesmes back. This was not a case of Solesmes being fired, but of being made uncomfortable until they quit their job.

So far, I have discussed only the polemics of the debates among members of the commission, but not the musical content of these arguments. One of the major issues was the melodic rendering of the reciting tone in modes three and eight. Mocquereau maintained this to be on the pitch *si* (B in modern pitch language) based on the content of the manuscripts. Pothier, on the other hand, preferred *do* (C) as the reciting tone in these modes because, in his view, this tone is more aesthetically pleasing than the much duller *si*.⁴⁸ (*Si* and *do* will hereafter be referred to as B and C.) The debate was not restricted to these two figures, and also extended beyond the editorial work of the commission. For instance, Wagner addresses this issue in a response to articles written by Bewerunge that criticized the *Kyriale* of the Vatican Edition. He questioned the practicality of moving the reciting tone back to B, especially considering that even in the Middle Ages the reciting tone shifted from B to C.⁴⁹ Indeed, the majority of sources in both these modes give C rather than B, even though these are usually not the earliest. He shows instances from Italian, French, English, German, and Spanish codices of chant dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The formula is so prevalent that he considers the tone C the traditional reciting tone, while B is archaic. He argues that the traditional tone C was

⁴⁸ Combe, 306–307.

⁴⁹ Peter Wagner, “The Attack on the Vatican Edition: A Rejoinder,” *Caecilia* 87 (1960): 14. Originally published in German, 1907.

accepted as such because it worked better than B. Reasoning from this, the implications of reintroducing a formula abandoned centuries prior to the Gregorian restoration and expecting it to be used in the current chant practice could completely change that practice in certain instances, such as the numerous antiphons in the third mode.⁵⁰ This is the same rationale that Pothier advocated—taking into account current practice and the implications that would occur if a radical change were made in the name of returning to the origins of chant. Wagner is not denying that the return to the oldest manuscripts is useful, nor is he ignoring tradition or manuscript evidence (he is in fact relying on numerous manuscripts); he is simply relying on a universally accepted construction that had been in place for many centuries.

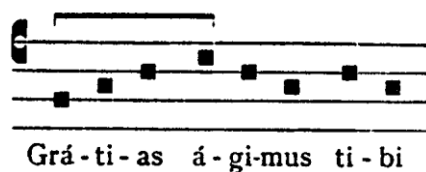
Along the same lines, Wagner points out some of the proposed melodic constructions for chants in the *Kyriale* which were not used (as shown in Example 2.1). This was a melodic construction proposed by Solesmes, but in relation to early twentieth-century practice of chant, the placement of a stressed syllable on the note B at the apex of a scale was very unconventional. Indeed, many of the members on the review commission, including those favorable to Solesmes and the primary importance of the oldest manuscripts in the Gregorian restoration, were shocked to see such passages that had no equivalent in any current practice, realizing that to introduce them would create great problems, especially in regard to the congregation's sung parts (Kyrie, Gloria, etc.).⁵¹ This particular construction is legitimate, since example 2.2 shows it in a setting of the Gloria from the early-sixteenth-century *Graduale Pataviense* (published in 1511

⁵⁰ Wagner, 23–30.

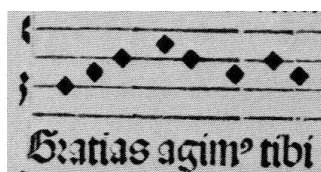
⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 13–14.

and used in the cathedral of Vienna, its melodies are used in music of Henricus Isaac).⁵² For the purposes of comparison, example 2.3 (also from the *Graduale Pataviense*) shows a melodic construction similar in appearance but quite different in content. In this example, the first four notes of “gratias agimus tibi” move up the scale from C to F, an interval of a perfect fourth, whereas the former example moves up from F to B, an augmented fourth. In the following chapter, more will be said about the implications of the relationship of B and C in cases both concerning the reciting tone and melodic construction.

Example 2.1, Gloria, Wagner, 13.

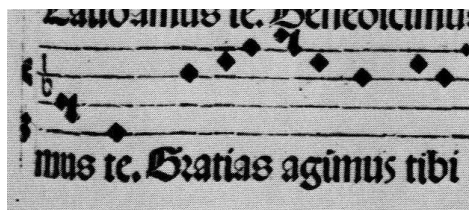


Example 2.2, *Graduale Pataviense*, Gloria in galli cantu, f. 182r.



⁵² Reinhard Strohm, “Henricus Isaac,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed on August 30, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

Example 2.3, *Graduale Pataviense*, Gloria de beata virgine, f. 181r.



This chapter places the emergence of the *Graduale Romanum* in historical context as part of the larger movement of chant restoration, which occurred in the fourth period of nearly two thousand years of music in the Catholic Church as identified by Fellerer. The monks of Solesmes led this movement, particularly Guéranger—first abbot of Solesmes—and Pothier and Mocquereau—who emphasized different aspects of their superior’s guiding principles in their own research. Other scholars also participated in chant restoration, particularly those associated with the Cecilian movement, such as Haberl and de Santi. Respighi, Molitor, and Wagner all made significant contributions to the course of events leading up to or during the editorial process of the Vatican chant books. Pope Pius X commissioned these official Vatican chant books through his two *motu proprio*s in 1903 and 1904, which reflected both his support for the Solesmes chants and his acceptance of the ideals of the Cecilian movement. The commission that was formed to edit the chants divided into two sharply opposing factions, one supporting Mocquereau and the Solesmes monks and the other favoring Pothier. When the cardinal secretary of state gave directions for the commission to follow Pothier’s *Liber Gradualis* of 1895, Solesmes and their supporters withdrew from work on the edition. One of the issues that divided the commission was the proper usage of B or C, particularly in modes

three and eight—Mocquereau supported the former on the earliest manuscript evidence while Pothier and Wagner supported the latter on the basis of its centuries-long usage.

With this historical background, we can now move to a practical analysis of the *Graduale Romanum* itself.

CHAPTER 3

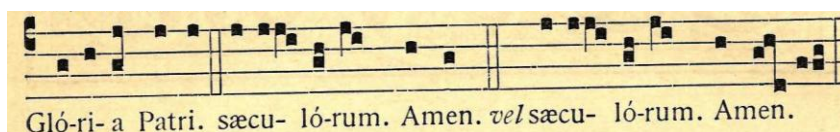
Graduale Romanum and *Liber Gradualis* Compared

The *Graduale Romanum* (1908) is very closely modeled after Dom Pothier's 1895 edition of the *Liber Gradualis*, as noted by Johannes Berchmans Göschl.¹ For the most part this is correct; each essentially has the same layout and uses substantially the same chants with nearly identical texts and notes. Nevertheless, differences between the two are scattered throughout the graduals. This chapter will present these differences as they appear in the Proper chants for the four Sundays of Advent and suggest possible sources for them. Limiting my examples to the Sundays of Advent allows for an examination of second endings, one of the principle differences between the two chant books, and for an opportunity to use the numerous nineteenth-century versions of the chants from the second Sunday of Advent as presented in Theodore Karp's book on post-Tridentine chants. The sources used throughout the chapter will reflect a large time range to evaluate the comprehensive historical nature of the *Graduale Romanum*. Before examining these chants, it is first necessary to understand a few important details about the notation used in the examples throughout this chapter. Example 3.1 will serve as the model for other subsequent examples throughout the chapter. First, the symbol on the far

¹ Johannes Berchmans Göschl, "One Hundred Years of the *Graduale Romanum*," *Sacred Music* 135, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 18.

left side of the score is a clef symbol that marks the pitch C as the top line of the staff. The only other clef used in the examples is the F clef. (These clefs are traditionally called the *do* and *fa* clefs, but I will continue using letter terminology to indicate both clefs and notes.) All notes are read from left to right except when one is stacked on top of the other, as demonstrated several times in example 3.1. This symbol, called the *podatus*, indicates that the lower note be sung first and then the higher note. Example 3.1 comes from the end of an Introit, which always uses a prayer called the Gloria Patri or the lesser doxology. Only the first two words (Gloria Patri) and the last two words (saeculorum. Amen.) are present here because the entire text of the Gloria Patri has a set formula that should be readily known by the singers of the chant. (The full prayer reads: “Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.”) This particular chant has two options for the end of the Gloria Patri, with the word “vel” [or] indicating that either option can be chosen. Example 3.1 demonstrates the concept of second endings, which play a major role in this chapter.

Example 3.1, Introit, First Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 2.



I have placed the differences between the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum* into three specific classes: second endings to the Gloria Patri in the Introits, text variations that affect the musical content of the chant, and variations of musical

material between the two sources. I will consider each of these classes and their examples in the Sundays of Advent in detail.

The first class of differences, the second endings, appear only in the Introits of the *Liber Gradualis* but are absent in the *Graduale Romanum*. For the Sundays in Advent these come only at the end of the Gloria Patri in the Introit. Each of these chants has two alternative endings except for the third Sunday in Advent, which has only one ending. The first ending is always simpler than the slightly more elaborate second ending. Example 3.1 has already shown how these endings are laid out at the end of the chant. All of the corresponding Introits in the *Graduale Romanum* have only one ending, which is always identical to one of the two that is present in the *Liber Gradualis* and can be either the first or the second ending.

The purpose for such endings lies in the structure of the Introit, an antiphonal chant that comes at the very beginning of the Mass. The chant opens with an antiphon, which is then followed by a psalm verse and the Gloria Patri. The antiphon is then repeated, a practice that is implied but not printed in both the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum*. The Gloria Patri serves as a link between the psalm verse and the repeat of the antiphon. The antiphon differs melodically from the psalm verse and the Gloria Patri, which use a particular psalm tone associated with the mode of the antiphon.² Each of the Introits that I will look at is in one of the eight standard church modes.

The last two words of the Gloria Patri (“saeculorum. Amen.”) can take any of a number of melodic shapes. When these are found in medieval manuscripts, they are often

² Malcolm Boyd and Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “Psalm,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed September 3, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

labeled *differentia* because of the large number of different formulae that they may take.³ Some sources collect all of the *differentiae* used in that source in a prominent position, grouping the variants by mode. The two chant books that I am using that do this are the late fourteenth-century St. Thomas Gradual from Leipzig, Germany, and the 1903 *Liber Usualis* printed by Solesmes. However, by the fourteenth century, collections of chant had radically reduced the number of *differentiae*; Dyer counts 67 in a twelfth-century source but only 23 in a fourteenth century source.⁴ Since both the St. Thomas Gradual and the *Liber Usualis* have even fewer variants than these, and since the word *differentia* is associated with a large number of variations, I will continue to refer to terminations of the Introits as endings. The St. Thomas Gradual gives a total of thirteen different endings—one in modes 2, 4, 6, and 7; two in modes 3, 5, and 8; and three in mode 1. The 1903 *Liber Usualis* printed by Solesmes contains fifteen endings with two in each mode except for mode 1 (three endings) and modes 2 and 3 (one ending). The formulae found in the latter chant book are used in the *Liber Gradualis*, and the *Graduale Romanum* as well and each ending matches the mode of the Introit. The presence of the two endings in the *Liber Gradualis* is likely due to an acknowledgment of the various *differentiae* found in medieval manuscripts. Their presence also gives the performer an option for the endings. It is unclear by a mere examination of the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum* why certain endings were chosen over others for the latter. In order to answer that question, I will present the endings from the Introits of the Sundays in Advent from

³ Joseph Dyer, “The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office,” *Speculum*, 64, no. 3 (July 1989): 540-41.

