

Trinity College Dublin, the University of Dublin

THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF PLAINCHANT IN FRANCE,
BELGIUM AND CERTAIN OTHER CATHOLIC REGIONS: A
CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE
FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE SECOND
VATICAN COUNCIL

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

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Complete in Two Volumes

Volume I

DECLARATION

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SUMMARY

This dissertation establishes the techniques employed in the organ accompaniment of plainchant, determines whether consensus was reached on the adoption of such techniques, and illustrates the musical and commercial factors in the publishing of accompaniment books and theoretical manuals. Publications in some twenty languages provide the basis for the discussion, which is illustrated by quoted music examples in the second volume. These bear witness to a highly adaptable set of musical techniques that responded to changes in fashion and discoveries in music history. The discussion is further illustrated by referencing a rich vein of letters and archival material—here being brought to light for the first time—that show how ideas passed between theorist and practitioner, and how methods, manuals, theory and practice transcended international and religious boundaries, leaving an enduring legacy that may still be felt in sacred music today. A new story is told, largely in chronological order: one of musical idealism, political wrangling and the commercial shrewdness of musicians and publishers who responded to the demands of the market. The theory and practice of chant accompaniment at Solesmes serves as a particular focus, since the importance of accompaniments in the chant restoration movement has not yet been considered.

In Chapter 1, a prehistory summarises the organ's involvement in the liturgy from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries, describing the passing from *alternatim* practice to chorale singing in Lutheran churches and the gradual introduction of organ accompaniment of singing. The rise of the continuo proved useful to Catholic and Protestant musicians alike, whose enthusiasm for novelty led to secular genres being included as part of the church service. The Catholic Church in particular recognised this as a corrupting trend, and decreed that a more pious style of playing be adopted instead. This was left to Cecilian musicians in Germanic countries to codify, and their reasons for adopting supposedly austere textures

are examined in the second half of the chapter. Owing to the Vatican's official adoption of Cecilian chant books, the resulting demand for relevant books of accompaniments led to the spread of Cecilian ideals across Europe, to the United States, and to South Africa.

In Chapter 2, the introduction of the accompanying organ into French churches is shown to have started a trend. A lack of available trained organists drew reservations from some quarters, and the growing popularity of chanting established a demand for automated instruments that could take the place of a trained accompanist. Commercially savvy but musically dubious pedagogical manuals claimed to simplify the practice of chant accompaniment for untrained parishoners, seminarians and pianists, but made such bogus claims that they cannot have been enlightening to the hapless amateurs at which they were aimed. Meanwhile, more serious theorists were engaged in seeking authentically venerable methods of harmonisation in the musical practice of antiquity. The diatonic method codified by Niedermeyer is shown to be based on specious claims to antiquity, though that did not preclude it from capturing the nineteenth-century imagination; thereafter, it was widely applied in chant accompaniments.

In Chapter 3, the matter of free rhythm and how it could be applied to the accompaniment is examined in detail, particularly with respect to the notation of such accompaniments. What we term the 'Lhoumeau effect' (the changing of chords on unstressed syllables) is also discussed, as is the use of accompaniments as plainchant propaganda to popularise free rhythm in France and further afield.

In Chapter 4, those Solesmian accompaniments written to demonstrate the controversial theory of the *ictus* are considered, as is the training up of the Solesmes monk Antoine Delpech in harmony that preceded the production of Solesmes's first accompaniment books. They proved to be highly controversial and Delpech's involvement in harmonising for Solesmes was discontinued following a dispute with his monastic superiors. The baton passed to Giulio Bas, whose two-decade collaboration with André Mocquereau is discussed with reference to his letters and published accompaniments. The publication of the Vatican Edition led to Bas's needing to revise accompaniments published previously, owing to the Vatican commission having revised some of the chants.

The unprecedented demand for accompaniments tailored to the Vatican Edition led multiple publishers to bring out their own editions: these are described in connection with the methods adopted by individual harmonisers. The methods publishers used to encourage the adoption of their accompaniment books are also considered, for they reveal the accommodation of the repertory to specific geographical locations.

In Chapter 5, two approaches to chant harmony are compared with earlier traditions. On the one hand, the unrestricted admittance of chromatic notes to chant harmonisations railed against the diatonicism preferred in France and Belgium; on the other, a more austere method developed at Solesmes restricted the notes in the harmony to those comprehended by the chant. The influence of modernism is considered in both cases, and the blurred line between modality and major-minor harmony at Solesmes is contextualised with reference to correspondence between one of its monks and the composer André Caplet. Finally, a postscript illustrates some developments in chant accompaniment that have taken place since the reforms of the Second Vatican Council.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

Abbreviations

ACV	Algemeiner Cäcilien-Verband für Deutschland
Al.	alleluia
b.	born
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
c.	century
<i>c.</i>	<i>circa</i>
Cm	communion
cm	centimetres
CVK	<i>Cäcilienvereins-Kataloge</i>
col., cols	column, columns
d.	died
ex., exx.	example, examples
ex.t.p.	Extra tempus paschale
F.	Francs
f., ff.	folio, folios
Fr	Father
Fr.	<i>Frère</i>
Gl.	gloria
Gr.	gradual
Harm.	Harmonised
IMSLP	International Music Score Library Project

Abbreviations continued from previous page

In.	introit
Ky.	kyrie
L.	Lire
M.	Marks or Monsieur
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
n., nn.	note, notes
n.d.	No date
n.y.	No year
Of.	offertory
p., pp.	page, pages
r	<i>recto</i>
Rev.	Reverend
S., Ss	Saint, Saints
SCR	Sacred Congregation of Rites
Sq.	sequence
Sig.	Signature
§, §§	section, sections
t.p.	Tempus paschale
Tc.	tract
TLS	‘Tra le sollecitudini’
<i>TSG</i>	<i>La Tribune de Saint-Gervais</i>
v	<i>verso</i>
vol., vols	volume, volumes
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

Library and archive *sigla*

<i>A-Wn</i>	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung
<i>F-Pn</i>	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, Paris
<i>F-SO</i>	Archives de l'Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes
<i>F-SWF</i>	Archives of l'Abbaye Saint-Wandrille de Fontenelle
<i>GB-OLQ</i>	Archives of the Abbey of Our Lady of Quarr, Isle of Wight

TECHNICAL NOTES

Modes

The eight modes of the Latin octoechos are here identified by their traditional ordinals (first, second, third, etc.) rather than by the pseudo-classical nomenclature of Glarean (Dorian, Hypodorian, Phrygian, etc.).

Modal characteristics that apply equally to the authentic and plagal ambits of a final (such as cadences) are described in terms of the tetrachord of finals (protus, deuterus, tritus and tetrardus). Hence a characteristic shared by the first and second modes is dubbed ‘protus’, and the so-called ‘Phrygian cadence’ is here called a ‘deuterus cadence’, except in cases where a cited authority uses a proprietary term in a specific context.

Musical nomenclature

Pitch classes are identified by inverted commas, such as ‘C’ or ‘D’.

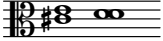
Absolute pitches are identified in Helmholtz pitch notation, F_7 being the ‘F’ below Bottom ‘C’, C being Bottom ‘C’, c being Tenor ‘C’, c' being Middle ‘C’, c'' being the octave above that, and so forth.

References to specific notes within a polyphonic texture are made with respect to the number of parts from the bottom or top of the texture, as indicated. In a four-part texture, for example, the ‘second part from the top’ identifies the alto part, whereas the ‘second part from the bottom’ identifies the tenor.

Suspensions are identified thus: 7–6, 2–3, etc.

Transposition and scale steps

The term ‘signature’ is used instead of ‘key signature’ to describe the number of sharps or flats left-most on the staff since their presence in a chant harmonisation usually serves to indicate the disposition of tones and semitones rather than major-minor keys.

Since in harmonised editions chants may be transposed away from their natural loci in the Guidonian gamut, it is sometimes necessary to identify scale steps numerically ($\hat{1}$, $\hat{2}$, $\hat{3}$, etc.), $\hat{1}$ being the final of the mode. Hence a cadence described as ‘protus $\hat{2} \rightarrow \hat{1}$ with $-\hat{7}\sharp$ ’ is equivalent to , whatever the transposition.

Time signatures

The term ‘time signature’ retains its conventional meaning. When such signatures are referenced in the narrative, numerator is separated from denominator by an oblique—6/8 therefore stands for $\frac{6}{8}$ and so forth.

Clefs

Clefs are identified either by type (G-clef, F-clef, C-clef) or by their placement on the staff (G2, F4, C3), staff lines being numbered from bottom to top—the latter are also equivalent to ‘treble’, ‘bass’ and ‘alto’ clefs respectively.

Chords

Chords are identified using numbers and obliques (such as 5/3 and 6/3) or by an ascending order of pitch classes (such as D/F/A).

Nomenclature for chant books and Mass parts

The word ‘Gradual’ with an uppercase letter ‘G’ refers to the chant book, whereas the word ‘gradual’ with a lowercase letter ‘g’ refers to the portion of the Mass Proper chanted after the Epistle. For the sake of consistency, other parts of the Mass or the Office are also rendered in lowercase.

Numerals and dates

Numerical punctuation follows the British and American custom of improving the legibility of numbers above 999 by placing commas every third number, and by using periods for decimal points.

Dates are ordered D–M–Y, the month being spelled out in full.

To assist Anglophone readers in locating journal sources in other languages, the months of publication and so forth are translated into English.

Footnotes, endnotes and pagination

The abbreviation ‘n.’ or ‘nn.’ reference footnotes or endnotes in source material, whereas the unabbreviated form ‘footnote’ references footnotes in the present dissertation.

Square brackets surround the present author’s corrections, amplifications and inferences, except when used in page references because certain Graduals use square brackets to distinguish supplementary pagination. Hence, the range pp. [112–113] refers to p. [112] and p. [113].

Authorship

It has not been possible to determine the authorship of every source, perhaps because the significance of a person’s initials has been lost to history, because anonymous monastic authors represented the collective thoughts of their monasteries or orders, or because pseudonyms were believed to shield the identity of an author in an arena where public criticism of another’s beliefs was common.

For the avoidance of doubt in cases of those monastics who take a religious name, that name is used here instead of their birth name.

Localisation

The sacred repertory discussed in this dissertation goes by different names in English, including ‘plainsong’, ‘plainchant’, ‘Gregorian chant’ and simply ‘chant’. For the sake of simplicity the last term is used, though it is considered synonymous with the others, except in certain cases where theorists use a given term in a specific context.

Certain French words are not readily translated into English, such as ‘le chant’ (which can mean plainchant, a hymn, a melody, or another song), ‘la mesure’ (which can mean bar or meter), and ‘le ton’ (which can mean key or mode). While the context usually suggests one translation is more likely than another, it is possible that a different nuance was intended by the original author. The reader is therefore invited to consult each translation into English in conjunction with the original passage typeset adjacent to it.

The gender and number of the French noun ‘orgue’ offers some challenges to Anglophone usage, because it is ordinarily masculine in the singular and feminine in the plural. Whereas in Francophone usage the feminine plural term ‘des grandes orgues’ refers to one, large instrument usually placed on an organ gallery, and the masculine singular form ‘le grand orgue’ typically refers to a division of stops and the corresponding manual keyboard in such an instrument, the term ‘grand orgue’ will here be used to describe a gallery organ. In conformity with Francophone scholarship, the plural form will be treated as masculine. The gender and number of ‘orgue’ will be retained where a writer uses a given term in a specific context.

Place names used as metonyms for places of worship or their associated congregations are retained, such as ‘Solesmes’ for the monastic foundation at Saint-Pierre de Solesmes.

The adjective ‘Solesmian’, a neologism introduced into the Anglophone discourse in 1933,¹ is used here to describe features or methods originating or in use at Solesmes.

¹Henri Potiron, *Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant*, trans. Ruth C. Gabain (Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1933), p. x.

Handlist

The handlist of accompaniment manuals (appendix C) is compiled in chronological order. It must not be considered exhaustive, in spite of augmenting by over one hundred volumes a list of accompaniment books compiled by Francis Potier in 1946.²

Certain volumes are followed by brief notes detailing salient characteristics. Should multiple editions be listed for a single volume and should the content of a note relate to a specific edition, then the ordinal number of the relevant edition will be underlined; otherwise, the note refers to all listed editions.

PDF copies

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²Francis Potier, *L'art de l'accompagnement du chant grégorien : Défense et illustration de l'harmonie grégorienne et Essai de bibliographie critique* (Tournai: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1946), pp. 68–98.

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INTRODUCTION

Plainchant was never meant to be accompanied. Yet the fact remains that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many Catholic musicians—and those of other denominations too—invested huge energies in composing chant accompaniments and discoursing on the subject. Their colourful debates begat an avalanche of printed matter: the cache of manuals in which musicians outlined their methods runs to well in excess of a thousand published titles in some twenty languages, while that of composed accompaniments (uninhibited by the linguistic traditions in which they were written) runs to at least double that. Some publications, whether in prose or in music, were also the subject of extensive revisions as musical mores changed from decade to decade and as one newly fashionable methodology replaced another. Whereas, at one extreme, practically minded choir directors considered chant accompaniment a *sine qua non* for choral support, at the other, historically minded purists believed chant accompaniment to be anachronistic.

The distinction between both extremes is not easily drawn, for during their ideological tug-of-war some advocates for accompaniment were converted to opposing the practice, and vice versa. Although Adrien de La Fage was responsible for introducing the organ accompaniment of chant into French churches in 1829 (see p. 81 below), from 1853 he distanced himself from the practice on the basis that it was anachronistic. His new stance did not preclude the production of a pre-harmonised ‘routine’ (whose second edition was published in 1860), however, intended to equip players with the means of creating their own accompaniments. While this might be explained as a commercial ploy, abject contradiction is also a reality in the history of chant accompaniment. Félix Clément opined, for instance, that accompaniment should be prohibited to better preserve the religious sentiment of

the liturgy,³ but later brought out a method of accompaniment in what he advertised as an appropriate style (see p. 120 below). In 1856, the Belgian theorist François-Auguste Gevaert proposed his own method, remarking that parish congregations could not be expected to sing the chant repertory without accompaniment (see p. 75 below). He later recanted that view following a study of Ancient Greek music, and proposed instead a new method which was reportedly constructed along more historical lines. But two decades later, Gevaert refused to admit that accompaniment could be entertained, the one allowance he made being for the sake of choral support—in which case, accompaniments were to be in unison (see p. 97 below).

It was not unheard of, though it was decidedly less common, for opponents of chant accompaniment to be converted to favour the practice. When the Swiss theorist Louis Niedermeyer demonstrated a diatonic theory of chant harmonisation during the 1850s, its purported basis in historical fact persuaded Joseph d'Ortigue to assist in fleshing out a new method of accompaniment whose effects continue to influence church music today, as we shall see (p. 80). Other theorists were more coy than d'Ortigue by permitting only certain tranches of the repertory to be accompanied. Maurice Emmanuel held such a view in the case of the psalm tones (see p. 227 below), whereas the German theorist Paul Schmetz considered syllabic chants to require a style of harmony distinct from that used for melismatic chants. Schmetz's notion was picked up some decades later by the Italian composer Giulio Bas, though seemingly independently as we shall see (pp. 115, 181 and 182).

The matter of determining a composer's personal preferences at a given time is made challenging by the prevalence of shifting allegiances. As we shall see (§§ 3.2.2, 3.2.4 and 3.2.5), the French organist-composer Eugène Gigout was a versatile harmoniser, and could design diatonic chant accompaniments to fit any rhythmic theory. He and his contemporary Alexandre Guilmant were approached to write accompaniments to illustrate theories of chant rhythm in practice. Guilmant held at least three discrete

³Félix Clément, *Méthode complète de plain-chant d'après les règles du chant grégorien et traditionnel, à l'usage des séminaires, des chantres, des écoles normales primaires et des maîtrises*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1872), 356.

personal styles (§ 3.2.6), though eventually sided with Gevaert's view that accompaniment was in fact anachronistic.

Leo Söhner's and Heinz Wagener's histories of chant accompaniment have charted narrow courses through the eighteenth, nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, their source material largely being limited to written or published works produced in German-speaking countries. Their studies are therefore rather inward-looking and find common ground in a fascination with the compiling of inventories.⁴ That methodology is also common in the study of specific MSS,⁵ and is prone to exaggerating the pervasiveness of techniques one might consider idiosyncrasies of particular religious houses. Wagener's decision to conclude his study at the year 1866 and the brevity of Söhner's have meant that the influence of Cecilianism on accompaniment has not been considered prior to the present study.⁶

Arguably, nowhere was the production of accompaniments more important than at Solesmes, where (in the age prior to the widespread availability of recorded media) they constituted a readily available means of popularising the chant repertory and the principles of free rhythm which the Solesmian authorities were attempting to disseminate. The stakes were high indeed in a competition against Cecilian editions that had long since gained the approval of the Holy See. The use of accompaniments as propaganda was a facet of the chant restoration movement which has not been considered before, in the Anglophone literature or indeed elsewhere. Some studies published to date have opted instead to view chant and its accompaniment through the lens of musical composition,⁷ whereas others

⁴Leo Söhner, *Die Geschichte der Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals in Deutschland vornehmlich im 18. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen der gregorianischen Akademie zu Freiburg i[n] d[er] Schweiz 16 (Augsburg: Filser, 1931); Heinz Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 32 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1964).

⁵Karl Gustav Fellerer, 'Cod. XXVII, 84 der Chorbibliothek der Frauenkirche in München : Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Choralbegleitung', in *Festschrift Peter Wagner zum 60. Geburtstag : Gewand von Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden*, ed. Karl Weinmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926), 56–7; Franz Karl Praßl, 'Anmerkungen zur Orgelbegleitung gregorianischer Gesänge', in *Theorien des Planyversums : Gedanken, Artikel, Kompositionen*, ed. Manfred Novak, Musik : Forschung und Wissenschaft 4 (Vienna: LIT Verlag, 2012), 96–98.

⁶Leo Söhner, *Die Orgelbegleitung zum gregorianischen Gesang*, Kirchenmusikalische Reihe 2 (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1936).

⁷Benedikt Leßmann, *Die Rezeption des gregorianischen Chorals in Frankreich im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Studien zur ideen- und kompositionsgeschichtlichen Resonanz des plain-chant* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2016).

take a more analytical view of specific accompaniments, neglecting to contextualise their findings in the wider context of evolving musical techniques (see, for instance, p. 273).

This dissertation addresses the lacuna existing between studies in cultural history (those by Katherine Bergeron and Katharine Ellis being two examples)⁸ and studies in music analysis by relating the available printed matter to archival source material. The rich cache of correspondence between key figures at Solesmes sheds new light on tension arising between musical, theological and commercial ideologies in the Benedictine circle. This dissertation does not limit itself to material in any one linguistic tradition and benefits from a survey of source material in some twenty languages.

While an examination of printed matter functions as the cornerstone of the present study, it must be noted that libraries and collections beset by fire, vandalism or war list items in their catalogues that have since been destroyed, thereby making it impossible to consult certain sources; and the impact of composers, theorists and practitioners who were indubitably engaged in relevant discourse will remain impossible to quantify. Closures and restrictions brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic prevented the present author from visiting certain research collections to consult specific sources, and in spite of the best efforts of librarians and archivists it was impossible to avail of them in digitised formats owing to cost considerations, time constraints, or poor states of repair. Where the importance of such a source nevertheless necessitates its inclusion, this is indicated by the symbol *. Earlier extracts from chapters one and two were previously published elsewhere,⁹ but may be considered to have been superseded by the present redaction.

⁸Katharine Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant in fin-de-siècle France* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013); Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1998).

⁹Cillian Long, 'The Theory and Practice of Plainchant Accompaniment (Part One) – Deluded Antiquarianism to c.1860: The Shock of the Old', *Études grégoriennes* 47 (2020): 95–139.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL PREHISTORY AND GERMANIC ANTIQUARIANISM

1.1 The role of the organ in the performance of plainchant

1.1.1 Early performance practice

Countless musical instruments are depicted in iconography and manuscripts from the Middle Ages, yet there is scant convincing evidence to suggest that organs actively participated in the Latin liturgy prior to about the twelfth century. It seems probable that writers in later centuries mistook early allegorical descriptions of musical instruments for evidence that they exercised performative roles, and it is most likely that the musical adornment of the liturgy was restricted to monophonic chanting.¹⁰ Unisonous chanting later burgeoned into the more elaborate routines *organum* and *falsobordone* that allowed singers to derive multiple voice parts from a chanted tenor part. Those voice parts were later permitted to exercise more independence as contrapuntal and rhythmic techniques gradually developed. The polyphonic *lingua franca* initiated by Guillaume Du Fay (1397–1474) and his Renaissance successors was perceived by later generations as having reached full maturity at the hands of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–94), whose compositions supposedly captured an austere, reverent and pious *Weltanschauung* that musicians of the late-nineteenth-century Cecilian movement in particular sought to recreate for themselves. Although such musicians sought approaches to polyphony and cadence construction in the musical practice of antiquity, their researches, as we shall see, were conducted with rose-tinted views of the past that blinded them to the historical facts subsequently established by modern musicology.

¹⁰James W. McKinnon, 'Musical Instruments in Medieval Psalm Commentaries and Psalters', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21, no. 1 (1968): 23.

From the twelfth or thirteenth centuries another common form assumed by the chant repertory was the *alternatim verset*, a polyphonic composition played on the organ in alternation with certain sung verses of a canticle or hymn, or instead of passages of a Mass Ordinary.¹¹ The sung portions could either be chanted monophonically or set in a more elaborate polyphonic form depending on the solemnity of the feast, but given that the organ verses were played and not sung the import of their verbal texts necessarily remained a matter for the imaginations of worshippers. Various sixteenth-century rubrics deemed this a vulnerability, and required that omitted texts be recited during the polyphonic organ verset;¹² such rubrics were continually reiterated until the nineteenth century on account of the popularity and longevity of *alternatim* practice.¹³

In the seventeenth century, the *alternatim verset* was given particular impetus in France by the Rouen organist Jean Titelouze (1562 or '63–1633), who brought out *Hymnes de l'Église* in 1623 and eight sets of versets on Magnificats in 1626 that were arranged according to the eight church modes ('suivant les huit tons de l'Église').¹⁴ Collections of versets were also published by Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers (c.1632–1714) in 1665, who, in his *Livre d'orgue*, assigned the chant melodies of some versets to the reed stops of the pedal organ and polyphonic parts to subsidiary registrations played by the hands. The term *accompagnement* therefore came to describe the organ stops used for such polyphonic parts, as witnessed by the following dictionary entry of 1690:

ACCOMPAGNEMENT, en termes d'Organistes, se dit de divers jeux qu'on touche pour accompagner le deffus, comme le bourdon, la monftré, la flufte, le prestant, &c.¹⁵

ACCOMPANIMENT, in the vocabulary of organists, is used for the various stops drawn to accompany the dessus, such as the bourdon, montre, flûte, prestant, and so forth.

¹¹ Benjamin David van Wye, 'Ritual Use of the Organ in France', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33, no. 2 (1980): 287–9.

¹² Praßl, 'Anmerkungen', 93.

¹³ See, for example, *Enchiridion sanctorum rituum ad usum precipue seminariorum* (Paris: Apud J. Leroux & Jouby, 1856), 358–9.

¹⁴ Jean Titelouze, *Hymnes de l'Église pour toucher sur l'orgue avec les fugues et recherches sur leur plain-chant* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1623); Jean Titelouze, *Le Magnificat, ou cantique de la Vierge pour toucher sur l'orgue, suivant les huit tons de l'Église* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1626).

¹⁵ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, & les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts*, vol. 1 (La Haye: A. et R. Leers, 1690), unpaginated entry under 'ACC'.

From the eighteenth century in France, accompaniment of chant was most commonly supplied by wind and string instruments that doubled sung chant verses at the unison or octave. Serpents, ophicleides, bassoons, trombones, cellos or double basses were used as accompanying instruments depending on local customs and the solemnity of the feast. There is some evidence to suggest that those instruments might have been involved in the polyphonic parts of an organ verset, but it should be noted that the organ's function was, in the first half of the century at least, to play polyphonic versets and not to accompany voices.¹⁶

1.1.2 *The Lutheran chorale and thoroughbass practice*

Alternatim practice was widespread in the Catholic churches of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Germany. Although some Protestant churches also retained it, reformers envisaged new roles for church music generally and for the organ specifically.¹⁷ The *Erfurt Enchiridion*, published by Martin Luther in 1524, includes the two Latin chant hymns 'Veni redemptor gentium' and 'Veni Creator Spiritus' transformed and translated into the respective chorales 'Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland' and 'Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist'. Congregational vernacular hymnody and folk songs were substituted for other parts of the Latin service, and polyphonic music (either sung or instrumental) was used to introduce the sermon as the high point of the liturgy. Organ music also anticipated the congregation's involvement in the chorales with chorale preludes, whose function was effectively to line-out the tune. Chorale preludes were (and still are) short settings for organ solo that set the tune as a *cantus firmus* amidst contrapuntal matter: the genre originated in the chorale variations of the Dutch organist Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562–1621) and was subsequently developed by German composers of Protestant backgrounds. As for the chorales themselves, their tunes were transferred from the tenor part into the top part of the texture for the first time in Lucas Osiander's *Fünfftzig*

¹⁶Walter Hillsman, 'Instrumental Accompaniment of Plain-Chant in France from the Late 18th Century', *The Galpin Society Journal* 33 (1980): 10–11.

¹⁷Söhner, *Die Geschichte der Begleitung*, 3–31.

Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen mit vier Stimmen of 1586.¹⁸ This marked a decisive step towards the consolidation of what will be termed the ‘chorale texture’ below.

Transferring the tune into the top part was complemented by the emergence of the basso continuo in Italy during the closing decades of the sixteenth century. One of the first witnesses to the basso continuo’s being used in church music at all was probably the 1601–1603 publication of embellished *falsobordoni* by the Sistine Chapel singer Giovanni Luca Conforti (1560–1608), in which the psalm tones with *abbellimenti* were provided with a bass part.¹⁹ A similar publication by Francesco Severi (d.1630) arranged the tones into ‘intonatione’ (a simple harmonisation of the tone) and ‘falso bordone’ (a more elaborate form not unlike those in Conforti’s publication), pairing each with a rudimentary figured bass.²⁰ Lodovico Grossi da Viadana (c.1560–1627) applied the nascent accompanying technique to the mass in ‘Missa dominicalis’, publishing his accompaniment in the 1607 collection *Concerto ecclesiastici, libro secondo*.²¹ In the nineteenth century, the Italian campaigner for church music reform Pietro Alfieri (1801–63) published a collection of psalm-tone basses with the claim that two of them were about three centuries old (‘antiche forse tre secoli’).²² Although the two in question (both provided in ex. 1) are similar to Severi’s ‘intonatione’ bass parts, Alfieri’s first-tone bass makes greater use of conjunct motion and 6/3 chords.

The first Germanic example of basso continuo practice might have been imported from Italy by Gregor Aichinger in 1607;²³ and by 1640 the practice was sufficiently established in the north for the Protestant composer Johann Crüger (1598–1662) to

¹⁸Richard F. French and Robin A. Leaver, ‘Chorale’, in *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 169.

¹⁹Murray C. Bradshaw, ‘Performance Practice and the Falsobordone’, *Performance Practice Review* 10, no. 2 (1997): 230–31; Murray C. Bradshaw, *Giovanni Luca Conforti: ‘Salmi Passaggiati’ (1601–1603)*, vol. 1, *Miscellanea 5* (American Institute of Musicology, 1985), p. xiii; Murray Bradshaw, ‘Giovanni Luca Conforti and Vocal Embellishment: From Formula to Artful Improvisation’, *Performance Practice Review* 8, no. 1 (17 January 2012): 5.

²⁰Francesco Severi, *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci nella maniera che si cantano in Roma* (Rome: Nicolò Borboni, 1615), 1–6.

²¹Söhner, *Die Orgelbegleitung zum gregorianischen Gesang*, pp. 32, 90.

²²Pietro Alfieri, *Accompagnamento coll’Organo de’Toni Ecclesiastici, varie armonie a quattro voci sui medesimi e sulla melodia del Te Deum, etc* (Rome: Pietro Pittarelli, 1840), pp. 4–5, 7.

²³*Gregor Aichinger, *Cantiones ecclesiasticae tre & quattro voci cum basso generali et cantu ad usum organistarum* (Dillingen, 1607).

publish a book of chorale melodies with bass parts.²⁴ German Catholic organists also adopted the basso continuo, but the majority of extant seventeenth-century sources of Latin chants with bass lines was confined to the manuscript tradition. *Orgelbücher* were compilations of the chants sung at a specific church or religious house where the resident organist had probably experimented with improvising and realising the basses for some time prior to committing them to paper, either as an aide-mémoire or as a model for his or her successors. The individualistic nature of the *Orgelbuch* repertory made it vulnerable to quirks in an organist's taste, with the result being that in some cases a given book remains the sole witness to a particular style or method of organ-accompaniment. In other cases, *Orgelbücher* reflect developments in the basso continuo and reveal how closely some musicians matched their accompaniments of chant to the accompaniment of melodies in other genres. One must be wary of drawing definite conclusions from the repertory as it stands, however, because various collections continue to yield new discoveries: in 2006, for instance, an *Orgelbuch* was discovered at the Cistercian monastery of Stams in the Austrian state of Tyrol,²⁵ and further procedures adopted by unknown composers may yet come to light. With that caveat in mind, Leo Söhner's survey of select *Orgelbücher* is summarised in the following paragraphs.

First, the most rudimentary procedure assigned to each chant note its own bass note ('Akkordische Begleitung'), to which the organist could apply the rules of thoroughbass realisation. The description 'note-against-note', often levelled at the resulting chordal texture,²⁶ scarcely does justice to the variety of ways in which the bass and inner parts can be handled. Three approaches to bass motion are identified by Söhner: the first uses sequences of 5/3 chords, causing the bass to move predominantly by fourths and fifths; the second interpolates 6/3 chords, producing more conjunct motion; and the third uses bass notes in oblique motion, anticipating cadences with 6/4 → 5/3 harmony.

²⁴*Johann Crüger, *Newes vollkômliches Gesangbuch* (Berlin, 1640).

²⁵Hildegard Herrmann-Schneider and Giuliano Castellani, 'Zum Choralgesang mit Generalbass-Begleitung in Tiroler Klöstern des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Musik aus Klöstern des Alpenraums: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress an der Universität Freiburg (Schweiz), 23. bis 24. November 2007* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 110–12.

²⁶Praßl, 'Anmerkungen', 95.

Second, a more contrapuntal procedure constructed an imitative bass line ('Imitationen im Baß') from the intervallic shape of the chant. Söhner identified one MS in which that particular procedure was used as perhaps having been assembled by a continuo musician.²⁷ The intervals traced out by the bass could be derived either from the first phrase of the chant or from its entirety, necessitating a certain degree of contrapuntal imagination to make the bass fit. One chant note could be matched to one bass note, to several bass notes in shorter durations, or to rhythmically complex bass lines composed in florid counterpoint. An accompaniment could flit from one texture to another at a new verse depending on the composer's inclination.

Third, a so-called grouped procedure ('Gruppenbegleitung') permitted an organist to accompany by groups of sustained chords instead of by individual bass notes. Numerous chant notes (which sometimes comprised extensive melismata) were matched to a few well selected bass notes depending on how the composer intuited the potential harmony of the chant. Distinguishing between essential and inessential notes formed the basis of this procedure, as did permitting more chords than those of the 5/3 and 6/3 varieties. Söhner identified 6/4 chords as being particularly useful in retaining the same bass part in passages where a great number of chant notes could be accompanied by an economical use of chords. The reduced bass motion was claimed by Söhner to have suited organists with less developed pedal technique.

Fourth, the procedure of the melodically independent bass part ('Melodisch selbständige Baßführung') was recognised in *Orgelbücher* dating from about the second half of the eighteenth century. The intervals between successive bass notes were filled in with scalar passages, octave leaps, arpeggiations, and elaboration by auxiliary notes. Textural padding in the accompaniment would probably have been idiomatic in the accompaniment of voices by continuo musicians, and it is perhaps unsurprising that such devices were also used in the accompaniment of plainchant.²⁸

²⁷The MS in question is also described in Fellerer, 'Cod. XXVII', 66.

²⁸Söhner, *Die Geschichte der Begleitung*, pp. 44–7, 84–111; Söhner, *Die Orgelbegleitung zum gregorianischen Gesang*, 36–8.

1.1.3 Parity with continuo practice

The development of the basso continuo led the French-language theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) to recognise two definitions of the term *accompagnement* in 1768: the addition of upper parts to a figured bass and the addition of a bass line below a melody.²⁹ The organ accompaniment of voices was seemingly common enough in France by 1766 that the organ builder Dom Bédos de Celles (1709–79) specified organ registrations so that singers would not be drowned out by a loud organ. Dom Bédos held that the accompaniment ought only to ornament and support a dominating singing voice (or, indeed, singing voices), and proposed that many voices, perhaps choirs, perhaps congregations, might be accompanied by a proportionate array of foundation stops (‘des jeux de fonds proportionnés’). Strong voices might be accompanied by three or four 8’ stops, and weak ones by two of the same. Moreover, loud (presumably solo) singers might be accompanied on the last registration, whereas for quieter singers a soft flute (‘un petit bourdon’) sufficed.³⁰

Both of Rousseau’s definitions are recognisable in Portuguese accompaniments published in 1761 and composed by one José de Santo António for the Basilica at the Palace of Mafra. Some chants were set in the bass part to which the composer added figures, and others (such as the psalm tones) were seemingly intended to be sung above a provided bass line. Although António’s accompaniments have been described as ‘note against note’,³¹ chains of suspensions are a notable feature of the second ‘Christe’ from *Missa duplex: Das Primeiras Classes Mayores* and necessitate considerable inner part movement (ex. 2). The *Missa duplex* was sung on double feasts by numerous choirs and was accompanied by no fewer than six separate pipe organs (‘e acompanhaõ o Côro feis Orgaõs’) arranged in the chancels and transepts of the Basilica—the organs described by António pre-date those presently installed. Rubrics governing the use of one, two, four or

²⁹Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: La Veuve Duchesne, 1768), 6; Louis Jambou, ‘Dos categorías de canto litúrgico y su acompañamiento en los siglos modernos: Canto llano y canto figurado’, *Inter-American Music Review* 17, nos. 1–2 (2007): 47.

³⁰Dom Bédos de Celles, *L’art du facteur d’orgues* (Paris: L.-F. Delatour, 1766), 533.

³¹José Maria Pedrosa Cardoso, ‘Em busca do peculiar na música sacra portuguesa dos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII’, in *Sons do clássico: no 100º aniversário de Maria Augusta Barbosa*, ed. José Maria Pedrosa Cardoso and Margarida Lopes Miranda (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012), 118–19.

six organs were provided depending on the solemnity of the feast,³² and the unparalleled spatial arrangement must have presented quite a considerable challenge to the *mestre da capela*. In a bid to coordinate the various forces at his disposal, António devised the rubric that the organists should lift their hands at all commas and rests (‘levantem fempere as mãos do Orgão em todas as virgulas , ou pausas’).³³

The first Spanish source of notated accompaniments is reported to date from the eighteenth century at the convent of Santo Espírito de Jerez de la Frontera in the Spanish port city of Cadíz.³⁴ Unfortunately, further information about the performance practice in that convent is sparse, but some details about Spanish accompanimental practice in the following century have survived. The nineteenth-century composer Hilarión Eslava (1807–78) admitted that chant was not generally accompanied in Spanish cathedrals (‘no se acompaña generalmente’) where sung polyphonic music was probably more prevalent, but he states that accompaniment was common in lower churches where it complemented the hymns ‘Pange lingua’ and ‘Salve regina’. Two accompanimental procedures appear to have been in use in Spain: the first placed the chant in the bottom part above which chords were realised; the second comprised a chordal texture that did not require the chant to sound continuously in any one part. According to Eslava, the former was more widespread and easier to play (‘más común y fácil’), whereas the latter was said to be more perfect but much more difficult (‘más perfecto, aunque es también mucho más difícil’).³⁵ The second procedure matched a recommendation by the Spanish theorist José de Torres (c.1670–1738) during the previous century that the melody should be left out of a continuo accompaniment.³⁶

³²João Vaz, ‘The Six Organs in the Basilica of Mafra: History, Restoration and Repertoire’, *The Organ Yearbook* 44 (2015): 89–90.

³³José de Santo António, *Acompanhamentos de missas, sequencias, hymhos, e mais cantochão, que he uso, e costume acompanharem os Orgãos da Real Basilica de Nossa Senhora, e Santo Antonio, Junto á Villa de Mafra, com os transportes, e armonia, pelo modo mais conveniente, para o Côro da mesma Real Basilica* (Lisbon: Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora, 1761), p. 2 and unpaginated ‘Advertencias’ I, XXIII.

³⁴Jambou, ‘Dos categorías de canto litúrgico’, 39.

³⁵Hilarión Eslava, *Museo organico español*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Imp de D. José C. de la Peña, 1853), 46–9.

³⁶José de Torres, *Reglas generales de acompañar en órgano, clavicordio, y harpa* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1736), 95–6; Santiago Ruiz Torres, ‘Una faceta desatendida en el quehacer del organista: el acompañamiento del canto llano’, in *Musicología global musicología local*, ed. Javier Marín López et al. (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2013), 990–92.

The sixteenth-century Spanish conquest of the Aztec empire had introduced Spanish liturgical customs to Mexico where organ music was played at the cathedral of Oaxaca from 1544. Towards the end of the colonial period, the nun Sor María Clara del Santísimo Sacramento possessed an undated notebook which is not only a witness to the propagation of the alternatim verset to Mexico but also suggests that the accompaniment of psalm tones inherited customs from Spain. In seventeenth-century Spanish alternatim practice, the pitch of an ensuing sung verse had been provided to singers by means of a short introductory passage for organ called *la cuerda*;³⁷ the introductions preceding the Mexican psalm tones bear the same epithet and doubtless served a similar purpose. The psalm basses in María Clara's notebook are annotated using obliques (for the same pitch class above the bass) and figures, which together produce a chordal texture that does not always comprehend the notes of the psalm tones in any one part. Instead, the tones move freely in the texture and bear a resemblance to Eslava's more complicated procedure.³⁸

The parity between *echt continuo* practice and the accompaniment of chant by the *basso continuo* furnishes ample evidence that, wittingly or otherwise, church musicians seized developments in secular genres for their own benefit. The Italianisation of church music caused some organists to produce accompaniments that mimicked the operatic *recitativo secco*, while others composed elaborate keyboard textures that far exceeded chordal accompaniments in complexity. One such elaborate accompaniment was written in Salzburg, leading Söhner to make the cautious assertion that it might have been the work of Michael Haydn;³⁹ and a separate example with a pianistic texture was headed 'Für Geübtere' leaving no doubt that it was intended for experienced players.⁴⁰ By the end of the eighteenth century, chord progressions and cadences typical of major-minor harmony became the *sine qua non* of chant accompaniment, notwithstanding the claim of Justin Heinrich Knecht (1752–1817) that one of his harmonisations corresponded entirely to the spirit of the second mode ('entspricht dem Geiste der zweiten Kirchentonart ganz');

³⁷Bernadette Nelson, 'Alternatim Practice in 17th-Century Spain: The Integration of Organ Versets and Plainchant in Psalms and Canticles', *Early Music* 22, no. 2 (1994): 239.

³⁸Calvert Johnson, ed., *Cuaderno de Tonos de Maitines de Sor María Clara del Santísimo Sacramento* (North Carolina: Wayne Leupold Editions, 2005), pp. xiii, xxi.

³⁹Söhner, *Die Geschichte der Begleitung*, pp. 112–17, 195–6, and 'Notenbeilagen' pp. 18–21, 49.

⁴⁰Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Choralen*, p. 5 and 'Notenbeilage II'.

ex. 3).⁴¹ Apart from the melody itself, the only recognisable characteristics of the second mode are its transposition up a fourth and concluding cadence as described by Adriano Banchieri (1568–1634) in 1604;⁴² otherwise, the harmony constitutes what we would expect to find in a nineteenth-century hymn tune in F major.

Contemporaneous developments in keyboard textures—such as those scalic passages, octave leaps, arpeggiations, and that procedure of ornamenting by auxiliary notes discussed above (on p. 10)—permitted the accompaniment a greater amount of independence from the chant. Such a style appears to have been popular in the German diocese of Limburg where, in 1844, Johann Nikolaus Neubig developed a genre of arpeggiated accompaniments requiring special organ registrations. For chordal accompaniments, Neubig deemed the Principal and Viola di Gamba too heavy (‘zu stark’), and recommended instead the soft 8’ stops Gedackt, Bourdon, Flûte traverse, Rohrflöte, Salicional and Quintatön. For the ‘arpeggio Begleitung’ (ex. 4) he recommended the 4’ stops Salicional, Principal, Spitz-Flöte and even the 2’ Flageolet.⁴³

Chanting in the Polish liturgy did not escape the impact of opera, particularly with regard to chromatic harmony and instrumental and vocal virtuosity. The practice of ornamenting chants was exemplified by Jan Jarmusiewicz (1781–1844) whose ‘Sanctus’ of 1834 (ex. 5) adopts the kind of operatic vocal technique that, in 1841, no less a figure than Richard Wagner blamed on the influence of church orchestras.⁴⁴ Chromatic chants were included by Michał Marcin Mioduszewski (1787–1868) in a pioneering Polish catalogue of church music considered easy for the people to sing (‘ograniczyłem się do

⁴¹Justin Heinrich Knecht, *Vollständige Orgelschule Für Anfänger Und Geübtere*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1798), 60–61.

⁴²Adriano Banchieri, *L’Organo suonarino* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1605), 41.

⁴³Johann Nikolaus Neubig, *Der gregorianische Gesang bei dem Amte der heiligen Messe und andern kirchlichen Feierlichkeiten mit beigefügter Orgelbegleitung* (Wiesbaden: Ritter, 1844), pp. iii–v; Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals*, 54–61.

⁴⁴X. Jana Jarmusiewicz, *Chorał gregoriański rytualny historycznie objaśniony i na terazniejsze noty przełożony : dla użytku chórów kościelnych z akomp. organu lub fortepianu* (Vienna: Strauss, [c.1834]), 55; Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals*, pp. 70–72 and ‘Notenbeilage’ XVI; Wagner’s essay was published some thirty years after it was written in Richard Wagner, ‘Entwurf zur Organisation eines Deutschen National-Theaters für das Königreich Sachsen’, in *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Verlag von G. W. Fritsch, 1871), 337; See also its translation in Richard Wagner, ‘Plan of Organisation of a German National Theatre for the Kingdom of Saxony’, in *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*, trans. William Ashton Ellis, vol. 7 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), 341.

tych tylko, które są i łatwe do śpiewania dla ludu').⁴⁵ The Polish composer Wincenty Gorączkiewicz (1789–1858) included Neapolitan, diminished and augmented sixth chords that were arguably more chromatic than some more conservative historians of church music would at that time have permitted (exx. 6 and 7).⁴⁶ The Polish pedagogue Jan Galicz, in an organ method of 1861–3 published in Vilnius, anticipated some congregational entries by bridging two phrases of a chant melody with scalar filler.⁴⁷

1.1.4 Stylistic innovations among German theorists and antiquarians

The papal encyclical 'Annus qui' of 1749 took a dim view of the secularising influence that popular genres exerted on the liturgy by denigrating the 'terrible noise which comes from [organ] bellows and which expresses more thunderous din than the sweetness of song'.⁴⁸ Some methods of Lutheran chorale accompaniment also voiced criticisms of music that undermined the sacred spirit of the liturgy with major-minor harmony, instrumental textures or both. The organist and music historian Jacob Adlung (1699–1762) was among those advocating for a reform of church music, and a widespread movement to redraft the principles underpinning Protestant and Catholic church music began to take root.⁴⁹ Harmonisers and music theorists sought alternatives to major-minor harmonisations, and antiquarians of music theory argued that contemporary practice should recapture what they held to be the *Palestrinastil*.

The abbé Georg Joseph Vogler (1749–1814) was a vocal detractor of Bach's music: he levelled particular criticism against a harmonisation of 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden' saying that, in his opinion, the major-minor approach to harmonising that modal melody

⁴⁵ Michał Marcin Mioduszewski, *Śpiewnik kościelny czyli pieśni nabożne z melodyjami w kościele katolickim używane a dla wygody kościołów parafialnych przez M. M. Mioduszewskiego zebrane* (Kraków: w drukarni Stanisława Gieszkowskiego, 1838), pp. 5, 142.

⁴⁶ Wincenty Gorączkiewicz, *Śpiewy choralne kościoła Rzymsko Katolickiego : w bazylice katedralnej krakowskiej używane a w harmonii na organy dla kościołów parafialnych* (Kraków: D. E. Friedlein, 1847), 6, 13.

⁴⁷ Jan Galicz, *Szkoła na organy : dzieło dla organistów z dodaniem nut na powszechniejsze śpiewy kościelne*, vol. 2 (Vilnius: A. Syrkina, 1861–63), 9–13, 21.

⁴⁸ Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville: Minnesota, 1979), 96.

⁴⁹ Jacob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit* (Erfurt: J. D. Jungnicol, 1758), 681–82; Floyd K. Grave and Margaret G. Grave, *In Praise of Harmony: The Teachings of Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 159–60.

obscured its ‘phrygian’ character. Vogler offered an alternative harmonisation that retained an A minor key centre rather than modulating to those keys related to C major,⁵⁰ though he must have forgotten something Bach had not: namely that *c'* is the dominant of the third mode. Nonetheless, Vogler’s staid harmonisations of chorale melodies succeeded in driving a coach and horses through the complex textures favoured by other composers. His approach to church music reform influenced others to devise new theories of harmonisation based on what they too believed were more authentic principles. In effect, the reformers restarted the history of church music, causing the period under consideration to be disinherited from the principles of organ tuning first laid down by Arnolt Schlick (c.1460 to some date after 1521).⁵¹

The reforms led musicians to seek out (or indeed to imagine) more appropriate, austere methods in the practice of antiquity. There was considerable debate about what constituted appropriate church style among clerics and music theorists who disagreed on various conflicting schemes. One such scheme was proposed in 1842 by Sebastian Stehlin (1800–77), who parsed chants according to three separate note-groups analogous to the Guidonian hexachords. Chants were shown to mutate from one hexachord to another when they occupied different positions in the scale, yet despite Stehlin’s pioneering historicism his own harmonic practice—and that of his collaborator Simon Sechter (1788–1867)—appears to have made little use of it. Rather, the music examples in his treatise incorporate raised semitones that were seemingly not justified aside from an unsupported allusion to the Renaissance practice of *musica ficta causa pulchritudinis*: when a 7–6 or 2–3 suspension coincided with textual conclusions to form a cadence, the Renaissance singer was to make the 6 a major interval or the 3 a minor interval, whether it was notated or not.⁵² Stehlin described the modes according to the major-minor keys that he deemed best fit, and thereafter recommended that chromatic harmony be applied to a chant harmonisation. The eighth mode was likened to the modern key of C major (‘Diese Tonart wird in der modernen Musik C dur ausgedrückt’), to which a harmonisation would

⁵⁰Georg Joseph Vogler, *Choral-System* (Copenhagen, 1800), 160–72.

⁵¹Mark Lindley, ‘Early 16th-Century Keyboard Temperaments’, *Musica Disciplina* 28 (1974): 129–34.

⁵²Margaret Bent, ‘Musica Recta and Musica Ficta’, *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 84, 96.

modulate when the chant exhibited certain modal traits (ex. 8).⁵³ Such a concession to modernity gave the Belgian theorist abbé Théodule Normand (1812–88; here referred to by his nom de plume Théodore Nisard) ample reason to describe Stehlin’s harmonic system as belonging to *la tonalité moderne* rather than to *la tonalité ancienne*;⁵⁴ we shall discuss the differences between those two approaches to *tonalité* in the next chapter. In a subsequent book, Stehlin mooted the possibility of basing the harmony of an accompaniment on the hexachords themselves by deriving dyads from an eight-note scale of ‘G’ including both ‘F’ \flat and ‘F’ \sharp set in contrary motion with itself (ex. 9).⁵⁵ In spite of Stehlin’s practice continuing to rely on major-minor harmony, his neo-Guidonian experiment anticipated by some years attempts by other theorists to reveal harmonic approaches in Guido’s hexachords, as we shall see below.

It is unlikely that some accompaniments were intended to be sight-read by singers, who instead probably applied the tacit rubric that leading note \rightarrow tonic formulæ were preferred at cadences. Joseph Adam Homeyer (1786–1866) repeatedly contradicted ‘C’ \flat in a protus chant by using ‘C’ \sharp in his accompaniment (ex. 10).⁵⁶ Another example by J. N. Basilius Schwarz (1779–1862 or ’63) seems to corroborate the intimations of presumptive sharpening among some country choirs, because otherwise his figured bass part would conflict with the chant printed above it (ex. 11).⁵⁷ Catholic organists adopted a similar technique to

⁵³Sebastian Stehlin, *Tonarten des Choralgesanges, nach alten Urkunden durch beigefügte Übersetzung in Fuguralnoten erklärt, und als eine Anleitung zum Selbstunterrichte nebst drei vollständigen Messen aus dem römischen Graduale zusammengestellt*, in collab. with Simon Sechter (Vienna: Peter Rohrmann, 1842), pp. iii–iv, 11 and ‘Beilage’ p. 31.

⁵⁴Théodore Nisard, ‘Accompagnement du plain-chant’, in *Dictionnaire liturgique, historique et théorique de plain-chant et de musique d’église au moyen âge et dans les temps modernes*, ed. Joseph D’Ortigue (Paris: L. Potier, 1854), col. 88.

⁵⁵Sebastian Stehlin, *Die Naturgesetze im Tonreiche und das europäisch abendländische Tonsystem vom VII Jahrhundert bis auf unsere Zeit : für Freunde der Kunst, die das Harmoniereich und das Tonsystem inden primitiven Grundgesetzen zu betrachten wünschen* (Innsbruck: Witting, 1852), 54.

⁵⁶Johann Joseph Adam Homeyer, *Der Altar- und Responsoriengesang der katholischen Kirche nach Römischer und Mainzer Singweise: vierstimmig ; nach den in der ältern Tonschrift dargestellten und mit ihrem Texte versehenen Ur-Melodien bearbeitet, nebst einer Erklärung der alten Tonzeichen, Tonarten etc., so wie auch über den richtigen Vortrag des Altar- und Responsoriengesanges ; für Priester, Organisten, Lehrer und Seminaristen*, vol. 1 (Erfurt: The author, 1846), 113; Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals*, 62–3.

⁵⁷There appear to be two undated editions of Schwarz’s book, one published in landscape format in which the example is printed on p. 29, and the following published in portrait format: J. N. Basilius Schwarz, *Der Choral wie er auf dem Lande vorkommt und nach den Regeln des Generalbasses, mit der Orgel zu begleiten ist: nebst Choralgesängen die auf den Landchören vorzukommen pflegen ; ein ungekünsteltes, leichtfaßliches u. systematisches Noth- und Hilfsbuch für die Herren Schullehrer auf dem Lande* (Augsburg: Anton Böhm), 39.

their Protestant counterparts by anticipating chanted verses with introductory preludes that established the mode or starting pitch, and perhaps also the vocabulary of an ensuing harmonisation. The texture of Schwarz's introductory 'Cadenz' would incline the singers to expect an accompaniment using similar chords, whereas the contrapuntally conceived, inter-versicular 'Zwischenspiel' provided the singers with a brief tacet and respite from the incessant sequence of chords.

An accompaniment diverging from the characteristics of the melody was eventually deemed untenable, and several attempts at unifying melody and accompaniment were popularised in France and Germany alike. As we shall see, a theory of diatonic harmony was proposed during the 1850s by the Swiss composer Louis-Abraham Niedermeyer (1802–61) and the French theorist Joseph d'Ortigue (1802–66), but subsequently the same process appears to have been initiated quite independently in Germany by Ludwig Schneider (1806–64) in 1866. The first of Schneider's eleven rules dismissed the tenets of major-minor harmony entirely in favour of a new scheme based on the diatonic properties of the modes:⁵⁸

Nur dieselben Töne, welche in der Tonart des Gesangstückes vorkommen, dürfen zur Harmonie verwendet werden (leitereigene Töne); leiterfremde Töne, somit alle Ausweichungen in andere Tonarten mittelst Semitonien, somit alle unwesentlichen Vorzeichen \sharp , \flat , \natural sind zu meiden, den Fall des Tritons und der falschen Quinte ausgenommen.⁵⁹

Only those very pitches which are part of the scale of a vocal piece can be used to harmonise it; pitches not part of the scale, and with them any move to another key by way of semitones, as well as accidentals \sharp , \flat , \natural are to be avoided, except the tritone and the diminished fifth.

Schneider's manner of harmonising cadences points to a salient difference between Germanic and French diatonic theories at this time. According to the former, the protus cadence 'E' → 'D' could be harmonised using A minor → D minor harmony (ex. 12),⁶⁰ raising an avowed and frankly un-Germanic preference for dysfunctional perfect cadences

⁵⁸Jennifer Bain, *Hildegard of Bingen and Musical Reception: The Modern Revival of a Medieval Composer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 14 May 2015), 93.

⁵⁹Ludwig Schneider, *Gregorianische Choralgesänge für die Hauptfeste des Kirchenjahres*, ed. Franz Joseph Mayer and Erwin Schneider, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: G. Hamacher, 1866), pp. iii–iv; Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Choralen*, 98–9.

⁶⁰Schneider, *Gregorianische Choralgesänge für die Hauptfeste des Kirchenjahres*, 131.

constructed of white notes alone. According to the latter, by contrast, C major → D minor harmony was preferred in order to steer clear of any semblance of perfect cadences, imagined or otherwise. It was believed that A minor → D minor harmony could impress upon the listener that dominant → tonic harmony was still implied even though ‘C’ had not been sharpened.⁶¹ The subtle distinction drawn by each side was emblematic of differing approaches to diatonicism that were split along linguistic and geographical lines—we shall return to each one below.

1.1.5 *Notions of the Palestrinastil*

Some nineteenth-century theorists equated the *Palestrinastil* with an aesthetic ideal rather than with the abstract paradigm of Palestrina’s contrapuntal technique as codified by Fux.⁶² Cecilian composers parsed Palestrina’s music for vestiges of a more plain, austere style that could be used to inform new compositions of church music that were distanced from popular or dramatic works. The result of their researches led to polyphony being confused with monophony and homophony,⁶³ and to the notion that Palestrina’s music, in its reported stateliness, was no different from plainchant. The notion endured until at least the early years of the twentieth century,⁶⁴ and might explain why some composers took to accompanying certain passages of chant in bare octaves rather than with chords. Consecutive octaves are rare in Palestrina’s music, with one notable instance—in the ‘Agnus Dei II’ of the *Missa Papae Marcelli*—more likely to have been a concession to writing for seven parts (three of which being in canon) than an aesthetic principle.⁶⁵

⁶¹Louis Niedermeyer and Joseph D’Ortigue, *Traité théorique et pratique de l’accompagnement du plain-chant*, 2è tirage (Paris: E. Repos, 1859), 42; Also discussed in Leßmann, *Die Rezeption*, 190–92.

⁶²James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 18, 67.

⁶³Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 191.

⁶⁴The notion was prevalent enough in London for one English historian of church music to discredit it as nothing more than hearsay. See Francis Burgess, *A Textbook of Plainsong and Gregorian Music* (London: The Vincent Music Company Ltd, 1906), pp. 115–116 n. *.

⁶⁵Lewis Lockwood, ed., *Giovanni Pierluigi Da Palestrina – Pope Marcellus Mass: An Authoritative Score, Backgrounds and Sources, History and Analysis, Views and Comments* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), p. 69 see bar 6 between the first alto and first bass parts; Lockwood does not mention the consecutive octaves in his commentary.

The reform movement initiated by Adlung extended to Bavaria where King Ludwig I commissioned the composer Caspar Ett (1788–1847) to establish a less theatrical style of church music.⁶⁶ Ett brought out a volume of chant accompaniments with a simplified texture (ex. 13), returning to the ‘chorale texture’ and not to the ‘Für Geübtere’ approach we saw above. Major-minor chord progressions pervaded the figured bass part,⁶⁷ leading Söhner to describe them as redolent of an ecclesiastical *Biedermeier* style.⁶⁸ They were sufficiently popular for the prominent Cecilian composer Franz Xaver Witt (1834–88) to bring out a new edition in 1869, to which he added parts of the Mass and some four-part polyphony for good measure.⁶⁹ We shall return to Witt’s ideal of accompaniment later.

By the mid-century, the view that accompaniments could be modelled on Renaissance polyphony led Johann Baptist Benz (1807–80) to publish a collection in which passages for voices in unison alternate with passages for voices in SATB harmony (ex. 14).⁷⁰ Benz’s use of bare octaves was probably an attempt to reconcile chant accompaniment with notions of an old-fashioned but desirable vocal style.⁷¹ The ATB parts were perhaps delegated to the organ in the absence of other singers, the same versatility being adopted by Franz Xaver Reihing (1804–88),⁷² and separately by Michael Hermesdorff (1833–85) who advertised the dual function of his accompaniments in their title.⁷³

⁶⁶Arthur Hutchings, *Church Music in the Nineteenth Century* (Greenwood Press, 1967), 60; Thomas Erskine Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791–1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 114 where the author mistakes Ludwig I for Ludwig II.

⁶⁷Johann Michael Hauber and Caspar Ett, *Cantica sacra in usum studiosae juventutis* (Munich: In Libraria Scholarium Regia, 1834), 40.

⁶⁸Söhner, *Die Geschichte der Begleitung*, 124; Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals*, 37.

⁶⁹Johann Michael Hauber, Caspar Ett and Franz Xaver Witt, *Cantica sacra* (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1869), unpaginated ‘Vorrende’.

⁷⁰Johann Baptist Benz, *Harmonia sacra : Gregorianische Gesänge nach dem Bedürfnisse der Kirchen in der Speyerer Diözese zusammengestellt und theils für eine theils für vier Stimmen mit Orgelbegleitung bearbeitet*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Speyer, 1850), 1, 41.

⁷¹Johann Baptist Benz, *Harmonia sacra : Gregorianische Gesänge nach dem Bedürfnisse der Kirchen in der Speyerer Diözese zusammengestellt und theils für eine theils für vier Stimmen mit Orgelbegleitung bearbeitet*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Speyer, 1851), 37; Johann Baptist Benz, *Harmonia sacra : Gregorianische Gesänge nach dem Bedürfnisse der Kirchen in der Speyerer Diözese zusammengestellt und theils für eine theils für vier Stimmen mit Orgelbegleitung*, 2nd ed. (Speyer: A. Bregenzer, 1864), 1, 28.

⁷²Franz Xaver Reihing, *Cantionale chori oder gregorianische Kirchen-Gesänge zum Amte der heiligen Messe und allen damit in Verbindung stehenden Feierlichkeiten des ganzen Kirchenjahres* (Gmünd: Mozart, 1855), 76; Cited in Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals*, 92.

⁷³*Michael Hermesdorff, *Harmonia Cantus Choralis: enthaltend den trier’schen Choral in vierstimmiger Harmonisierung, sowohl zum Vortrage für vier Singstimmen, als auch zur Begleitung der Orgel nach den neu erschienenen trier’schen Chorbüchern bearbeitet von deren Herausgeber M. Hermesdorff*, vol. 1 (Trier: Lintz, 1865).

In 1854, the bishop of Regensburg Valentin Riedel gave his approbation to the opinion of Johann Georg Mettenleiter (1812–58) that accompaniments should derive their diatonic nature from Renaissance and Baroque models:

Der harmonischen Begleitung der gregorianischen Choralgesänge auch nur solche fortschreitende Harmonienfolgen in Anwendung kommen dürfen, die rein diatonischer Natur sind, und sich auf die Gesetze der Theorie, sowie auf die vollendetste Praxis der grossen contrapunctischen Meister – in Melodie und Harmonie des 15. und 16. sowie der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts etc. stützen, und sich ihr anschliessen.⁷⁴

Hence only those chord progressions can be used to harmonically accompany Gregorian chant which are diatonic in nature while in melody and harmony being based on and following the laws of theory, as well as the most perfect practice of the great masters of counterpoint – of the 15th, 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries etc.

Mettenleiter's harmonisations adopted a consonant approach to harmony using 5/3 and 6/3 chords with 4–3 suspensions and sharpened notes not present in the chant part. Mettenleiter was also seemingly not averse to modulating to different key areas, and appears to flat certain pitch classes when the melody occupies a different position in the scale (ex. 15, p. 8). One might suppose that the composer envisaged a different type of harmony for such passages, but confirmation of that process is difficult to glean from the available music examples. Mettenleiter's experiments attracted praise from some of Europe's most celebrated musicians. The Belgian theorist François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), whose influential but inconsistent views on plainchant will be discussed in § 2.3.2 below, was one such;⁷⁵ and another was the Hungarian composer Franz Liszt (1811–86), whose own campaign for church music reform had led to his seeking more austere methods of chant harmonisation.⁷⁶ Liszt followed contemporary developments on the subject closely enough to have a copy of the Niedermeyer-d'Ortigue treatise in his possession.⁷⁷ One of Liszt's contemporaries Anton Bruckner (1824–96) turned to chant for melodic material for various

⁷⁴Johann Georg Mettenleiter, *Enchiridion chorale, sive Selectus locupletissimus cantionum liturgicarum* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1854), p. xxxvii [sic].

⁷⁵Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Choralen*, 89.

⁷⁶Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 88–9.

⁷⁷Nicolas Dufetel, 'Religious Workshop and Gregorian Chant: The Janus Liszt, or How to Make New with the Old', in *Liszt's Legacies: Based on Papers Presented at the International Liszt Conference Held at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada, 28–31 July 2011*, ed. James Deaville and Michael Saffle, Franz Liszt Studies Series 15 (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2014), 13.

motets, and, perhaps as a preparatory step, harmonised ‘Veni creator spiritus’ in a minor key with an abundance of 5/3 and 6/3 chords (ex. 16).⁷⁸

1.2 Cecilianism

1.2.1 *The Haberl circle*

Begun in the 1860s, the first collected edition of the works of Palestrina reached its total of thirty-three volumes by 1907.⁷⁹ Its editors were Theodore de Witt, Franz Espagne, Franz Commer, Johannes N. Rauch and the German priest Franz Xaver Haberl (1840–1910), who acted as editor-in-chief from 1879. Those men were powerless to prevent the Romantic aesthetics of their age from influencing their understanding of Palestrina’s music, which they believed to have numinous characteristics. Their perception of Palestrina’s style led nineteenth-century composers to seek in his compositions a kind of church music worthy of reproduction.⁸⁰ Such musicians organised their endeavours into what became the Cecilian movement, so named after the patroness of musicians St Cecilia who was believed by some to represent spiritual music as distinct from more popular genres.⁸¹

Haberl led the charge by communicating his own notions of the style to parish organists in the journal *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchen-Musik*, founded in 1866. Although its title may have invited comparisons to the Munich-based satirical magazine *Fliegende Blätter*, Haberl’s journal gained a reputation in strongholds of Cecilianism as an unquestionably serious endeavour. It disseminated Cecilian ideals in an affordable package of articles and musical supplements,⁸² while also serving as the vehicle for conveying the *Cäcilienvereins-Kataloge (CVK)*, a numbered index of church music the Cecilian authorities approved on stylistic grounds. Their often quite lengthy

⁷⁸August Göllerich and Max Auer, eds., *Anton Bruckner: ein Lebens- und Schaffens-Bild*, vol. 4/1 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1936), 524; See also A-Wn Mus.Hs.39743 and A-Wn Mus.Hs.19721.

⁷⁹Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 150.

⁸⁰Rainer Bayreuther, ‘Die Situation der deutschen Kirchenmusik um 1933 zwischen Singbewegung und Musikwissenschaft’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 67, no. 1 (2010): 2.

⁸¹Lucia Marchi, ‘For Whom the Fire Burns: Medieval Images of Saint Cecilia and Music’, *Recercare* 27, nos. 1/2 (2015): 5, 7; Some writers have expressed doubts about St Cecilia’s true attachment to music. See, for instance, William Henry Grattan Flood, ‘St. Cecilia and Music’, *The Irish Monthly* 51, no. 605 (1923): 570.

⁸²Franz Xaver Witt, ‘Aufruf’, *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchen-Musik* 1, no. 1 (1866): 1.

commentaries on approved items stand as testaments to Cecilian idealism in the nineteenth century. The index includes several accompaniment books that will form the basis for discussions in the remainder of this chapter.

Another venture to disseminate Cecilian ideals was set in motion by Franz Xaver Witt who founded the Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verband für Deutschland (ACV) in 1868, a society seeking to rejuvenate tenets thought to underpin Renaissance church music.⁸³ The official organ of the ACV was a separate journal, more technical than Haberl's, *Musica sacra : Beiträge zur Reform und Forderung der Katholischen Kirchenmusik*. Protracted articles on the accompaniment of chant appeared frequently amongst others dealing with the minutiae of church music aesthetics and style.

The year 1868 also coincided with attempts by some ecclesiastical authorities to reconcile inconsistencies in church music practice. Although the rise of Ultramontanism incited several dioceses to abandon proprietary liturgical customs in favour of those sanctioned by Rome, the movement had not yet gained the support of every bishopric. Not only were rubrics liable to differ from one diocese to the next but the chants in use were also vulnerable to editorial mischief. Sharpening or flattening was sometimes effected by editors of chant books with no clear editorial motive, necessitating subsequent editors to rely on further accidentals to avoid outlining the prohibited intervals of the augmented fourth and diminished fifth, or to avoid leaps of the same. We shall return to that vulnerability below (§ 2.3.1). A further vulnerability concerned the lack of available chants for certain feast days added to the ecclesiastical calendar by the Vatican, leading composers to turn their hand to composing chants in modern idioms to fill lacunae in their dioceses' requirements. We shall return to this new repertory below since it also sparked a considerable demand for accompaniments.

In the run up to the First Vatican Council (1869–70), the topic of a teetering church music practice was broached by one Fr Loreto Jacovacci who proposed a total reform of the church's chant books and the abolition of gaudy modern music from the liturgy. He opined that the Medicean Gradual of c.1614 should be taken as the basis for a new official edition

⁸³Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination*, 38–40.

and that its adoption should be made obligatory in all cathedrals and collegiate churches.⁸⁴ The editorship of the Medicean Gradual had been falsely attributed to Palestrina by many scholars including Palestrina's nineteenth-century biographer Giuseppe Baini,⁸⁵ but that falsehood was not acknowledged as such by the ecclesiastical authorities before the end of the century.

In the meantime, the commercial potential in printing chant editions bearing Palestrina's name was not lost on the Bavarian music publisher Friedrich Pustet. His firm was already one of the primary publishers of Cecilian music editions and periodicals, which proved to be rather a calculated manoeuvre since the printing contract for a folio edition of the new chant book was then awarded to him—Haberl supplied new chants for those feasts added after 1615. The terms reached between Pustet and the Vatican were ostensibly quite simple: at his own financial risk, Pustet would prepare each page for approval by a Vatican commission; in return, the Sacred Congregation of Rites (SCR) would grant Pustet a thirty-year monopoly to safeguard his investment, this being formalised in a decree dated 1 October 1868.

That form of the agreement was short-lived, however, because socio-economic pressures exerted by the Franco-Prussian War led not only to the premature conclusion of Vatican I but also to well-nigh insurmountable economic challenges for Pustet's firm. He therefore solicited further protections from the SCR for smaller, more affordable editions to tide him over until the folio edition was complete. Two further decrees were issued on 11 March 1869 and 12 January 1871 to protect two such chant books, one in octavo format.⁸⁶ The folio edition finally saw the light in 1873 and served as the basis for Cecilian accompaniment books until the early years of the twentieth century.