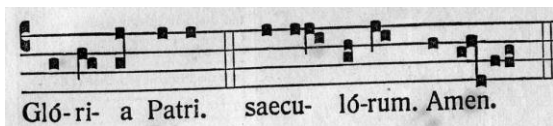
⁴ *Ibid.*, 553, 549.

both the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum* before proposing an explanation for their presence or absence.

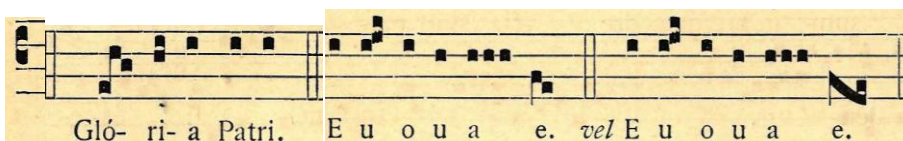
Example 3.1 shows the end of Introit from the first Sunday in the *Liber Usualis*, a chant in mode eight.⁵ The two endings in this setting differ only on the second syllable of “Amen;” the first gives only one note (G) while the second gives six (G-A-D-F-F-G). The *Graduale Romanum* takes only the second of the endings found in the *Liber Gradualis* (see example 3.2). Examples 3.3 and 3.4 introduce “Euouae,” a shorthand for the vowels of “saeculorum. Amen.” These examples come from the Introit of the second Sunday in Advent, which is in mode 7. Example 3.3 from the *Liber Gradualis* gives two endings which differ by a single note on the last syllable of “Amen” (A-G and A-F-G). The *Graduale Romanum* only uses the first ending (example 3.4). The Introit to the third Sunday, in mode 1, is different from the previous two Sundays because the *Liber Gradualis* has only one ending, the same ending that is also used by the *Graduale Romanum* (see examples 3.5 and 3.6). Like the first two Sundays of Advent, the Introit to the fourth Sunday includes two endings in the *Liber Gradualis* (example 3.7), and *Graduale Romanum* takes the second of these endings (example 3.8). This chant is also in mode 1 like the Introit to the third Sunday of Advent. The endings to the Introits presented in Examples 3.1-3.8 clear; why the particular endings were chosen for the *Graduale Romanum* is more difficult to explain.

⁵ John A. Emerson (with Jane Bellingham and David Hiley), “Plainchant, §5: Style,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed September 28, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

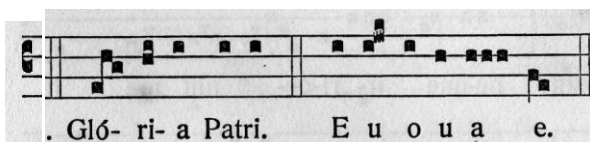
Example 3.2, Introit, First Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 2.



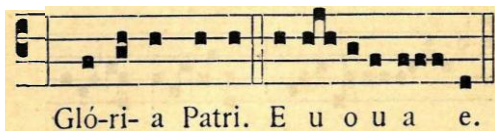
Example 3.3, Introit, Second Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 4.



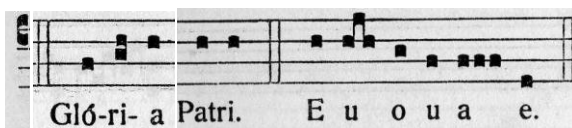
Example 3.4, Introit, Second Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 4.



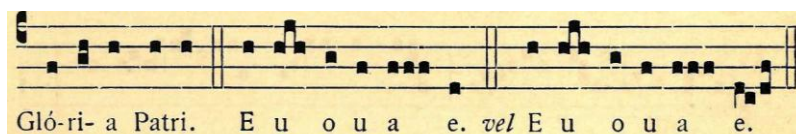
Example 3.5, Introit, Third Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 7.



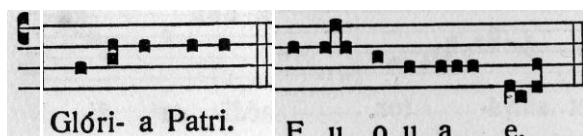
Example 3.6, Introit, Third Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 7.



Example 3.7, Introit, Fourth Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 21.



Example 3.8, Introit, Fourth Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 20.



While examining these endings, I found that the *Graduale Romanum* did not always favor either the first or second ending from the *Liber Gradualis* over the other. As can be seen above, the *Graduale Romanum* uses the first ending in one instance and the second ending in two instances. Also, the *Graduale Romanum* does not choose only one ending for a mode. For instance, the third and fourth Sunday Introits are both in mode 1, but the *Graduale Romanum* used different endings even though one ending is given in both Introits found in the *Liber Gradualis*. While it is possible that the selection of these particular endings was simply a random choice, an examination of chant sources besides the *Liber Gradualis* strongly suggest that endings were chosen with a reason.

The following five chant collections from the Middle Ages and Renaissance support this conclusion: the *Graduale Pataviense*, the St. Thomas Gradual, the Latin 13254 from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (abbreviated BNF Latin 13254), the *Graduale Cisterciense*, and the *Graduale Rotomagense*. The *Graduale Pataviense* is the latest of the five, published in Vienna around 1510. The fourteenth-century St. Thomas

Gradual comes from the St. Thomas Church in Leipzig.⁶ The BNF Latin 13254 is a late twelfth-century monastic book from around Paris.⁷ The *Graduale Cisterciense* is a late twelfth century gradual that may represent something of an outlier for its time since the Cistercians are known for revising their chants to make them less ornate.⁸ The *Graduale Rotomagense* is thirteenth-century source from the Cathedral church at Rouen that was known to Dom Pothier and could have been a source for the *Graduale Romanum*.⁹

These five graduals favor the endings found in the *Graduale Romanum* over the other option in the *Liber Gradualis*, (see table 3.1 on page 54). This table gives the Introit endings from the *Graduale Romanum*, the *Liber Gradualis*, and the five other graduals. I have presented only the notes found on the word “Amen” because the only real differences concerning the second endings occur at this word. Also, I am more interested in finding similar endings rather than exact concordances among the source material since the sources are rarely in complete agreement with each other. Similar endings approach the final note from the same direction, have roughly the same number of notes, and display a closely related melodic shape. For example, the ending of the first Sunday

⁶ Alexander Blachley, *Schola Antiqua - Plainchant and Polyphony in Medieval Germany (LP)* (program notes), accessed on October 3, 2011, <http://sonusantiqua.foroactivo.com/t1529-schola-antiqua-plainchant-and-polyphony-in-medieval-germany-lp/>.

⁷ David Hiley, “Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 249 (A. 280) and the Early Paris Repertory of Ordinary of Mass Chants and Sequences,” *Music & Letters* 70, no. 4 (Nov., 1989): 473.

⁸ Henry Beverunge, “Plain Chant,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 12 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911).

⁹ Henri Llorquet, Joseph Pothier, and Armand Collette, *Le Graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIIIe siècle* (Rouen: J. Lecerf, 1907), accessed September 27, 2011. <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl.loeb:2191699/>.

Introit in the *Graduale Romanum* (A-G-A-D-F-F-G)¹⁰ is similar to that found in the *Graduale Pataviense* (A-G-A-E-F-G)¹¹ because the last two notes are F-G, the passages have a similar number of notes (seven and six), and the melodic shape is roughly the same with the exception of a repeated F in the *Graduale Romanum*. On the other hand, the passage from the BNF Latin 13254 (A-G)¹² is not similar since the last two notes move in the opposite direction (A-G), the number of notes is significantly less (two instead of seven), and the shape is radically different.

Three of the five sources give endings that are similar in structure to the ending in the *Graduale Romanum*. The BNF Latin 13254 disagrees by giving the same notes as the first ending of the *Liber Gradualis*, while the relevant page is missing in the *Graduale Rotomagense*. In the second Sunday of Advent, four of the five source graduals are similar to the ending found in the *Graduale Romanum*, while none of them approach the final note from a step below as in the second ending of the *Liber Gradualis*. In the third Sunday Introit, all graduals give the general construction F-[E]-D. This is probably why the *Liber Gradualis* does not give a second option and the *Graduale Romanum* does not propose anything different. The fourth Sunday Introit uses the same mode as the third Sunday Introit, and so the *Liber Gradualis* presents both the construction from the third Sunday and the construction found at this point in the *Graduale Romanum*. The source

¹⁰ Catholic Church, *Graduale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae: de tempore et de sanctis; SS. D.N. Pii x. pontificis maximi jussu restitutum et editum; cui addita sunt festa novissima* (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1908), 2.

¹¹ Catholic Church, *Graduale Pataviense: (Wien 1511): Faksimile*, edited by Christian Väterlein (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982), f. 2v.

¹² *Graduale, XIIIe siècle, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 13254*, manuscript, f. 1v.

Table 3.1, Gloria Patri endings in the Introits of the Sundays of Advent

Sunday of Advent	<i>GR</i> ^a	<i>LG</i> ^b	<i>GP</i> ^c	TG ^d	13254 ^e	<i>GC</i> ^f	<i>GRot</i> ^g
First	A-G-A-D-F-F-G	A-G; A-G-A-D-F-F-G	A-G-A-E-F-G	A-G-A-E-F-G	A-G	A-G-A-D-F-G	Page missing
Second	C-C-C-A-G	C-C-C-A-G; C-C-C-A-F-G	C-B-C-A-G	C-B-A-G	C-C-C-A-G	C-C-C-B-A-G	C-C-C-D-C
Third	F-F-F-D	F-F-F-D	F-E-F-D	F-E-D	F-F-F-E-D	F-F-F-E-D (trans. down 5 th)	F-F-F-E-D
Fourth	F-F-F-D-C-D-F	F-F-F-D; F-F-F-D-C-D-F	F-E-F-D-C-D-F	F-E-D-C-D-D-F	F-F-F-E-D-D	F-F-F-E-D	F-F-F-E-D-C-D-F-F

^a*GR* *Graduale Romanum*

^b*LG* *Liber Gradualis*

^c*GP* *Graduale Pataviense*

^dTG St. Thomas Gradual

^e13254 BNF Latin 13254

^f*GC* *Graduale Cisterciense*

^g*GRot* *Graduale Rotomagense*

graduals are divided according to the construction they use; three favor a similar ending to that found in the *Graduale Romanum* and two resemble the first ending in the *Liber Gradualis*. In each of the four Introits, the endings in the *Graduale Romanum* bear more similarities to the older graduals than the second endings in the *Liber Gradualis*, which

would strongly suggest that the editors of the *Graduale Romanum* attempted to emulate the more prevalent tradition in their selection of the endings.