Witt was among the first to publish organ accompaniments to Pustet's chant editions and began with the Mass Ordinary. His procedure will be further explicated below, but for the moment let us consider two methods he claimed were derived from antiquity. The

⁸⁴Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 149.

⁸⁵Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vol. 2 (Rome: Dalla Societa Tipografica, 1828), 93–5.

⁸⁶Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant*, pp. xix–xx, p. xx n. 10, p. 69; For the SCR's decrees see Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 150–4.

first considered bare octaves to be most authentic since that style was reputedly used by the Greeks and early Christians ('Die altgriechische, wie die altchristliche Begleitung war die durch Consonanzen'). Witt made one concession to modernity, however, by permitting cadences in more parts (ex. 17).⁸⁷ It was thus that Witt accompanied the chanted parts of an instruction course for choir directors at Saint Gall in 1872, later reporting the incredulous surprise of attendees at the result.⁸⁸ In 1874, Heinrich Oberhoffer (1824–85) reckoned that an accompaniment in bare octaves did little to assist singers in maintaining pitch. Probably for similar reasons did Oberhoffer advocate for D major chords in proximity to sung 'B' ♯ because chords containing 'F' ♯ would cause out-of-tune singing, in his view at least.⁸⁹

The second considered accompaniment by the organ tolerable as a necessary evil for choral support, but inferior to accompaniment by stringed instruments which, Witt claimed, could communicate nuances beyond the capabilities of an organ's steady wind supply. The Freising-based choral director Johann Nepomuk Kösporer (1828–1900) dutifully arranged an accompaniment of chant for two violins, two cellos and double bass, of which a performance on 20 February 1877 was described by one journalist as 'extremely effective' ('außerordentlich wirkungsvoll').⁹⁰ Another composer also wrote a freely composed Mass for soprano and alto voices with the accompaniment requiring either an organ or an ensemble made up of violins, viola, cello, double bass and two horns—the organ part was simply a reduction of the orchestral parts.⁹¹ It is not clear whether the composer's rationale was purely aesthetic, however, or whether financial considerations might have influenced the decision to delegate instrumental parts to the organ.

⁸⁷Franz Xaver Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium missæ*, 1st ed. (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1872), p. iv §3, pp. 99–100.

⁸⁸Franz Xaver Witt, 'Meine Cäcilienfahrt 1872', *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchen-Musik* 8, no. 3 (15 March 1873): 26.

⁸⁹Heinrich Oberhoffer, *Die Schule des katholischen Organisten: Theoretisch-praktische Orgelschule*, 2nd ed. (Trier: Lintz, 1874), 82, 101.

⁹⁰Walter, 'Umschau: Freising', *Musica sacra: Beiträge zur Reform und Förderung der katholischen Kirchenmusik* 10, no. 4 (1 April 1877): 44.

⁹¹Johannes Ev[angelist] Habert, 'Messe in C Für Sopran Und Alt Entweder Mit Begleitung von 2 Violinen, Viola, Violoncello, Violon Und 2 Hörnern Oder Mit Blosser Orgelbegleitung Allein', *Zeitschrift für katholische Kirchenmusik: Organ des oberösterreichischen Diözesan-Cäcilien-Vereines*, Beilagen, 3 (1870): 1 and *passim*.

1.2.2 *The ‘system of passing notes’ in Germany*

The papal brief *Multum ad commovendos animos* of 16 December 1870 elevated the ACV to the status of an official Catholic corporation with its own cardinal protector.⁹² Although a music school did not open in Regensburg until 1874, the tacit authority bestowed upon the musicians in that city provided reason enough for others to seek inspiration in the performance practice there. The Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne Johannes von Geissel sent one of his chaplains, Friedrich Koenen (1829–87), to Regensburg in 1862 to receive a kind of informal tuition from Witt. Casual though the arrangement was, it was undoubtedly influential because Koenen later established a Cologne-based arm of the ACV with a choir numbering fifty boys and sixteen men.⁹³

Among the techniques reportedly passed on to Koenen by Witt was a new procedure of accompaniment that differed from Metteneleiter’s chorale-textured, consonant approach: fewer chords than chant notes were to be used to produce a more flowing texture. Dissonance in chant accompaniments was no longer considered a flaw because Witt believed its prevalence in Palestrinian polyphony gave it sufficient assent for use in other music. Cologne was among those dioceses using its own chant edition, for which Koenen wrote accompaniments using the so-called ‘system of passing notes’ (‘das System der durchgehenden Noten’).⁹⁴ A competing claim to the system was made by Belgian theorists, whose method will be discussed below in chapter three, but German journalists took no notice of international developments when they credited Witt alone with the first use of passing notes.⁹⁵ Witt codified his method in 1872:

Sie ist leichter spielbar, weil eine Menge Noten keinen eigenen Akkord erhalten;	<i>It is easier to play because many notes have not their own chord;</i>
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⁹²Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 128–9.

⁹³P[eter] Höveler, *Kardinal Erzbischof Philippus Kremetz, Generalvikar Dr. Kleinheidt, Domkapellmeister Fr[iedrich] Koenen und Professor Dr. Scheeben: vier Charakterbilder aus der jüngsten Kölner Kirchengeschichte* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1899), 48–50.

⁹⁴*Friedrich Koenen, *Kyriale sive Cantus Gregorianus ad ordinarium missae in usum archidioecesis Coloniensis cum harmoniis organo accomodatis*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Du Mont-Schauberg, 1876).

⁹⁵W[ilhelm] Bäumker, ‘Kirchenmusik : Les Mélodies Grégoriennes d’après la tradition par le R. P. Dom Jos. Pothier’, *Literarischer Handweiser: Zunächst für das katholische Deutschland* 19 (16 [270] 1880): col. 503.

Sie entspricht mehr der Einfachheit des Chorales und ist weniger monoton aus demselben Grunde;

It suits the simplicity of the chant better, and is therefore less monotonous;

In den Melodien selbst sind nicht alle lauter Haupt- (betonte), sondern viele sind ‘durchgehende’ Noten und das spricht ganz entscheidend für meine Theorie;

In the melodies themselves all the notes are not of equal importance (accented); many are ‘passing notes,’ and this is decisive for my theory;

Sie lässt die Melodie mehr hervortreten; denn eine Melodie über einem liegenbleibenden Akkord hebt sich viel gewaltiger ab und kommt viel mehr zur Geltung.⁹⁶

It allows the melody to be more prominent, for a melody over a held-down chord stands forth much more boldly and is therefore more effective.⁹⁷

The ‘passing notes’ system was therefore applied at melismatic passages: ex. 18 demonstrates how the tenor part is set in contrary motion with the chant while the other parts function more like pedal notes. Witt anticipated the terminal cadence by beginning in bare octaves before branching out into more parts and including a sharp.⁹⁸ The book’s entry in *CVK* indicates that sharped pitches occur rarely enough for their omission to be justified on the part of a player.⁹⁹

Since Witt’s accompaniment book catered for Pustet’s Mass Ordinary alone, it was left to other composers to provide accompaniments for the remainder of the Gradual. In contrast to Witt’s begrudging admission that the organ could indeed be tolerated, Haberl considered it a *sine qua non* because it was believed to fortify the solemnity of a service.¹⁰⁰ Haberl was faced with a choice of accompanimental systems but eventually settled on Witt’s because it retained ‘perfect harmonic closes’ at cadences.

⁹⁶Franz Xaver Witt, ‘Vorwort zur Orgelbegleitung zum Ordinarium Missae nach der officiellen Ausgabe’, *Musica sacra: Beiträge zur Reform und Förderung der katholischen Kirchenmusik* 5, no. 6 (1 June 1872): p. v; See also the same preface printed separately in Witt, ‘Vorwort zur Orgelbegleitung zum Ordinarium Missae nach der officiellen Ausgabe’, 52.

⁹⁷Franz Xaver Haberl, *Magister Choralis: A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant*, 1st ed. (English) from 4th ed. (German), trans. Nicholas Donnelly (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1877), 1st ed. (English) from 4th ed. (German), 238; Franz Xaver Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium missae*, 3rd ed., trans. H. S. Butterfield (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1881), pp. iii–iv of the Anglophone preface.

⁹⁸Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium missae*, 1st ed., 30.

⁹⁹*CVK* № 126.

¹⁰⁰Franz Xaver Haberl, *Magister Choralis: Theoretisch praktische Anweisung zum Gregorianischen Kirchengesange nach den Grundsätzen des Enchiridion Chorale und Organum von J. G. Mettenleiter für Geistliche, Organisten, Seminarien und Cantoren*, 1st ed. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1864), 134–5.

Haberl's involvement in the accompaniment books discussed below largely remained that of an editor: while he also transcribed Pustet's chants into modern notation, he left it to other composers to harmonise them.¹⁰¹ For clarity, attributions of select accompaniment books are given in table B.1. The accompaniments to introits, offertories and communions from the Proper and Common of Saints were delegated to the Regensburg cathedral organist Joseph Hanisch (1812–92) and were published in 1875. A second book by Hanisch was published in 1876 and received the enthusiastic endorsement of the CVK, though that is hardly surprising given Haberl's influence on that index.¹⁰² Hanisch was considered a kind of modern-day Palestrina figure by Haberl, who, in 1883, reckoned Hanisch's keyboard practice was worthy of record for the benefit of musicians everywhere:

<p>Jene so viel bewunderte Gabe des Hrn. Hanisch, fliegend, dramatisch und schwungvoll die Melodien des gregorianischen Chorals zu begleiten, ist hier für alle diejenigen fixirt.¹⁰³</p>	<p><i>That most admired gift of Mr Hanisch to accompany the Gregorian chant melodies in a flowing, dramatic and lively manner is here recorded for all.</i></p>
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In 1887, the young Max Reger (1873–1916) held quite a different view, and considered it farcical that the under-winded pipe organ in Regensburg cathedral could be deemed fit for the seedbed of Cecilianism. Reger's account of Hanisch's playing is hardly consistent with Haberl's endorsement, judging it too fast for the reverberant acoustic.¹⁰⁴ Although Reger had not started learning the organ yet,¹⁰⁵ his statement that the cathedral organ was unfit for purpose might not be without merit. It had been built in 1839 by the Regensburg builder Johann Nikolaus David Heinßen (1797–1849) and placed behind the High Altar, but by order of King Ludwig I it was designed to be a modest instrument, no bigger than necessary to accompany singing while maintaining the audibility of clergy on the altar. Although a disposition of the instrument has not yet come to light, a photograph of the organ console taken in the early years of the twentieth century shows a single manual with

¹⁰¹Haberl, *Magister Choralis*, 1st ed. (English) from 4th ed. (German), 237–8.

¹⁰²CVK № 248 and CVK № 282.

¹⁰³Joseph Hanisch, *Organum comitans ad Graduale Romanum quod curavit sacrorum rituum congregatio: Proprium et commune sacntorum necnon festa pro aliquibus locis*, 2nd ed., ed. Franz Xaver Haberl (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1883), unpaginated 'Aus dem Vorworte zur ersten Auflage'.

¹⁰⁴Christopher S. Anderson, 'Max Reger (1873–1916)', in *Twentieth-Century Organ Music* (New York & London: Routledge, 2012), 79.

¹⁰⁵David William Adams, '“Modern” Organ Style in Karl Straube's Reger Editions' (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, 2007), p. 217; Reger took piano lessons from 1884 and organ lessons from 1888.

a limited compass and about six stops on the right-hand jamb: the organ was probably therefore disposed with about a dozen in total.¹⁰⁶

Johann Baptist Singenberger (1848–1924), a former pupil of Hanisch's who later became director of the American arm of the Cäcilienverein, maintained that his teacher's playing was a model for liturgical worship, but voiced sentiments similar to Reger's concerning the state of the cathedral organ:

Ich betrachte Hanisch [als] das Muster eines Organisten für den liturgischen Gottesdienst. [†] Effekthascherei ist ihm ferne, und könnte ihm eine solche auf der herzlich schlechten einmanualigen Domorgel auch nichts helfen. Und doch, wer immer beim Gottesdienste im Dome in Regensburg sein Orgelspiel hört, bewundert den Meister; man glaubt eine Orgel von 2 Manualen zu hören. [‡] Diese frische und fließende Stimmbewegung, dieser Wechsel in Harmonie und Rhythmus, diese geist- und gemütvolle Erfindung und Verwendung der Motive[,] verbunden mit einer natürlichen, gewandten Registrirung, im engsten Anschluße an die betr[effenden] liturgischen Gesänge, bilden die Vorzüge unseres Meisters, eines wirklichen Beherrschers der Königin der Instrumente.¹⁰⁷

I class Hanisch as the model organist for liturgical worship. [†] He is far from a showman, and such would not have helped him on the sincerely poor single-manual cathedral organ. And yet, whoever hears his organ playing at the church service in the cathedral in Regensburg admires the master; one thinks one hears an organ with two manuals. [‡] His fresh and flowing part-movement, changes in harmony and rhythm, spirit and soulful invention and use of motifs, combined with a natural, skilful registration in the closest connection to the liturgical chant possible, are virtues of our master, a true ruler of the king of instruments.

When Haberl reprinted Singenberger's eulogy some years later, he suppressed the section between † and ‡ that called into question the esteem of the cathedral organ.¹⁰⁸

Hanisch provided accompaniments to general responsories ('In qualibet Missa cantatur et respondetur') for the second edition of Witt's accompaniments of the Ordinary. It was naturally anticipated that accompaniments would require more space in a printed

¹⁰⁶Raymond Dittrich, 'Zur Geschichte der Orgeln im Regensburger Dom', in *Te Deum laudamus : die Regensburger Domorgel* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), 35–7.

¹⁰⁷Johann Singenberger, 'Herr Joseph Hanisch', *Cäcilia: Vereinsorgan des Amerikanischen Cäcilien Vereins: Motansschrift für Katholische Kirchen Musik* 18, no. 1 (1891): 1; Reproduced in Haberl's eulogy in Franz Xaver Haberl, 'Joseph Hanisch: Domorganist in Regensburg', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1893): 105–106.

¹⁰⁸Franz Xaver Haberl, Joseph Hanisch and Jacob Quadflieg, *Organum Comitans Quod Ad Graduale Romanum Cum Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Editum*, 4th ed. (Regensburg, Rome and New York: Pustet, 1900), p. i n. *.

volume than chant melodies, but Hanisch's responsories took up even more space than usual because they were reprinted in different transpositions.¹⁰⁹ The space required for accompaniments also proved to be a concern for Haberl and Hanisch who were obliged to omit graduals, alleluias and tracts from the Proper and Common of Time. The explanation offered for those omissions was that choirs would otherwise become too reliant on the accompaniment, but one suspects that the true reason was simply to avoid exorbitant printing costs. Haberl recognised nonetheless that a choice of transpositions could benefit organists, and outlined a procedure whereby a player could transpose up or down by a chromatic semitone (from, say, three flats to four sharps or from two sharps to five flats) without the need for supplementary printed matter.¹¹⁰ Accidentals could be raised or lowered by the player depending on whether they were transposing up or down.¹¹¹ The procedure was an erudite compromise and was revived in the next century, as we shall discuss below (§ 4.3.2). It did not seem to satisfy the bishop of Castabala Louis Aloysius Lootens (1827–98), however, who also lamented that Haberl and Hanisch's accompaniments did not adopt the same dominant for every mode.¹¹²

Haberl and Hanisch followed up their accompaniments of the Gradual with those of the Vespers in two sections issued respectively in 1877 and 1878. Although the Gradual received a positive review in the *CVK*,¹¹³ the Vespers drew criticism from the pedagogue Peter Piel (1835–1904) who held that the accentual hierarchy of repeated pitches required chords to change; Hanisch, by contrast, had retained the same chord. Piel then critiqued the harmonic progressions since they were reportedly written without harmonic direction. This, together with Piel's reservations about dissonant upper auxiliary notes, amounted to quite a castigating assessment of Cecilian practice.¹¹⁴ Piel's views duly came to the attention

¹⁰⁹*Graduale de tempore et de sanctis juxta ritum sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae* (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1871), p. 70*; Franz Xaver Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium Missae*, 2nd ed. (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1876), 106–107.

¹¹⁰Franz Xaver Haberl and Joseph Hanisch, *Organum comitans ad Graduale Romanum: Proprium et commune sanctorum necnon festa pro aliquibus locis (Sectio I)*, 1st ed. (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1875), p. iv.

¹¹¹Haberl, *Magister Choralis*, 1st ed. (English) from 4th ed. (German), 238; Franz Xaver Haberl, *Magister Choralis: A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant*, 2nd ed. (English) from 9th ed. (German), trans. Nicholas Donnelly (Ratisbon: Pustet, 1892), 207.

¹¹²Louis Aloysius Lootens, *La théorie musicale du chant grégorien* (Paris: Thorin et fils, 1895), p. 403 n. 1.

¹¹³*CVK* № 345.

¹¹⁴*CVK* № 438.

of Witt, who revised his accompanied Mass Ordinary to rectify potential vulnerabilities, including a false relation in the ‘Dies iræ’ accompaniment.¹¹⁵

1.2.3 Reforms, revisions and refinements, 1880–1900

Cecilian belief in the historical accuracy of the Medicean Gradual conflicted with another approach to chant scholarship that was gaining traction in France and Belgium. The mounting evidence against the Medicean edition gained from paleographical research led some theorists to consider its melodies faulty and to resolve in favour of competing chant editions to Pustet’s. Pope Leo XIII attempted to stem the tide with *Romanorum pontificum* in April 1883, a decree reiterating the Catholic Church’s stance in favour of Pustet’s offerings. While the decree also placed a moral obligation on bishops to adopt the Pustet editions in their dioceses, it stopped short of banning other editions outright which were permitted for the purposes of theoretical and ‘archaeological’ research.¹¹⁶

The effect of the decree was immediate. Not only did it bolster Pustet’s reputation (who reproduced the decree among the front matter of future editions),¹¹⁷ but it also caused a run on the remaining Haberl-Hanisch accompaniment books. The unprecedented demand caused the second edition to sell out entirely and required either a reprint or a new edition. Faced with that choice, Haberl settled on the latter and brought out three further volumes of Gradual accompaniments between 1883 and 1884.¹¹⁸ Haberl’s preface asserts that Hanisch’s practice had not changed since Piel had voiced his criticism, and the available evidence supports that assertion: for example, dissonant upper auxiliary notes continued to be a notable feature of Hanisch’s style from the very first accompaniment (ex. 19). Nevertheless, refinements were made to other aspects of the accompaniments in the simplification of certain tricky passages by reducing the number of chords and by rearranging parts so organists could accompany without using pedals. Haberl and Hanisch

¹¹⁵Compare the accompaniment at ‘flammis acribus addictis’ in Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium Missæ*, 2nd ed., p. 90 with Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium missæ*, 3rd ed., p. 90.

¹¹⁶Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 159–161.

¹¹⁷*Graduale de tempore et de sanctis juxta ritum sanctæ romanæ ecclesiæ* (Pustet, 1884), pp. iii–vi.

¹¹⁸Franz Xaver Haberl, ‘Die vollständige Orgelbegleitung zum Graduale Romanum’, *Musica sacra : Monatschrift für Hebung und Förderung der kathol. Kirchenmusik* 7 [new]; 28 [continuation], no. 6 (1 June 1895): 82; The edition’s contents are listed in table B.2.

also modified the transposition of certain chants and, probably in response to the demands of organists, added accompaniments to Eastertide alleluias.¹¹⁹

By all accounts, Pustet's resourcefulness allowed him to recognise the commercial potential in providing musicians with more options. Accompaniments for graduals, alleluias and tracts were not yet readily available,¹²⁰ and following Hanisch's death in 1892 Haberl recruited one of Hanisch's former students, the Hitzkirch musician Josef Schildknecht (1861–99), to harmonise those portions of the Proper of the Time. Schildknecht's work was duly published by Pustet as a supplement to the Haberl-Hanisch second edition (an inventory is reproduced in table B.3), he having previously scored a success with his 1891 collection of *recto tono* settings of the Proper of the Mass which gained widespread popularity because they suited choirs with little time for rehearsal. Simplified settings satisfied the liturgical requirement that texts of the Proper ought to be chanted, and the organ accompaniments for the sake of choral support no doubt proved quite helpful.¹²¹ The liturgical nature of graduals, alleluias and tracts meant they were usually performed in two combinations: either as gradual–alleluia or (during Advent and Lent) as gradual–tract. For the supplement, Schildknecht provided interludes to smooth over harmonic changes when the one did not share the same mode as the other. Useful though the preludes undoubtedly were, Piel's opinion in the *CVK* censures interludes following graduals such as that reproduced in ex. 20,¹²² since the alleluia or tract that followed it were both in the same mode. Surely, so Piel argued, the interlude was to be considered otiose;¹²³ but perhaps Schildknecht was also concerned with providing short organ pieces in the chorale prelude idiom for the benefit of less experienced choirs.

¹¹⁹Hanisch, *Organum comitans ad Graduale Romanum*, 2nd ed., unpaginated 'Vorwort zur zweiten Auflage' and p. 1.

¹²⁰*CVK* № 1732.

¹²¹'Vorwort und Empfehlung von Arnold Walther' in Joseph Schildknecht, *178 Kadenzen für die Orgel zum Gebrauche beim Rezitieren komponiert* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1891), p. ii; Cited in Christiane Maria Hornbachner, 'Orgelbewegung und Orgellehre : Eine musikhistoriographische Annäherung an die Orgelschule zur Zeit der deutschen Orgelbewegung' (M.Phil., University of Vienna, 2013), 64–5.

¹²²Joseph Schildknecht, *Organum comitans ad Graduale Romanum quod curavit s. rituum congregatio*, ed. Franz Xaver Haberl (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1892), pp. ii–iii, v–vi, [60].

¹²³*CVK* № 1732.

Demand arose for such preludes, interludes and postludes which was met by the choirmaster of Saint Gallen Johann Gustav Eduard Stehle (1839–1915), who brought out short contrapuntal pieces by Cecilian composers that supposedly matched the stylistic properties of the chant repertory:

<p>Stilgerechte Vorspiele über die detreffenden Chormotive werden den Herren Organisten eine höchst willkommene Erscheinung sein – das Vorspiel soll zum Cantus passen, wie ein Prolog zum nachfolgenden Stück; eine absolute, aber eigentümlich schwierige Anforderung der ‘Stileinheit’.¹²⁴</p>	<p><i>Stylish preludes to the relevant chants will be a most welcome inclusion for organists – the preludes should match the chant, like a prologue to the following piece; an absolute, but peculiarly difficult, requirement for ‘stylistic unity’.</i></p>
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Stehle claimed that the compositions in his book were written to suit the Haberl-Hanisch second edition, presumably because they took account of the transpositions of the accompaniments. Stehle did not account for differences between composers’ approaches, however. One prelude to the protus introit ‘Gaudeamus omnes’ is marked *Maestoso* and is intended for full organ registration (‘Kraftvolle Registrierung’), whereas another is marked *Langsam*, ‘Nicht zu stark’ and ‘Gebunden’, arguably producing quite a different *Affekt*.¹²⁵ Singenberger proposed that registering an accompaniment should be different to registering an interlude:

We would suggest that a registration be employed for the interludes different from the one used for the accompaniment. For the latter avoid a too loud registration which would induce the singers to scream and consequently, sing ‘flat’.¹²⁶

The SCR weighed in on the matter in July 1894, reminding organists to ‘preserve the sacred character’ of the liturgy in their preludes and ‘decorously to support and not drown the chant’ with their accompaniments.¹²⁷

¹²⁴J[ohann] G[ustav] Ed[uard] Stehle, ed., *Praeludia organi ad singulas partes cantus gregoriani quem Graduale Romanum authenticum exhibet – Vorspiele (Original-Compositionen in den alten Tonarten) über Choral-Motive zu den Introiten, Offertorien und Communien des offiziellen Graduale Romanum* (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1892), unpaginated ‘Vorbemerkung’.

¹²⁵Compare preludes by Peter Piel, Joseph Schildknecht, Jacob Quadflieg and J. Breitenbach numbered 71–5 on pp. 49–51 and how they match up with the chant accompaniment in Hanisch, *Organum comitans ad Graduale Romanum*, 2nd ed., p. 27

¹²⁶Johann Singenberger, *Organ Accompaniment to the Cantate* (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1912), unpaginated preface.

¹²⁷Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, p. 141 §6.

A further supplement to the Haberl-Hanisch second edition was required when the Vatican instituted reforms to the Roman Breviary by adding feast days. In December 1883, officials also modified the layout of certain neumes leading Witt to revise his Ordinary accompaniments.¹²⁸ These changes anticipated wider reforms undertaken in 1884 that brought about the reversion of the Breviary's rubrics and the number of syllables in certain liturgical texts to the format proposed during the seventeenth-century pontificate of Urban VIII. Feast days introduced into the ecclesiastical calendar by later pontiffs were also incorporated into the nineteenth-century edition.¹²⁹ Though Pustet produced a new chant edition of the Gradual in 1884 to bring his offerings up to date, the accompaniments issued by Haberl and Hanisch in 1883 and 1884 incorporated neither the updated neumes nor the enlarged calendar of feasts, hence the necessity for a further supplement.

The demand for such accompaniments was not met until after Hanisch's death when Jacob Quadflieg (1854–1915), the organist and choir director at the Marienkirche in Elberfeld and another of Hanisch's former students, assumed the mantle under Haberl's editorship.¹³⁰ Accompaniments to the introits, offertories, and communions of the added feasts were composed by Quadflieg together with the chants of the Easter and Pentecost octaves (an inventory is reproduced in table B.4).¹³¹ The pagination of the supplement was contrived so as not to conflict with the Haberl-Hanisch second edition, or indeed with Schildknecht's supplement.

Quadflieg included contrapuntal preludes based on the first intervals of each harmonised intonation. Instructions direct the player either to forgo using pedal ('s[in]e P[edal]') or instead to bolster its registration ('Pedal hervortr[etend]'). Ex. 21 shows the sole prelude for which Quadflieg provided specific registrations, making clear the distinction between the left-hand chant snippet and the right-hand contrapuntal texture.

¹²⁸Franz Xaver Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium missæ*, 4th ed. (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1885), viii.

¹²⁹Pierre Batiffol, *Histoire du bréviaire romain*, 1st ed. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1893), 264–5; For an Anglophone translation, see Pierre Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 1st ed., trans. Atwell M[arvin] Y[ates] Baylay (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898), 286–8.

¹³⁰For a brief Anglophone description of Quadflieg's credentials see Mary Regina Deacy, 'Continental Organists and Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1860–1960' (M.Litt., Maynooth University, January 2005), 22.

¹³¹For a review of Quadflieg's supplement, see CVK № 1720.

Passages most likely to be sung by solo voices (such as the intonations of chants or psalms) are harmonised in fewer parts—one recognises in particular the use of bare octaves—probably so the organ’s involvement could be made discreet. By contrast, the remainder of the accompaniment is probably intended to support a choir and is written mostly in four parts.¹³²

Quadflieg then took over the revision of Hanisch’s accompaniments,¹³³ the rationale for the execution of which being Piel’s criticism of Hanisch’s compositions that had raised doubts about the appropriateness of the official Cecilian style. Eventually, even Haberl was forced to admit that improvements could be made, and permitted Quadflieg to incorporate subtle changes to certain neumatic groupings. Preludes were newly composed by Quadflieg to anticipate the now-harmonised intonations of introits, offertories and communions.

Along with those musical changes and additions came some typographical updates: namely, that engraving replaced movable type, permitting the chant to be printed in larger note heads and the vertical alignment of notes on the staff to be rectified. In previous editions, longer note values were centre-aligned which was probably little more than a typographical quirk inherited from editions of vocal polyphony where the parts were read independently. But the alignment became enough of a nuisance for keyboard players who were required to read four or more parts simultaneously, hence the decision to move to left-aligned bars. In a reduction of a polyphonic mass by Hanisch, the keyboard part had been typeset in larger notes, perhaps so an amateur répétiteur would not become disoriented,¹³⁴ and a similar scheme had been used in Hanisch’s accompanied Mass Ordinary too, perhaps to distinguish between numinous chant and terrestrial accompaniment. Hanisch’s Ordinary accompaniments ostensibly competed with Witt’s, for their first edition appeared in 1888, the same year Witt died. They therefore might have been a project for Hanisch to rectify vulnerabilities or omissions in his colleague’s

¹³²Jacob Quadflieg, *Supplementum ad Organum comitans: continens Festa nova et novissima transposita et harmonice ornata*, in collab. with Franz Xaver Haberl and Joseph Hanisch (Regensburg: Pustet, 1894), pp. iv, (45), 103.

¹³³Although the present author could not consult the third edition, its preface was accessible because Haberl reprinted it in the June issue of *Musica sacra*.

¹³⁴Joseph Hanisch, *Zwei Lateinische Messen ‘Laudate Dominum’ und ‘De immaculata Conceptione’ für 1 Tenor, 2 Bässe und willkührliche Orgelbegleitung* (Regensburg: Alfred Copenrath, 1870), 1 and *passim*.

edition.¹³⁵ Be that as it may, Hanisch's accompanied Ordinary was revised in 1893, one year after he himself had died, though it is unclear whether Hanisch had worked on the revisions in previous years. One reviewer declared that Hanisch's accompanied Ordinary 'enjoys implicitly the approbation of the SCR' and that its influence on church music practice was indisputable.¹³⁶

Those feasts added to the 1884 Roman Breviary were newly harmonised by Quadflieg, causing the volume to increase by some one hundred leaves.¹³⁷ Schildknecht's graduals, alleluias and tracts were apparently not incorporated into later volumes of accompaniments, though that composer produced a standalone volume of accompaniments to the Mass Ordinary in three parts for organ or harmonium.¹³⁸ Several feasts were added after 1895 that required a further revision of the accompanied Gradual which was published in 1900. The feast of Anthony Maria Zaccaria, who was canonised by Leo XIII on 27 May 1897, was among those feasts harmonised by Quadflieg: ex. 22 demonstrates how Quadflieg's preludes were now longer than those he had composed in 1894. Haberl suggested that students ought to study them as organ pieces in their own right. The texture of the accompanied intonation was reduced to three parts, but the choral accompaniment remained in four. Typesetting the chant in larger noteheads now appears to have been standard procedure.¹³⁹

1.2.4 *The rise and fall of Cecilian influence*

Given Regensburg's authority in the domain of Catholic Church music, its status as a hub of international repute for music pedagogy was formalised in 1874 with the establishment of the Katholische Kirchenmusikschule. The school offered an eight-month course in aesthetics, liturgy, history of music, chant (and its harmonisation), score reading, conducting, repertoire and singing. The circumstances surrounding its foundation are

¹³⁵*Joseph Hanisch, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium missæ*, 1st ed. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1888).

¹³⁶'Review of *Organum Comitans Ad Ordinarium Missæ*', *American Ecclesiastical Review* 9 (1893): 78.

¹³⁷Haberl, 'Die vollständige Orgelbegleitung zum Graduale Romanum', 82–4.

¹³⁸*Joseph Schildknecht, *Allerleichteste Begleitung zum Ordinarium Missæ für Orgel oder Harmonium* (Regensburg: Alfred Coppenrath, 1897).

¹³⁹Haberl, Hanisch and Quadflieg, *Organum Comitans Quod Ad Graduale Romanum*, 4th ed., p. 1 of 'Appendix ad *Organum comitans*'.

confused by two conflicting narratives. One describes it as a joint venture between Haberl and Witt,¹⁴⁰ the other as Haberl's single-handed achievement.

Liszt's continued interest in developments in church music style had brought him to Regensburg in 1868 where he met both Witt and Haberl. In a subsequent letter to Haberl dated 22 November 1876 Liszt requested copies of Witt's accompanied Ordinary as well as the Haberl-Hanisch accompanied Gradual. It has not been possible to ascertain whether Liszt intended his letter deliberately to coincide with the feast of St Cecilia, though whether happenstance or not it nonetheless failed to stir Haberl into action—the accompaniments in question were never supplied. Haberl's indolence has been attributed to a strained relationship with Witt, lending sketchy credence to the idea that Haberl founded the Kirchenmusikschule on his own. Clarification probably lies in the papers of Witt and Haberl held at the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek in Regensburg, where Witt's correspondence numbers some 30,000 letters. At the time of writing, however, neither they nor Haberl's correspondence have been catalogued.¹⁴¹

In the US, the seeds of church music reform were first planted as early as 1838 when the first American Cecilian Society was established in Cincinnati by John Martin Henni. The venture all but petered out soon thereafter, but was revived when Henni was appointed archbishop of Milwaukee in 1844. There, with the assistance of the Austrian priest Joseph Salzmann, Henni established the Seminary of Saint Francis in 1856; but the American Civil War further hampered progress and placed on hold any plans for a national movement of musical reform. It was not until after that war that Salzmann managed to return to Europe where he solicited funds for a Catholic Normal School.

The Normal School's first roll of nineteen students in June 1870 coincided with developments in Regensburg which led to Pustet's being afforded the Vatican's protection.¹⁴² In a bid to popularise the Cecilian movement in the US, Salzmann sought Witt's advice on finding a musician to lead it. Witt recommended his former pupil, the

¹⁴⁰Bayreuther, 'Die Situation', 8.

¹⁴¹Jürgen Libbert, 'Franz Liszt Und Seine Beziehungen Zu Regensburg. Ein Beitrag Zur Vorgeschichte Der Regensburger Kirchenmusikschule Und Der Budapester Musikakademie', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 42, nos. 1–2 (2001): 152, 170, 180.

¹⁴²Ronald Damian, 'A Historical Study of the Caecilian Movement in the United States' (DMA, Catholic University of America, 1984), 9–10.

Swiss musician Johann Singenberger (1848–1924), who assumed the directorship of Wisconsin’s Catholic Normal School from 1873.¹⁴³ Under the anglicised name John Singenberger, he also taught seminarians to be choral directors and organists.¹⁴⁴ A desire to foster an American analogue to Regensburg’s Cäcilienverein led Singenberger to convene the first annual congress of the newly stylised Amerikanische Cäcilien-Verein in Milwaukee on 17 June 1874.

Pustet established two branches of his printing firm in America to capitalise on the spread of Cecilianism there, the first in New York in 1865 and the second in Cincinnati in 1867.¹⁴⁵ He was therefore well placed when Singenberger’s society elected to start a journal of its own in 1874. Like its equivalent in Germany, the American journal disseminated articles on church music style and performance practice in German; but unlike it, some articles were also included in English. The German articles were probably intended for the large German-speaking population that had settled in Northeastern American cities following the socio-economic upheaval of the German Revolutions in 1848–9, and German remained the primary language of the journal which was entitled ‘*Cæcilia*’: *Vereinsorgan des Amerikanischen Cäcilien Vereins*. By 1878 the society had attracted some 3,000 members,¹⁴⁶ and Pustet went on to publish translations of German textbooks previously published in Germany. Singenberger remained at the head of the Amerikanischen Cäcilienverein for some fifty years, during which he exercised a considerable influence on Catholic Church music in the US.¹⁴⁷

Among certain chant books for which accompaniments were written by Singenberger are several by the German composer Joseph Hermann Mohr (1834–1892) who should not be confused with Joseph Franciscus Mohr (1792–1848), the Austrian priest and author of

¹⁴³Bernadette Grabrian, ‘Milwaukee, Wisconsin: America’s Nucleus for the St. Cecilia Society’, *Sacred Music* 100, no. 1 (Spring 1973): 6.

¹⁴⁴Peter Leo Johnson, *Crosier on the Frontier: A Life of John Martin Henni* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1959), 167.

¹⁴⁵Thomas Erskine Muir, ‘“Full in the Panting Heart of Rome”: Roman Catholic Music in England: 1850–1962’ (PhD diss., Durham University, November 2004), 224; Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England*, 129.

¹⁴⁶John Ogasapian, *Church Music in America, 1620–2000*, 2nd ed. (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2007), 220.

¹⁴⁷Benjamin J. Blied, *Three Archbishops of Milwaukee: Michael Heiss (1818–1890), Frederick Katzner (1844–1903) and Sebastian Messmer (1847–1930)* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1955), 1.

the Christmas hymn *Stille Nacht*. J. H. Mohr's chant book *Cäcilia* contained transcriptions of chant melodies as well as practical rubrics for their use during the Mass or Office.¹⁴⁸ The chant book enjoyed considerable popularity, running to a thirty-sixth edition by 1909. The accompaniments composed by Singenberger were published in a separate volume and were claimed to be stricter in tonality than accompaniments by other Cecilians such as Witt and Hanisch ('in der Tonalität strenger als Begleitungen aus Witt, Hanisch etc').¹⁴⁹

It was not the first time a composer had harmonised one of Mohr's chant editions. In 1877 Mohr's name alone appeared on a book of accompaniments that were in fact composed by Heinrich Oberhoffer, with preludes and postludes being composed by numerous other musicians including Piel.¹⁵⁰ In 1878, Piel composed accompaniments to another of Mohr's editions that mentioned Piel's involvement only in the preface; again, the title page bears Mohr's name alone. As shown in ex. 23, Piel annotated certain tenor notes with 'd' and 's' depending on whether they were to be played by the right hand (*dexter*) or the left (*sinister*).¹⁵¹ Such was also his practice when composing accompaniments for Mohr's *Ordinarium Missæ*, whose sixth edition was published in 1884 with chant transcribed in modern notation.¹⁵² Piel's careful directions for dividing inner notes between the hands extended to situations where an optional pedal part was indicated (ex. 24), doubtless to the benefit of inexperienced players.¹⁵³

The US was not alone in receiving exported Cecilian church music practice. German missionaries brought Cecilian ideals and chant books to the South African province of KwaZulu-Natal where one Franz Pfanner established a Trappist monastery in 1882. Another

¹⁴⁸ Joseph Mohr, *Cäcilia: Katholisches Gesang- Und Gebetbuch*, 5th ed. (Pustet: Regensburg, New York and Cincinnati, 1874), notes on p. 231.

¹⁴⁹ Johann Singenberger, *Orgelbuch zu J[oseph] Mohr's 'Cäcilia'*, 1st ed. (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1888), unpaginated 'Vorbemerkungen'.

¹⁵⁰ *Joseph Mohr, *Orgelbegleitung zum Cantate* (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1877); *CVK* № 354.

¹⁵¹ A description of 'd' and 's' is provided in *Directorium chori ad usum omnium ecclesiarum in quibus officium divinum juxta ritum S. Romanæ ecclesie cantari solet* (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1874), 233–4; See also Joseph Mohr, *Cantiones sacræ: A Collection of Hymns and Devotional Chants for the Different Seasons of the Year, the Feasts of Our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin of the Saints, Low Masses &c.* (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1878), unpaginated 'Preface' and p. 56.

¹⁵² Joseph Mohr, ed., *Ordinarium Missæ, sive cantiones missæ communes pro diversitate temporis et festorum per annum, quas juxta graduale romanum*, 6th ed. (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1884), 3 and *passim*.

¹⁵³ Joseph Mohr and Peter Piel, *Orgelbegleitung zum Meßbüchlein und Ordinarium Missæ* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1888), unpaginated 'Vorrede' and p. 2.

German Trappist monk, Willibald Wanger (1872–1943), published not only *Scientific Zulu Grammar* but was also responsible for translating the bible into that language and for editing a chant book to match. Accounts of Wanger’s life subsequent to his mission are unreliable, but it seems that controversies churned up by his translations into Zulu of biblical documents forced his return to Germany. An outspoken critic of the Third Reich, he was executed in 1943.¹⁵⁴

Wanger’s chant book was published in Germany in 1894 with rubrics in both German and Zulu,¹⁵⁵ and included accompaniments intended for choral directors and ‘die Organisten’. Since no organs existed in KwaZulu-Natal at that time, the preface suggested that the harmonium could serve as an alternative. The style of accompaniment bears some resemblance to Witt’s and Hanisch’s, particularly where some bass notes (styled as breves) endure for multiple chant notes, and where inner parts follow the chant in similar or contrary motion (ex. 25).¹⁵⁶ The Roman numerals serve to designate one of a number of permutations of choral forces described in the book’s preface: I for solos and II for choir; I for boys’ choir and II for girls’ choir; or I for boys’ and girls’ choirs and II for men’s choir.¹⁵⁷ Soloists are often accompanied in three parts while choirs are accompanied in four; oblique lines are used in exceptional cases to indicate tacets.

Just like in other Cecilian accompaniment books, the annotations ‘r’ and ‘l’ indicated the division of the tenor part between the hands: ‘recht’ for the right and ‘links’ for the left. Singenberger adopted ‘r’ and ‘l’ too, but the fact that they stood for the English words ‘right’ and ‘left’ was little more than convenient happenstance.¹⁵⁸ Indicating which of the hands to take the tenor part was not solely a concern of chant accompaniments, since such

¹⁵⁴ Adalbert Ludwig Balling, *The Apostle of South Africa* (Leipzig: Engelsdorfer Verlag, 2016), 410; The date of Wanger’s death is reported as 1944 in H[enry] Rider Haggard, *A Diary of an African Journey (1914)* (London: Hurst & Company, 2000), p. 244 n. 21.

¹⁵⁵ Willibald Wanger, ed., *Inncwadi Yamagama Okuhlabelela Abalelwe Ukusonta Kwabebandhla Las’e Roma: Ibalwe ng’abanye abaFundisi bas’ema Trappistini as’e Mariannahill* (Burghausen: Leo Russy, 1894), 34 and *passim*.

¹⁵⁶ Willibald Wanger and V., *Organum comitans ad Inncwadi yamaGama Okuhlabelela* (Burghausen: Leo Russy, 1894), unpaginated ‘Vorrede’ and p. 20.

¹⁵⁷ Wanger, *Inncwadi Yamagama*, p. vii.

¹⁵⁸ Singenberger, *Organ Accompaniment to the Cantate*, unpaginated preface.

indications were useful in elementary organ methods and were also used in some cases to apportion pedal notes between the feet.¹⁵⁹

The Austrian composer and founder of the Österreichischen Cäcilien-Vereins Johann Evangelist Habert (1833–96) relied on such an annotative scheme in his chant accompaniments to indicate the division of a pedal part between the feet,¹⁶⁰ probably as an instructional aid for less competent organists. The passage quoted in ex. 26 details which part of the foot should play the bass note, whether it be the heel ('a' for 'Absatz') or the toe ('s' for 'Spitze').¹⁶¹ A slur-like mark was later used to indicate the substitution of one foot for another. The method was used in 1881 to annotate accompaniments printed in Habert's journal *Zeitschrift für katholische Kirchenmusik* but was also applied to elementary compositions for the organ.¹⁶² Harmonisations of Habert's included 'Asperges me', 'Responsorien zur Messe', 'Missa, vulgo de Angelis' and 'Missa in Dominicis per annum', all of which having come to light by 1885.¹⁶³

The proximity of Bohemia to Germany posed fewer geographical challenges to the spread of Cecilian ideals. Although the Czech diocese of Hradec Králové produced its own chant book in 1896 rather than adopting Pustet's Gradual, Czech practice was also to use two separate choirs for the sake of more diversity ('K vůli větší rozmanitosti'). The relevant indications were 'S' for the first choir (of sopranos and altos, or solo voices), and 'T' for the second (of tenors and basses, or *Tutti*).¹⁶⁴ It was the Czech musician and pedagogue Dobroslov Orel (1870–1942) who first used chant as a pedagogical device in that diocese, and whose manual on the subject includes references to numerous German accompaniment books including the Haberl-Hanisch editions. Moreover, Orel's book

¹⁵⁹See, for instance, Quadflieg's contributions in Joh[ann] Diebold, ed., *100 grössere und kleinere Originalcompositionen für die Orgel zum kirchlichen Gebrauch und zum Studium* (Regensburg: Feuchtinger & Gleichauf, [c.1896]), 78–83.

¹⁶⁰Hornbachner, 'Orgelbewegung und Orgellehre', 56.

¹⁶¹Paul Schmetz, *Die Harmonisierung des gregorianischen Choralgesanges: Ein Handbuch zur Erlernung der Choralbegleitung: Im Anschlusse an die römischen Chorbücher, sowie an die methodischen Choralwerke von D. Pothier u[nd] P. Kienle für den Schulgebrauch und zum Selbststudium*, 2nd ed. (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1894), 16.

¹⁶²Johannes Ev[angelist] Habert, *Orgelcompositionen*, Beilage zur *Zeitschrift für kath[olische] Kirchenmusik* (Gmunden: Joh. Ev. Habert, 1877), 2.

¹⁶³K. E., 'Kirchliche Compositionen von Johannes Ev. Habert', in *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner- und dem Cistercienser-Ordern*, vol. 6 (Würzburg: Leo Woerl, 1885), 469–70.

¹⁶⁴*Oltář, poučná a modlitební kniha i zpěvník pro diecesi královéhradeckou*, 1st ed. (Hradci Králové: Bisk. konsistoř, 1896), 324.

includes cadential formulæ and several accompaniments from the Roman Vespers by a Czech composer Fr. Jirásek, who was probably the church musician František Jirásek (1856–1906).¹⁶⁵ Although the accompaniment appears to use the chorale texture, a curious major seventh after the intonation in ex. 27 is most unusual: perhaps it was supposed to prepare an instance of ‘B’ $\bar{\eta}$ in the chant; perhaps also the bass part was simply a typographical error and was meant to be *e* instead.¹⁶⁶

During the thirty-year monopoly granted to Pustet’s Gradual, Haberl and the Vatican were quick to dismiss the evidence against the accuracy of the Medicean edition that historians and paleographers were placing on record. Older melodies than the ones supposedly edited by Palestrina were shown to exist in earlier sources, a fact that had untold consequences for methods of chant harmonisation. Such figures as the distinguished Austrian conductor and composer Heinrich von Herzogenberg (1843–1900) argued that chant pre-dated the invention of harmony and was therefore incapable of being harmonised.¹⁶⁷ Haberl used the preface of Schildknecht’s supplement to rejoiner that Pustet’s edition was based on the Medicean, and that accompaniments remained perfectly admissible since they were based on what was believed to be a Palestrinian approach.¹⁶⁸ Haberl’s bullish stance was questioned¹⁶⁸ by the Spanish composer Eustoquio C. de Uriarte (1863–1900) who found it difficult to distinguish, in Haberl’s *Magister choralis*, between sound doctrine and unsubstantiated claims.¹⁶⁹

By 1899, mounting evidence against the accuracy of the Medicean edition led the SCR to remove (without fanfare) *Romanorum pontificum* from the official inventory of decrees in force and, by extension, to dissolve the ardent protections afforded by the Vatican to the Medicean edition.¹⁷⁰ It led to several barbs being launched against Haberl as the

¹⁶⁵Kateřina Andršová, ‘Dobroslav Orel a jeho pedagogická činnost jako jedna z cest k naplnění ideálů cecilianismu v Čechách’ (PhD diss., Univerzita Hradec Králové, 2019), p. 96 n. 438, pp. 100–102.

¹⁶⁶Dobroslav Orel, *Theoreticko-praktická rukověť chorálu římského pro bohoslovecké a učitelské ústavy pro kněží, ředitele kůru, varhaníky a přátele církevního zpěvu* (Hradci Králové: Politické družstvo tiskové, 1899), 66–7.

¹⁶⁷Heinrich von Herzogenberg, ‘P. Piel, Harmonie-Lehre’, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, no. 1 (1890): 135–7.

¹⁶⁸Schildknecht, *Organum comitans ad Graduale Romanum quod curavit s. rituum congregatio*, p. iv.

¹⁶⁹Eustoquio de Uriarte, *Tratado teórico-práctico de canto Gregoriano según la verdadera tradición* (Madrid: Imprenta De Don Luis Aguado, 1890), 149.

¹⁷⁰Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore N[orb] Marier and William Skinner (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003),

most notorious perpetuator of the Palestrina myth, including one by the Italian priest Carlo Respighi.¹⁷¹ A certain Raphael Molitor conducted his own researches into the matter and determined that Bainsi's claims about Palestrina were without merit.¹⁷² It was later discovered that the Medicean Gradual had in fact been published under the direction of Felice Anerio (c.1560–1614) and Francesco Soriano (c.1549–1621),¹⁷³ but even though the tide had turned against him Haberl refused to abandon his course.

The morass of decrees and privileges published and granted between 1868 and 1871 sowed enough seeds of confusion by century's end that few knew exactly when Pustet's monopoly was set to expire. The Vatican confirmed the expiration date to be 1 January 1901,¹⁷⁴ and distanced itself from the Medicean edition by adopting a competing Gradual edited by French monks that will be the focus of our discussion below. Some Cecilians maintained their previous course and opted not to follow the Vatican's new direction. Haberl even weighed in against the Vatican's stance, but for that conduct he was upbraided by the SCR in a brief dated 18 February 1910.¹⁷⁵ Cecilians in Germany and the US who perpetuated false and prejudicial views of the new official edition received cautions for their actions which were the subject of mirth in some French publications. An extended footnote to a French translation of the decree reports rather gleefully that Haberl had agreed to acquiesce to the Vatican's demands and not to print further polemics on rhythm in *Musica sacra* or *Fliegende Blätter*. Haberl also exhorted Cecilians to follow his example and to obey the wishes of the Holy See.¹⁷⁶ Today, *Grove Music Online* records Haberl as 'one of

175; Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 166.

¹⁷¹Carlo Respighi, *Nuovo Studio su Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina e l'emendazione del Graduale Romano con Appendice di documenti* (Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre & C^{ie}, 1900), 6.

¹⁷²Raphael Molitor, *Die Nach-Tridentinische Choral-Reform zu Rom : Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1901), pp. v, 241; For an Anglophone discussion of Molitor's involvement see Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England*, 205; See also the charge that Bainsi's lack of critical thinking belied his welter of claims in Lockwood, *Pope Marcellus Mass: An Authoritative Score*, 34–5.

¹⁷³David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 208–9.

¹⁷⁴Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant*, pp. xix–xx, 69; For the SCR's decrees in question, see Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 150–4.

¹⁷⁵Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 282–3.

¹⁷⁶'Une décision romaine sur le rythme du chant grégorien', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 16, no. 4 (April 1910): 82; For the brief in Italian and in an alternative French translation, see *Les éditions rythmiques de Solesmes à propos d'une association cécilienne française* (Tournai: Desclée & C^{ie}, [c.1921]), 31–3.

the pioneers of modern musicology',¹⁷⁷ but his perpetuation of musical falsehoods in the face of contradictory evidence surely makes it impossible to justify that view any longer.

¹⁷⁷Dieter Haberl, 'Haberl, Franz Xaver', Grove Music Online, accessed 28 May 2021, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000012120>.

CHAPTER TWO

FRANCE AND BELGIUM PRIOR TO SOLESMIAN INFLUENCE

2.1 Chant practice in Post-Revolutionary France

2.1.1 *Liturgical performance traditions to the 1840s*

In consequence of the addition of feast days to the liturgical calendar from the sixteenth century, French and Belgian dioceses were faced with lacunæ in their chant repertoires and therefore opted to source new, chant-like melodies from local composers. Léonard Poisson (c.1685–1753) lamented that such melodies were ill-conceived, and that editors falsely permitted the major-minor harmony to infringe upon the modality of chant. He historicised the latter and suggested that scholarship ought to return to the most ancient manuscripts to discover chant as it supposedly once was:

Les plus anciennes pièces font ordinairement les plus correctes pour l'expressifion et la livraifon des paroles, & qu'elles l'emportent de beaucoup fur la plûpart des nouvelles par la majesté de leur chant, fon goût & sa régularité ; & c'est ce qui me fait croire qu'on a eu tort de négliger les anciens.¹⁷⁸

The most ancient pieces are ordinarily the most correct for the expression and connection of words, and thereby surpass most of the new ones in the majesty of their chant, its taste and regularity; and this is what leads me to believe that we were wrong to neglect the ancients.

As in Germany, the older-is-better notion was widely applied to French and Belgian church music, and was corroborated when Napoleon's conquests in Europe and the near East led to an influx of historical artefacts to France in particular. Ironically, given the emperor's wish to modernise French society, those artefacts promoted an interest in French and European cultural heritage that awoke a sense of antiquarianism among music theorists and musicians who identified themselves with archaeological research. Though

¹⁷⁸Léonard Poisson, *Traité théorique et pratique du plain-chant* (Paris: P.N. Lottin & J.H. Butard, 1750), 3.

the anticlerical sentiment of the French Revolution saw the closure of the *maîtrises* (schools where boys and men had received their musical training), the former Revolutionary musician Bernard Sarrette (1765–1858) was permitted to establish a school of music in 1792 that in 1795 would grow into the celebrated Paris Conservatoire.¹⁷⁹ The school's library gathered together pieces of music of historic or cultural importance into a kind of musical museum,¹⁸⁰ and from 1844 similar collections provided the historian and archaeologist Adolphe Napoléon Didron (1806–67) with material for his *Annales archéologiques*, a periodical dedicated to the curious mixture of music, architecture and sculpture. Didron presented a thirteenth-century fauxbourdon harmonisation of 'Patrem parit filia' and an organ accompaniment of 'Regnantem sempiterna' as venerable artefacts.¹⁸¹ During the ensuing decade, Didron's examples were re-published as important artefacts alongside others attributed to the organist of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont Gabriel Gauthier (1808–53) and director of the Rheims Conservatoire Louis-Simon Fanart (1807–83).¹⁸²

In 1811, Alexandre-Étienne Choron (1771–1834) had likened chant to painting, sculpture and architecture worthy of authentic restoration and conservation for future generations,¹⁸³ establishing the École Choron in 1817 to promote the music of Palestrina and Bach as examples of appropriate styles of church music. The school never recovered from the strictures placed on its funding after the July Revolution of 1830, and closed with Choron's death in 1834. Nonetheless its influence is undisputed and it was revived two decades later as the École Niedermeyer. As we have seen (§ 1.2), the Cecilian movement promoted similar ideals in Bavaria and elsewhere, but there appears to be no direct link between the two movements and it is possible that they sprang up independently of one another.¹⁸⁴ Common to many European countries, however, was that

¹⁷⁹Gustave Chouquet, 'Maîtrise', in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan & Co, 1880), 200.

¹⁸⁰Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 4.

¹⁸¹'Regnantem Sempiterna', in collab. with Adolphe-Napoléon Didron, Édouard Didron and Xavier Barbier de Montault, *Annales archéologiques* 6 (1849): unpaginated supplements at pp. 248 and 318.

¹⁸²Charles Vervoitte, *Considérations sur le chant ecclésiastique à propos du retour à la liturgie romaine* (Rouen: Alfred Péron, 1857), unpaginated supplement at p. 434.

¹⁸³Alexandre-Étienne Choron, *Considérations sur la nécessité de rétablir le chant de l'église de Rome dans toutes les églises de l'empire* (Paris: Courcier, 1811), 9.

¹⁸⁴Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination*, 25.

the fantasy of the ‘old’ became commingled with the rise of Ultramontanism, and many dioceses—which up to then could determine their own practices—began to unify their liturgies and music with those recommended by the Vatican.

Palestrina fever gripped the nineteenth-century popular imagination to such an extent that Victor Hugo called him the ‘father of harmony’,¹⁸⁵ and it was according to the unsound conflation of harmony with counterpoint and modality with major-minor progressions that many chant melodies were disfigured with chromatically altered pitches. It was not until 1847—when the French theorist Jean-Louis-Félix Danjou (1812–66) discovered that Codex H. 159 at the Bibliothèque de l’École de médecine de Montpellier transmitted adiastematic neumes superimposed on a form of alphabetic notation—that scholars could begin to ascertain the pitch content of chant melodies from the tenth century.¹⁸⁶ That manuscript served as the primary impetus for the chant restoration movement which in turn culminated in the Vatican’s turning away from Pustet’s editions at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was a ground-breaking discovery in its day, and Danjou also undertook what Fétis termed an archaeological excursion to Italy with Stéphen Morelot (1820–99) to uncover even more sources (‘cette excursion archéologique’).¹⁸⁷ His survey of the available source material yielded results that were later taken up by Edmond de Coussemaker (1805–76) who sought to recapture the supposedly lost harmony of the Middle Ages.¹⁸⁸

2.1.2 *The rise of the orgue accompagnateur*

Post-Revolutionary France was a time of widespread cultural, societal and musical change, and the anti-traditionalist movement had far-reaching effects on the church in general and church music in particular. To some, even such instruments as the serpent were considered hallmarks of the *ancien régime*, and attracted aesthetic criticism for disfiguring chant melodies with insipid ornaments and cadenzas. In addition, the uneven sound produced

¹⁸⁵Victor Hugo, ‘Que la musique date du XVI^e siècle’, in *Les rayons et les ombres* (Paris: J. Hetzel & C^{ie}, 1840), 209.

¹⁸⁶This manuscript is known today as ‘the Dijon tonary’ for it came from Saint-Bénigne de Dijon. See David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 578–9.

¹⁸⁷François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1867), 195.

¹⁸⁸Edmond de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l’harmonie au moyen âge* (Paris: V. Didron, 1852), 121.

by that instrument coupled with deteriorating standards of playing made it incapable of providing adequate support to choirs.¹⁸⁹ Aesthetic considerations, as well as ideological ones, became defining characteristics of church music with the growing popularity of romanticism and liturgical mysticism. In a bid to enrich the theology of the Parisian church of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, its curate Nicholas-Théodore Olivier (1798–1854) sought a means to combine terrestrial and ethereal voices, as his biographer recounts:

Le curé de Saint-Etienne ne croyait pouvoir donner trop de beauté au plain-champ [*sic*], trop de perfection aux concerts spirituels, et demandait à la musique religieuse d'épuiser toutes ses ressources et toutes ses harmonies. Il aurait voulu qu'elle fût une image et un écho de celle du ciel.¹⁹⁰

The curate of Saint-Etienne did not think too much beauty could be given to plainchant, or too much perfection to spiritual concerts, and called upon religious music to exhaust all its resources and harmonies. He would have liked it to be a reflection and an echo of that of the heavens.

In 1829, Olivier appointed as his *maître de chapelle* Adrien de La Fage (1801–62), whose prompt excision of serpent accompaniment from the liturgy was to force French church music into a new age:

Mon but principal en introduisant l'orgue dans le chœur était l'abolition de cet abominable et honteux usage connu seulement en France d'accompagner le chœur par le serpent, instrument grossier, si contraire aux voix, au goût et au bon sens, et dont la présence était le principal obstacle à tout progrès quelconque.¹⁹¹

My main goal in introducing the organ into the Choir was the abolition of that abominable and shameful practice known only in France of accompanying the choir by the serpent, that uncouth instrument, so contrary to voices, to taste and to common sense, and whose presence was the principal obstacle to any and all progress.

La Fage was joined in his protests by Hector Berlioz (1803–69) who also took up a stance against the serpent.¹⁹² But not even the support of Olivier's archbishop made it an easy task to oust the instrument, for this was a polarising and progressive idea denigrated by conservative ecclesiastics as absurd, scandalous and even sacrilegious. Moreover, serpentists held that their livelihoods were under threat, and Olivier was accused of 'dethroning' the serpent, nearly making the organ into a kind of Marianne to progressives

¹⁸⁹Hillsman, 'Instrumental Accompaniment', 12.

¹⁹⁰Adolphe de Bouclon, *Histoire de monseigneur Olivier, évêque d'Evreux : d'après des documents originaux et des autographes très considérables* (Evreux: M. Damame, 1855), 171.

¹⁹¹Adrien de La Fage, *De la reproduction des livres de plain-chant romain* (Paris: Blanchet, 1853), 141 n. 1.

¹⁹²Louis Girod, *De la musique religieuse* (Namur: F.-J. Douxfils, 1855), 163.

and a Robespierre to conservatives. In the face of such opposition, however, Olivier and La Fage pressed on with their plans to procure a new organ for Saint-Étienne-du-Mont. There already existed a small positive organ in the Choir built by the Dallery firm, but it was not loud enough to support singers and bass voices were said to drown it out. A new instrument was required, therefore, to suit the needs of the church, and in response to the general lack of support, Olivier decided to finance the project personally.¹⁹³

It was to the English-born, protestant organ builder John Abbey that Olivier and La Fage turned when they commissioned the new instrument. That the work should have been contracted to an Englishman is not surprising because Post-Revolutionary periods of governmental sympathy to the church contributed to robust demand for new instruments, providing an ideal opportunity for English builders to cross the Channel to exercise their trade. The French instrument maker Sébastien Érard had spent time in London during the Revolution, and had become acquainted with English developments in organ building; his piano-organ hybrid, the so-called ‘Piano Carré Organisé’ (of which an example survives at the Cité de la Musique in Paris), dates from this period. Balanced key action, horizontal bellows with compensating folds and composition pedals were some innovations that Abbey brought with him to Paris at Érard’s invitation in 1826, but before long Abbey had struck out as an organ builder in his own right and elements of his instruments continue to survive in Parisian churches today.¹⁹⁴

Abbey was probably already in talks with La Fage by the time Choron drafted a description of an ideal accompanying instrument consisting of Bourdon, Prestant, Dessus de flûte and Basson with an octave and a half of pedal pulldowns. On publishing that description in 1830, Choron noted that such an instrument had just been built, but the lack of a discrete pedal stop furnished it with a weak bass, thus making it necessary to retain the support of string instruments such as cello and double bass.¹⁹⁵ Incidentally, double basses are reported to have remained in use at some churches until at least the 1890s.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³Bouclon, *Histoire de monseigneur Olivier*, 170–77.

¹⁹⁴Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 223.

¹⁹⁵Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, *Méthodes d’harmonie et de composition à l’aide desquelles on peut apprendre soi-même à accompagner la basse chiffrée et à composer toute espèce de musique*, trans. Alexandre-Étienne Choron (Paris: Bachelier, 1830), 260–61.

¹⁹⁶Orpha [Caroline] Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing in Nineteenth-Century France and Belgium*

Danjou gave an account of the dedication of the new instrument termed the *orgue accompagnateur* when it was inaugurated in November 1829. He described the interest that musicians showed in it while admitting that it had been conceived according to an unclear scheme ('établi sur des données alors incertaines').¹⁹⁷ A disposition of the instrument in this period has not yet come to light, but after his installation as curate of Saint-Roch on 7 February 1833, Olivier simply brought the organ with him and had it placed in the Chapelle de la vierge where it continues to function today.¹⁹⁸ Its present-day stoplist of six ranks—Montre 8', Bourdon 8', Prestant 4', Doublette 2' and Cymbale II—with fourteen permanent pedal pulldowns bears at least some resemblance to Choron's stoplist of 1829.

Within two decades it became common, and perhaps even fashionable, for churches to procure a second, smaller instrument to accompany the choir (smaller, that is, compared with the grand orgue on the gallery). Church authorities generally located it near the high altar in close proximity to celebrants and the choir. The Parisian church of Mission-étrangères became the second into which such a smaller organ was introduced after La Fage was appointed *maître de chapelle* there in 1831, and by 1835 the *orgue accompagnateur* had made its way into the Choirs of Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, Saint-Eustache, Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis, Saint-Vincent-de-Paul and Saint-Merry.¹⁹⁹ The grand orgue in the west-end gallery continued to exercise its functions as a solo instrument just as before, but in some churches the singers were moved to the gallery where the organist exercised the dual functions of soloist and accompanist.²⁰⁰ When the church of Saint-Paterne placed on the gallery an *orgue accompagnateur* originally intended for the Choir, its builder Aristide Cavallé-Coll (1811–99) regretted how the organ would not sound as it should:

(Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2000), 256 §XII n. 6.

¹⁹⁷Félix Danjou, 'De l'accompagnement du plain-chant', *Revue de la musique religieuse, populaire et classique* 4 (1848): 5–6.

¹⁹⁸Alphonse Chassant and G.-Er Sauvage, *Histoire des évêques* (Evreux: L. Tavernier, 1846), 202–203.

¹⁹⁹Danjou, 'De l'accompagnement du plain-chant', 6.

²⁰⁰Félix Danjou, *De l'état et de l'avenir du chant ecclésiastique en France* (Paris: Parent-Desbarres, 1843), 61.

Toutefois je tiens à vous dire que l'orgue de Saint-Paterne que j'avais vendu pour être placé dans le chœur où il devait produire un excellent effet comme orgue d'accompagnement a été placé contre mon gré sur une tribune où je savais d'avance qu'il ne produirait pas l'effet désiré. Si j'avais construit un orgue pour cette place j'aurais pu faire pour le même prix un instrument dont l'effet n'aurait rien laissé à désirer.²⁰¹

*However, I must emphasize that the Saint-Paterne organ, which I had sold for installation in the Choir where it would have been most effective as an accompaniment organ, was placed contrary to my wishes on a gallery where I knew it would not produce the desired effect. If I had built an organ for this location I would have been able to build an instrument for the same price whose effect would not have been second-rate.*²⁰²

The popularity of the *orgue accompagnateur* led quickly to the introduction of larger multi-manual instruments to the Choir known (and still known) as *orgues de chœur*.

Following the introduction of the *orgue accompagnateur* at Saint-Étienne, organ design was influenced by the complementary factors of pitch and transposition. In 1683, Nivers had described *ton de la chapelle du roy* as the pitch of famous Parisian organs, this being about a tone lower than *ton d'orchestre* and a semitone lower than *ton de la chambre du roy*. According to Nivers, *ton de chapelle* was common for convent organs ('tel que sont ou doivent être ordinairement les Orgues des Religieuses').²⁰³ We can ascertain that during the 1850s taste for *ton d'orchestre* ($a' = 434\text{Hz}$) became established in Paris, yet the prevalent pitch of *orgues accompagnateurs* in the 1830s and 40s was still *ton de chapelle* (a' between 370Hz and 392Hz).²⁰⁴ Cavaillé-Coll's new instrument for Saint-Thomas-d'Aquin was initially tuned to *ton de chapelle* but was subsequently sharpened to *ton d'orchestre* at the request of 'des artistes', and within five years of the installation of the *orgues de chœur* at Saint-Roch in 1845 and at Sainte-Madeleine in 1846, Cavaillé-Coll had to retrofit these instruments with transposition mechanisms to allow accompaniment of masses 'en musique' as opposed to those 'en plain-chant'.²⁰⁵ In some accompaniment books, the two genres of music were made distinct in adjacent music examples (identical but for their

²⁰¹ Aristide Cavaillé-Coll to Mr Berland, curate at Beaugency on 9 September 1857, *F-Pn IFN-8451558* (3509), pp. 220–1.

²⁰² Adapted from a partial translation in Fenner Douglass, *Cavaillé-Coll and the Musicians: A Documented Account of His First Thirty Years in Organ Building* (Raleigh: Sunbury, 1980), 145.

²⁰³ Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers, *Dissertation sur le chant grégorien* (Paris: L'auteur, 1683), 106.

²⁰⁴ Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'* (Lanham, Maryland and Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 97–8, 117, 330.

²⁰⁵ Cavaillé-Coll to M. l'abbé Pelletier, curate of Saint-Aignan d'Orléans, 28 June 1851, in Douglass, *Cavaillé-Coll and the Musicians*, 789.

notations), the one in quadratic notation on a four-line staff and the other in modern notation on a five-line staff (ex. 28).²⁰⁶ The view that the principles governing the ‘true *tonalité* of Gregorian chant’ were different to those underpinning harmony in modern music became a common one, and even took up the entire first part of a textbook by the abbé B. A. Bauwens.²⁰⁷ We shall return to the discussions concerning *tonalité* later in this chapter.