The second class of differences between the 1895 *Liber Gradualis* and the 1908 Vatican *Graduale Romanum* involves the text. Some changes in text were made by the time of the publication of the *Graduale Romanum*, as shown in the following quotation: “Please send comments on changes to be made in the literary text to the Editorial Board (Reverend Father Dom Mocquereau, Appuldurcombe, Isle of Wight) as soon as possible.”¹³ This comes from a list of initial decisions made by the commission in charge of putting the *Graduale Romanum* together. Another decision made by the commission was to return to medieval texts for hymns used prior to the revisions of Urban VIII (1623-1644).¹⁴ Although in this case “hymns” had a revision of text rather than “Propers,” the idea is the same; the revisions were to use the texts found earlier than the mid-seventeenth century. These two references show that the members of this commission, who were in charge of the editing, were specifically addressing issues of text. (Both of these statements concerning text occurred in 1904, the year before disputes within the commission inhibited its progress on the chant books. See chapter 2 for more details concerning these disputes.) Despite the original intentions enumerated at this point by the members of the commission, the commission itself splintered the following year because of disputes over the rhythm of chant and over the weight that recent versions of chant should have in relation to the medieval chants.

¹³ Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore N. Marier and William Skinner (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 272, taken from the Circular of June 29, 1904.

¹⁴ Combe, 296.

There are three instances of textual differences found in the Advent Propers. First, the Offertory for the first Sunday in Advent begins “Ad te levavi” in the *Liber Gradualis* and “Ad te, Domine, levavi” in the *Graduale Romanum*. The text, taken from the opening of Psalm 24/25, recalls the antiphon of the Introit for the same Sunday which in both versions begins “Ad te levavi.” The remainder of the text for both the Introit antiphon and the Offertory is identical in both versions. The second variation occurs in the Introit to the third Sunday of Advent, this time in the middle of the antiphon taken from Philippians 4. The *Liber Gradualis* gives the phrase “Dominus enim prope est” while the *Graduale Romanum* simply reads “Dominus prope est.” A third variation arises in the Alleluia verse for the fourth Sunday of Advent, where the *Liber Gradualis* concludes the verse with “relaxa facinora plebis tuae Israel” while the *Graduale Romanum* excludes the word “Israel.”

The first question to ask concerning these text variations is where they originated. While the answer to this question is rather elusive, it may help explain why these chant books, which were published only thirteen years apart from each other, would have used the texts that they did. One way to answer this question is to find parallel passages from the Bible. I found two editions of the Latin Clementine Vulgate from the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Each of these editions of the Bible agrees with the *Graduale Romanum* on the wording for the corresponding passages in the first two instances of textual differences (Psalm 24/25:1 and Philippians 4:5). The third instance does not have

¹⁵ *Biblia Sacra Vulgate Editionis Clementis VIII, edition nova, versiculis distinct, 1827; Biblia Sacra Vulgate Editionis Sixti V Pontificus Maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita Editio Stereotypia probata S. Indicis congregationis decreto et iterum evulgata, 1868.*

an exact parallel in the Latin Bible, so the reason for the difference here needs a different explanation, which will be addressed later in this chapter.

While the *Graduale Romanum* closely follows the Biblical sources, the *Liber Gradualis* does not. Instead, the texts of all three Propers from the latter are identical to those of the Pustet edition of the *Graduale Romanum* (1871). Two possible explanations are likely. The first is that since in 1895 Solesmes was attempting to replace the Vatican's Pustet gradual with one of its own, its *Liber Gradualis* would use the standard liturgical text. This seems to be the case, since the texts for the Sundays of Advent are identical between the Pustet edition and the 1895 Solesmes version.

A second explanation is that the texts of Proper were based on Biblical texts but did not always strictly adhere to them. This is quite possible, since even in the 1908 version at least one instance does not follow the Biblical text exactly (“Ad te levavi” from Advent 1st Sunday). The *Missale Romanum*, which was in force at the end of the nineteenth century and determined the texts used in the Catholic Mass, was first drawn up in 1570 with several revisions being made in the 1600s through the 1800s: especially in 1604, 1634, and 1884.¹⁶ An examination of the last of these reveals that its text is identical to that in the *Liber Gradualis*¹⁷—most likely the version that Solesmes used in its 1895 publication.

Having completed a fairly detailed discussion of the sources for the textual differences, it is now necessary to explain how these differences affect the differences in

¹⁶ Herbert Thurston, “Missal,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 10 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911).

¹⁷ *Missale Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum* (Mechliniae: H. Dessain, 1884), 2, 5, 13.

the music. I will present each passage individually, first giving the examples from the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum*, then comparing the two, and finally comparing each to the H. 159 Montpellier and the *Graduale Pataviense*. The text of both these sources is identical to the *Graduale Romanum*, and the melodic differences can be seen in table 3.2. In contrast to the focus on similarities in the analysis of the second endings, the present discussion relies on finding exact correspondences with the *Graduale Romanum*. These two sources also come from different centuries—the H. 159 Montpellier is from the eleventh century while the *Graduale Pataviense* is from the early sixteenth. Raphael Molitor, prior to serving as a close associate to the commission that drew up the Vatican edition, compared the proposed melodies for this edition with German graduals from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The *Graduale Romanum* sometimes agrees with them and sometimes does not.¹⁸ While the *Graduale Pataviense* is not one of the sources Molitor cites, it sometimes agrees with the *Graduale Romanum* and sometimes does not.

¹⁸ Raphael Molitor, “Our Position: A Word in Reference to the Plain Chant Question; In View of the Recent Pronouncements of Pius X and the Congregation of Sacred Rites,” pamphlet, 1904, 46-48.

Table 3.2, Differences in text

Text	GR	H. 159 Mp ^a	GP
First Sunday of Advent Offertory: “Domine”	D-D-E-F-E-D-E-E-D	D-D-E-F-E-D-E-E-D (transposed)	D-D-E-F-E-D-E-F-D
Third Sunday of Advent Gradual: “Dominus prope est”	A-G-F-G-G-A-G-A-G-A-B-flat-A-B-flat-B-flat-A	A-G-F-G-G-A-G-A-A-G-A-B-flat-A-B-flat-B-flat-A	A-G-F-G-G-A-G-A-A-G-A-B-flat-A-B-flat-C-A
Fourth Sunday of Advent Alleluia: “Plebis tuae” (no melisma)	F-F-F-G-G-F-A-G-A-A-A-F	F-F-F-G-G-F-A-G-A-A-A-F (transposed)	E-E-F-D-G-G-C-G-A-B-C-D-C-G-A (transposed)

^aH. 159 Mp H. 159 Montpellier

In the passage from the first Sunday Offertory in the *Graduale Romanum*, a whole new musical phrase is added with the word “Domine,” a total of nine notes that are completely absent from the *Liber Gradualis* (see example 3.9 from the *Liber Gradualis*, example 3.10 from the *Graduale Romanum*). This added phrase begins and ends on D, which is the same pitch that begins the word “levavi” in both the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum*. The H. 159 Montpellier includes the word “Domine” and is identical to the version in the *Graduale Romanum*.¹⁹ The editors of the *Graduale Romanum* were clearly attempting to keep the chant as close as possible earlier sources such as the H. 159 Montpellier. The *Graduale Pataviense* has a similar construction, with

¹⁹ *H. 159 Montpellier: Tonary of St. Bénigne of Dijon*, transcribed and annotated by Finn Egeland Hansen (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1974), 322.

the only difference occurring in the final two pitches (it moves F-D while the *Graduale Romanum* moves E-D).²⁰

Example 3.9, Offertory, First Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 3.



Example 3.10, Offertory, First Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 3.

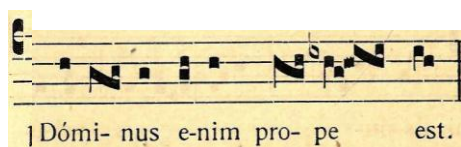


The Introit of the third Sunday of Advent demonstrates an instance where the word “enim” found in the *Liber Gradualis* is omitted in the *Graduale Romanum* (see examples 3.11 and 3.12). The musical content associated with this word (the notes G-A-A) is removed as well in the *Graduale Romanum*. This leaves the pitch G on the final syllable of “Dominus” and the pitch A on the first syllable of “propre.” “Enim” and its musical content appears in the *Liber Gradualis* as something of a link between the words “Dominus” and “propre,” just as the word “Domine” acted as a link between words in the first Sunday Offertory from the *Graduale Romanum*. In addition, the omitted word (“enim”), an interjection meaning “indeed” or “certainly,” does not change the sense of the text when it is not present. Little is lost in the music as well; only two syllables and

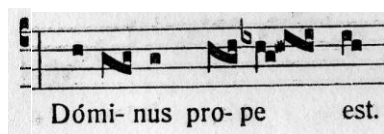
²⁰ *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 1v.

three notes imbedded in the middle of the text are omitted. The omission probably would not be very noticeable even to those familiar with these chants. This passage in the *Graduale Romanum* is identical to the corresponding passage in the H. 159 Montpellier.²¹ The *Graduale Pataviense* is identical except for the penultimate note (C-A instead of B-flat-A).²² Although textually the Pustet *Graduale Romanum* is identical to the *Liber Gradualis*, its melodic content is significantly altered from either version in examples 3.11 and 3.12. Again, both the text and melody of the pre-Tridentine chants are being referenced in the *Graduale Romanum*.

Example 3.11, Introit, Third Sunday of Advent, Solesmes, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 7.



Example 3.12, Introit, Third Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 6.



The versions of the Alleluia for the fourth Sunday of Advent are given in examples 3.13–3.15. In the *Liber Graudalis*, “tuae” is not emphasized and is only given three notes, which in the 1908 version are shifted to the word “plebis.” The same basic

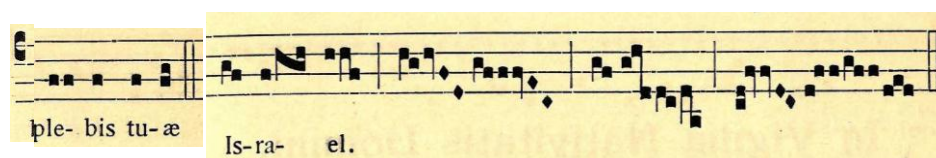
²¹ *H. 159 Montpellier*, 40.

²² *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 9r.

material given to the word “Israel” in the Solesmes version is then given to the word “tuæ” in the *Graduale Romanum*. To accommodate two syllables rather than three, the *Graduale Romanum* omits a repeated tone. The only difference in the following melisma is a repeated G in the *Graduale Romanum* that appears as only one G in the *Liber Gradualis*. As in the other text-difference examples the *Liber Gradualis* once again follows the text of the Pustet gradual, and once again the melodic material is quite different between the two. For example, the word “tuæ” in the Pustet uses the pitches D-G-F whereas in the *Liber Gradualis* the pitches are F-F-G (see example 3.13).

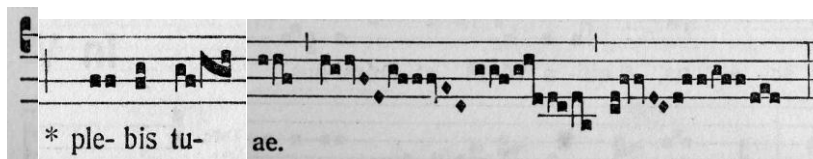
As in previous examples, the *Graduale Romanum* again follows the older texts. The H. 159 Montpellier lacks the word “Israel,” and melodically is identical to the *Graduale Romanum*.²³ The word “Israel” is not present in the *Graduale Pataviense* either (example 3.15), although melodically this example bears little similarity to the *Graduale Romanum*. By omitting the word “Israel” in the Alleluia of the fourth Sunday of Advent, the *Graduale Romanum* restored a pre-Trent textual tradition and revived a melodic construction from the Middle Ages.

Example 3.13, Alleluia, Fourth Sunday of Advent, Solesmes, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 23.

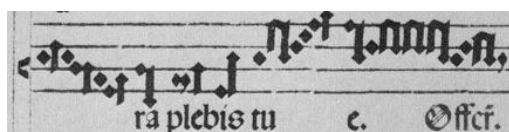


²³ H. 159 Montpellier, 175.

Example 3.14, Alleluia, Fourth Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 21.



Example 3.15, Alleluia, Fourth Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 9r.



The entire Alleluia verse in the *Liber Gradualis* is “Veni, Domine, et noli tardare; relaxa facinora plebis tuae Israel” (“Come, O Lord, and delay not; forgive the sins of your people Israel”). To me the musical setting of the *Graduale Romanum* seems much more awkward than that of the *Liber Gradualis*. First, the word “Israel” is a better place to have a melisma of this length since it is a more important word in the sentence than “tuae.” Second, since the focus of the liturgy on the fourth Sunday of Advent is the salvation of God’s people, Israel, it makes more liturgical sense to include this word. In other words, this chant appears more aesthetically pleasing in the *Liber Gradualis* than it does in the *Graduale Romanum*. Aesthetic concerns were emphasized by Dom Pothier in the *Liber Gradualis*, and the Alleluia verse to the fourth Sunday in Advent gives a prime example of his concern. However, the *Graduale Romanum* clearly follows sources that do not include the word Israel, and includes a version that is based more on manuscripts than it is on aesthetic considerations.

Theodore Karp mentions that in general the nineteenth-century chant scholars seemed more concerned with restoring melismas from their post-Tridentine truncated versions than they were for restoring medieval texts.²⁴ He gives only an observation instead of a fully reasoned argument with explanations and examples. The analysis above pinpoints its manifestation and shows that the very late nineteenth-century *Liber Gradualis* used texts that corresponded to the post-Tridentine liturgy; in contrast, the *Graduale Romanum* used texts taken from pre-Tridentine sources.

The third class of differences between the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum* involves differences in musical content, which are scattered in various places throughout the Sundays of Advent. I have divided these further into three categories: 1) discrepancies between the pitches C and B or B-flat, 2) phrases begun on different pitches, and 3) other differences that do not fall under the previous two categories. All examples from the first two categories also fit into the third, which allows one to observe the trends that can be seen if one looks at all the differences collectively.

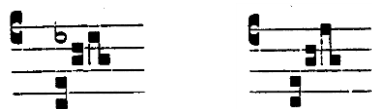
The first category related to musical content is what I call the B-C discrepancy. The difference can be traced to a divisive debate within the commission for the revision of the chants, a debate that Peter Wagner describes and is illustrated in example 3.16. The Alleluia verse *Justus ut palma* exhibits different readings between the Vatican version and the version proposed by the critic Berwerunge, in the midst of a melisma on “cedrus.” The Vatican edition uses B-flat at the apex of the melodic passage while Berwerunge prefers C. Wagner points out that the use of C in this instance is mainly

²⁴ Theodore Karp, *An Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper: Part One* (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology), 274.

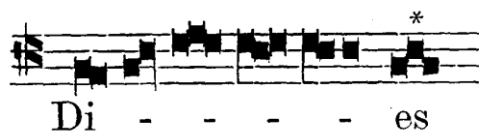
reserved to German chant traditions.²⁵ Berwerunge, being a German, had closer access to these sources than to others that included B-flat. Similarly, Raphael Molitor asserts that the German use of C is demonstrated in the example 3.17 from the Alleluia for the Christmas Mass of the day as found in several German graduals. Both the *Graduale Romanum* and the *Liber Gradualis* give B instead of C in the place indicated by the asterisk. While this particular example does not identify a discrepancy between the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum*, it illustrates why the discrepancies between B-flat and C exist with such frequency.

Example 3.16, Wagner, “The Attack on the Vatican Edition,” p. 34.

Vatican edition Berwerunge’s preference



Example 3.17, Molitor, “Our Position: A Word in Reference to the Plain Chant Question,” p. 47.



²⁵ Peter Wagner, “The Attack on the Vatican Edition: A Rejoinder,” *Caecilia* 87 (1960): 34-36. Originally published in German, 1907.

A second explanation of B-C discrepancy stems from the reciting tone, which involves the iteration of words on a single pitch. This exact pitch is usually the fifth above the fundamental or final pitch of the chant in the odd-numbered modes and the third above the final in the even-numbered modes. The final for mode 3 is E, making the fifth above B, and mode 8 has a final of G, making the third above also B. The pitch B is the only pitch that can be inflected, sometimes as B-natural and sometimes B-flat. The reciting tones in these two modes were at some point shifted to C and A, respectively, probably because of the instability of B, and the practice has continued for centuries.²⁶ Wagner shows how Berwerunge preferred the reciting tone on B while the Vatican placed the reciting tone on C in an example from the Introit *Ego autem sicut* at the beginning of the Commune Sanctorum (Common of the Saints, see example 3.18). He proceeds to show multiple instances from graduals dating as far back as the twelfth century that have C as the reciting tone.²⁷ While large discrepancies between the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum* are not found in the Advent Propers, the different uses of B and C underscores why the discrepancy between the two pitches is common throughout the two graduals.

A comparison of the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum* reveals twenty-one examples of the B-C discrepancy within the Sundays of Advent. Table 3.3 lists all of these examples, their location, and shows whether B or C is favored in either chant book. It also presents the parallel passages in the H. 159 Montpellier, the *Graduale Pataviense*, and various nineteenth-century chant editions. The nineteenth-century sources give the

²⁶ Boyd and Planchart. "Psalm."

²⁷ Wagner, 24-29.

most common construction found among twelve sources given in Karp's book on post-Tridentine chant and are limited to the chants from the second Sunday of Advent.²⁸ Using this variety of sources allows for a diverse time range in the search for sources for these chants—from the eleventh, sixteenth, and nineteenth centuries respectively.

Example 3.18, Wagner, "The Attack on the Vatican Edition," p. 24.

Berwerunge's preference



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

The image shows a musical score for a chant. It consists of two systems of music. Each system has a vocal line on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a C-clef on the first line. The notes are represented by black squares. The first system covers the text "Quid glo-ri-á-ris in ma-lí-ti-a: qui po-tens es". The second system covers "in in - i-qui-tá-te?". The text is written below the staff, with hyphens indicating syllable placement. The second system ends with a double bar line.

The Vatican has:



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

The image shows a musical score for a chant, identical in notation to the one above. It consists of two systems of music. Each system has a vocal line on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a C-clef on the first line. The notes are represented by black squares. The first system covers the text "Quid glo-ri-á-ris in ma-lí-ti-a: qui po-tens es". The second system covers "in in - i-qui-tá-te?". The text is written below the staff, with hyphens indicating syllable placement. The second system ends with a double bar line.

²⁸ The twelve nineteenth-century sources are Canfari, 1840; Blanc, 1844; Lecoffre, 1852; Peutet-Pommey, 1858; L'Ainé, 1869; Le Clere, 1857; Dessain, 1859; Pustet, 1892; Bourguignon, 1821; Spée-Zelis, 1876; Hermesdorff, 1863; and Hermesdorff, 1876. (Names are either publisher or main editor, as given in Karp, *Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*, 314.)

Table 3.3 provides a summary of all instances of this discrepancy in the Sunday Advent Propers. Eleven of these instances show the *Graduale Romanum* preferring B or avoiding C when the *Liber Gradualis* does the opposite, while ten instances show the *Liber Gradualis* emphasizing B and avoiding C when the *Graduale Romanum* does not. Passages in the *Graduale Romanum* are identical to the corresponding passages in the H. 159 Montpellier eleven times, and five of these occur when C is favored or B avoided and six when B is favored or C avoided. It follows the *Graduale Pataviense* only twice, once in each category. The *Liber Gradualis* is identical to the H. 159 Montpellier in only four instances—twice in each category—and follows the *Graduale Pataviense* in seven instances—five times when C is favored or B avoided and twice when C is avoided or B favored. These data show that neither gradual gives a clear preference for either B or C in places where they differ from each other; and that the *Graduale Romanum* corresponds more closely to the H. 159 Montpellier than to the *Graduale Pataviense* while the *Liber Gradualis* does the opposite. Three passages from table 3.3 will represent the problems of the B-C discrepancy.