2.1.3 *Organists and pianists as church musicians*

Alongside the École Choron, the Paris Conservatoire became a leading centre of church music training. Charles-Simon Catel (1773–1830) had been appointed as teacher of harmony and counterpoint in 1795, Jean-Louis Adam (1758–1848) as teacher of piano and Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842) as director in 1822. François Benoist (1795–1878), who had been a pupil of Adam’s and Catel’s from 1811, was appointed as the Conservatoire’s first organ teacher in 1819 having won a *premier prix de piano* that enabled him, as a *pensionnaire du gouvernement français*, to pursue further study in Rome and Naples. Benoist incorporated a method of chant accompaniment into his organ lessons as a stepping stone for improvisation that, until century’s end, saw the addition of contrapuntal parts to a plainchant melody placed in the bass part. Danjou recollected in 1848, however, that chant was also being placed in the top part during the 1820s (ex. 29),²⁰⁸ but this was not formalised in the regulations of the *concours* until 1851. Benoist’s process required the student to devise the opposite outer part of the texture before working out or improvising the inner parts. This was not intended as a vocal accompaniment; rather, it provided a graduated exercise for organ students to arrive at an increasingly elaborate contrapuntal improvisation, namely the *fugue d’école*.²⁰⁹

A harmony treatise of 1855 by Auguste-Mathieu Panseron (1795–1859), written for the training of pianists, contains Benoist’s exemplification of that process. Benoist called the initial procedure the simple accompaniment (‘*accompagnement simple*’, ex. 30), and a

²⁰⁶Alexandre Bruneau, *Méthode simple et facile pour apprendre à accompagner le plain-chant avec l’orgue à clavier transpositeur écrite en musique et en plain-chant* (Bourges: L’auteur, 1856), 26.

²⁰⁷B.A. Bauwens, *Le plain-chant mis à la portée de tout le monde* (Tournai: H. Casterman, 1861), p. xiii.

²⁰⁸Danjou, ‘De l’accompagnement du plain-chant’, 11.

²⁰⁹Odile Jutten, ‘L’Évolution de l’enseignement de l’improvisation à l’orgue au Conservatoire’, in *Le Conservatoire de Paris : Deux cents ans de pédagogie* (Paris: Buchet & Chastel, 1999), 82.

more elaborate procedure—incorporating suspensions and dissonant passing notes—the accompaniment with dissonances ('avec dissonances', ex. 31).²¹⁰ That this procedure, initially aimed at Benoist's organ students, should have made its way into a manual aimed at pianists is surprising. The introduction of instruments such as the *poikilorgue* and the harmonium into French churches together with the small number of organists being trained at the Conservatoire strongly suggest that amateur pianists constituted the primary cohort of keyboard players in French churches. According to one observer, by the middle of the 1840s the dearth of trained organists meant that the instruments in many cathedrals, collegiate chapels and villages in Belgium too had been abandoned to pianists ('des orgues sont abandonnées à des pianists').²¹¹ On the one hand, the Nancy musician Joseph Régnier claimed that the piano, being incapable of sustaining notes, produced an undesirable effect in an accompaniment of chant, and that pianists were incapable of producing diatonic harmonisations.²¹² On the other hand, the author Eugène Woestyn (1813–88) was concerned with the lack of opportunities for pianists as composers, and thought they might be better served by careers as church musicians. To that end, Woestyn brought out an introductory manual attempting to teach the basics of plainchant and the piano, but given that his publication, which was aimed at amateurs, contained nothing more than a glossary of terms and no music examples, its scope (and hence presumably its influence) was severely limited.²¹³

One of Benoist's pupils Jacques-Claude-Adolphe Miné (1796–1854) published verset-like fauxbourdon harmonisations of chant in 1836 in which the bass part extends lower than *C*, inviting the suspicion that they might have been composed for the piano.²¹⁴ But one must take account of what Jean-Jacques Rousseau had described in 1768 as the five-octave 'clavier à ravalement' whose compass extended down by a perfect fifth and up by a perfect fourth resulting in the range F_1-f''' .²¹⁵ Manual keyboards à *ravalement* were

²¹⁰Auguste-Mathieu Panseron, *Traité de l'harmonie pratique et des modulations en trois parties à l'usage des pianistes* (Paris: Escudier, 1855), 251; Théodore Nisard, *Les vrais principes de l'accompagnement du plain-chant sur l'orgue d'après les maîtres des XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris: E. Repos, 1860), 41.

²¹¹N. Arnold Janssen, *Les vrais principes du chant grégorien* (Malines: P. J. Hanicq, 1845), 206.

²¹²Joseph Régnier, *L'orgue, sa connaissance, son administration et son jeu* (Nancy: Vagner, 1850), 403.

²¹³Eugène Woestyn, *Le livre de la pianiste et du plain-chant* (Paris: Ploche, 1852), 13.

²¹⁴Adolphe Jacques Claude Miné, *Méthode d'orgue* (Paris: A. Meissonnier, 1836), 32, 64–6.

²¹⁵Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, pp. 405, unpaginated 'Planche 1', fig. 1.

supposedly a rarity in 1785, however, when one encyclopedia described only ‘ravalement au clavier de pédale’.²¹⁶ Even further complexity was borne of some organs not always matching the compass described by Rousseau, extending below *C* not by a perfect fifth but by a minor third to *A*, instead. ‘Ravalement’ was used most notably in compositions by Alexandre-Pierre-François Boëly (1785–1858) whose pedalboard à *ravalement* of the last type permitted excursions to *A*, in the *Messe du jour de Noël*.²¹⁷

The possibility that Miné depended on ‘ravalement’ supports his claim that the harmonisations he composed were suitable for both the organ and the piano, at least as far as range was concerned. But the textures of his accompaniments were arguably not idiomatic for either,²¹⁸ the doublings quoted in ex. 32 being reminiscent of multiple stops sounding at different pitches on the pipe organ. Miné’s publication *Organiste accompagnateur* of 1845 was a pioneering attempt at presenting harmonisations of common chants, yet the passage quoted in ex. 33 gives ample justification to Fétis’s verdict that Miné’s work was very defective and full of errors (‘très défectueux et rempli d’erreurs’).²¹⁹

Several notable organists harmonised chant according to Benoist’s procedure for the Conservatoire’s *concours* including César Franck (1822–90), whose harmonisation in 1842 was summarised by the jury thus: ‘bass fair, upper parts excellent’. Following Franck’s succession of Benoist as organ teacher at the Conservatoire in 1872, nothing about the procedure was altered beyond a simple name change from ‘choral’ to ‘plain-chant’.²²⁰ An example of the procedure as remembered by Franck’s student Charles Tournemire (1870–1939) shows that the chant was transposed by the simple interval of a perfect fourth

²¹⁶*Encyclopédie méthodique ou par ordre de matières*, vol. 158 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1785), 77–8.

²¹⁷See, for instance, the preface and ‘Rentrée de la procession’ in Alexandre-Pierre-François Boëly, ‘Messe Du Jour de Noël, Op. 11’, IMSLP, accessed 18 May 2021, [https://imslp.org/wiki/Messe_du_jour_de_No%C3%AB1%2C_Op.11_\(Bo%C3%ABly%2C_Alexandre-Pierre-Fran%C3%A7ois\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Messe_du_jour_de_No%C3%AB1%2C_Op.11_(Bo%C3%ABly%2C_Alexandre-Pierre-Fran%C3%A7ois)); Further examples of Boëly’s use of ‘ravalement’ may be consulted in Alexandre-Pierre-François Boëly, *Pièces choisies pour orgue*, ed. Alexandre Guilmant (Paris: Costallat & C^{ie}), 9.

²¹⁸Thomas Christensen, *Stories of Tonality in the Age of François-Joseph Fétis* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 33.

²¹⁹Adolphe Jacques Claude Miné, *L’organiste accompagnateur : Recueil des messes solennelles et des principales fêtes de l’année d’après le rit parisien*, vol. 3 (Paris: Canaux, 1845), 7; Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 148.

²²⁰The chant that Franck harmonised has been preserved at the *Archives nationales* and is reproduced in Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, pp. 149–50, p. 257 nn. 7–8.

on migrating between top and bottom voices,²²¹ a trait also remembered by Louis Vierne (1870–1937) in a recollection of Franck’s succession of Benoist to which we shall return below (§ 3.2.7).

The first decades of the nineteenth century had seen attempts by instrument makers and inventors to simplify keyboard instruments to allow relatively untrained players to play or transpose with relative ease. A design for a ‘unifingered keyboard’ (‘clavier solidoigté’) debuted at the Nantes exhibition during the 1860s and contained alternating white and split black notes to yield the same fingering for all major and minor scales and arpeggios.²²² Although there is no apparent evidence that the keyboard was incorporated into any instruments, it was described more than twenty years before Paul von Jankó took out a more famous patent for what was essentially the same system. Another popular invention was the transposing keyboard, generally called the ‘clavier transpositeur’ or ‘clavier mobile’ on account of the player’s being able to move the keyboard left or right by a number of semitones determined by the instrument maker. The firm Roller & Blanchet began incorporating transposing mechanisms into their pianos during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and there is no doubt that the invention gained widespread popularity as not just a gimmick but as a useful practical tool.²²³ One of the first to market such an invention for the accompaniment of plainchant on the harmonium or piano (‘pour orgue ou piano’) was the abbé Clergeau, whose mechanism was reported to greatly simplify the task of the accompanist. There was nothing difficult about moving the keyboard to suit the range of a singer, and the mechanism was claimed to make accompaniment of plainchant so easy that within a few days even a child could transpose a chant to any desired pitch.²²⁴ The mechanism earned an enthusiastic approbation from the then *maître de chapelle* of Notre Dame de Paris, Joseph Pollet, who recommended it for use by very mediocre organists (‘des organistes très-médiocres’); these were probably

²²¹ *Charles Tournemire, *Précis d’exécution, de registration et d’improvisation à l’orgue* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1936), 105.

²²² Maurice Delcamp, *Méthode élémentaire relative aux instruments à clavier solidoigté* (Paris: L’auteur, 1861), 4, 10.

²²³ Félix Danjou, ‘Mécanisme musical transpositeur pour orgue ou piano’, *Revue de la musique religieuse, populaire et classique* 1 (1845): 177.

²²⁴ Abbé Clergeau, *Mécanisme musical transpositeur pour orgue ou piano : ses effets sur l’orgue ou sur le piano, ses conséquences dans le monde musical* (Sens: Thomas-Malvin, 1845), 3–5.

pianists feeling their way around an organ.²²⁵ Further mechanisms were developed by Nisard, whose *clavier grégorien* saw the light around 1850,²²⁶ and by François Guichené, who incorporated a transposing mechanism into a more elaborate accompaniment device to be examined in more detail below.

Clergeau's influence was considerable, and La Fage even dedicated a treatise on accompaniment to him, citing him as an ardent propagator of the organ in French churches and chapels.²²⁷ Doubtless, the simplicity of his invention and canny marketing at amateur musicians paved the way for its widespread adoption in churches across the country. Alexandre Bruneau in 1856 and Eugène Baré in 1884 recognised the mechanism's usefulness to amateur musicians,²²⁸ while Émile Amiot and Philippe Morin make explicit reference to the device in their publication's title,²²⁹ as did Eugène Henry who claimed to have devised a method of accompaniment suited to keyboards transposing or otherwise ('avec ou sans clavier transpositeur').²³⁰ That the mechanism should be mentioned in such manuals at all validates Clergeau's claim that the device held widespread appeal.²³¹ As late as 1892, the music publishers E. Fromont published advertisements and even offered cash discounts ('escompte au comptant') on a range of transposing harmoniums costing between 210 F. and 3,900 F.²³²

²²⁵ Joseph Pollet, 'Rapport adressé au ministre des cultes sur le mécanisme transpositeur de M. Clergeau', in *Mécanisme musical transpositeur pour orgue ou piano* (Sens: Thomas-Malvin, 1845), 15–16.

²²⁶ François-Joseph Fétis, *Correspondance*, ed. Robert Wangermée (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2006), 357.

²²⁷ Adrien de La Fage, *Routine pour accompagner le plain-chant : ou moyen prompt et facile d'harmoniser à première vue le plain-chant pris pour basse sans avoir étudié l'harmonie et sans le secours d'un maître à l'usage de tous les diocèses*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Régnier-Canaux, 1860), 3.

²²⁸ Bruneau, *Méthode simple et facile*, 5; Eugène Baré, *Nouvelle méthode simple et facile pour apprendre à accompagner le plain-chant avec le clavier transpositeur* (Paris: Delay, 1884), 20.

²²⁹ *Émile Amiot and Philippe Morin, *Méthode élémentaire de l'accompagnement du plain-chant sur l'orgue transpositeur*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Humbert, 1862).

²³⁰ Eugène Henry, *Méthode pour accompagner facilement et correctement le plain-chant, avec ou sans clavier transpositeur*, 1st ed. (Rennes: Bonnel, 1869), 29–31.

²³¹ Clergeau, *Mécanisme musical transpositeur*, 3.

²³² Jules de Calonne, *A. B. C. de l'harmonie appliquée au plain-chant* (Paris: E. Fromont, 1892), unpaginated back page.

2.2 Growing markets for instruments, manuals and accompaniment books

2.2.1 *Instrumental automation*

The demand exerted by practically-minded amateurs gave rise to further specific developments in instrumental design. Mechanisms to simplify the accompaniment of the Mass or Office gained widespread popularity because they were not much more expensive than a basic harmonium and were much cheaper than a pipe organ. The accompaniment of Mass and Vespers by barrel-organs was already taking place in France by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, and it was suggested in 1821 that Germany's village churches might also benefit from their use. Charles-Marie Widor (1844–1937) recalled hearing *Adeste fideles* played on a barrel-organ outside his window in 1904, noting that the tune had been removed from its ordinary liturgical context and placed on the street.²³³ But far from the typical characterisation of the street-side 'Orgue de Barbarie', the barrel-organ actually struck a happy ideological balance for amateur practitioners and seasoned theorists alike. Although it did not fit the solemnity of the church service, the instrument's use in such a setting pleased La Fage because polyphonic accompaniments of good quality could be performed by anybody:

Les morceaux étant notés, sur le cylindre, à quatre parties, le chant est accompagné d'une manière toujours uniforme et en quelque sorte mécanique ; mais au moins elle peut faire supposer la présence d'un organiste instruit dans les éléments [*sic*] de l'harmonie.²³⁴

With the pieces being pinned on the cylinder in four parts, the chant is accompanied in a way that is always the same and, in a manner of speaking, mechanical, but at least the method of accompaniment assumes the tacit presence of an organist learned in the particulars of harmony.

The cylinders bearing the chant accompaniments could therefore be pre-notated by trained musicians whose presence was not required at the service. As late as 1846, Cavaillé-Coll advertised a type of instrument with eleven cylinders that acted on five foundation stops—Bourdon, Prestant, Doublette, Nazard, Petite flûte and Clairon. On his cylinders were pinned religious airs, offertories, cantiques, sorties and the plainchant Offices for the whole year ('les offices en plain-chant pour toute l'année') and cost 300 F. plus

²³³Charles-Marie Widor, 'La révision du plain-chant', *Le Correspondant*, 10 July 1904, 59.

²³⁴Adrien de La Fage, 'Orgue-Cabias', *Gazette musicale de Paris* 1, no. 25 (June 1834): 198.

delivery.²³⁵ The usefulness of such devices was limited by the availability of cylinders, whose proprietary nature made barrel-organs vulnerable to changes in the chant repertory that were to take place early in the next century (see § 4.2.4 below).

Several inventors began designing mechanisms with which parishes could retrofit their harmoniums. They retained a degree of flexibility where repertory changes were concerned without sacrificing the desired simplicity of execution. One such mechanism was designed by the Jesuit and chant editor Louis Lambillotte (1796–1855), about which no details are known, and another was designed by one Mr Porchet in 1888, who brought to light his *Clavier lecteur-harmonisateur instantané de plain-chant, applicable aux instruments à clavier usuel, orgues, harmoniums, pianos*.²³⁶

Abbé Jean-Louis Cabias, a curate of Pontigny, invented the ‘orgue simplifié’ or ‘orgue-Cabias’ and devised a grid notation to represent the chromatic layout of its keyboard. A set of adjacent rectangles denoted the keys of the instrument that obviated the need for an amateur to read musical notation (ex. 34; my transcription is given in ex. 35).²³⁷ Instead, the player used the index finger of each hand to play a succession of keys indicated by the ascending series of numbers in the grid, repeated notes being indicated by a cross. There are two conflicting descriptions of the sound this instrument made as reported by witnesses to it at the Industrial Exposition of 1834. According to the official report, the mechanism produced 5/3 chords above the chant note in the bass part thereby making an endless succession of consecutive fifths unavoidable.²³⁸ According to La Fage, however, the mechanism in fact produced a unisonous accompaniment, a statement he would repeat some two decades hence.²³⁹ Later in the century, Baré criticised such automated mechanisms for their bland chord-against-note rhythmic style

²³⁵Douglass, *Cavaillé-Coll and the Musicians*, 626.

²³⁶Théodore Nisard, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de l'abbé Guichené* (Batignolles-Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1863), 5; *Bulletin officiel de la propriété industrielle et commerciale*, vol. 7 (Paris: Camille Rousset, 1888), 100.

²³⁷La Fage, ‘Orgue-Cabias’, p. 198, musical supplement fig. 1.

²³⁸M. Francoeur, ‘Rapport fait par M. Francoeur, au nom du Comité des arts mécaniques, sur une invention de M. Cabias, qui a pour objet d'exécuter sur l'orgue des airs avec accompagnement, sans savoir la musique’, *Bulletin de la société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale*, no. 122 (April 1831): 208–209.

²³⁹La Fage, ‘Orgue-Cabias’, 198; Adrien de La Fage, *Quinze visites musicales à l'exposition universelle de 1855* (Paris: Tardif, 1856), 148.

that was claimed to be imperfect ('l'étudiant en reconnaît bien vite la grande imperfection').²⁴⁰ Such a style will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

Around 1840, the abbé François Larroque invented a mechanism called 'orgue milacor' which, according to La Fage, was the first such device to produce chords from a single key press,²⁴¹ but it too relied on a 'new method of musical notation, introducing numbers and colours'²⁴² to allow an untrained player to accompany chant without deviating from the rules of harmony ('accompagner toute sorte de plain-chant sans s'écarter des règles de l'harmonie').²⁴³ Although the system won the 'orgue milacor' a gold medal at the Toulouse Exposition des produits des beaux-arts,²⁴⁴ its equal reliance on a proprietary system of notation must surely have limited its usefulness.

During the 1850s, the abbé François Guichené (1808–77) incorporated a transposer in a new invention he called the 'Symphonista',²⁴⁵ a mechanism that signified the apogee of automated plainchant accompaniment. The upper keyboard comprised a row of keys that produced 5/3 and 6/3 chords depending on which key was pressed, and a printed chart showed the player how to select the key appropriate to each successive note of the chant. The inventor's understanding of ecclesiastical harmony was designed into the mechanism, and graphical lines indicated to the player the succession of keys that were to be avoided which would otherwise produce progressions of consecutive fifths or octaves. 6/3 chords were thus interspersed between 5/3 chords (the latter being indicated by a cross on the chart), and the flexibility of the mechanism allowed the player to accompany any chant edition without consecutive perfect consonances by simply playing single notes.²⁴⁶ The invention excited the curiosity of attendees at the 1855 Exposition universelle, among

²⁴⁰Baré, *Nouvelle méthode simple et facile*, 6.

²⁴¹La Fage, *Quinze visites*, 145.

²⁴²Jeremiah Hughes, ed., *Niles' National Register*, vol. 7 (Baltimore: The Editor, 1840), 89.

²⁴³C. Bailly de Merlineux and A. Julien, eds., *Mémorial encyclopédique et progressif des connaissances humaines*, vol. 97 (Paris: Boulé et compagnie, 1839), 486.

²⁴⁴*Exposition des produits des beaux-arts et de l'industrie dans les galeries du capitole à Toulouse* (Toulouse: J. Dupin, 1840), 115–6.

²⁴⁵Leßmann, *Die Rezeption*, 207; Douglass, *Cavaillé-Coll and the Musicians*, 4–5.

²⁴⁶'Système harmonique dit symphonista : applicable aux orgues et aux pianos', in *Le Génie industriel : revue des inventions françaises et étrangères : annales des progrès de l'industrie agricole et manufacturière*, in collab. with Eugène Armengaud and Charles Armengaud (Paris: Les auteurs, 1856), 297–301; Elevation, cross-section and plan views of the 'Symphonista' are printed on plate 177.

whom were Napoleon III and Fétis, and the latter recorded his views on the ‘Symphonista’ in the official report, as relayed by Nisard:

Le cleric de village, ou le chantre d’une petite église, qui ne connaît que le plain-chant, tel qu’il est dans les livres de chœur, peut, en posant le doigt sur la touche du clavier supérieur, dont le nom répond à la note du chant, faire entendre une harmonie complète et redoublée dans plusieurs octaves, et accompagner ainsi sa voix.

Quelles que soient les suites des notes du chant, les successions des accords sont conformes aux règles d’une bonne harmonie.

Si le chantre est musicien et organiste, il peut accompagner sur le clavier inférieur, comme on le fait avec un orgue ordinaire, et les harmonies réglées par le clavier supérieur ne se font plus entendre.²⁴⁷

The village cleric, or the singer at a small church, who knows only plainchant, as it is presented in choir books, can, by placing a finger on the key of the upper keyboard, the name of which corresponds to the note of the chant, cause a full harmony to be heard doubled in several octaves, and to accompany his voice in this way.

Whatever the succession of notes of the chant may be, the succession of chords conforms to the rules of good harmony.

If the singer is a musician and organist, he can accompany on the lower keyboard as one does on a regular organ, and the harmonies regulated by the upper keyboard will no longer be heard.

The favourable reception of the ‘Symphonista’ at the Exhibition universelle earned Guichené a first-class silver medal and the *Légion d’honneur*, and subsequently the firm of Houdart built and marketed the instrument with optional extras. A ‘Symphonista’ capable of playing the chant in the top or bottom part, and comprising two harmonic systems (one ‘à la Palestrina’ and another ‘en harmonie moderne’), cost up to 1,500 F., and enabled amateurs to produce grammatically correct accompaniments without reference to any rule books.

2.2.2 *Methods, claims, and degrees of authoritativeness*

The closure of the *maîtrises* during the French Revolution did not stifle the demand for teachers and methods of plainchant and its accompaniment. Manuals were published to show amateur players how to accompany parish services without automated mechanisms or detailed reference to the rules. The authors of such manuals may be classified into three groups.

²⁴⁷Nisard, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de l’abbé Guichené*, 6–7; See also Leßmann, *Die Rezeption*, 207.

The first group comprised musicians and scholars of international repute whose stances on plainchant harmony and rhythm carried national and international weight. Jaak-Nikolaas Lemmens (1823–81), César Franck, Théodore Dubois (1837–1924), Alexandre Guilmant (1837–1911) and Charles-Marie Widor were among those conservatory musicians who composed accompaniments or wrote didactic texts on the matter, either to dispel myths or to promote appropriate principles. We will return to the thoughts of such musicians during the course of this chapter and the next.

The second group comprised cathedral musicians composing accompaniments in a style approved by the diocese for adoption in seminaries and parish churches (although it was also common for dioceses to adopt the publications of individuals from the first group too). César Franck's teacher Dieudonné Duguet (1794–1849), organist of Liège cathedral, published such a collection aimed at young organists and at those whose incomplete or superficial study of harmony, counterpoint and chant meant they could not construct accompaniments on their own.²⁴⁸ Duguet's manual contains little descriptive prose; instead, the player needed only to learn those accompaniments notated on the page to rest content that the reputation of the harmoniser lent authority to their playing.²⁴⁹ Franck himself, in collaboration with Lambillotte, later published a book of accompaniments with a wide scope, these being accompaniments of 'chants communs' that were applicable to the rites of multiple dioceses. Franck recognised it was 'urgent' to offer such accompaniments so the organ would not become a hindrance in untrained hands.²⁵⁰ While it was common for the title pages of such publications to advertise their wide applicability with 'à l'usage de tous les diocèses' or, with the rise of Ultramontanism, 'selon le rite romain', it was impossible to provide coverage for every chant in use, particularly when new chant editions continued to be adopted hither and thither. For this reason, more adaptive methods were called for.

²⁴⁸Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 173; Dieudonné Duguet, *Livre d'orgue contenant l'accompagnement du plain chant des principaux offices de l'année* (Liège: I. Gout), 3.

²⁴⁹'Nouvelles littéraires', *Journal historique et littéraire* 14, no. 165 (January 1848): 468.

²⁵⁰Louis Lambillotte and César Franck, *Chant grégorien* (Paris: A. Le Clerc, 1857), p. iii; Rollin Smith, *Playing the Organ Works of César Franck* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997), 17.

The third group consisted of those authors who responded to the demand for simplified rules. Condensed manuals made it seem as though musical rules were simple to understand, master and execute. Efforts to condense such a vast topic as chant harmonisation into a few pages had mixed success, however, because some approaches left too many aspects of the topic undiscussed. For example, Jules de Calonne dedicates most of his four-page pamphlet to chord construction and limits his discussion of harmonic progressions to two ascending and descending scales, major and minor, harmonised according to the rule of the octave; failing, in other words, to demonstrate how those progressions might apply to chant accompaniment.²⁵¹ The two-page, pocket-sized manual by the author ‘C. G.’ advertises its universal applicability to all chant editions (‘toutes les éditions de chant’) and sets out rules that were claimed to generate a chorale-like accompaniment. The chant is placed in the top part and is always assigned to the fifth finger of the right hand (ex. 36).²⁵² Each possible plainchant note is provided in *solfège* notation with two or three numbered chords. Chains of chords are created by the accompanist by plotting each note of the chant in the right-most column and by playing the bass note and inner notes suggested in the left-most and centre columns. Ideal harmonic progressions were to be created by starting on the chord numbered 1 and linking chords in such a way that no two with the same number followed consecutively. For example, an accompaniment could be constructed using the sequence 1 → 2 → 3 → 2 → 1, creating a progression of chords with the chant note as root, third, fifth, third, and root respectively. The sequence was always to terminate on a chord marked 1, in root position. Chords were labelled additionally with letters: (*a*) to be used in first, second, fourth, and sixth modes; (*b*) never to be used in those modes; (*c*) to conclude third and fourth modes; (*d*) to be used often in seventh and eighth modes (particularly at terminal cadences), and (*e*) to be used in seventh and eighth modes.

The self-studying amateur was generally the target market for such didactic methods, and some authors (many amateurs themselves) took advantage of their audience’s lack of knowledge to print unsound or, frequently, inaccurate principles. Many manuals bear

²⁵¹Jules de Calonne, *Petit guide de l’accompagnateur du chant d’église* (Paris: Noirel & Dewingle, 1859), 1–4.

²⁵²C. G., *Accompagnement du plain-chant* (Paris: Sarlit, 1884), 1–4.

specious titles and frequently advertise bogus claims. It was surely to piggyback on the success of Panseron's attractively-entitled *sofège* manual *L'A B C musical, ou sofège* and Danjou's suggestion that practical rather than theoretical approaches were more appealing to amateurs that Jules de Calonne brought out another accompaniment manual entitled *A. B. C. de l'harmonie appliquée au plain-chant*.²⁵³ This format was reprised by Maurice Kaltnecker with *L'A B C du jeune accompagnateur* some fifty years later.²⁵⁴ The alphabet implied that the methods were so elementary that even a child could grasp them, and authors attempted to trick prospective buyers with that purported simplicity. One went as far as to insult the reader's intelligence should his method prove to be incomprehensible (which, as in all too many cases, it of course was):

Le système en est d'une si grande simplicité qu'on le ferait comprendre en peu de temps, même à un enfant d'une intelligence ordinaire : une expérience suffisante autorise cette affirmation.²⁵⁵

The system is one of such great simplicity that you or even a child of ordinary intelligence could be enabled to understand it in no time: enough experience supports this affirmation.

Jules Carillion's manual supposedly taught chant and its accompaniment in five lessons, but the author absolved himself of the cursory explanations he provided by claiming his method was merely a stepping stone to the more technical methods of Amédée Gastoué (1873–1943) and François Brun (see §§ 4.2.5 and 5.1.2 below):

Il m'a semblé que dans une sphère moins élevée, plus accessible peut-être à ceux qui n'ont pas déjà fait d'études spéciales, il y avait place pour une méthode plus modeste qui puisse servir de cours préparatoire, si l'on veut, aux manuels précités.²⁵⁶

It seemed to me that on a less refined level, one more accessible perhaps to those who have not yet undertaken special studies, that there was room for a more accessible method that might serve as a kind of preparatory lesson to the above manuals.

²⁵³Félix Danjou, 'Examen des diverses méthodes pour l'enseignement populaire du chant', *Revue de la musique religieuse, populaire et classique* 1 (1845): 218; Calonne, *A. B. C. de l'harmonie appliquée au plain-chant*, 1.

²⁵⁴Maurice Kaltnecker, *L'A B C du jeune accompagnateur* (Nancy: Société anonyme d'éditions, 1937).

²⁵⁵Léon Godard, *Traité élémentaire de l'harmonie appliquée au plain-chant* (Paris: Guyot, 1851), 1.

²⁵⁶Jules Carillion, *L'accompagnement du chant grégorien en cinq leçons* (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1916), 5.

The abbé Bourguignon's method claimed to teach chant accompaniment in three months provided the student followed the special set of rules laid down by the author, but this can hardly have been possible given how little descriptive material his manual contains.²⁵⁷

It was common for authors to preface their methods of accompaniment with step-by-step guides on how to read the notes of the stave and how to construct chords, particularly in those manuals aimed at musicians without musical or academic backgrounds:

Nous avons donc pensé qu'une méthode simple et facile d'accompagnement du plain-chant sur l'harmonium à clavier transpositeur, précédée des principes élémentaires de la musique et du plain-chant, pourrait être de quelque utilité à M.M. les Ecclésiastiques et Instituteurs de la campagne surtout, pour leur aider à former de jeunes organistes.²⁵⁸

We thought therefore that a simple and easy method for plainchant accompaniment on the harmonium with a transposing keyboard, preceded by the basic principles of music and plainchant, could be of some use to ecclesiastics and country teachers especially, to help them in educating young organists.

Léon Dalmières used the Socratic method to present opposing views of the debate, and in music examples kept the player's hands in close proximity to one another for amateurs with elementary keyboard technique.²⁵⁹ Didactic methods on chant accompaniment were usually aimed at a specific group, such as seminarians, young organists or the author's own students, and in some cases such authors relied on anecdotal evidence to back up the reliability of their methods. J. B. Jaillet intended his method for young ecclesiastics and sought to make the modes and the modulation method (see § 2.3.1 below) easy to understand:

²⁵⁷Abbé Bourguignon, *Méthode élémentaire d'harmonie pour l'accompagnement du plain-chant et des cantiques* (Paris: H. Oudin, 1899), 2, 11.

²⁵⁸Baré, *Nouvelle méthode simple et facile*, 6.

²⁵⁹Léon G. Dalmières, *Plain-chant accompagné au moyen des notions les plus simples réduites à cinq formules harmoniques* (Saint-Étienne: L'auteur, 1856), 5, 50–52.

Le désir de nous rendre utile, en applanissant ces difficultés autant que possible, nous a porté, après avoir cherché pendant longtemps, à réduire en règles simples et peu nombreuses ce que nous pratiquons nous-même, quand nous accompagnons ; et nous devons dire que les résultats qui ont constamment couronné notre enseignement, ne nous permettent pas de douter de l'exactitude de ces règles, de leur utilité, et de leur étonnante fécondité.²⁶⁰

Our desire to make ourselves useful, by smoothing out these difficulties as much as possible, has led us, after a long search, to summarise by a few simple rules what we practice ourselves when we accompany; and we must say that the results which continually perfected our teaching never led us to question the precision of these rules, their usefulness, and their astonishing fruitfulness.

Since such publications were also available for purchase by the public at large, they sometimes gained popularity beyond their intended audience. Eugène Henry had intended his manual to be used by his own students, but it gained a wider readership than he had expected and sold out its first two editions, obliging the author to change the method and to widen its scope.²⁶¹ Louis Müller also published a summary of his personal classes, but this, in contrast to Henry's method, cannot have been all that useful to public readers as it contained little descriptive material.²⁶² J. B. Hingre had administrative reasons for publishing his method, as it meant he did not have to repeat himself to past pupils or to devise plans anew for future classes.²⁶³

A trait common to many manuals was to make a concession to simplicity that ignored the modal question entirely, and instead to instruct the student in a simplistic harmonic formula. Joseph Alémany in this way taught that chant ought to be accompanied using major and minor scales harmonised using the 'règle d'octave',²⁶⁴ whereas Bruneau presented a slightly more nuanced approach by claiming the third, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth modes were to be accompanied in the harmonised scale of C major, and the first, second and fourth were to be accompanied in that of D minor.²⁶⁵ Even Dubois relied on major-minor harmony

²⁶⁰J.-B. Jaillet, *Méthode nouvelle pour apprendre facilement l'accompagnement du plain-chant* (Paris: Régnier-Canaux, 1857), p. v.

²⁶¹Eugène Henry, *Méthode pour accompagner facilement et correctement le plain-chant, avec ou sans clavier transpositeur*, 4th ed. (Rennes: Bonnel, 1889), unpaginated 'Avertissement de l'auteur'.

²⁶²Louis Müller, *Petit traité d'harmonie, ou leçons élémentaires et pratiques pour accompagner le plain-chant* (Paris: Colombier, 1880), unpaginated preface col. 1.

²⁶³J. B. Hingre, *Méthode d'accompagnement du plain-chant*, 2nd ed. (Mirecourt: Chassel), 3.

²⁶⁴Joseph Alémany, *Méthode simple et facile pour apprendre soi-même à accompagner avec l'orgue le plain-chant et les cantiques* (Lyon: J. B. Pélagaud & C^{ie}, 1862), 19.

²⁶⁵Bruneau, *Méthode simple et facile*, p. v.

in his manual, claiming that a conflation of modes with major and minor scales was justified by the needs of his manual's intended users:

Notre travail n'est pas scientifique ; il s'adresse à ceux qui ne savent pas et ne peuvent pas apprendre ; il est simplement *pratique*, et nous croyons qu'il peut rendre de véritables services.²⁶⁶

Our work is not scientific; it is aimed at those who are ignorant and who cannot learn. It is simply practical, and we believe that it can be genuinely useful.