The first passage occurs in the verse from the Gradual for the first Sunday of Advent during the melisma at “Domine.” Between the first and second breath marks, the *Graduale Romanum* reads C-C while the corresponding construction is B-C in the *Liber Gradualis* (see examples 3.19 and 3.20). The former avoids the pitch B in favor of the pitch C; the latter gives the favors the pitch B. The H. 159 Montpellier is identical to the version used by the *Graduale Romanum*.²⁹ The *Graduale Pataviense* has a slightly

²⁹ H. 159 Montpellier, 222.

Table 3.3, B/C discrepancy

Chant	Favor C	Favor B	H. 159 Mp	GP	Nineteenth century graduals
Sunday I Introit: end of “neque”	GR: 5 C’s	LG: 4 C’s	5 C’s	3 C’s	
Sunday I Gradual: “Domine” melisma	GR: C-C	LG: B-C	C-C	B-flat-C	
Sunday I Gradual : “mihi”	GR: A-C-C	LG: A-B-C	A-C-C	A-B-C	
Sunday I Alleluia: beginning of jubilus	LG: A-C	GR: B-C	C-C	C-C	
Sunday I Alleluia: “misericordiam”	LG: B-C-B	GR: B-B-B	B-B-B	C-C-C	
Sunday I Alleluia: “nobis” melisma	LG: A-C	GR: A-B-C	A-C	A-B-C	
Sunday II Gradual: “species” melisma	LG: A-C	GR: A-B-C	A-B-C	A-C	A-C (11)
Sunday II Gradual: “congregate” melisma	GR: 3 C’s	LG: 2 C’s	6 C’s	2 C’s	2 C’s (3) ^a
Sunday II Gradual: “ejus” melisma	LG: A-C-C	GR: A-B-C	A-B-C	A-C-C	A-C (9)
Sunday II Offertory: “convertens”	LG: A-C	GR A-B-C	A-B-C	A-C	[B]-C-B (6) ^b
Sunday II Offertory: “vivificabis”	GR: 5 C’s	LG: 4 C’s	3 C’s	2 C’s	2 C’s (6)
Sunday II Offertory: “vivificabis”	GR: A-D	LG: B-D	A-D	A-D	A-D (5)
Sunday II Offertory: “tua”	GR: 5 C’s	LG: 4 C’s	4 C’s	3 C’s	2 C’s (7)
Sunday II Offertory: “laetabitur”	LG: A-A-C- D-C-C	GR: G-G-C- C-B-C	G-G-C-C- B-C	G-G-A- C-C-C	G-G-A-C- [B]-C-C (4)
Sunday II Offertory: “ostende”	LG: G-G-C- C-D	GR: G-G-B- B-D	G-G-C-B- D	G-A-C- C-D	G-G-B-B- D (4)

Chant	Favor C	Favor B	H. 159 Mp	GP	Nineteenth century graduals
Sunday II Offertory: “da”	GR: 4 C’s	LG: A-C-C- C	B-D-C-C	C-C-G-C	A-C-D-C (3)
Sunday III Introit: “vestrae”	LG: C-D-C	GR: D-C	D-C	C-D-C	
Sunday III Gradual: “Regis” melisma	GR: 5C’s	LG: C-B-C- C-C	5 C’s	C-C-G- A-C	
Sunday III Gradual: “Joseph” melisma	LG: D-C-D	GR: D-B-D	D-B-D	D-C-D	
Sunday IV Alleluia: “noli”	LG: C-A-G	GR: C-B- flat-G	C-A-G	C-C-B-B- A	
Sunday IV Offertory: “benedictus”	GR: C-A-C- G	LG: C-B-C- G	G-B-flat- G-A	A-C-A-C	

^a melisma does not reach this far in nine other graduals

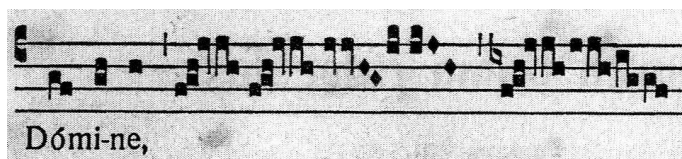
^b two graduals read A-C

different melisma than either the *Graduale Romanum* or the *Liber Gradualis*, with a strong emphasis on the motive B-flat-C.³⁰ In this case the one instance of B-C in the *Liber Gradualis* makes it lean slightly toward the *Graduale Pataviense* and away from the H. 159 Montpellier.³¹

³⁰ *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 1r.

³¹ The three passages that I am examining here are all melismatic passages which in the corresponding places in the Pustet are reduced to only 4-6 notes on each word in question. The lack of musical substance makes the Pustet irrelevant in this particular instance.

Example 3.19, Gradual, First Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 2.



Example 3.20, Gradual, First Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 2.

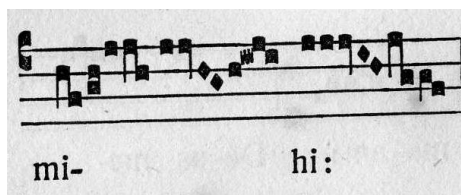


A second example of the B-C discrepancy occurs in this same chant at “mihi”: the *Graduale Romanum* reads A-C-C while the *Liber Gradualis* moves upward by step—A-B-C (see examples 3.21 and 3.22). Once again the example from the *Graduale Romanum* avoids the pitch B while the *Liber Gradualis* uses it. The passage in the *Graduale Romanum* is identical to the H. 159 Montpellier.³² The *Graduale Pataviense* is identical to the *Liber Gradualis* at the point where it differs from the *Graduale Romanum*, although elsewhere the melismatic material on “mihi” is slightly different.³³ In this case, the *Graduale Romanum* is clearly in agreement with the Montpellier while the *Liber Gradualis* is more similar to the *Graduale Pataviense*.

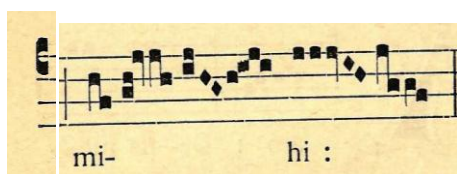
³² H. 159 Montpellier, 222.

³³ *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 1r.

Example 3.21, Gradual, First Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 2.



Example 3.22, Gradual, First Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 2.

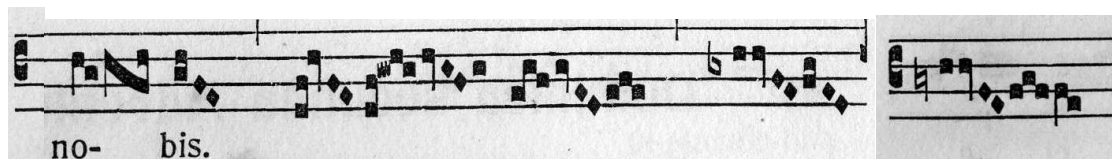


The two passages examined above show that the *Graduale Romanum* avoids the pitch B while the *Liber Gradualis* uses it. However, in the third passage the preference is reversed. This passage is found in the Alleluia verse from the first Sunday of Advent at the melisma on “nobis.” Here, the *Graduale Romanum* moves stepwise—A-B-C—while the *Liber Gradualis* omits the B (see examples 3.23 and 3.24). In this case, the *Liber Gradualis* agrees with the Montpellier instead of the *Graduale Romanum*.³⁴ Also, the *Graduale Pataviense* includes the B found in the *Graduale Romanum*.³⁵ This example shows that neither the *Liber Gradualis* nor the *Graduale Romanum* unquestioningly follow readings from only one of the parent graduals to resolve the question of whether to use or avoid either C or B.

³⁴ H. 159 Montpellier, 186.

³⁵ *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 1v.

Example 3.23, Alleluia, First Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 3.



Example 3.24, Alleluia, First Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 3.



A second instance of musical differences between the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum* consists in phrases that are begun on different tones. These are significant because instead of being hidden within a word or phrase as are most of the cases involved with the B-C discrepancy, these differences occur at very important places in the chant. Only two such instances occur in the Sundays of Advent. The first is at the beginning of the Alleluia verse for the first Sunday of Advent where the *Graduale Romanum* begins with B while the *Liber Gradualis* begins with A (examples 3.25 and 3.26). Notice also that this contributes to the B-C discrepancy mentioned in detail above and is included in table 3.3 (Sunday I Alleluia: beginning of jubilus). Neither the *Liber Gradualis* nor *Graduale Romanum* follows the H. 159 Montpellier³⁶ or the *Graduale Pataviense*³⁷ in this case. The second instance of phrases beginning on a different pitch occurs in the fourth Sunday of Advent Offertory. The phrase “et benedictus” begins with

³⁶ H. 159 Montpellier, 186.

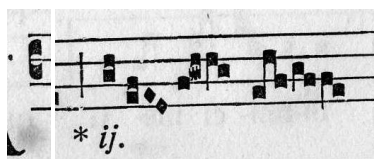
³⁷ *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 1v.

G in the *Graduale Romanum* and A in the *Liber Gradualis* (see examples 3.27 and 3.28).

The *Graduale Romanum* corresponds to the *Graduale Pataviense* alone in this instance³⁸

while the *Liber Gradualis* is different from both earlier sources.

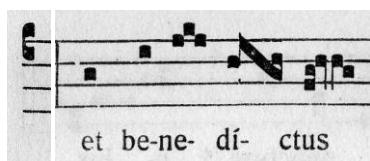
Example 3.25, Alleluia, First Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 2.



Example 3.26, Alleluia, First Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 2.

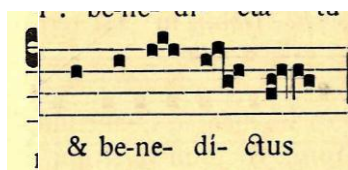


Example 3.27, Offertory, Fourth Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 22.



³⁸ *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 9r.

Example 3.28, Offertory, Fourth Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 23.

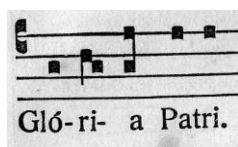


Although there are only two instances where phrases begin on different pitches in the two graduals under comparison, it is significant that the *Graduale Romanum* agrees with a source only once—the *Graduale Pataviense*. The *Liber Gradualis* does not follow the *Graduale Pataviense* or the H. 159 Montpellier in either instance. This is in contrast to the examples from the B-C discrepancy, which displayed many areas of concordance between the newer graduals with the medieval ones, particularly between the H. 159 Montpellier and the *Graduale Romanum*. This suggests that the *Graduale Romanum* does not always rely on older medieval sources and could be relying more frequently on an edition from the pre-Tridentine Renaissance, such as the *Graduale Pataviense*.

A final type of difference in pitch between the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum* involves any alteration in pitch between the two. This basically refers to any instance that does not fall into the first two categories. Usually the alterations are relatively small, as in examples 3.29 and 3.30, where an extra G appears in the *Graduale Romanum* that is not present in the *Liber Gradualis*. Although simple, this difference occurs many times in the course of the chant books—once during the Sundays of Advent but also as the doxology to the Introits for the first two Christmas Masses, the Holy

Innocents, the Sunday in the Octave of Christmas, and Epiphany, to name a few from the early portion of the gradual.

Example 3.29, Introit, First Sunday of Advent, *Gradule Romanum*, p. 2.



Example 3.30, Introit, First Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 2.



Most instances where pitches appear in the *Graduale Romanum* and are absent from the *Liber Gradualis* are not nearly as far-reaching as the Gloria Patri instance (examples 3.29 and 3.30) but rather only affect the musical location where they occur. Table 3.4 gives a full list of these differences (excluding the Gloria Patri) throughout the Sundays in Advent. Four of the nine examples in the *Graduale Romanum* correspond exactly to the H. 159 Montpellier, while only two correspond to the *Graduale Pataviense*. The *Liber Gradualis* follows the H. 159 Montpellier a total of three times and four times corresponds to the *Graduale Pataviense*. Both graduals display similar reliance on the older sources, although the *Graduale Romanum* is slightly more reliant on the H. 159 Montpellier and slightly less reliant on the *Graduale Pataviense* than is the *Liber*

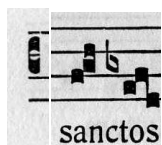
Gradualis. Notice that table 3.4, and tables 3.5 and 3.6 as well, have some examples that overlap with those found in table 3.1. More will be said about this later.

Pitches can be added to the *Graduale Romanum*; they can also be removed. There are a total of eight of these instances in the Sundays of Advent (see table 3.5). The *Graduale Romanum* corresponds exactly with the H. 159 Montpellier five times and with the *Graduale Pataviense* twice. The *Liber Gradualis* corresponds to the H. 159 Montpellier one time and to the *Graduale Pataviense* three times. Once again, we see the *Graduale Romanum* relying more heavily on the older source while the *Liber Gradualis* is relying more on the *Graduale Pataviense*. One instance occurs in the Gradual to the second Sunday at “sanctos” (see examples 3.31 and 3.32). Here the *Liber Gradualis* has the three pitches C-G-G while the *Graduale Romanum* omits one G. The construction in the *Graduale Romanum* is overwhelmingly supported by the sources here; the H. 159 Montpellier, the *Graduale Pataviense*, and ten nineteenth-century graduals all agree.³⁹

Example 3.31, Gradual, Second Sunday of Advent, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 5.



Example 3.32, Gradual, Second Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 5.



³⁹ H. 159 Montpellier, 282; *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 2r; Karp, Part Two, 322.

Table 3.4, Pitches added to the *Graduale Romanum*, compared to the *Liber Gradualis*

Chant	<i>GR</i>	<i>LG</i>	<i>H. 159 Mp</i>	<i>GP</i>	Nineteenth-century graduals
Sunday I Introit: “vias”	G-A-G	G-A	Psalm verse not present	G-A-G	
Sunday I Alleluia: “nobis” melisma ^a	A-B-C	A-C	A-C	A-C	
Sunday II Gradual: “species” melisma ^a	A-B-C	A-C	A-B-C	A-C	A-C (11)
Sunday II Gradual: “congregate” melisma ^a	3 C’s	2 C’s	6 C’s	2 C’s	2 C’s (3) ^b
Sunday II Offertory: “convertens”	A-B-C	A-C	A-B-C	A-C	[B]-C-B (6) ^c
Sunday II Offertory: “vivificabis” ^a	5 C’s	3 C’s	3 C’s	2 C’s	2 C’s (6)
Sunday II Offertory: “vivificabis” ^a	A-D	B-D	A-D	A-D	A-D (5)
Sunday III Introit: “sed in omni”	C-D-D-F	C-D-F	C-D-D-F	D-D-D-F	
Sunday IV Offertory: “tui”	G-A-A-G-G	G-A-G-G	G-A-G-G	G-A-G-G- G	

^a refers to examples taken from Table 3.1.

^b melisma does not reach this far in nine other graduals

^c two graduals read A-C

Table 3.5. Pitches removed from the *Graduale Romanum*, compared to the *Liber Gradualis*

Chant	<i>GR</i>	<i>LG</i>	<i>H. 159 Mp</i>	<i>GP</i>	Nineteenth-century graduals
Sunday I Introit: “edoce me”	C-B-A-G	C-B-A-A-G	Psalm verse not present	C-B-A-G-G	
Sunday II Gradual: “sanctos”	C-G	C-G-G	C-G	C-G	C-G (10)
Sunday II Gradual: “testamentum”	C-G	C-G-G	C-G	C-G	C-G (6)
Sunday II Alleluia: “ibimus” final notes	E-F-D	E-F-E-D	Corresponding notes not present	Corresponding notes not present	E-D (5)
Sunday III Introit “vestrae” ^a	D-C	C-D-C	D-C	C-D-C	
Sunday III Gradual: “veni”	A-G	A-G-G	A-G-G	A-G-G	
Sunday III Offertory: “Benedixisti” melisma	D-F-G-F-E-E	D-E-F-G-F-E-F	D-F-G-F-E-E	D-G-F-F-F-E	
Sunday IV Offertory: “tecum”	G-C	G-A-C	G-C	G-A-C	

^a refers to example taken from table 3.1.

Finally, there are some instances where the number of pitches stays the same between the two graduals but the pitches are altered. Twenty-two of these instances occur throughout the Sundays of Advent, as shown in table 3.6. The *Graduale Romanum* relies extensively on the H. 159 Montpellier in these examples, as sixteen concordances are present between the two. Only two examples correspond exactly with the *Graduale*

Pataviense. The *Liber Gradualis* corresponds to the H. 159 Montpellier only once, and to the *Graduale Pataviense* three times. These examples show that the *Graduale Romanum* clearly relies on the H. 159 Montpellier in many of the instances presented in table 3.6 while the *Liber Gradualis* relies on a source that is not related to either of the pre-Tridentine sources used here.

Typically, these involve only one or two pitches, as seen with “petitiones vestrae” from the Introit to the third Sunday (examples 3.33 and 3.34). Here the passage reads as follows:

LG: FGF FE DED CDC

GR: FGF ED DED DC

Notice that the pitches F and E in the *Liber Gradualis* are changed to E and D in the *Graduale Romanum*. Also, the *Graduale Romanum* drops a pitch (C) near the end of the passage, which would fall under the category of pitches removed from the *Graduale Romanum*. This passage in the *Graduale Romanum* is identical to the corresponding passage in the H. 159 Montpellier,⁴⁰ while the *Liber Gradualis* does not match either the H. 159 Montpellier or the *Graduale Pataviense*.⁴¹ On rare occasions more complex differences emerge within the Sundays of Advent, such as at the melisma on the word “Joseph” in the third Sunday Gradual. This reads A-G-F-A-C in the *Liber Gradualis* and A-F-D-G-C in the *Graduale Romanum*. The former has a more stepwise melodic contour

⁴⁰ H. 159 Montpellier, 40.

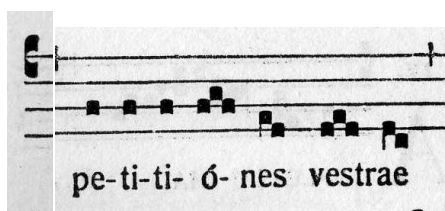
⁴¹ *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 3r.

and does not follow either older source presented in table 3.6 while the latter leaps around using wider intervals and is identical to the H. 159 Montpellier.⁴²

Example 3.33, Introit, Third Sunday of Advent, Solesmes, *Liber Gradualis*, p. 7.



Example 3.34, Introit, Third Sunday of Advent, *Graduale Romanum*, p. 7.



To further clarify the source-reliance trend established in the discussion concerning musical differences between the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum*, we can add up the total number of times the two graduals are relying on the two sources (H. 159 Montpellier and *Graduale Pataviense*). Disregarding the duplications in tables 3.3–3.6, in the passages where the *Graduale Romanum* does not agree with the *Liber Gradualis*, twenty-five of these are identical with the H. 159 Montpellier and eight are identical with the *Graduale Pataviense*. The *Liber Gradualis* is identical to the H. 159 Montpellier six times and to the *Gradual Pataviense* ten times.

⁴² H. 159 Montpellier, 40.

Table 3.6, Pitch changes between *Graduale Romanum* and *Liber Gradualis*

Chant	<i>GR</i>	<i>LG</i>	<i>H. 159 Mp</i>	<i>GP</i>	Nineteenth-century graduals
Sunday I Introit: “in te,”	F-G-G	G-A-A	F-G-G	G-G	
Sunday I Gradual: “Domine” melisma ^a	C-C	B-C	C-C	B-flat-C	
Sunday I Gradual : “mihi” ^a	A-C-C	A-B-C	A-C-C	A-B-C	
Sunday I Alleluia: beginning of jubilus ^a	B-C	A-C	C-C	C-C	
Sunday I Alleluia: “misericordiam” ^a	B-B-B	B-C-B	B-B-B	C-C-C	
Sunday II Gradual: “ejus” melisma ^a	A-B-C	A-C-C	A-B-C	A-C-C	A-C (9)
Sunday II Offertory: “nos” melisma	B-natural	B-flat	B-natural	C	B-flat (5)
Sunday II Offertory: “laetabitur” ^a	G-G-C-C- B-C	A-A-C-D- C-C	G-G-C-C- B-C	G-G-A-C- C-C	G-G-A-C- [B]-C-C (4)
Sunday II Offertory: “ostende” ^a	G-G-B-B-D	G-G-C-C- D	G-G-C-B- D	G-A-C-C-D	G-G-B-B- D (4)
Sunday II Offertory: “misericordiam”	E-E-F	E-D-F	F-E-F	F-F-G	F-E-F (4) E-E-F (3)
Sunday II Offertory: “salutare”	A-B-A	A-B-G	A-B-A	A-C-A	A-B-A (4) A-B-flat-A (4)
Sunday II Offertory: “tuum da”	F-G-A-B-B- A-C-C-C-C	F-F-G-A- A-G-A-C- C-C	F-G-A-B- B-A-C-C- C-C	F-G-A-B- C-A-A-C- C-A-C	7 graduals begin F-G- A-B[flat]
Sunday III Introit: “oratione”	E-G-A	E-F-A	E-G-A	E-G-A	
Sunday III Introit: “petitiones vestrae”	G-F-E-D-D	G-F-F-E-D	G-F-E-D- D	F-G-F-D-F- D	

Chant	<i>GR</i>	<i>LG</i>	<i>H. 159 Mp</i>	<i>GP</i>	Nineteenth-century graduals
Sunday III Gradual: "Regis" melisma ^a	5C's	C-B-C-C-C	5 C's	C-C-G-A-C	
Sunday III Gradual: "Joseph" melisma ^a	D-B-D	D-C-D	D-B-D	D-C-D	
Sunday III Gradual: "Joseph" melisma	A-F-D-G-C	A-G-F-A-C	A-F-D-G-C	A-F-E-D-G-C	
Sunday III Alleluia: "veni"	B-flat-F-D-F	B-flat-G-F-F	B-flat-F-D-F	A-F-D-F	
Sunday IV Alleluia: "noli" ^a	C-B-flat-G	C-A-G	C-A-G	C-C-B-B-A	
Sunday IV Offertory: "Dominus" melisma	C-G-F	C-A-F	C-G-F	C-G-F (transposed up a fifth)	
Sunday IV Offertory: "et benedictus"	First note G	First note A	First note F	First note G	
Sunday IV Offertory: "benedictus" ^a	C-A-C-G	C-B-C-G	G-B-flat-G-A	A-C-A-C	

^a refers to examples taken from Table 3.1.