That concession to simplicity probably benefited those who already had a basic understanding of major-minor harmony without much of an idea about modality. An organist of Coutances, the abbé Falaise, harmonised seventeen scales a player could use to accompany chant according to a major-minor understanding. The author suggested, for example, that harmonised scales could be placed in the bass part of the following keys: C, D, E \flat , E, F, G, A \flat , A, B \flat , B major; C, D, E \flat , E, F, G, A minor. Those could then be used to accompany the modes of plainchant, which were broken down into two, major and minor.²⁶⁷

Pre-harmonised scales formed the basis of countless elementary methods of plainchant accompaniment, and although Nisard would not resile from his views that plainchant was modal, he adopted a mnemonic approach for his practical method that sought to simplify matters. Rather than providing a set of harmonised scales, however, Nisard required players to memorise a finite set of chords:

Six lignes et demie d'accords et dix-sept exceptions, voilà donc tout le fonds de notre opuscule. A coup sûr, quiconque se sentirait incapable de meubler sa mémoire d'un si léger bagage, devrait renoncer à tout idée d'accompagner le plain-chant sur l'orgue.²⁶⁸

Six and a half lines of chords and seventeen exceptions, that is the basis of our pamphlet. Certainly, whoever might feel incapable of filling their memory with such a light load should give up any idea of accompanying plainchant on the organ.

²⁶⁶Théodore Dubois, *Accompagnement pratique du plain-chant à la basse et à la partie supérieure à l'usage des personnes qui savent peu ou pas l'harmonie* (Paris: Parvy, 1884), 1.

²⁶⁷Abbé Falaise, *Méthode théorique et pratique de plain-chant suivie des principes de la musique et de dix-sept gammes d'harmonie pour l'accompagnement pratique et raisonne du chant en général*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Victor Sarlit, 1876), 85–104.

²⁶⁸Théodore Nisard, *L'accompagnement du plain-chant sur l'orgue enseigné en quelques lignes de musique et sans le secours d'aucune notion d'harmonie : Ouvrage destiné à tous les diocèses* (Paris: E. Repos, 1860), 41.

In another approach, La Fage's *Routine pour accompagner le plain-chant* of 1860 differed from the reliance of Falaise and Nisard on scales and chords. It presents pre-harmonised intervals and cadences as progressions of two or more chords in a supposedly exhaustive list, with reference to which players were supposed to concatenate a continuous accompaniment.²⁶⁹ This method was highly accessible because it was neither limited by the chant of a specific edition nor by the memory of the player. Rather, the burden of working out the part writing was borne by La Fage himself, thus allowing the reader to construct grammatically correct harmonisations without needing to learn any rules.

2.2.3 *New notational and annotative systems*

The nineteenth century was awash with systems to aid the visually impaired in reading verbal text, and some pioneers of such systems extended them to music too. Louis Braille (1809–52), the blind inventor of the international tactile writing system that bears his name, and who also served as organist of the Parisian church of Saint-Nicholas-des-Champs, extended his system to the notation of music. His embossed, cellular symbols, as codified in 1829, represented either a textual character or an Arabic numeral, depending on the context. Similarly, those symbols were ascribed musical meanings and could represent pitches, rhythms and various supplementary indications. Moreover, by converting quadratic notes into modern ones, Braille simplified the notation of chant so it too could be represented by his symbols.²⁷⁰

In a similar way, the complexity of the rules of plainchant harmonisation led other pedagogues to devise symbols or alternative forms of musical notation of their own, in attempts to make the rules accessible to less practiced players. Authors who did so form a largely forgotten subculture in nineteenth-century France, and many are not known to posterity as organists, composers or music theorists. Nonetheless, whereas each of them followed distinct courses of action, two general approaches can now be discerned.

²⁶⁹La Fage, *Routine*, 5–6.

²⁷⁰Louis Braille, *Procédé pour écrire les paroles, la musique et le plain-chant au moyen de points* (Paris, 1829), 18–20.

The first approach attempted to replace musical notation by representing some concept, chord, harmony or rhythm by a glyph. Arguably, however, some authors overloaded their glyphs with so much information that no advantages were gained over regular five-line notation. The player had first to learn what the glyphs represented, which were generally based on a proprietary notation devised by authors according to fanciful and imaginative schemes, and had then to apply those pre-learned rules to accompaniment books printed by the same authors. As we have seen in connection with the ‘orgue-Cabias’, that approach was vulnerable to changes in the chant repertory, and methods that relied on proprietary notations often had short shelf lives.

Abbé Dedun’s ‘three-in-one’ system embodied that approach by attempting to combine melodic, harmonic and rhythmic information into a single glyph (ex. 37). The placement of the glyph on the staff gives the melodic note, the letter represents the *solfège* equivalent of the root of the chord (the lozenge indicating G major or G minor, depending on its orientation) and rhythmic information is represented with stems and flags. Further rules make the system even more complicated. An adjunct letter *r* (not to be confused with the same, larger letter signifying ‘ré’, or ‘D’) signifies that the bass note is not to be doubled anywhere by the right hand, but that the chant note is to be doubled instead. A dot above a symbol signified a first inversion chord; a dot below, a second inversion. A dot to the left of the symbol signified a seventh chord, while a black circle or square signified no chord at all. In making the method so condensed, Dedun also made it inimical to easy assimilation. The dizzying quantity of information conveyed by his unfamiliar glyphs gave the system few ready advantages over modern notation and probably alienated the amateur musicians at which it was aimed.²⁷¹

The second approach attempted to represent some chord or harmony by a single symbol, letter or number placed above or below the staff. This annotative approach seemed ideal for music pedagogy because the annotations could be inscribed into any chant edition, while making a system’s rules appear accessible to amateur players unfamiliar with chord construction, harmony and the rules of part-writing. Three categories of annotative systems

²⁷¹Abbé Dedun, *Le système ‘trois d’un’ (ou trois indications à l’aide d’un seul signe) pour accompagner facilement le plain-chant* (Nancy: R. Vagner, 1889), 10.

can now be observed, each defined according to what they required of the player. The first category relied on the player to work out the required chord from the annotations, the second required players to recall a chord from memory when prompted by the annotation, while the third was a hybrid of the first two with the possibility of communicating more elaborate rhythmic frameworks.

The first category can be exemplified with the primitive system devised by Charles Duvois (c.1830–c.1892) in 1844 (ex. 38; my realisation is shown in ex. 39). The Arabic numerals 1, 2 and 3 signify whether the chant note ought to be the root, the third or the fifth of a 5/3 chord,²⁷² thus making it the antecedent of the method by ‘C. G.’ that we discussed above (see p. 62).²⁷³ Duvois’s system differs from that employed by one Franz Joseph Mayer, however, whose numerical annotations represented the notes themselves rather than chords (ex. 40).²⁷⁴ Arthur Rousseau’s system (ex. 41) was quite similar to Duvois’s, except that the numbers indicate the bass note by its simple interval below the chant, a trait that makes these annotations like an inverted form of figured bass.²⁷⁵ 6/3 chords are also permitted, the resulting major or minor sixths below the chant being annotated with an Arabic 6, and the major or minor tenths or thirds below the chant being annotated with the Roman numeral X.

An analogous system devised by the abbé V. Auzet also permitted 6/3 chords. These were not represented by numbers but by uppercase or lowercase letters depending on whether the given chord was major or minor (ex. 42; my realisation is shown in ex. 43).²⁷⁶ 5/3 chords are represented as *F* or *f* for *fondamentale* if the bass note is the same pitch

²⁷²Charles Duvois, *Méthode élémentaire d’accompagnement du plain-chant à l’usage des séminaires et collèges* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1844), 27.

²⁷³The method was also taken up in Léon Courtois, *L’accompagnement du plain-chant précédée d’un cours élémentaire d’harmonie* (Namur: Ad. Wesmael-Charlier, [c.1897]), 72–80, though it should be noted that some of the indications provided by the author either mislabel or mistranscribe certain chords; See also that system devised by J. Dauphin as described below on p. 468.

²⁷⁴Franz Joseph Mayer, *Lateinische Choralgesänge Für Die Hauptfeste Des Kirchenjahres: Aus Den Mechelner Choralbüchern in Der Schreibweise Des Sel. Pfarrers Schneider Zu Eibingen in Noten u. Ziffern Zusammengestellt von Fr. Jos. Mayer, Praffer Zu Weilburg* (Frankfurt am Main: G. Hamacher, 1867), 26.

²⁷⁵Arthur Rousseau, *Le petit harmoniste grégorien, nouvelle édition contenant les principes de musique, de plain-chant et d’harmonium, l’harmonisation naturelle et artificielle du chant grégorien, sa transposition et l’accompagnement des cantiques populaires*, 2nd ed. (Bourdeille: L’auteur, 1889), 63.

²⁷⁶V. Auzet, *L’accompagnement artistique du plain-chant : méthode théorique et pratique* (Paris: E. L’Huillier et C^{ie}, 1891), 64.

class as the melody note, *T* or *t* for *tierce* if the bass is a third below, and *Q* or *q* for *quinte* if the bass is a fifth below. 6/3 chords are represented by *S* or *s* for *sixte* for basses a minor or major sixth below respectively; the player added the remaining triadic notes in all cases.

The second category can be exemplified by the system devised by Charles-Louis Hanon (1819–1900), composer of the notorious piano studies, who defined finite sets of chords to be used with what were believed to be common melodic formulæ. Hanon parsed chant melodies into these formulæ with slur-like arcs (ex. 44; my realisation is shown in ex. 45). Numbers within an arc signify the set from which chords were to be selected, and the player was to accompany each note of the chant with those chords until the end of the arc. A transposition was to be effected by substituting the C-clef with F-clef and a flat signature, arcs below the staff prescribing sets of chords more convenient to the transposed register.²⁷⁷ Hanon's publisher advertised the manual at least until the end of the century, indicating that demand for simplified systems pledging to teach chant accompaniment 'at first sight' had by then not yet abated.²⁷⁸

A comparable system to Hanon's was devised by B. Allard, whose method depends on finite sets of individually numbered chords. A different set of chords is provided for each mode and at two pitch levels to provide for a dominant of 'G' or 'A'. Each chant note is then accompanied with the numbered chord from that mode's set. Ex. 46 shows the chords that Allard prescribed for use with chants in the third mode, such as with 'Pange lingua' in ex. 47.²⁷⁹

As the rhythmic debate became increasingly heated, authors could no longer disregard it, and were obliged to acknowledge the emerging rhythmic idealism as best they could. Accompaniments devised according to systems belonging to the first and second categories produced 'chord-against-note' accompaniments, where each chant note was accompanied by a single chord, thereby producing the 'chorale texture'. The third

²⁷⁷Charles-Louis Hanon, *Système nouveau pratique et populaire pour apprendre à accompagner tout plain-chant à première vue en six leçons sans savoir la musique et sans professeur*, 4th ed. (Boulogne-sur-Mer: L'auteur, 1860), 52.

²⁷⁸See *La Croix* (Supplément) № 3877, 19 December 1895, p. 3.

²⁷⁹B. Allard, *Transposition et accompagnement du plain chant* (Paris: L. Leconte & Cie, 1880), 36–7.

category combines a memorised set of rules with the player's active participation in working out chords according to annotations.

A letter-based system similar to that published by Auzet was adopted by Fr[ère] Sébastien according to a Solesmian rhythmic method (on which, see § 4.1.1). For the present it may be remarked that Sébastien's system incorporates the † symbol to designate a 5/3 chord with a doubled third and the × symbol to indicate when the bass part is to move in contrary motion with the chant.²⁸⁰ Émile Brune's system involved even more active participation by the player and ought to be read with caution because it incorporates elements of the systems of Duvois and Rousseau: like the former, those numerals 1, 2 and 3 referred to chords in which the bass note was the same pitch class as the melody note, a third below or a fifth below, respectively; while like the latter, the numeral 6 indicated bass notes a major or minor sixth below the chant. The indication 6/4 was an addition of Brune's and requires no further explication. His system, although presented in modern notation in ex. 48, would ordinarily have been annotated on quadratic notation. The greater ratio of chant notes to bass notes required Brune to annotate each of the former to instruct the player not to change the latter.²⁸¹

Brune's system was apparently simplified by the abbés Aumon and Biret whose numerals were analogous to those used by Duvois, except where a numeral was underlined, which indicated a 6/3 chord. In contrast to Brune's system, however, the notation reproduced in ex. 49 shows that the numerals (and the chords that they represent) apply solely to the chant note at the quaver where the numeral is placed and must be sustained until a subsequent numeral institutes a change of chord.²⁸² The methods in the third category are most similar to inverted figured bass where the harmony endures until a change is prompted by the next set of numerals. The player requires an understanding of the rhythmic framework implied by the annotations, and both the manuals of Brune and Aumon-Biret incorporate expansive descriptions of the topic.

²⁸⁰Fr[ère] Sébastien, *Accompagnement du chant grégorien* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1910), 12–20, 40.

²⁸¹Émile Brune, *Nouvelle méthode élémentaire de l'accompagnement du plain-chant grégorien*, 3rd ed. (Rixheim: F. Sutter, 1903), pp. x, 115.

²⁸²Abbé Aumon and Abbé Biret, *Méthode facile et complète pour l'accompagnement du chant grégorien et des cantiques* (Vendée: Petit Séminaire de Chavagnes en Paillers, 1926), 125.

2.3 The rationale of *tonalité ancienne*

2.3.1 *The modulation method*

As discussed above (§ 1.2.1), some chant editions show sharpening or flattening effected with no clear editorial motive, and necessitated subsequent editors to rely on further accidentals to avoid outlining the prohibited intervals of the augmented fourth and diminished fifth, or leaps of the same. In the diocese of Paris, sharpening the penultimate interval of a phrase in sequences ('Proses') was common practice,²⁸³ the chant treatise by one Léon Godard (1825–63) suggesting that cadences could be made more agreeable to modern ears by borrowing some features (sharps) from modern music ('faire quelques emprunts à la musique moderne').²⁸⁴ Differences of opinion as to how chant harmony should be written sparked polemics in print and at conferences, while the degree to which polemic influenced practice varied among musicians and music theorists, professional and amateur alike.

Some accompaniment manuals introduced copious accidentals into their chants as a by-product of ignoring the modes entirely, preferring instead to describe chants as being 'in' major or minor keys. Georges Schmitt (1821–1900), organist of Saint-Sulpice from 1850 to 1863, instructed the harmonisers reading his manual to treat the first, second, third and fourth modes as minor, and the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth modes as major, this notion being derived from the interval of a third above the final of a given mode.²⁸⁵ The same notion led Clément Burotto, sometime *maître de chapelle* of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul in Marseille, onto thin ice when he proclaimed that the terminal cadence on 'G' in a cited tetrardus chant was incorrect because the prevalence of the pitches 'F', 'A', and 'B' \flat in the chant suggested an F major key-centre instead.²⁸⁶

²⁸³Abbé G., *Nouvelle méthode de plain-chant parisien, ou Exposition claire et précise des principes du plain-chant* (Dijon: Douillier, 1829), 39.

²⁸⁴Godard, *Traité élémentaire*, 18.

²⁸⁵Georges Schmitt, *Méthode élémentaire d'harmonisation du plain-chant expressément composée pour les commençants sans maître* (Paris: Régnier-Canaux, 1857), 23.

²⁸⁶Clément Burotto, *La restauration du plain-chant et de son accompagnement* (Paris: E. Gérard et C^{ie}, 1869), 22.

In 1792, Michael Haydn (1737–1806) had set a precedent for applying a classical approach to modulation. In his *Antiphonarium Romanum*, he used predominant → dominant → tonic progressions in various keys to establish structural hierarchies in the course of a chant harmonisation.²⁸⁷ Prior to 1860, such a modulatory approach became the de facto norm as harmonisers demarcated points of rest with perfect cadences comprised of sharpened pitches with leading note → tonic functions.²⁸⁸ Conflating the modes with major and minor scales suggests that Poisson's view (see p. 45 above) was not yet widely accepted.

Several decades following Haydn's accompaniments were composed, Fétis advanced a theory of reposeful and non-reposeful scale degrees intended to justify the distribution of 5/3 and 6/3 chords in the 'règle d'octave'.²⁸⁹ Through him, the idea that some chords could have a more intrinsic quotient of repose may have made its way into French plainchant accompaniments. The rule of the octave was already prevalent in German thorough bass manuals, and was held by Franz Joseph Aloys Antony (1790–1837) to be just as applicable to Lutheran adaptations of plainchant as to any chorale ('wie überhaupt bei jedem Choräle').²⁹⁰ Germanic sources were the basis for an English treatise on the ecclesiastical modes, whose author Charles Child Spencer (1796 or '97–1869) parsed Lutheran chorales to demonstrate how he understood J. S. Bach to have modulated to different modes at the end of every phrase before modulating back for the terminal cadence.²⁹¹ Schmitt, a former student of Antony's, stated that chants modulated frequently from one mode to another,²⁹² and the notion became widespread enough for Francophone theorists to assume the mantle of systematising the method.

For composers such as Jacques-Louis Battmann (1818–86), accompaniments would habitually modulate to the keys whose tonic triads comprehend the concluding notes of

²⁸⁷Michael Haydn, *Antiphonarium Romanum* MH 533, A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18788; Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals*, 116.

²⁸⁸Jaillet, *Méthode nouvelle*, 34.

²⁸⁹François-Joseph Fétis, *Méthode élémentaire et abrégée d'harmonie et d'accompagnement* (Paris: Ph. Petit, 1824), 9; Described in Bryan Simms, 'Choron, Fétis, and the Theory of Tonality', *Journal of Music Theory* 19, no. 1 (1975): 121.

²⁹⁰Franz Joseph Aloys Antony, *Archäologisch-liturgisches Lehrbuch des gregorianischen Kirchengesanges* (Münster: Coppenrath, 1829), 57.

²⁹¹Charles Child Spencer, *A Concise Explanation of the Church Modes*, 2nd ed. (London: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1846), 37.

²⁹²Schmitt, *Méthode élémentaire*, 23.

phrases (ex. 50).²⁹³ For other composers, however, modulation towards the phrase-end was not without some degree of sensitivity to the structure of the modes. The tonal palette in Miné's *Méthode d'orgue* has been criticised for its 'obviously full-blooded functional harmonies',²⁹⁴ yet Miné and others sometimes attempted to modulate to the final and dominant of the mode rather than to tonic and dominant keys, marking the 'dominante' of a second mode chant with F major rather than A major harmonies.²⁹⁵ Alexandre Fessy (like Miné, a former student of Benoist's) held that chant modulated to, and temporarily rested on, multiple different modes before modulating back to the principal mode of the chant, and that it was the function of the accompaniment to mark such points of repose:

Pour accompagner le plain-chant convenablement il faut bien observer trois choses essentielles : le ton dans lequel la pièce est écrite ou celui où elle module, les repos et la cadence finale, afin de bien déterminer le ton principal du morceau.²⁹⁶

To accompany plainchant properly one must pay attention to three essential things: the key in which the piece is written or that to which it modulates, the rests and the terminal cadence, in order to determine the principal key of the piece.

Limiting the accompaniment in that way did not go far enough for some theorists, however, and the Belgian N. A. Janssen claimed that those of 'exemplary piety' would not tolerate accompaniments containing modern (that is, profane) features like sharpening:

Toutes reconnaîtront que l'église n'est pas un théâtre ou une salle de concert, que les sons graves du plain-chant ne sont pas des ariettes ou des romances, et que l'orgue, cet instrument sublime, n'est pas une guitare ou un piano.²⁹⁷

All will recognise that the church is not a theater or a concert hall, that the solemn sounds of plainchant are not arias or romances, and that the organ, this sublime instrument, is neither a guitar nor a piano.

Janssen therefore disavowed accompaniments that modified the chant with sharps, and his examples retained purely diatonic chants to preserve what he understood to be their modal characters. In France, movement away from harmonisations containing accidentals other than B \flat began gathering momentum when Danjou advocated for diatonic accompaniments

²⁹³Jacques-Louis Battmann, *Cours d'harmonie théorique et pratique appliqué spécialement à l'étude de l'accompagnement du plain-chant* (Paris: Fleury, 1855), 34, 44.

²⁹⁴Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 33.

²⁹⁵Miné, *Méthode d'orgue*, 30.

²⁹⁶Alexandre Fessy, *Manuel d'orgue contenant les principes de l'accompagnement du plainchant* (Paris: E. Troupenas & C^{ie}, 1845), 10.

²⁹⁷Janssen, *Les vrais principes*, 208.

over sharped ones, because the latter, he claimed, changed the character of diatonic chants too much.²⁹⁸

While we shall return to the diatonic viewpoint below, it may be noted that some hardline musicians (including, eventually, La Fage, as in § 2.3.3) went even further than abolishing the sharp by seeking to abolish accompaniment altogether, considering the practice to be equally as anachronistic and therefore equally as dispensable.²⁹⁹ According to the mid-century view of François-Auguste Gevaert (1828–1908), however, unaccompanied chant was not a realistic proposition for parish churches because a villager was said to find such music bland and monotonous (‘fade et monotone’).³⁰⁰ Gevaert proposed instead the type of accompaniment reproduced in ex. 51 that admitted, among other musical elements, cadential sharpening. Where the pitch to be sharped was in the chant, Gevaert wrote ‘♯ indispens’ to remind the player (and presumably also the singer) that one must not ignore the accidental.³⁰¹ Whether to permit accompaniment at all was debated by one Paul Charreire (1820–98), the organist and *maître de chapelle* of Limoges cathedral, who claimed that unaccompanied chant was nothing more than an old relic (‘ce n’est plus qu’une vénérable relique’), requiring some sort of accompaniment to keep the congregation engaged.³⁰² But Charreire came no closer to settling the debate on what sort of harmony to use. Among some music theorists, then, there arose the need for a theory of plainchant *tonalité* that was practicable for harmonisations, that respected the imagined archaeological heritage of plainchant, and that steered a safe course between the Scylla of decadent harmony and the Charybdis of no accompaniment at all.

²⁹⁸Félix Danjou, ‘De l’accompagnement du plain-chant’, *Revue de la musique religieuse, populaire et classique* 3 (1847): 408.

²⁹⁹La Fage, *De la reproduction*, 141.

³⁰⁰Cited in Leßmann, *Die Rezeption*, 187.

³⁰¹François-Auguste Gevaert, *Méthode pour l’enseignement du plain-chant et la manière de l’accompagner*, 6th ed. (Gand et Liège: Gevaert, 1856), 21, 44.

³⁰²*Congrès pour la restauration du plain-chant et de la musique religieuse : procès-verbaux, document, mémoires* (Paris: Charles de Mourgues Frères, 1862), 38.

2.3.2 Tonalité, *diatonicism and cadential sharpening*

Antiquarians of music theory refuted the appropriateness of a modulatory method of accompaniment, and instead sought a theory of plainchant *tonalité* that could evoke a solemn aesthetic when applied to harmony. In the words of Danjou:

Dans la tonalité du plain-chant, il n'y a pas de modulations, pas de modes mineurs ou majeurs, pas d'attraction d'une note vers l'autre, et partant, l'intervention de toutes ces combinaisons de l'art moderne constitue non seulement un anachronisme complet entre la mélodie et l'accompagnement, mais encore une altération monstrueuse du caractère essentiel du chant religieux.³⁰³

In the tonalité of plainchant there are no modulations, no minor or major modes, no attraction from one note to another, and following on from this, the intrusion of all these influences of modern art amount not only to a complete anachronism between melody and accompaniment, but also to a monstrous warping of the essential character of religious chant.

Choron was one of the first theorists to postulate a notion that music history had bifurcated with Monteverdi and the 'harmony of the dominant', leading Fétis to develop a theory of *tonalité* that assumed Monteverdi's works represented a watershed in the history of music.³⁰⁴ Fétis applied taxonomy to the history of music to define a series of evolutionary phases in the same way a natural historian would have done at the time. Those phases included two distinct *tonalités*: the *tonalité ancienne* that had preceded Monteverdi, and the *tonalité moderne* that succeeded him. *Tonalité ancienne* was defined according to the *ordre unitonique* in which no attractive tendencies existed between pitches.³⁰⁵ In *tonalité moderne*, however, there existed three *ordres*: the *transitonique*, which allowed modulation to different keys using the dominant seventh; the *pluritonique*, which allowed modulation through enharmonic respellings to bring unrelated keys closer together; and the *omnitonique*, whose reliance on altered chords allowed multiple different tonics, making it the most futuristic.³⁰⁶ According to Fétis, Monteverdi had instigated a visceral shock among the listening public of the seventeenth century by causing the *ordre*

³⁰³Danjou, 'De l'accompagnement du plain-chant', 409; Reproduced in Joseph D'Ortigue, ed., *Dictionnaire de plain-chant et de musique d'église* (Paris: L. Potier, 1854), col. 25; See also Leßmann, *Die Rezeption*, 200.

³⁰⁴Alexandre-Étienne Choron and François Fayolle, *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, artistes et amateurs*, vol. 1 (Paris: Valade, 1810), p. xxxix.

³⁰⁵Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 20.

³⁰⁶Simms, 'Choron, Fétis, and the Theory of Tonality', 127–32.

unitonique to yield to the *ordre transitonique* through the use of an unprepared dominant seventh in ‘Cruda Amarilli’ from the fifth book of madrigals of 1605.³⁰⁷

While the *ordre unitonique* meant an absence of key relationships and modulations, Fétis permitted *ficta* at cadences,³⁰⁸ citing numerous examples in Palestrina, Pietro Aaron (c.1480–c.1545) and others whom he held to be the first harmonisers (‘des harmonistes des premiers temps’) to prove that cadential *ficta* was admitted in Renaissance polyphony and *falsobordone* practice, particularly at the terminal cadence.³⁰⁹ At some point, Fétis’s apprehension of cadential *ficta* overlapped with some diocesan traditions—such as that Parisian practice of sharpening the penultimate note of a sequence—but Danjou adopted a more lenient interpretation, leaving the application of cadential *ficta* up to the ‘taste and experience’ of the practitioner.

While Danjou’s personal taste generally lent itself to cadential sharpening, he proposed an alternative scheme: the diatonic method of ‘accompagnement naturel’ consisted of 5/3 chords alone in which no *ficta* whatever was permitted. In several examples, Danjou used only those chords containing diatonic chant notes to harmonise the tetrardus cadence ‘A’ → ‘G’ with F major → G major instead of D major → G major or minor harmonies. The examples appear to have been carefully selected, however, so as not to contain ‘B’ \flat in the chant, and it is entirely possible that Danjou recognised the controversy raised by that pitch class and the stark contrasts it provoked in the harmony that were difficult to manage.³¹⁰ Diatonic harmonisations by other composers had introduced such contrasts when ‘B’ \flat supplanted ‘B’ \natural and vice versa,³¹¹ perhaps producing too much of an auditory shock for Danjou to tackle in a few pages.

The diatonic debate was also raging among musicians in Belgium where the archbishop of Mechelen Engelbert Sterckx had decreed on 26 April 1842 that secular music was to

³⁰⁷François-Joseph Fétis, *Traité complet de la théorie et de la pratique de l’harmonie*, 9th ed. (Paris: G. Brandus & S. Dufour, 1867), pp. xliii, 250; Carl Dahlhaus, *La tonalité harmonique: étude des origines*, trans. Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans (Brussels: Mardaga, 1993), 14.

³⁰⁸Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals*, 14.

³⁰⁹Fétis, *Traité complet*, 153–4; François-Joseph Fétis, ‘Du demi-ton dans le plain-chant’, *Revue de la musique religieuse, populaire et classique* 2, no. 1 (1845): 107–109.

³¹⁰Danjou, ‘De l’accompagnement du plain-chant’, 11–18.

³¹¹Jean-Marie Mougel, *Requiem* (Brumath: L’auteur, 1862), 5.

be banned from his churches.³¹² Two years later Sterckx issued a further decree stipulating that churches incapable of buying an organ should look to the harmonium builder François Verhasselt (1813–1853).³¹³ In 1845, Janssen claimed to have uncovered the ‘true principles’ of plainchant, and caused quite a stir when they too gained Sterckx’s approval.³¹⁴ As we have seen, Janssen opted to retain diatonic chants, though he accompanied these with harmony that could contain sharps, seemingly to counterbalance the perceived monotony resulting from diatonic accompaniments. But that approach was open to criticism on the grounds that it yoked together two opposing attitudes to *tonalité*. Janssen attempted to apply his theory to the psalm tones by permitting the fifth tone to retain its character while being accompanied by a progression of secondary dominants (ex. 52).³¹⁵ Yet, it is difficult to imagine this harmony as being anything other than monotonous during successive verses of a long psalm, and its appeal to modernity set it at odds with *tonalité ancienne* while showing how widely the fissure ran between supposedly historical theories.

The Belgian composer Edmond Duval (1809–73) produced an accompaniment book for the Mass and Office based on Janssen’s ‘true principles’ (ex. 53). His accompaniments included contrapuntal filler between phrases of the chant, mimicking that practice common in Lutheran churches where interludes were placed between phrases of chorale melodies to allow the congregation an opportunity to draw breath. Duval’s interludes introduced chromatic notes in the top part—the same part that later resumed the diatonic chant melody—and contained shortened note values that accelerated the harmonic rhythm, disuniting interlude and accompaniment. The preface acknowledges Christian Heinrich Rinck (1770–1846) as the inspiration for the interludes (‘les *Chorals* de Rinck m’ont fourni l’idée’), and their origins are likely to be found in that composer’s solo organ composition *Sechs Choräle* op. 78 that bridges two phrases of a chorale melody with contrapuntal padding.³¹⁶ Inducing contrast between interludes and accompaniments was

³¹²The decree is mentioned in Sterckx’s approbation printed in the front matter to J. Henry, *Novum organum : Recueil de messes, proses, hymnes, antiennes, etc.* (Brussels: Tircher, 1844).

³¹³*Malou Haine and Nicolas Meeùs, eds., *Dictionnaire des facteurs d’instruments de musique en Wallonie et à Bruxelles du 9^e siècle à nos jours* (Liège & Brussels: Mardaga, 1986), 439–41.

³¹⁴Danjou to Fétis, 6 April 1845, in Fétis, *Correspondance*, 196.

³¹⁵Janssen, *Les vrais principes*, 220.

³¹⁶Edmond Duval, *L’organiste grégorien : ou accompagnement d’orgue d’après Les vrais principes du chant grégorien* (Malines: P. J. Hanicq, 1845), unpaginated preface and p. 10.

apparently the name of the game for the Belgian composer Robert Julien Van Maldeghem too, whose bilingual preface in Dutch and French claims his preludes, interludes and postludes were newly composed ('entièrement de composition originale'). Their texture certainly made those compositions stand apart from the chorale-textured chant accompaniments, though Van Maldeghem exercised a heavier editorial hand than Janssen and Duval by transcribing the chants into modern notation with what he called corrections ('traduite avec corrections en notes modernes')—these consisted of sharped cadential notes so the harmony would traverse dominant → tonic progressions.³¹⁷

In the face of such conflicting views, then, the reception of Janssen's principles was mixed. On the one hand, the Dutch composer Herman Hageman singled out Janssen from among Homeyer, Sechter, Oberhoffer and Benz for adopting a diatonic method ('in wiens verdienstelijk werk de diatonische methode waardig is vertegenwoordigd'). The prevalence of applied dominant chords and a curiously inelegant 'C'♯ (later becoming 'C'♭) in one of Hageman's bass parts appear to corroborate the suggestion that he subscribed to Janssen's theories (ex. 54).³¹⁸ On the other hand, Morelot criticised the Janssen-Duval method in *Revue de la musique religieuse, populaire et classique* (a journal edited by Danjou), and was particularly dismissive of Duval's accompaniments for their 'auditory surprises' ('surprises d'oreille') and their borrowing from a Protestant tradition.³¹⁹ Lemmens would later take up an anti-Protestant stance in his *École d'orgue* which sought to counter-balance the coldness of Protestant worship ('de koudheid van dien eeredienst') with something more suitable to the Catholic liturgy.³²⁰ We shall return to Lemmens's views in § 2.4.3.

³¹⁷Robert Julien Van Maldeghem, *Messe der Engelen in Gregorianschen Zang : met begeleiding van Orgel, met voorspelen, tusschenspelen en naspelen verwisseling van Klawieren aenwyzing en verandering der registers in Manuael en Padael* (Brussels: B. Schott, [c.1841]), 1, 3.

³¹⁸Herman Hageman, *Verzameling van Gregoriaansche melodiën: in vierstemmig orgelaccompaniment* (Nijmegen: C. Pothast & Langendam, 1859), iii, 65.

³¹⁹Stephen Morelot, 'Revue critique', ed. Félix Danjou, *Revue de la musique religieuse, populaire et classique* 1 (1845): 451–2.

³²⁰Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens, *École d'orgue basée sur le plain-chant romain*, 2nd ed. (Mainz: Schott Frères, [c.1869]), p. v; A. Erens, *Jaak Lemmens : stichter der Lemmensschool, 1823–1881* (Tongerloo), 17.

2.3.3 *The shock of the old: Niedermeyer and tonalité ancienne*

From 1853, ‘accompagnement naturel’ received fillip when the École Choron was re-opened as the École Niedermeyer to instruct *maîtres de chapelle* and organists in what was claimed to be a historically informed approach to church music.³²¹ Louis-Abraham Niedermeyer (whom we first encountered at p. 18 above) sought to promote such ideas among musicians at large, and began publishing the journal *La Maîtrise* with Joseph d’Ortigue as editor-in-chief. D’Ortigue had initially been opposed to the idea of accompaniment, but following his adoption of Niedermeyer’s principles put forth a series of articles in which he repudiated the presence of the sharp in harmonisations of chant.³²² The practice of totally eschewing sharps had begun to establish itself by the mid-1850s, and in his *Dictionnaire* of 1853 d’Ortigue reproduced Danjou’s article detailing the ‘accompagnement naturel’. By then even Duval had abandoned Janssen’s ‘true principles’ in favour of the diatonic method which some had described as the one ‘more intimately linked to plainchant’ (‘un style plus intimement lié au plain-chant’). Duval even provided examples of the diatonic style for La Fage’s *Cours complet de plain-chant* of 1856, in which the latter warned that the musical public ‘would have to examine the merits of these pieces’ before widespread adoption was likely.³²³

On the one hand, some French-speaking theorists believed that the appropriate style of chant harmonisation was to be derived from contrapuntal principles. In Belgium, for instance, Janssen worked out the bass part using counterpoint before constructing the rest of his accompaniment:

N’est-il pas d’abord évident qu’il faut être initié aux secrets du contrepoint pour trouver des basses applicables à la mélodie du chant ?³²⁴

Is it not firstly evident that one must be introduced to the secrets of counterpoint in order to find basses applicable to chant melodies?