Thus we can conclude that the *Graduale Romanum* is heavily reliant on the H. 159 Montpellier or another similar source in contrast to the *Liber Gradualis*.

Notice that the *Graduale Romanum* has a total of eight concordances with the *Graduale Pataviense*, meaning that it has concordances not only with a medieval source from the eleventh century but also one from the early sixteenth century. Three of these eight concordances are independently concordant with the *Graduale Romanum* while not

also concordant with the H. 159 Montpellier. Although the *Graduale Romanum* uses both Medieval and Renaissance sources, it also has more recent derivatives. Tables 3.3–3.6 demonstrate the melodic construction from twelve nineteenth-century graduals presented in Karp’s *Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*. Since in most cases there are differences among the twelve graduals, I give the most common construction found in each particular passage. These are limited to the second Sunday of Advent. Five instances occur where the examples from the nineteenth-century sources are in agreement with the *Graduale Romanum* and with the H. 159 Montpellier. In all but one of these, they also agree with the *Graduale Pataviense*. However, there are two instances where the nineteenth-century graduals are the only sources that have identical constructions to the *Graduale Romanum*, both occurring in the second Sunday Offertory. The first is at the word “ostende,” which in the *Graduale Romanum* has the pitches G-G-B-B-D⁴³ and corresponds to four different graduals in Karp’s book.⁴⁴ The H. 159 Montpellier gives G-G-C-B-D and the *Graduale Pataviense* G-A-C-C-D.⁴⁵ The second instance is at the word “misericordiam,” where the *Graduale Romanum* gives E-E-F.⁴⁶ While this is not the most common construction among the nineteenth-century graduals (four give F-E-F, which corresponds to the *Graduale Pataviense*),⁴⁷ three do give this particular construction as the second most common among the twelve graduals here.⁴⁸ This can help explain the origin to this particular construction. We see then that the *Graduale Romanum*

⁴³ *Graduale Romanum*, 5.

⁴⁴ Karp, Part Two, 333.

⁴⁵ *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 2v.

⁴⁶ *Graduale Romanum*, 6.

⁴⁷ *Graduale Pataviense*, f. 2v.

⁴⁸ Karp, Part Two, 334-35.

demonstrates historical comprehensiveness in giving melodic constructions that are found in medieval, pre-Tridentine Renaissance, and nineteenth-century chant sources.

In summary, the changes that occur between the *Graduale Romanum* and the *Liber Gradualis* are significant. They appear in three classes: the second endings of the Gloria Patri that are present in the *Liber Gradualis* but absent in the *Graduale Romanum*; differences in text found in the first Sunday Offertory, the third Sunday Gradual, and the fourth Sunday Alleluia verse; and variations in pitch material between the two. The second endings to the Gloria Patri occur in three of the four Introits to the Sundays of Advent in the *Liber Gradualis*. In each case, one of the two is used in the *Graduale Romanum*. These endings are identical or similar to the majority of endings found in five medieval and early Renaissance sources. In the differences involving text, we see the *Liber Gradualis* using texts taken from the *Missale Romanum* originally compiled in 1570, and which were also used in the 1871 Pustet *Graduale Romanum*. The texts in the *Graduale Romanum*, in contrast, correspond to the Latin biblical texts from which they are taken and to the texts used in pre-Tridentine sources of chant. The particular melodic construction of the chants in these instances also corresponds to pre-Tridentine sources, particularly to the H. 159 Montpellier. The purely musical differences can be grouped into three categories: B-C discrepancy, difference of pitch at the beginning of phrases, and other differences that do not fall into these categories. More of these differences from the *Graduale Romanum* correspond to the H. 159 Montpellier than those from the *Liber Gradualis*, indicating that this likely is a major source determining the differences between the two graduals. The *Graduale Pataviense* and a few nineteenth century

graduals have more limited concordances with the *Graduale Romanum*, but the fact that they do supports the principle of comprehensive historical perspective, since concordances can be found with eleventh-century, sixteenth-century, and nineteenth-century sources.

CHAPTER 4

Conclusions and Proposals for Future Study

In this thesis, I have explained the origins of the *Graduale Romanum* of 1908 as a milestone in the restoration of Gregorian chant. This has involved a twofold analysis—first a historical explanation of the creation of the chant book (chapter 2), and second a detailed examination of the chants themselves to determine possible sources for the *Graduale Romanum* (chapter 3). My guiding principle as established in chapter 1 is to find a rationale for the comprehensive historical perspective—the use of many sources from multiple centuries—that the chant scholars employed to produce the melodies found in the *Graduale Romanum*. The search to justify this principle permeates both the historical analysis of chapter 2 and the musical analysis in chapter 3.

Chapter 2 describes the people whose influence guided the events that generated a need for the *Graduale Romanum*. They lived primarily during the nineteenth century when chant scholars began to understand that the chants used in the Catholic liturgy were in many cases radically different from the chants found in medieval manuscripts. This understanding inspired enthusiasts to find the origins of the chants, revise them based on these sources, and restore their practice within the liturgy. Among these chant scholars,

the monks from the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes were the most influential in the restoration efforts that paved the way to the *Graduale Romanum*. Most sources acknowledge three of these monks as particularly important. Dom Prosper Guéranger, the man who reestablished the abbey after forty years of vacancy and the first abbot of the newly revived community, promoted the study of chant among the residing monks. Doms Joseph Pothier and André Mocquereau, each in their own way, followed their founder's principles and in doing so established the leading school of chant scholarship in the second half of the nineteenth century. They argued that since their chants were historically more correct than the *Graduale Romanum* published by Pustet and used by the Vatican in the late nineteenth century, a new official version of chant based on their research should replace it. When such an edition was called for by Pius X, both of these men served on the commission established to approve the chants in this new version and Mocquereau headed an editorial board comprised of Solesmes monks who drafted the chants to be approved by the commission. The conflicting opinions of the members of the commission were essentially those held by these two men—Pothier wanted the chants to be based primarily on early manuscript evidence while relying on later developments to account for aesthetic considerations while Mocquereau strictly adhered to the evidence found in early manuscripts. Pothier's *Liber Gradualis* of 1895 became the model for the *Graduale Romanum* so that the disputes could be settled and progress made on the new edition, prompting Mocquereau, his fellow monks from Solesmes, and those on the commission who were favorable to him, to discontinue their work on the new edition.

Despite Solesmes's powerful guiding hand in the creation of the *Graduale Romanum*, they were not the only group interested in restoring Gregorian chant.

Numerous local societies using the name of St. Cecilia created the loosely organized Cecilian movement, which promoted liturgical music from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, particularly chant and sacred polyphony. Interest and expertise in chant could vary among the individuals associated with this movement, frequently linked to their location or nationality. For example, Monsignor Franz Xavier Haberl from Germany put together the *Graduale Romanum* published by Pustet in 1871 based on the Medici Gradual of 1614, which he mistakenly believed to have been edited by Palestrina. The chants in this gradual were heavily edited from the medieval versions of the chant. On the other hand, the Italian Fr. Angelo de Santi demonstrated full faith in the Solesmes chants once he became convinced of their historical value. Several other chant scholars not directly involved in the Cecilian movement are enumerated in chapter 2. Monsignor Carlo Respighi and Dom Raphael Molitor independently produced letters that disproved Palestrina's involvement with the Medici Gradual; and Peter Wagner established himself as a well-respected chant scholar and professor at the University of Fribourg during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Pope Pius X issued a *motu proprio* in 1903, a few months after he became pope, which called for a new official edition of Gregorian chant for use in the Roman Catholic liturgy. Beginning in 1904, a commission was formed of members who would review drafts produced by Mocquereau and a group of Solesmes monks who formed the editorial board. The commission developed two opposing factions under Pothier and Mocquereau which could not agree on the appropriate historical approach to use for the edition. Each of these factions lobbied higher authority for the other faction to submit to their views.

Eventually Pothier's faction favoring a more comprehensive historical perspective won out, and Solesmes and his followers left since they could not accept the new arrangements. However, the remaining commission members did consider some of Solesmes's suggestions from medieval manuscripts.

The debates between the two factions centered primarily on the melodic material of the chants. While for the most part work on the *Graduale Romanum* was the product of Dom Pothier's faction and was primarily based on his *Liber Gradualis* of 1895, some differences between the two exist in which the *Graduale Romanum* adheres either to medieval models or later sources instead of its parent source. To help explain these differences and to propose sources that the *Graduale Romanum* may have used to reach these points of difference, I analyzed the chants from the four Sundays of Advent. I found three classes of differences between the *Graduale Romanum* and the *Liber Gradualis*: 1) the inclusion or lack of second endings, 2) textual differences and their musical implications, and 3) purely musical differences between the two graduals.

The first class involves second endings at the Gloria Patri (also known as *differentia*), which appear in three of the Introits of the Sundays of Advent in the *Liber Gradualis* and are absent in the *Graduale Romanum*. The latter follows one of the two endings as presented in the *Liber Gradualis* without altering a note. An examination of the corresponding endings in five graduals dating from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries revealed that the melodic constructions resembled the endings in the *Graduale Romanum* more often than those found only in the *Liber Gradualis*. Therefore, I concluded that the

Graduale Romanum was in these instances using the endings found most commonly among the chants.

The second class involves textual differences between the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum*. Among the three instances occurring in Sundays of Advent, each example from the *Liber Gradualis* followed the text used in both the Pustet *Graduale Romanum* and the most contemporary revision of the Tridentine Missal (1884). In two of the three instances the *Graduale Romanum* uses the same words as versions of the Latin Bible published in the nineteenth century, but more importantly follows the texts used in the pre-Tridentine graduals all three times. I chose two old collections of chant to test the musical differences between the two graduals at these text variations: the eleventh-century H. 159 Montpellier and the early sixteenth-century *Graduale Pataviense*. I also made a comparison with the Pustet *Graduale Romanum* and found that the passages here have only a few notes while the corresponding passages in the 1908 *Graduale Romanum* have elaborate melismas, so there was no viable means of comparison. In these instances the *Graduale Romanum* either very nearly or exactly uses the melodic construction used in these pre-Tridentine sources. These differences support Theodore Karp's observation that the nineteenth-century restorers—including Pothier in his *Liber Gradualis*—were more interested in restoring melodies than they were in restoring the texts from manuscripts.¹ Both the texts and with them the music are restored in the *Graduale Romanum*.

¹ Theodore Karp, *An Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper* (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2005), part 1, 274.

The third class of differences between the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Graduale Romanum* involves purely musical differences, which I divided into three categories. The first category I label the B-C discrepancy since it includes instances where C is used in one gradual and B or B-flat is used in the other, or where either of these pitches is avoided. There are two possible reasons for such difference: first because many versions of the chant from Germany will use C where versions from other locations use B, and second because the reciting tone is usually avoided on B. I found a total of twenty-one such differences, and each are distributed relatively evenly between the two graduals. I also compared these two graduals to the H. 159 Montpellier and the *Graduale Pataviense* at the points of discrepancy involving B and C. The *Graduale Romanum* follows the H. 159 Montpellier twice as often as it follows the *Graduale Pataviense*, while the *Liber Gradualis* preferred the *Graduale Pataviense* slightly more often than the H. 159 Montpellier.

The second category of musical differences involves a difference of pitch at the beginning of a phrase. There are only two instances in the Sundays of Advent, but since these are more exposed than the previous category they have greater importance. In contrast to the B-C discrepancy, the *Graduale Romanum* does not follow the H. 159 Montpellier at all and follows the *Graduale Pataviense* once, while the *Liber Gradualis* does not follow either source. This may indicate that the *Graduale Romanum* has other, possibly more recent sources that it uses at these points.

The third category of musical differences involves additions, subtractions, or changes in pitch without a change in the number of pitches, which includes all the

examples from the first and second categories. During the Sundays of Advent pitches are present in the *Graduale Romanum* but not in the *Liber Gradualis* in nine instances; pitches not present in the *Graduale Romanum* that appear in the *Liber Gradualis* occur eight times; and instances where the same number of pitches are present in both graduals but are altered in the *Graduale Romanum* occur twenty-two times. In each of these groupings, the *Graduale Romanum* is either slightly or significantly more reliant on the H. 159 Montpellier than on the *Graduale Pataviense* while the *Liber Gradualis* tends to be slightly more reliant on the *Graduale Pataviense*. This is confirmed if we look at the number of times each gradual is identical to one of these sources: the *Graduale Romanum* is identical to the H. 159 Montpellier twenty-five times and to the *Graduale Pataviense* only eight times; the *Liber Gradualis* is six times identical to the H. 159 Montpellier and ten times to the *Graduale Pataviense*.

The comparison of the *Graduale Romanum* to these two source graduals reveals that the chant book in question is undeniably dependent on either the H. 159 Montpellier itself—a medieval manuscript—or on another source very similar to it. The H. 159 Montpellier may represent hundreds of manuscripts from the Middle Ages, many of which no longer survive, and most of which I have not been able to look at for comparison. However, if this were the only source or pool of sources that has legitimate concordances with the *Graduale Romanum*, the principle of the comprehensive historical perspective could not apply since the source represents only a single point in time, not a broad historical range. In fact, the *Graduale Pataviense* (sixteenth century) is identical to the *Graduale Romanum* in eight instances of musical difference, and three of these

concordances do not also match the H. 159 Montpellier. The *Graduale Pataviense* can thus be considered a source for the *Graduale Romanum* in limited situations. Certain nineteenth-century graduals from those presented in Karp's book on post-Tridentine chants demonstrate concordances with the *Graduale Romanum* in two instances. While this is a very limited number, these instances occur only where there are no other concordances among the sources used and are restricted to examples from the Second Sunday of Advent. These nineteenth-century chants can also be considered possible sources for the *Graduale Romanum*. This chant book therefore has a wide time range of source material, preserving the comprehensive historical perspective: the H. 159 Montpellier from the Middle Ages, the *Graduale Pataviense* from the pre-Tridentine Renaissance, and several nineteenth-century graduals.

My thesis thus explains some of the origins of the *Graduale Romanum*, particularly in comparison to the *Liber Gradualis*, its most immediate source. However, there are several limitations in my study that can be addressed by further research. Three in particular are worth mentioning as directions for future study into the origins of the *Graduale Romanum*: 1) further comparison between the *Graduale Romanum* and *Liber Gradualis*, 2) comparison between the *Graduale Romanum* and more recent editions, and 3) examination of the debates concerning the rhythm of Gregorian chant which coincided with the disagreements concerning melody at the beginning of the twentieth century.

First, subsequent studies should delve deeper into the differences between the *Graduale Romanum* and *Liber Gradualis*. My thesis is limited by the availability of chant sources, most of which are in manuscript form. The overwhelming majority of these

sources are unavailable in either print or electronic form and must be viewed in the libraries and archives where they were copied and used. A future study can incorporate some of these difficult-to-access sources and provide a more in-depth analysis of the content of the *Graduale Romanum*. In addition, examination of other portions of the *Graduale Romanum* besides the Advent season could help solidify or negate the conclusions that I have reached by giving a broader representation of the gradual. Since the season of Advent was one of the last seasons of the liturgical year to be developed, it is possible that the chants found elsewhere might display some different results. The chants from Advent could have been preserved better with fewer variations between sources than the chants in other portions of the liturgical year. It is also possible to examine nineteenth-century graduals instead of focusing primarily on medieval sources. Some of these graduals give melodies that closely resemble those in the *Graduale Romanum*, particularly two graduals prepared by Michael Hermesdorff (published in 1863 and 1876).

A second direction for further study would involve looking at the impact of the 1908 *Graduale Romanum* on subsequent editions instead looking backward to find editions that impacted it. According to Göschl, most of the chant books published between 1966 and 1985 are based on the *Graduale Romanum*.² A study taking this direction would involve a different approach than mine, and could make two specific contributions.

² Johannes Berchmans Göschl, "One Hundred Years of the *Graduale Romanum*," *Sacred Music* 135, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 24.

First, this approach would reflect the current practice of Gregorian chant. Significant changes were made to the Catholic liturgy in the middle of the twentieth century, as a revised version of the *Missale Romanum* was promulgated in an apostolic letter by Paul VI in 1969³ and which was published in the following year. This letter refers to the *Missale Romanum* of 1570 which had been used for four hundred years. While according to Paul VI the texts of the sung portion of the Mass would not be changed, a new *Graduale Romanum* was issued in 1974 which took the changes into account. A new study could compare this version to the 1908 version of the *Graduale Romanum* and trace the differences between the two in much the same manner as I have in this thesis. Any material present in the new version of the *Graduale Romanum* that does not appear in the 1908 *Graduale Romanum* would provide ample opportunity to examine the origins of the new material.

A second contribution in examining the effect of the 1908 *Graduale Romanum* on more recent publications is to trace the continuing involvement of Solesmes in chant studies. While most of the recently published chant books are based on the 1908 *Graduale Romanum*, since 1948 Solesmes has been working on a critical edition that prints the neumatic symbols of the manuscripts above the translations of these symbols as notes on a staff. This critical edition is meant to support rather than replace the versions

³ Pope Paul VI, *Missale Romanum* [Apostolic Constitution Issued by His Holiness Pope Paul VI] (Rome, April 3, 1969), accessed September 26, 2011. <http://www.adoremus.org/>.

currently in use.⁴ Although the work is not yet complete, a portion of it is available on the internet as another possible source for further study.⁵

A third direction for further study would be an examination of the debates surrounding the rhythm of Gregorian chant. Throughout the entire thesis, I have deliberately omitted any reference to this topic since it historically tends to be controversial. Rhythm became the most distinguishing feature of the polemics between those in favor of the Vatican edition and those who wanted to see the Solesmes methods implemented after Solesmes withdrew its editorial work from the Vatican commission in 1905. The chants put together by Mocquereau contained rhythmic markings that grouped the notes rhythmically, whereas the Vatican edition did not make these indications. Rhythmic editions, as they were called, were particularly popular in Italy during the first decade of the twentieth century.⁶ They were never officially mandated nor condemned, although their opponents attempted to have them banned.⁷ A study that moves in this direction could discuss the nature of the rhythmic debates and explain their relevance to the restoration of chant.

The study of Gregorian chant today is of vital importance despite the fact that it was first developed over a millennium ago during the Middle Ages. However, when we look at the creation of the *Graduale Romanum* one hundred years ago, we see that Gregorian chant was viewed as a living music; the new edition was developed for its

⁴ Göschl, 24-25.

⁵ <http://www.gregor-und-taube.de/html/materialien.htm#I.1/>.

⁶ Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore N. Marier and William Skinner (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 402.

⁷ Combe, 386-403.

practical use within the Catholic liturgy. It is just as much a living music today as it was in the early twentieth century. In the middle of the twentieth century, the Second Vatican Council emphasized Gregorian chant as the official music used in the Catholic Church, and called for its use in preference to all other genres of music.⁸ While this directive is not always followed (especially in the United States), it is significant because it gives a venue for the continued practical usage of the chant. Gregorian chant is therefore not a dead music, nor a historical curiosity, nor primarily the scholar's domain, but rather a living music, often neglected and relegated to any or all of these other titles.

This thesis was developed to underscore the living practice of Gregorian chant today, in addition to contributing to the scholarly discussion surrounding these chants. It is especially helpful to the performer to know some of the background of the chants that he or she is singing, that they are not simply reprints of musical manuscripts from the Middle Ages or even melodies that have evolved over time, but melodies that were painstakingly reconstructed using a variety of resources which sometimes agree and sometimes conflict with each other. Differences in practice could provide differences in melodic construction of the chants even today, which may be based in some of the debates that went into the formation of the chants. While the *Graduale Romanum* attempted to be the final say in what chants should be used by the church, efforts to improve it have not flagged, especially from Solesems. The performer must know this to understand the rich history of these chants; and in that awareness can better transmit the song that is native to Catholic liturgy.

⁸ *Documents of Vatican II*, edited by Austin P. Flannery, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1975), 32.

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