³²¹Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 71.

³²²Joseph D’Ortigue, ed., ‘Dièse’, in *Dictionnaire liturgique, historique et théorique de plain-chant et de musique d’église au moyen âge et dans les temps modernes* (Paris: L. Potier, 1854), col. 497; Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 54.

³²³Adrien de La Fage, *Cours complet de plain-chant : Nouveau traité méthodique et raisonné du chant liturgique de l’Église latine, à l’usage de tous les diocèses* (Paris: Gaume Frères, 1856), 871–2.

³²⁴Janssen, *Les vrais principes*, 207.

The Danjou conservatoire bass line (ex. 29) was probably worked out according to contrapuntal principles, and it is unsurprising, given his tutelage by Benoist, that Danjou also subscribed to the contrapuntal viewpoint, a particular emphasis being given to the consonance and dissonance of intervals:

La science de l'accompagnement du plain-chant réside dans la connaissance des règles du contrepoint, c'est-à-dire dans l'art d'agencer entre eux divers intervalles harmonieux, d'où il résulte que la première notion qu'on doit posséder est celles des intervalles.³²⁵

The science of plainchant accompaniment depends on knowing the rules of counterpoint, that is to say in the art of arranging diverse harmonic intervals, from which it follows that the first notion one needs to have is that of intervals.

On the other hand, Nisard disavowed contrapuntal accompaniment of chant and particularly those accompaniments worked out according to François Benoist's principles, saying that such an approach was appropriate for solo pieces on a grand orgue but not for vocal accompaniments.³²⁶ Morelot was similarly critical of accompaniments in florid counterpoint and held that it imposed an external rhythmic scheme that deformed the rhythm of the melodies ('altérant inévitablement la constitution rythmique du plain-chant').³²⁷ Probably for that reason, La Fage was also critical of florid counterpoint, deeming it awkward and unfit for the accompaniment of voices ('Le contrepoint fleuri est incommode pour l'accompagnement des voix qui exécutent le plain-chant').³²⁸ La Fage then suggested that chant should be accompanied harmonically rather than contrapuntally, a view to which he had subscribed since first introducing the *orgue accompagnateur* at Saint-Étienne. But in a notable *volte-face*, La Fage later distanced himself from accompaniment and came to favour unaccompanied chanting instead.³²⁹ The counterpoint-versus-harmony debate was generally an extension of the debate surrounding *tonalité ancienne* and *tonalité moderne*, but little consensus was reached on this topic before the early 1860s because neither approach had enough institutional or journalistic support to be widely adopted.

³²⁵Danjou, 'De l'accompagnement du plain-chant', 5–6.

³²⁶Nisard, *Les vrais principes*, 41.

³²⁷Stephen Morelot, *Éléments d'harmonie appliquée à l'accompagnement du plain-chant d'après les traditions des anciennes écoles* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1861), 69.

³²⁸La Fage, *Cours complet de plain-chant*, 622.

³²⁹La Fage, *De la reproduction*, 141.

Niedermeyer recognised that the ‘*accompagnement naturel*’ style followed traits already inherent in the modes, and collaborated with d’Ortigue on a *Traité théorique et pratique de l’accompagnement du plain-chant* which was first published in 1857, reissued in 1859, and subsequently republished in a new edition in 1876 to add music examples by the organist-composer Eugène Gigout (1844–1925), Niedermeyer’s son-in-law.³³⁰ Possibly in an attempt to distance their method from *tonalité moderne*, Niedermeyer and d’Ortigue attempted to subvert the tonally oriented expectations of the listening public. One cannot help seeing in their method’s philosophy that the *ordre unitonique* was deliberately asserting itself over the *ordre transitonique* so as to reverse Fétis’s notion that the *ordre unitonique* had yielded to the *ordre transitonique* in the seventeenth century. To elicit a feeling of shock similar to that supposedly experienced by seventeenth-century listeners was evidently what Niedermeyer and d’Ortigue had in mind:

Il est incontestable que la véritable harmonie du plain-chant doit être autre que celle de la musique, puisqu’elle découle d’une tonalité toute différente, et il en résulte que certaines harmonies non-seulement justifiées, mais indispensables dans l’accompagnement du plain-chant, devront d’abord nous choquer et, comme dit très-bien M. de La Fage, paraître *offensantes pour notre oreille*, parce qu’elles se trouveront en contradiction avec le sentiment des règles de l’harmonie moderne.³³¹

*Incontestably, the true harmonisation of plainsong must differ from that of modern music, for it has to do with a totally different system of tonality; and it is inevitable that certain harmonies which are not only justifiable, but indispensable in the accompaniment of plainsong will shock us at the outset, and, as Mr de La Fage has rightly said, will seem offensive to our ears because they are contradictory to the sentiment of the rules of modern harmony.*³³²

The irony unrecognised by Niedermeyer and d’Ortigue was that their ‘shock of the old’ did not glean contrapuntal or harmonic rules from music pre-dating *tonalite moderne*, but rather constituted a new method based on recent and contemporary discourse. The six rules governing their method of accompaniment were as follows:

³³⁰Eugène Gigout, ‘Partie pratique’, in *Traité théorique et pratique de l’accompagnement du plain-chant*, ‘Nouvelle’ edition, ed. Louis Niedermeyer and Joseph D’Ortigue (Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1876), 19.

³³¹Niedermeyer and D’Ortigue, *Traité théorique et pratique*, 2è tirage:65.

³³²Adapted from Louis Niedermeyer and Joseph D’Ortigue, *Gregorian Accompaniment : A Theoretical and Practical Treatise upon the Accompaniment of Plainsong*, trans. Wallace Goodrich (New York, Chicago and London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1905), 38.

L'emploi exclusif, dans chaque mode, des sons de l'échelle.	<i>The exclusive use, in each mode, of notes of the scale.</i>
L'emploi fréquent dans chaque mode des accords déterminés par la finale et la dominante.	<i>The frequent use of triads of the final and dominant in every mode.</i>
L'emploi exclusif des formules harmoniques qui conviennent aux cadences de chaque mode.	<i>The exclusive use of harmonic formulæ proper to the cadences of each mode.</i>
Tout accord, autre que l'accord parfait et son premier dérivé, devra être exclu de l'accompagnement du plain-chant.	<i>Every chord other than consonant triads and their first inversions should be barred from plainchant accompaniment.</i>
Les lois qui régissent la mélodie du plain-chant doivent être observées dans chacune des parties dont se compose son accompagnement.	<i>The laws that govern the plainchant melody must be observed in each of the accompanying parts.</i>
Le plain-chant, étant essentiellement une mélodie, doit toujours être placé à la partie supérieure. ³³³	<i>Plainchant, being essentially melody, should always be placed in the top part.³³⁴</i>

Niedermeyer was keen to demonstrate the practicality of his method and applied his rules to a harmonisation of the *Missa de Angelis*,³³⁵ though that alone did not preclude the intense debate that surrounded his principles during the 1860s. In the year Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue first published their *Traité*, César Franck cautioned the readers of his accompaniment book against any systematic exaggeration ('toute exagération systématique') that could put off the faithful with archaism, and opted himself for a compromise that comprehended some chromatic pitches.³³⁶

³³³Niedermeyer and D'Ortigue, *Traité théorique et pratique*, 2^e tirage:31–5.

³³⁴Adapted from Niedermeyer and D'Ortigue, *Gregorian Accompaniment*, 14–16.

³³⁵Louis Niedermeyer, 'Messe pour les doubles ordinaires', *La Maîtrise* 1, no. 10 (January 1858): 123.

³³⁶Lambillotte and Franck, *Chant grégorien*, pp. iii, 3.

2.4 Evolving plainchant styles

2.4.1 French and Belgian plainchant congresses

Post-Revolutionary anticlericalism had detached the French church from papal oversight, and French bishoprics procured chant editions according to their needs, opting for chant books whose melodies were assimilated from daily or weekly practice. As Ultramontanism gained more sway, however, some dioceses adopted the descendants of the Medicean Gradual, while others convened provincial councils to consider their options. Such councils took place in the dioceses of Reims (1849), Albi (June 1850), Bordeaux (July 1850), Aix and Toulouse (September 1850), Bourges at Clermont (October 1850) and at Auch (1851).³³⁷ Some adopted the editions of neighbouring dioceses; others preferred chant editions by chant editors at the cutting edge of plainchant paleography, such as Lambillotte. The narrow geographical scope of such councils meant, however, that their findings seldom exerted an influence beyond neighbouring dioceses.

Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue recognised the need for consensus on issues of plainchant style and elected to convene a plainchant congress of their own with a national focus, or at least a Parisian one. Calls for subscribers circulated in issues of *La Maîtrise* in 1859, and 'séances préparatoires' were held on 25 May and 3 August 1860 at the Salle Érard to settle the agenda. The appropriate style of church music was pegged for discussion, as were matters pertaining to plainchant performance and accompaniment. Those séances resulted in the Parisian Congrès pour la restauration du plain-chant et de la musique religieuse of 1860, which took place from 27 November to 1 December 1860 and registered 97 attendees from amateur and professional backgrounds. Among the professionals were Benoist, Cavillé-Coll, Morelot, d'Ortigue, Schmitt and Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921), and among the others were theorists and countless amateurs who have largely been forgotten in the decades since. For the privilege of addressing the various sessions (or at the very least to have one's name included in the official report), speakers paid 10 F. in addition

³³⁷Joseph D'Ortigue, 'L'Épiscopat a parlé !', *La Maîtrise* 4, no. 1 (May 1860): col. 3.

to their subscription fee, which might explain why representations from the same people were recorded in disparate debates while the views of others were not represented at all.

The accompaniment of plainchant was discussed on the first two days of the congress, during which attendees parried various ideals to reach verdicts on texture, harmony, rhythm and the appropriate part in which to place the chant. The last stirred no small amount of debate and various attendees argued for and against placing the chant in bass or treble parts depending on their ideological or organological inclinations. Joseph Wackenthaler (1795–1869), organist at Notre-Dame de Strasbourg, had placed the chant in the top parts of chant accompaniments since at least 1854,³³⁸ but Schmitt held that the trebles of his own Cliquot *orgue de tribune* at Saint-Sulpice were not powerful enough for a tune-on-top accompaniment, and he was therefore compelled to play the chant on the Bombardes of the Pedal division.³³⁹ Schmitt had first encountered Niedermeyer after moving to Paris in 1844, and was appointed as organ teacher at the École Niedermeyer in December 1856 following the death of the incumbent, Joseph Wackenthaler's son François-Xavier, during the previous October.³⁴⁰ Schmitt's view—that chant, being like any other melody, ought to be placed in the top part—had been published in 1855, two years before Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue included the same rule in their *Traité*.³⁴¹ During the debate on the placement of the chant in an accompaniment, one F. Calla sought clarity for the term 'accompagnement', the meaning of which suggesting vocal accompaniments in fauxbourdon (in which the chant was usually placed in the tenor part) as well as organ accompaniment of voices. The congress's official report found that tuning ought to be the deciding factor, and also weighed in on the consonance of the accompaniment:

³³⁸ Joseph Wackenthaler, *L'art d'accompagner le plain-chant romaine: méthode claire et facile* (Paris: Fleury, 1854), 2.

³³⁹ Wolfgang Grandjean, *Orgel und Oper. Georges Schmitt 1821–1900: Ein deutsch-französischer Musiker in Paris. Biographie und Werk mit einem Werkverzeichnis* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015), 533.

³⁴⁰ Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 210.

³⁴¹ Georges Schmitt, *Nouveau manuel complet de l'organiste praticien* (Paris: Roret, 1855), 55–6.

En ce qui concerne l'accompagnement du plain-chant, le Congrès est d'avis que l'on ne doit pas s'écarter d'une harmonie consonnante, en rapport avec la tonalité ecclésiastique, et que le chant soit, autant que possible, à la partie supérieure et dans un diapason qui réponde à la généralité des voix.³⁴²

As for plainchant accompaniment, the congress is of the opinion that one should not deviate from consonant harmony as it relates to the ecclesiastical tonality, and that the chant should be, as far as possible, placed in the top part and at a pitch appropriate for the general pitch of the voices.

In 1862, the editor and publisher Jean-Baptiste-Étienne Repos (1803–72) amalgamated two journals (*Le Plain-chant* and *La Paroisse*) into *Revue de musique sacrée ancienne et moderne* whose scope matched that of *La Maîtrise*. Under the aegis of Repos's new journal, the Comité de rédaction et de patronage was formed to host a series of conferences during 1862 and 1863, including a meeting on 6 June 1862 at which prescripts for chant accompaniment were decided upon. Schmitt, the official reporter, published its findings in the July issue of 1864, calling for a diatonic style based on major and minor scales. So, instead of basing the harmony for protus chants on the notes of the protus scale, the *Revue* found that protus chants were best accompanied in D minor instead ('de préférence en ré mineur').³⁴³ The composer of the music examples (who might have been Schmitt himself) nevertheless followed the Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue method in practice at 'E' → 'D' protus cadences: instead of using A major → D minor progressions, C major → D minor ones were used. It matched that rule discussed above (see p. 18) that prohibited A minor → D minor progressions because they raised the embarrassing question of whether or not a 'C' should be sharped.³⁴⁴ The deuterus cadence 'F' → 'E' (harmonised by Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue as in ex. 55)³⁴⁵ was harmonised quite differently, however, and included a 'G' ♯ in the terminal chord (ex. 56).³⁴⁶

³⁴²T. J. de Vroye and X. Van Elewyck, eds., *De La Musique Religieuse : Les Congrès de Malines (1863 et 1864) et de Paris (1860)* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1866), 227, 238, 242.

³⁴³Georges Schmitt, 'Rapport sur les conférences ouvertes, le 6 juin 1862, par le Comité de rédaction et de patronage de la *Revue de musique sacrée*', *Revue de musique sacrée* 5, no. 9 (15 July 1864): cols 280–81,

³⁴⁴Also discussed in Leßmann, *Die Rezeption*, 190–2; Henri Potiron, whom we shall encounter below, offered an alternative view on a similar progression in the next century, this in an accompaniment manual that viewed chant accompaniment through a contrapuntal lens—disjunct motion was said to be preferable to conjunct motion. See Henri Potiron, *Petit traité de contrepoint et exercices d'écriture préparatoires à l'accompagnement du chant grégorien* (Paris, Tournai & Rome: Desclée & Cie, 1951), 92.

³⁴⁵Niedermeyer and D'Ortigue, *Traité théorique et pratique*, 42–4, 66.

³⁴⁶Georges Schmitt, *Le plain-chant accompagné selon les principes arrêtés dans les conférences de rédaction et de patronage de la Revue de musique sacrée en 1863 et 1864*. (Paris: E. Repos, 1864), 3, 5.

Beamed notation for chant transcriptions was a distinctive characteristic of Repos's *Revue* but was by no means unique to it, having been pioneered by the music publisher and composer Vincent Novello (1781–1861) in England around 1834. The beams indicated that notes belonged to the same neume, while the type of notehead (whether square or lozenge) was supposed by some theorists to represent the duration of the note.³⁴⁷ The same notational style continued to crop up in various publications throughout the nineteenth century, though not, as we shall see in § 4.1.5, without certain changes.

From 18 to 20 August 1863, a discussion of plainchant accompaniment also took place at Mechelen, but it appears that the admission of cadential sharpening and modulation was not prejudicial to the diatonicism of an accompaniment:

L'accompagnement du plain-chant doit être diatonique, c'est-à-dire fondé sur l'échelle même du mode, en admettant toutefois les modulations mélodiques résultant du mélange des modes, de leur transposition et des tons relatifs au ton principal. Les altérations ne sont donc admises que comme exception, lorsqu'elles sont absolument nécessaires pour éviter les fausses relations.

Plainchant accompaniment must be diatonic, that is to say based on the same modal scale, always open to melodic modulation resulting from the mixture of the modes, their transposition, and keys related the tonic key. Sharps are only admitted in exceptional cases when absolutely necessary to avoid false relations.

Further on, however, the report states that the 'tonal feeling' (whatever that happened to be) must always dominate in an accompaniment ('Le sentiment tonal doit toujours dominer'), a statement surely conflicting with that desire for accompaniments to remain diatonic. Sharpening cadential intervals continued to be hotly debated, Duval and Lemmens arguing the purely diatonic side and Morelot the cadential *ficta* one. The former both conceded, however, that no better alternative to sharpening had yet been found to harmonise terminal cadences approached from below, and so for them at least the matter remained open.³⁴⁸ Morelot, who had recently taken up a study of Greek music, attempted to justify sharpening

³⁴⁷Samuel Wesley, 'Convent Mass №1', in *Convent Music, or a Collection of Sacred Pieces for Treble Voices (or Other Voices Ad. Lib.)* Ed. Vincent Novello, vol. 1 (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., [c.1834]), p. 2 n. ∞; A footnote claims the organ part was 'entirely arranged' (or, we might assume, realised) by Novello from a thoroughbass part by Samuel Wesley (1766–1837), though we might suppose that Novello was also responsible for the notational style of the printed score.

³⁴⁸Vroye and Van Elewyck, *De La Musique Religieuse : Les Congrès de Malines (1863 et 1864) et de Paris (1860)*, 138–9, 141.

by describing an obscure process of hexachordal mutation where semitones were permitted to take the place of tones.³⁴⁹ Fétis nonetheless approved of the method and claimed Morelot had entered along the only path to success ('Morelot est entré dans la seule voie où le succès est possible').³⁵⁰ Be that as it may, Morelot lamented over twenty years later that his method was in direct competition with that by Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue, which, he claimed, was not only based on ahistorical prescriptions but also enacted violence on the public's ears ('les résultats font violence à nos oreilles').³⁵¹ The dichotomy between diatonicism and sharpening was described during the 1880s by the theorist Aloys Kunc (1832–95):

Deux écoles principales sont aujourd'hui en présence : l'une ne demande pas d'autres accords que ceux qui sont formés des éléments mêmes de l'échelle diatonique : l'autre pense qu'on peut introduire dans cette même échelle diatonique des dièses et former ainsi des demi-tons qu'elle ne comporte pas naturellement. Cette dernière école se partage encore entre deux systèmes : les uns admettent les dièses dans les parties d'accompagnement et les proscrivent dans le chant : les autres les admettent et dans le chant et dans les parties d'accompagnement.³⁵²

Two main schools are represented today: the one only admits chords formed from the very pitches of the diatonic scale; the other thinks sharps can be admitted to this same diatonic scale, and can thus form semitones that it would not naturally include. This latter school further divides into two systems: one accepts sharps in the accompaniment and forbids them in the chant; the other accepts sharps both in the chant and in the accompanying parts.

Although Kunc also noted that the chord-against-note style was 'happily tending to disappear, it had not been completely eradicated by the 1890s when certain prominent musicians continued to produce chorale-textured accompaniments, as we shall see (§ 3.2.4).

³⁴⁹Morelot, *Éléments d'harmonie*, 22.

³⁵⁰Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 196.

³⁵¹Stephen Morelot to Antonin Lhoumeau, 1 March 1878, printed in Antonin Lhoumeau, *De l'altération ou du demi-ton accidentel dans la tonalité du plain-chant* (Niort: L. Clouzot, 1879), 3–6.

³⁵²Charles-Émile Ruelle, *Le congrès européen d'Arezzo pour l'étude et l'amélioration du chant liturgique : compte rendu non officiel suivi d'un appendice bibliographique* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et C^{ie}, 1884), p. 32, p. 34 n. 1, pp. 41, 43.

2.4.2 *Towards free rhythm*

In the period under consideration, performers of chant who did not apply the same durations to each note could subscribe to various mensural interpretations (of which Novello's, as mentioned above, was one example). Their accompaniments could just as easily take on the chorale texture as those of equally rhythmmed chanting. Slower tempi were believed by some to enhance the solemnity of a feast,³⁵³ as was cadential sharpening and the chorale texture. By 1871, however, Gevaert considered the accompaniment in ex. 51 to have been contrived to manufacture that solemnity:

Ce mode d'accompagnement se prête à une harmonie assez riche et séduit par une vague teinte d'archaïsme ; au fond cependant il ne respecte pas la construction harmonique des mélodies grégoriennes. C'est le christianisme primitif habillé à la mode de la Renaissance.³⁵⁴

This method of accompaniment lends itself to rather a rich harmony and leads us on by a vague hint of archaism; basically though it does not follow the harmonic construction of Gregorian melodies. It is early Christianity cloaked in the fashion of the Renaissance.

For Gevaert, then, both the chorale texture and cadential sharpening were to be considered old hat, and he set out rules which he believed produced accompaniments along more historical lines (see § 3.1.1 below). While the organ teacher at Madrid's Escuela Nacional de Música Ignacio Ovejero (1828–1889) maintained the chord-against-note style in his accompaniments of 1876, Santiago Ruiz Torres has described them as being written using major-minor harmony ('el lenguaje adoptado resulta nuevamente tonal'), and that the alternation of tonic and dominant chords (such as those quoted in ex. 57) contributed to the austerity of means sought by Ovejero.³⁵⁵ That composer certainly avoided overtly dissonant harmony, and echoed the pronouncements of Fétis when he claimed the 'tonalidad' of chant was distinct from that of modern music:

Le tonalidad antigua, ó sea la del canto llano es muy distinta de la que usamos en la música.³⁵⁶

The ancient tonality, that is, that of plainchant, is very different from the one we use in [modern] music.

³⁵³Pieter Mannaerts, 'Gevaert and the Study of Plainchant', *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 64 (2010): 137.

³⁵⁴François-Auguste Gevaert, *Vade-mecum de l'organiste contenant les chants les plus usuels de l'église catholique*, in collab. with Pierre-Jean Van Damme (Gand et Liège: Gevaert, 1871), 'Preface' p. 4.

³⁵⁵Torres, 'Una faceta', 993.

³⁵⁶Ignacio Ovejero, *Escuela del organista y tratado de canto llano*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Andrés Vidal hijo, 1876),

Perhaps his restricted chord progressions were indeed a means of capturing a greater sense of austerity; but then again, the composer might also have wanted to keep his accompaniments simple to play. The keyboard texture would have permitted an organist to play the three, largely conjunct upper parts with the right hand, and the simple, disjunct (but repetitive) bass part with the left.

Witt approached the chorale texture not from the stylistic perspective but from that of a practitioner, claiming that at fast tempi such textures verged on the unplayable at best and on the boring at worst:

Denn wenn wir uns auch einen wahren Virtuosen denken, der wirklich seine Begleitung in der von dem richtigen Vortrage des Chorales bedingten Rapidität auszuführen im Stande ist, so entsteht doch dadurch, dass eine gauze Unzahl ähnlicher Akkorde und Akkordverbindungen vorkommt und vorkommen muss, unausbleiblich Monotonie.³⁵⁷

*Now even if we imagine to ourselves a true virtuoso, who really is able to play his accompaniment with the rapidity required to give proper effect to the chant, yet unbearable monotony must be the result because innumerable chords and chord relations of the same kind are constantly occurring.*³⁵⁸

For Nisard, moderate tempi were said to imbue a performance with a sense of majestic austerity ('majesteuse austerité'), and he proposed different tempi to suit different styles of chanting.³⁵⁹ Slower chanting required more movement in the accompaniment, largely in the bass part: the example quoted in ex. 58 (written by the organist of Beauvais cathedral Joseph Boulenger) was therefore intended to counteract the relative stasis of the chant. Quicker chanting required a less active accompaniment, so that quoted in ex. 59 was more free because chords were sustained for the duration of a neume or group of notes. Although such florid and grouped styles of accompaniment bear some resemblance to the eighteenth-century approaches of *Imitationen im Baß* and *Gruppenbegleitung*,³⁶⁰ Nisard made no reference to the earlier styles and appears to have arrived at his textures independently. A notable distinction between the two eras concerns the harmony, which in the nineteenth century was decidedly more diatonic.

4, 36.

³⁵⁷Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium missæ*, 3rd ed., p. v.

³⁵⁸Translation on similarly paginated English-language supplement and translated by H. S. Butterfield, p. iii.

³⁵⁹Nisard, 'Accompagnement du plain-chant', cols 75–6; Grandjean, *Orgel und Oper*, 257–8.

³⁶⁰Söhner, *Die Geschichte der Begleitung*, 88–101.

With that being said, however, Nisard's harmonic approach did not prohibit dissonance. When each chant note was accompanied by its own chord (as in the chord-against-note style), the player could design an accompaniment that was mostly or even wholly consonant. But to reduce the number of chords in an accompaniment, and particularly in an accompaniment of a florid melody, was to accept that certain melodic notes would need to be dissonant. In Nisard's more sustained style, then, suspensions, passing notes and auxiliary notes were permitted,³⁶¹ but deciding whether a note was to be consonant or dissonant in, for example, the chant reproduced in ex. 60 was a delicate business, one that required a certain level of intuition for the placement of chords on the part of the composer. On the top line of the passage shown in ex. 61, Nisard designed the accompaniment in such a way that chords coincided with squares and certain lozenges depending on the harmonic context; the chord-against-note style, as rendered below it, demonstrates how the sustained style could comprehend many fewer chords.

One Alphonse Populus (1831–1900) was similarly keen to move away from the chord-against-note style, and demonstrated at the Paris congress of 1860 a sustained style of his own. The passage reproduced in ex. 62 comprises more sustained chords and dissonances than would result from the consonant, chord-against-note style, though in contrast to Nisard's example Populus claimed his chant rhythm was to be performed freely. Sustained notes were therefore to be held by the organist indefinitely until the singer had arrived at the point at which the harmony was to change. Populus's use of chords was governed by the textual accent: multiple notes sung to the same syllable were to be considered '*melodic* and not *real*' ('*mélodiques* et non *réelles*'), the melisma at 'mortuis' being one example. Populus sometimes permitted chords to change mid-way through a syllable, though, suggesting that his practice was based on his own perception of the chant rather than on a set of rules. Populus's harmonisations were pioneering in their day, and were described retrospectively as having been written 'according to the rules of musical composition' ('selon les règles de composition musicale'). Their influence was felt most acutely in the two decades following the 1860 Paris congress,

³⁶¹Nisard, *Les vrais principes*, 40, 44–5.

when Populus's method was adopted at the Parisian church of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, producing what were described as 'excellent results'.³⁶²

Charreire advanced a theory (perhaps derived from Fétis) that 5/3 chords had an inherent quality of repose and were therefore most appropriate for points of rest, whereas 6/3 and 6/4 chords propelled the movement of a harmonisation forward, thereby bringing about transitions more effectively.³⁶³ Populus seemingly agreed, and decided that conjunct motion (particularly in the bass part) allowed the melody to flow, be more expressive and to conform to the spirit of chant ('rend la mélodie plus coulante, plus expressive et plus conforme à l'esprit du chant liturgique'). A number of years after the congress, Populus expanded on the idea with three versions of the same chord-against-note accompaniment, distinguished by varying levels of disjunct and conjunct motion (ex. 63). Readers were told that the succession of 5/3 chords in the first bass part produced a monotonous effect ('l'effet produit nous semble monotone'), anticipating Witt's reservations by some seven years; the second was said to be better; but the third was said to be ideal because 5/3, 6/3 and even some passing 6/4 chords resulted in a mostly conjunct bass part.³⁶⁴ Critics of his style claimed it left too many elements to the whim of the player; Populus responded with the counter-claim that flexibility was not an undesirable trait. If organists were permitted to synthesise pauses, intervals and other factors which Populus declined to define, then they could arrive at an accompaniment that best suited themselves.

2.4.3 *The young Lemmens and Fétis's theory*

As we shall see in the next chapter, under the influence of Solesmian paleographers Lemmens would eventually become a celebrated proponent of using fewer chords than chant notes. Before adopting that approach, he propagated certain ideas on how to accompany passed to him by his teacher Fétis. Following Lemmens's success in winning first prize in composition and organ playing, Fétis petitioned the Belgian interior minister to grant a travel bursary so Lemmens could pursue further study in Breslau. There, he

³⁶²Ruelle, *Le congrès européen d'Arezzo*, p. 9 §11 and n. 2.

³⁶³*Congrès pour la restauration du plain-chant*, 41.

³⁶⁴Alphonse Populus, *Études sur l'orgue* (Paris: Benoit aîné, 1863), part I: pp. 10, 15–16; part II: p. 2.

studied with the organist Adolf Heinrich Hesse (1809–1863) for about a year, following which Hesse concluded that he had nothing left to teach Lemmens (‘Je n’ai plus rien à apprendre à M. Lemmens’) and that the young organist could play the most difficult of Bach’s music as well as he could (‘il joue la musique la plus difficile de Bach aussi bien que je puis le faire’).³⁶⁵

Lemmens was appointed organ teacher at the Brussels conservatory in 1849 and briefly visited Paris in May of 1850, a trip organised by Cavallé-Coll at Fétis’s request. Lemmens’s playing style was pitted against that of Louis-James-Alfred Lefébure-Wély (1817–69) who had succeeded Georges Schmitt as titular organist of Saint-Sulpice in 1863. One Sunday, Hesse witnessed Lefébure-Wély playing ‘in a serious and appropriate manner’ one moment and arousing ‘tremendous amusement’ the next.³⁶⁶ Lefébure-Wély’s portrayal of floods and storms certainly made his performances appealing to parishoners, but they were evidently too boisterous for Cavallé-Coll, who would have preferred Lemmens to have been appointed instead (‘I had dreamed of seeing you in that position’).³⁶⁷ Clearly it was playing of the Hesse-Lemmens kind, and not that of Lefébure-Wély, that Richard Wagner (1813–83) had in mind when singling out the organ’s capacity for discretion:

³⁶⁵François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd ed., vol. 5 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1867), 267.

³⁶⁶Adolphe Friedrich Hesse, ‘Einiges über Orgeln, deren Einrichtung und Behandlung in Österreich, Italien, Frankreich und England’, ed. Franz Brendel, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 39, no. 6 (5 August 1853): 55.

³⁶⁷Douglass, *Cavallé-Coll and the Musicians*, 76–7.

Für die einzig nothwendig erscheinende Begleitung hat das christliche Genie das würdige Instrument, welches in jeder unserer Kirchen seinen unbestrittenen Platz hat, erfunden; diess ist die Orgel, welche auf das Sinnreichste eine gross Mannigfaltigkeit tonlichen Austruckes vereinigt, weiner Natur nach aber virtuose Verzierung im Vortrag ausschliesst, und durch sinnliche Reize eine äusserlich störende Aufmerksamkeit nicht auf sich zu ziehen vermag.³⁶⁸

*For the only necessary accompaniment the genius of Christianity invented a becoming instrument, which holds its undisputed place in all our churches; this is the organ, which most ingeniously unites a great variety of tone-expression but of its very nature excludes all virtuosic flourishes, and cannot draw an outwardly disturbing notice to itself by sensuous charms.*³⁶⁹

During Lemmens's first three months at the Brussels conservatory, he taught chant accompaniment using a system handed down by Fétis. Consonant chords were disposed in a four-part chorale texture, any pitch not belonging to the mode being prohibited. Lemmens reportedly published the system in *Journal d'orgue*,³⁷⁰ and may have publicly demonstrated it during visits to the Parisian church of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul in 1851 and 1852. Lemmens's influence seemingly led to the system's widespread adoption by organists over the next two-and-a-half decades ('un système pour l'accompagnement qu'il avait mis en lumière il y a vingt-cinq ans et qui est actuellement suivi par la plupart des organistes').³⁷¹ But as we shall see (§ 3.1.3) Lemmens eventually changed his mind and considered Fétis's method less than adequate, removing any trace of the older system when the *Journal d'orgue* was republished as the *École d'orgue* in 1862.³⁷²

During the 1850s and 1860s, several French organists travelled to Belgium to study counterpoint with Fétis and the organ with Lemmens, among whom were Guilmant, Charles-Marie Widor, Clément Loret (1833–1909; who later became the organ teacher at

³⁶⁸Wagner, 'Entwurf zur Organisation', 337; Reprinted in Richard Wagner, 'Kirchenmusik', in *Wagner-Lexikon : Hauptbegriffe der Kunst- und Weltanschauung Richard Wagner's in wörtlichen Anführungen aus seinen Schriften zusammengestellt*, ed. Carl Friedrich Glasenapp and Heinrich von Stein (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'schen, 1883), 345; Cited in Maria Helfgott, 'Die Orgelmesse : Eine Untersuchung der orgelbegleiteten Messen vom ausgehenden 18. bis zum beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert' (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 2009), p. 10 where an incorrect reference directs the reader to a twelfth book in the *Gesammelte Schriften*.

³⁶⁹Wagner, 'Plan of Organisation', 343; The original translation dates from 1898.

³⁷⁰Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens, *Du chant grégorien, sa melodie, son rythme, son harmonisation*, ed. Joseph Duclos (Gand: C. Annot-Braeckman, 1886), 3.

³⁷¹Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray, 'Un nouveau système pour l'accompagnement du plain-chant', *Revue et gazette musicale* 45, no. 8 (24 February 1878): 57.

³⁷²Lemmens, *Du chant grégorien*, 4.

the École Niedermeyer) and Alphonse-Jean-Ernest Mailly (1833–1918).³⁷³ Several narratives conflict on the pilgrimage of Guilmant and Widor to Brussels: one suggests Guilmant met Lemmens in Paris in 1860 when the latter invited the former to Brussels;³⁷⁴ a second suggests an invitation was extended to Guilmant following an organ recital given by Lemmens in Rouen;³⁷⁵ a third suggests Cavaillé-Coll solicited Lemmens's invitation on behalf of both Guilmant and Widor, the latter entering the Brussels conservatory in 1863;³⁷⁶ and a fourth suggests Guilmant and Lemmens met in an organ builder's workshop, possibly that of Cavaillé-Coll or Merklin.³⁷⁷ Whatever the chain of events that brought Guilmant and Widor to Brussels, their stays with Lemmens were equally as short as Lemmens's had been with Hesse. Guilmant remained in Brussels for no longer than a couple of months (various histories disagree on just how long), whereas Widor remained for some time between four and twelve months.³⁷⁸ We shall return to the accompaniments written by these younger organists in the next chapter.

Following Lemmens's marriage to the English-born soprano Helen Sherrington in 1857, he tendered his resignation to the Brussels conservatory and moved to London where he established a recital career, delivering some 282 concerts from the mid-1860s until 1878.³⁷⁹ On Lemmens's departure from the Brussels conservatory, Mailly took over as organ teacher, holding a *concours* in August 1877 that comprised an improvisation, a chant accompaniment with and without figured bass ('avec et sans basse chiffrée'), a prelude in the Gregorian *tonalité* ('la tonalité grégorienne') and a series of modulations in different modes ('une suite de modulations dans différents tons').³⁸⁰ Mailly continued to attract organists from France to study in Belgium, including the Lyonnais Paul Trillat

³⁷³Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 51–2.

³⁷⁴'Alexandre Guilmant (1837–1911)', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 17 (Numéro spécial 1911): 2.

³⁷⁵Wayne Leupold, *The Organ Music of Alexandre Guilmant*, vol. 1 (Alfred Music, 1999), p. viii.

³⁷⁶Douglass, *Cavaillé-Coll and the Musicians*, 77.

³⁷⁷Kurt Lueders, 'Alexandre Guilmant (1837–1911), Organiste et Compositeur' (PhD diss., Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002), 56–7.

³⁷⁸'Alexandre Guilmant (1837–1911)', 3; Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 179, 260 n. 9.

³⁷⁹Annelies Focquaert, 'Aspects of Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens's Life in Britain', *Journal of the Royal College of Organists* 7 (2013): 57; Annelies Focquaert, 'Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens: de Belgische organist van de 19^{de} eeuw?' (PhD diss., Universiteit Antwerpen, 2014), 50–51.

³⁸⁰Théodore Jouret, 'Concours du conservatoire royal de Bruxelles', *Le Ménestrel* 43, no. 37 (12 August 1877): 294; Cited in Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 171.

(1853–1909) who was appointed organist at the Primatiale Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Lyon, in 1874.³⁸¹

The reforms instituted by Adlung's circle during the eighteenth century (see pp. 15 and 16 above) led to an interruption in the heritage of plainchant accompaniment. Earlier methods were actively driven out of musicians' praxis because a simpler chorale texture and diatonic harmony were considered more suitable for the church. The effect of those reforms led nineteenth-century accompanists to reinvent the wheel somewhat, in total ignorance of earlier developments. Their more stringent adherence to the popular modal theories of their century ensured that their accompaniments were more widely accepted. By the 1870s, considerable energies were being invested in developing theories of free chant rhythm; in response, the sustained style of accompaniment (which had arguably reached its zenith already in the *Gruppenbegleitung* style) became an obvious candidate for accompanying freely chanted melodies. Although it was broadly recognised as the ideal method since chords could be placed on specific accents rather than on every note, it engendered just as much debate at the *fin-de-siècle* as diatonicism had at the mid-century.

³⁸¹Cécile Emery, *Ennemond Trillat : musicien lyonnais* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1979), 9.

CHAPTER THREE

FREE RHYTHM: *ZEITGEIST* AND ZEALOTISM

3.1 Early applications in Belgium and Germany

3.1.1 *Gevaert's hexachordal accompaniment*

Although Gevaert had advocated in 1856 for accompaniment in parish churches, by 1895 he had arrived at completely the opposite position and dismissed accompaniment altogether ('Le meilleur accompagnement du plain-chant ne vaut rien'). Accompaniments were to be permitted solely for the sake of choral support, provided they were played in unison with the chant. The interval of a perfect fifth could also be interspersed 'here and there'.³⁸² Gevaert's late-century view did not arrive *ex nihilo*: during the 1870s he had courted the idea that an appropriate style of accompaniment might be revealed through analysing the chant.

By considering sources from antiquity, Gevaert determined that Fétis's definition of *tonalité* was little more than specious.³⁸³ The music historian Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840–1910) concurred with Gevaert's determination, and Fétis's pronouncements began yielding to a new wave of scholarship that sought answers to musical quagmires in classical texts.³⁸⁴ The notion that Monteverdi had signalled a shift towards major-minor harmony fell out of favour when such nineteenth-century thinkers shifted their attention to theorists such as Heinrich Glarean, whose 'mutual interchange of modes' provided enough justification for a presumed gradual shift from Lydian to Ionian

³⁸²François-Auguste Gevaert, *La mélodie antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (Gand: Librairie générale de Ad. Hoste, 1895), 125.

³⁸³Christensen, *Stories of Tonality*, 73.

³⁸⁴Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et C^{ie}, 1877), 59.

modes and from modality to major-minor tonality, although that was simply a case of replacing one specious construct with another.³⁸⁵

When Gevaert succeeded Fétis as director of the Brussels conservatory in 1871, he became a catalyst for a more fundamental revision of the history of music.³⁸⁶ Gevaert's revisionism extended to Belgian church music, a domain in which Fétis's authority had long exercised a considerable influence, writing in 1875 that once-graceful performances of chant melodies had been replaced by a heavy style of chanting, now practically ubiquitous.³⁸⁷ The Belgian priest Pierre-Jean Van Damme (1832–98) reported on just such a performance practice at Ghent's Groot Seminarie when he was appointed a teacher there in 1869, and set out to seek a better alternative in Rome and Germany.³⁸⁸ In Rome, Van Damme was disappointed to encounter operatic secular music being used in the liturgy, and all he found in Germany was what he called a 'terribly old defective routine' ('une vieille routine fort defectueuse'). The last was reportedly used by Heinrich Oberhoffer and Johann Baptist Benz, among others, whose methods of chant performance we discussed in chapter one. Van Damme also encountered Witt during a brief visit to Regensburg, but took a dim view of that Cecilian's performances of polyphony and chant, suspecting Witt knew little of Ancient Greek music ('il m'a semblé n'être pas extraordinaire en plain-chant, et n'avoir aucune idée de la musique grecque'). On vocalising that suspicion in 1887, Van Damme ignited vigorous protests from the seedbed of Cecilianism.³⁸⁹

On his return to Belgium in 1870, Van Damme sought Gevaert's tutelage,³⁹⁰ and the ensuing collaboration led to a new book of chant accompaniments that sought alternatives to the 'monotony and heaviness' of chordal, consonant harmonisations ('des principales

³⁸⁵ Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, trans. Clement Albin Miller, vol. 1, *Musicological Studies and Documents* 6 (American Institute of Musicology, 1965), 129.

³⁸⁶ Arthur Pougin, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique : supplément et complément* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1881), 375.

³⁸⁷ François-Auguste Gevaert, *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité*, vol. 1 (Ghent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1875), 390–92.

³⁸⁸ Jozef Robijns, 'Jaak Nikolaas Lemmens, Pierre Jean Van Damme en het herstel van de religieuze muziek in België in de tweede helft van de 19^e eeuw', *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België* 42, no. 1 (1981): 14–15.

³⁸⁹ Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'Un roman historique', *Musica sacra* 6, no. 7 (February 1887): 53–4.

³⁹⁰ Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'De l'accompagnement du plain-chant', *Musica sacra* 1, no. 2 (September 1881): p. 13 n. 1.

causes de la monotonie et de la lourdeur'). From 1871, they experimented with a new procedure comprised of fewer chords and more passing notes which the musicologist Benedikt Leßmann has recently deemed a stepping stone on the path to free rhythm in French-speaking countries.³⁹¹ As discussed above (p. 26), Witt made a competing claim that he had been the first to introduce dissonances into the accompaniment and that Gevaert had plagiarised the idea ('sowie durch Gevaert's Nachamung meines Systemes').³⁹² Van Damme refuted the claim on Gevaert's behalf by pointing out Nisard's use of dissonance during the 1850s.³⁹³ The claim is made all the more tenuous in the light of the well-nigh universal use of dissonance we observed in the eighteenth century, though it is quite possible that the musical reforms instituted by Adlung's circle divorced nineteenth-century practice from those of earlier centuries, leading music theorists to overlook a praxis that was seemingly in widespread use before their own time.

Reducing the number of chords in an accompaniment was one of two items topping Gevaert's agenda, the other being a new proposal for chant harmony. Where Niedermeyer had restricted harmony to notes of the modal scale, Gevaert restricted harmony to the notes of an active hexachord. The passage of the 'Te Deum' quoted in ex. 64 first traverses the hexachord 'G'-'A'-'B'-'C'-'D'-'E', leading Gevaert to avoid using 'F' in the accompaniment since it was not a component of the hexachord. Even though the pitch 'D' did not occur in the chant at this point, its tacit membership of the hexachord made its use in the accompaniment acceptable. When the chant was said to mutate hexachords to that comprising 'C'-'D'-'E'-'F'-'G'-'A', Gevaert began using the pitch 'F' in the accompaniment. On the subject of chords, Gevaert made the following statement:

³⁹¹Benedikt Leßmann, 'All These Rhythms Are in Nature': 'Free' Rhythm in Plainchant Accompaniment around 1900', in *Liturgical Organ Music in the Long Nineteenth Century: Preconditions, Repertoires and Border-Crossings*, ed. Peter Peitsalo, Sverker Jullander and Markus Kuikka, DocMus Research Publications 10 (Helsinki: Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts, 2008), 139.

³⁹²The claim was first placed on the record in 1872 prior to Witt redoubling his efforts to out-manoeuvre Gevaert in an addendum dated 1881. See Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium missæ*, 3rd ed., pp. iv, viii.

³⁹³Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'Une légende', *Musica sacra* 6, no. 5 (December 1886): 35.

Quant à la douceur de l'harmonie, mon accompagnement, si je ne me trompe, se distingue avantageusement des procédés d'harmonisation employés jusqu'à ce jour. A ceux qui s'offusqueraient du grand nombre d'accords de quinte (sans tierce), de l'emploi assez fréquent de dissonances de passage, je rappellerai que ces particularités résultent nécessairement de ma manière d'envisager le plain-chant.³⁹⁴

As for the softness of the harmony, my accompaniment, if I am not mistaken, is an improvement on those harmonisation methods used up to today. To those who would take issue with the great number of fifth chords (without thirds) and by the fairly frequent use of passing dissonances, I would remind that these particularities necessarily result from my way of considering plainchant.

Witt therefore generalised too much when he mistakenly described Gevaert's system as restricting the harmony to notes in the chant itself ('Jene Töne, welche in der Melodie nicht vorkommen, selbst wenn sie in der diatonischen Reihe liegen, dürfen auch nicht in der Begleitung vorkommen').³⁹⁵ While that might have been the case in certain instances, in reality Witt's statement was only a half truth, one to which Van Damme brought little clarity in later writings.³⁹⁶ Van Damme's proposal that Gevaert's approach to chant harmony should be mixed with 'la richesse de Bach' sowed even more confusion,³⁹⁷ and, some time after his collaboration with Gevaert, Van Damme set out to publish some 'harmonised plainchant' for unison voices and an obbligato organ part that could not have been more at odds with Gevaert's practice. Those harmonisations alternated with four-part choral sections transposed up by a perfect fourth accompanied by the organ 'ad libitum' (ex. 65). Rather an eccentric feature of Van Damme's production is that modulating interlude joining two sections, a technique he no doubt absorbed from Germanic practice (see p. 32 above).³⁹⁸

³⁹⁴Gevaert, *Vade-mecum de l'organiste contenant les chants les plus usuels de l'église catholique*, 'Preface' p. 6, Body matter p. 1.

³⁹⁵Witt, *Organum comitans ad Ordinarium missæ*, 1st ed., p. v; Witt might also have been responsible for the following review which commits the same error Unsigned, 'Review of *Vade-mecum de l'organiste*', *Zeitschrift für katholische Kirchenmusik : Organ des oberösterreichischen Diözesan-Cäcilien-Vereines* 4, no. 10 (1871): 82.

³⁹⁶Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'Ueber Choral-Organbegleitung', *Musica sacra: Beiträge zur Reform und Förderung der katholischen Kirchenmusik* 5, no. 8 (1 August 1872): 70.

³⁹⁷Van Damme, 'De l'accompagnement du plain-chant', 14.

³⁹⁸Pierre-Jean Van Damme, *Pange Lingua*, Plain-Chant Harmonisé 3 (Ghent: J. & H. Van der Schelden), 1–2; The eighth instalment in the series refers to the author's *Enchiridion chorale ad Vesperas* published in 1874 by C. Poelman of Ghent which makes it possible to date the series after Van Damme's collaboration with Gevaert.

3.1.2 *Free rhythm in antiquity?*

A gradual turning away from the *cantus martellatus* style was accelerated by a new theory of chant rhythm proposed by the Solesmes monk Dom Joseph Pothier (1835–1923), who held that all chant notes were of equal duration and their accentuation was decided by the Latin text.³⁹⁹ The anthropologist Émile Burnhouf (1821–1907) contended that pronunciation of Latin had indeed become more equalised around the turn of the first millennium, but that such equalism stemmed in fact from Latin’s falling into disuse compared to vernacular languages.⁴⁰⁰ Solesmes’s first abbot Prosper Guéranger had been critical of chanting that did not distinguish between strong and weak syllables,⁴⁰¹ and approved the opinion of Augustin-Mathurin Gontier (1802–81) that chant rhythm could be discerned from the *mise-en-page* of neumes.⁴⁰² Unquestionably, Guéranger’s belief that melodic structure and performance practice could be revealed through appropriate research informed his decision to task Pothier and Dom Paul Jausions with a paleographical survey of the available MSS.⁴⁰³ It was a pioneering venture that built on the work of Danjou and other such historians, but it was also controversial because the meaning imputed to various symbols by generations of Solesmian researches was subject to criticism by other scholars, who proposed alternative interpretations.

One vulnerability in chant scholarship as a whole was signalled by Gevaert, who reported that the Greek word for rhythm—ῥυθμός, derived from ῥέειν, or ‘flow’—had been incorrectly translated into Latin by Roman philosophers. Their preference for the translation ‘numerus’ led the Carolingian music theorist Hucbald onto thin ice when he described rhythm and number as being synonymous with one another (‘Quæ canendi æquitas rhythmus græce, latine dicitur numerus’).⁴⁰⁴ This was in spite of ‘numerus’ being

³⁹⁹ Joseph Pothier, *Les mélodies grégoriennes d’après la tradition* (Tournai: Desclée Lefebvre et C^{ie}, 1880), 204–205; John Rayburn, *Gregorian Chant: A History of the Controversy Concerning Its Rhythm* (New York, 1964), 16.

⁴⁰⁰ Émile Burnhouf, *Les chants de l’église latine : restitution de la mesure et du rythme selon la méthode naturelle* (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1887), 80.

⁴⁰¹ ‘Approbation du très-révérend père abbé de Solesmes’ in Augustin Gontier, *Méthode raisonnée de plain-chant* (Paris: V. Palmé, 1859), p. x.

⁴⁰² Augustin Gontier, *Le plain-chant : son exécution* (Le Mans: Monnoyer, 1860), 12.

⁴⁰³ Combe, *Restoration*, 16, 34; Combe’s account was first published in issues of the *Etudes grégoriennes* from 1963 to 1968.

⁴⁰⁴ Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica, sacra potissimum*, vol. 1 (San-Blasianis, 1784),

more properly a translation of ἀριθμός, meaning numeral or number.⁴⁰⁵ Here is not the place to critique Gevaert and others' views on this obscure matter, but Pothier's unquestioning adoption of the French term 'nombre' as a synonym of 'rythme' was to have profound implications for plainchant interpretation.⁴⁰⁶ In developing Pothier's theory, his successor at Solesmes Dom André Mocquereau (1849–1930) deployed the term 'nombre' as a determining factor in his own method of chant rhythm, using it in the title of a book on the subject.⁴⁰⁷

The return to Medieval principles had recently been given fillip when a group of musical antiquarians convened the 1882 Arezzo Congress to mark a suppositious anniversary of Guido d'Arezzo's birth. Its delegates turned to Guido's *Micrologus* to inspire their understanding of equalist performances of the chant repertory according to a sense of textual declamation.⁴⁰⁸ They concluded that musical notes functioned in groups of ones, twos and threes and that accented notes occurred at the beginning of each group, rather like the frequency of accented syllables in Latin ('in harmonia sunt phthongi, id est soni, quorum unus, duo, vel tres aptantur in syllabas').⁴⁰⁹ Whether Guido's equivalence between music and Latin pronunciation practice was intended to be anything other than a useful analogy is not clear, yet it was taken by nineteenth-century historians to mean a proportional theory of chant rhythm was what Guido had intended.⁴¹⁰ Whatever the rationale for Guido's comment, it certainly aroused a great deal of interest among musical antiquarians who were nonetheless required to tread a fine line between academic curiosity and musical heresy on account of the official status of Pustet's chant editions.⁴¹¹

228; *Terence Bailey, *Commeratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis: Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979); For a French translation, see Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'De l'accompagnement du plain-chant', *Musica sacra* 1, no. 4 (November 1881): 27.

⁴⁰⁵François-Auguste Gevaert, *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité*, vol. 2 (Ghent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1881), 1.

⁴⁰⁶Pothier, *Les mélodies grégoriennes*, 19.

⁴⁰⁷André Mocquereau, *Le nombre musical grégorien, ou rythmique grégorienne* (Rome & Tournai: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1908), 57.

⁴⁰⁸Ruelle, *Le congrès européen d'Arezzo*, 13, 43.

⁴⁰⁹Guido D'Arezzo, *Micrologus*, ed. Ambrosio M. Amelli (Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre et S. Edit. Pont., 1904), 34–5; French translation in Ruelle, *Le congrès européen d'Arezzo*, 38–41.

⁴¹⁰Claude V. Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, Guido and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, trans. Warren Babb (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 54–5 70.

⁴¹¹Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 39.

One Fr Juget was therefore quite brave to note that accompaniments of plainchant ought to ‘return to the traditional rhythm of the neumes’ (‘revenir au rythme traditionnel des neumes’), but little consensus was reached on how such a return could be set in train (‘La question de l’accompagnement du chant liturgique sur l’orgue n’a donné lieu à aucune résolution’).

Pothier’s equalist-accentualist theory garnered widespread support when the fruits of Solesmes’s palaeographical research first appeared as the *Liber gradualis* in 1883, a chant book destined not only for use at Solesmes but also by the public at large. The chant repertory it contained contradicted that officially sanctioned by the Holy See (see above in chapter one), and was presented in a new style of music notation designed by Pothier himself. The characters were fashioned after their appearance in medieval MSS and were cast for use by the Belgian publisher Desclée (‘en dessinant de sa propre main les caractères que MM. Desclée-Lefebvre ont fait graver’).⁴¹² The Imprimerie de Saint-Pierre was not yet equipped to print bulky music books (a matter to which we shall return in §§ 3.1.4 and 4.2.4), but several notable pamphlets were printed in-house with the new repertory, including (also in 1883) *Cérimonial de vêture* and *Chants pour le salut du T. S. Sacrement*.⁴¹³

3.1.3 *The passing notes style in Belgium*

To rectify the shortcomings in church music practice identified by Gevaert, the Church in Belgium established a systematic approach to training its musicians. That took the form of a school of church music to which Belgian dioceses could send their local musicians. Orpha Ochse has attributed the foundation of a school of church music in the Belgian city of Mechelen to Lemmens himself,⁴¹⁴ but it appears that in spite of Lemmens’s brief tenure as its director, the impetus for the venture actually came from Van Damme. It was he who convinced bishop Henri Bracq of the need for such a school and who made several visits to London during 1876 and 1877 to recruit Lemmens as its director. Lemmens then

⁴¹²Schmidt, ‘La typographie et le plain-chant’, *Revue du chant grégorien* 4, no. 3 (15 October 1895): 37; Katharine Ellis makes a compelling case for ‘Schmidt’ being a pseudonym of Auguste Pécoul’s, a collaborator of Pothier’s who might have been writing at Pothier’s instigation. See Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant*, 9; Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 58.

⁴¹³Dom Guy Oury, ‘L’imprimerie de l’Abbaye (1880–1901)’, *Lettre aux amis de Solesmes* 4 (1979): 14.

⁴¹⁴Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 171.

undertook to publish chant accompaniments that could serve as examples for Belgian organists, though the majority of these was only published after his death.⁴¹⁵

The Salle Érard was the venue for a lecture on 18 February 1878 at which Lemmens provided two updates to Fétis's system of accompaniment. The first was to admit 'F' # on the unexplained and inexplicable proviso that the accompaniment remain modal ('à la condition de rester *modal*').⁴¹⁶ Fétis had adopted cadential sharpening himself by the 1860s (see § 2.3.2), and Lemmens held that, when presented with the sequence of notes 'G' → 'F' → 'G', Medieval singers solmised them as *sol* → *mi* → *sol*, according to the rule of *musica ficta causa pulchritudinis*.⁴¹⁷ Lemmens reserved cadential sharps for the terminal cadence, the refrain in Alleluia 'Pascha nostrum' receiving the sharpened pitch (ex. 66) in contrast with the same cadence at the end of the verse (ex. 67).⁴¹⁸ Lemmens's stance on sharps made his practice inadmissible to Niedermeyer's pupils, including Eugène Gigout who, in 1876, claimed a lack of evidence supported cadential sharpening, and who observed rather wryly that some schemes resulted in an accompaniment that was 'un peu fantaisiste'.⁴¹⁹

Lemmens's second update was to tackle that chord-against-note style Gevaert had criticised and to seek the 'true rhythm' of chant instead. As is evident from exx. 66 and 67, Lemmens's harmonisation method involved imposing strictly proportional time values on the notes of the chant. He claimed authority for this from a British Museum MS consulted on 11 August 1876, but foreclosed verification by withholding all information on the MS in question. Lemmens held that a consonant, chorale-textured accompaniment could not distinguish between notes of greater or lesser relative importance, particularly when the chant notes were of equal duration.⁴²⁰ Nor, in Lemmens's view, was chant rhythm subordinate to verbal accentuation:

⁴¹⁵Joseph Duclos, 'Essai sur la vie et les travaux de Lemmens' in Lemmens, *Du chant grégorien*, p. xxix.

⁴¹⁶Bourgault-Ducoudray, 'Un nouveau système', 58.

⁴¹⁷Lemmens, *Du chant grégorien*, 3, 45–6.

⁴¹⁸Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens, *Chants liturgiques*, vol. 2, Œuvres inédites (Leipzig et Bruxelles: Breitkopf & Hærtel, 1884), 16–17.

⁴¹⁹*Le Ménestrel*, 8 December 1878, p. 15 referenced in Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 181–2; Gigout, 'Partie pratique', 19.

⁴²⁰Lemmens, *Chants liturgiques*, 2:1–2.

Des auteurs, très savants sans doute, mais peu musiciens, se sont imaginé que le rythme du chant grégorien est le même que celui de la parole dans le discours oratoire : mais il y a juste autant de différence entre ces deux rythmes, qu'il s'en trouve entre la parole et la musique.⁴²¹

Some authors, most learned no doubt, but not musicians, have subscribed to the notion that the rhythm of Gregorian chant is the same as that of speech in oratorical discourse ; but there are just as many differences between these two rhythms as there are between speech and music.

In the interest of keeping a congregation together, for instance, Lemmens proposed the scheme for psalm chanting quoted in ex. 68 that subordinates the eighth psalm tone and the doxology to melodic variations and crisp modern rhythms, presumably of Lemmens's own imagining:

Ce phrasé là deviendrait de suite populaire et comme il est *presque* mesuré, le peuple n'avait pas de difficulté à rester *ensemble*.⁴²²

This phrasing would become popular straight away and as it is almost mensural, the congregation would have no difficulty in staying together.

Moreover, Lemmens held that Gregorian chant (as opposed to plainchant in general) was not completely consonant, and was in fact made up of a diverse array of dissonances:

Le chant de saint Grégoire lui-même est rempli de dissonances : *notes de passage, appoggiatures, portamenti*. En les éliminant du plain-chant moderne, on en a fait disparaître la vie, et, par une conséquence toute naturelle, on a été logique en accompagnant un *chant mort* par une *harmonie également morte*.⁴²³

The chant of Saint Gregory himself is full of dissonances: passing notes, appoggiaturas, and portamenti. By eliminating them from modern plainchant, we removed its vitality, and, as a natural consequence, were logical in accompanying a dead chant with an equally dead harmony.

However specious Lemmens's claim might have been, it afforded him the possibility to divide a chant melody into what he called real and inessential notes, the former being consonant and the latter dissonant. The former were to be placed on strong beats of a bar which he sometimes annotated by crosses (pp. 96–7), whereas the latter were relegated to metrically weaker positions. Chords placed on strong beats would therefore align with real notes, while dissonant, inessential notes bridged the gap between successive chords.⁴²⁴

⁴²¹Lemmens, *Du chant grégorien*, 61.

⁴²²Lemmens to Pothier, 21 December 1879, *F-SWF*: 1 W 191 (6); The Lemmens–Pothier correspondence will be published in the forthcoming third volume of *Solesmes et les musiciens*. Patrick Hala to the present author, 2 April 2020.

⁴²³Lemmens, *Du chant grégorien*, 4, 120.

⁴²⁴Antonin Lhoumeau, *De l'harmonisation des mélodies grégoriennes et du plain-chant en général* (Niort:

One imagines that Lemmens's ideas formed part of his teaching at the *École de musique religieuse*, for which the curriculum was prepared and signed by Lemmens himself on 20 August 1878. The courses on offer included theology, liturgy, church Latin, singing, aesthetics, performance, history, organ, piano, harmony, counterpoint and the diatonic accompaniment of chant ('de diatonische begeleiding van den Kerkzang'). Tuition fees amounted to 400 F. per year, or 450 F. inclusive of room and board, and each Belgian diocese was to send a quota of students.⁴²⁵ Prior to the first intake on 2 January 1879, Lemmens received Leo XIII's approval for the school in a private audience on 13 November 1878. But a January start was awkward for several reasons, not least because teaching commenced with seven months remaining in the academic year rather than all ten, thereby requiring a commensurate reduction in fees.

The *École* took an active role in promoting agreeable models of church music in Belgium and further afield. Lemmens used his position to draw the pontiff's attention to inconsistencies in Pustet's chant books, making plain his view on the distinction between plainchant and Gregorian chant and criticising the Medicean edition for comprising a repertory at odds with that supposedly codified under Pope Gregory I.⁴²⁶ Van Damme established a Belgian analogue to the Germanic Cäcilienverein, the *Société de Saint Grégoire*, on 28 September 1880, a society seeking to promote the restoration of church music along historical lines.⁴²⁷ Lemmens was made the society's chairperson but his untimely death on 30 January 1881 led Van Damme to assume the chair out of necessity. A new journal was set up in Ghent to promote the views of the society, entitled *Musica sacra : organe de l'École interdiocésaine de musique religieuse et de la Société de Saint-Grégoire*.⁴²⁸ As for finding someone to replace Lemmens as director of the *École*, Van Damme approached Edgar Tinel (1854–1912) on 9 February who assumed the post on 3 March, a mere two days after his nomination was approved by Cardinal

Thibault-Aimé, 1884), 14.

⁴²⁵ Prospectus printed in Erens, *Jaak Lemmens*, 34, 39–42.

⁴²⁶ Robijns, 'Jaak Nikolaas Lemmens', 14–15, 17–18.

⁴²⁷ Louis Peter Grijp and Ignace Bossuyt, *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), 490.

⁴²⁸ Lorenzo, 'Le Chanoine Van Damme', *Revue du chant grégorien* 7, no. 5 (December 1898): 98.

Deschamps.⁴²⁹ The relative haste of Tinel's appointment might suggest that high priority was given to the École's endeavours in Belgium, though a replacement was also probably a necessity owing to the academic year's being well underway.

Antonin Lhoumeau (1852–1920), a priest and later a collaborator of Pothier's, acknowledged Lemmens's system as a pioneering one, but regretted that the result was rhythmically quite arbitrary. While the École turned away from the system altogether following Lemmens's death,⁴³⁰ his undisputed influence as a performer and pedagogue led to the school's name being changed to the Lemmens Institute. Sadly, little is known of the Institute's operation under Tinel's directorship, though scraps of evidence of Tinel's views on accompaniment have survived from the 1890s when he was most concerned with balance:

Si l'organiste accompagne trop fort, faites-lui observer amicalement que le texte sacré a le pas sur la musique. ⁴³¹	<i>If the organist accompanies too loudly, point out to him in a friendly way that the sacred text takes precedence over the music.</i>
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Several accompaniments by Tinel have also been preserved, for which the 8' Salicional on the Récit with box shut was to be used when accompanying a cantor. An 8' Flûte or 8' Bourdon was deemed suitable for accompanying a choir—a discreet registration indeed.⁴³² It seems Tinel maintained a connection to Solesmes in the same era, and was kept abreast of developments in the rhythmic ideas at that monastery by Mocquereau (see § 3.2 below):

Tous mes remerciements au Révérend Père Dom Mocquereau pour son livre sur l'Accent tonique! Voilà un ouvrage hautement significatif. Puisse-t-il ouvrir les yeux à beaucoup! ⁴³³	<i>Many thanks to Reverend Father Dom Mocquereau for his book on the Tonic Accent! This is a highly significant work. May it open the eyes of many!</i>
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⁴²⁹Paul Tinel, *Edgar Tinel : le récit de sa vie et l'exégèse de ses œuvres de 1854 à 1886* (Bruxelles: Th. Lombaerts, 1923), 189–90.

⁴³⁰Antonin Lhoumeau, *Rythme, exécution et accompagnement du chant grégorien* (Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1892), 279.

⁴³¹Edgar Tinel, *Le chant grégorien : théorie sommaire de son exécution*, 3rd ed. (Malines: H. Dessain, 1895), 49.

⁴³²*Mélodies de chant grégorien tirées des anciens missels pour les Saluts du T.S. Sacrement avec accompagnement d'orgue* (Poitiers: Baudoux, 1892–93), 4:1.

⁴³³Edgar Tinel to Mocquereau, 20 March 1894, *F-SO*.

Along with the Conservatories of Brussels and Liège, the Lemmens Institute through its four-year course produced many of the next generation of Belgian organists who assumed teaching and organist positions in Belgium, France, Ireland and further afield.⁴³⁴ Theirs was a tradition insulated from those in France, Germany and Austria, and their chant accompaniments set themselves apart by being typographically distinct from those of other countries, as we shall see.⁴³⁵ Notable Belgian pedagogues included Alphonse Desmet (1864–1944; alternatively spelled Alfons), who succeeded Alphonse Mailly as professor of organ at the Brussels conservatory in 1903 in preference to Joseph Jongen (1873–1953).⁴³⁶ Alfons's younger brother Aloys (1867–1917; alternatively Aloïs) succeeded Tinel as the director of the Lemmens Institute in 1909. And Aloys's colleague Oscar Depuydt (1858–1925; alternately De Puidt) collaborated with the Desmet brothers on accompaniments of the Vatican Kyrial and Gradual in the next century (see § 4.3.1 below).

3.1.4 *Filled-and-void notation*

The Lemmens Institute's influence on matters of accompaniment is most apparent in the characteristic style of notation used by those of its teachers and pupils who sought an alternative to metrical notation. In supplements to the first three issues of *Musica sacra*, Van Damme published a harmonisation for the organ of the Requiem Mass notated mensurally with dotted barlines and slurs. In spite of the accompaniment's *mise-en-page*, a performance direction indicated that it was to be performed with 'all the freedom inherent in plainchant' (ex. 69; 'avec toute la liberté que comporte le plain-chant').⁴³⁷ Van Damme's stance on the appropriateness of modern notation to represent chant was set to change in 1883 when he encountered an example of Pothier's notation. Proofs were circulating as early as

⁴³⁴Deacy, 'Continental Organists', §§4.2, 4.4.

⁴³⁵J. L. G., *Edgar Tinel : essai biographique* (Malines: H. Dessain), 11.

⁴³⁶John Scott Whiteley, *Joseph Jongen and His Organ Music* (Pendragon Press, 1997), 66.

⁴³⁷Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'Ordinarium Missæ : Missa pro defunctis', *Musica sacra* 1 (1 – Supplément 1881): 1.

as September 1882, at the Arezzo congress,⁴³⁸ though Van Damme had not attended and probably did not encounter the notation until the *Liber gradualis* was published.

It was enough to convince Van Damme, in January of 1883, that verbally-oriented rhythm of the kind Pothier described as oratorical ('le rythme oratoire') was the way forward,⁴³⁹ and that Pothier's archaeological finds were even worthy of consideration as works of art. Van Damme wished to publish some excerpts to show off the notation to *Musica sacra*'s 1,600 subscribers, and reported to Pothier that its Ghent-based publisher C. Poelman was in the market for procuring the type:

Il est vrai que mon imprimeur n'a pas jusqu'ici les caractères typographiques de la notation traditionnelle du plain-chant, mais il est tout disposé à se les procurer. En attendant, ne pourrions-nous pas imprimer les exemples [?], sur des feuillets à part, comme cela [est] si pratique pour les gravures intercalées dans le texte? Cette impression pourrait se faire soit à Solesmes, soit chez MM. Desclée. Cela me causerait quelques frais supplémentaires, mais je suis en mesure d'y faire face et je les supporterai volontiers pour obtenir votre collaboration.⁴⁴⁰

It is true that my printer has not yet had the typographical characters of the traditional plainchant notation, but he is quite prepared to procure them. In the meantime, could we not print the [?] examples on separate sheets, as that would be a practical way for the engravings to be inserted in the text? This printing could be done either at Solesmes or at Desclée. It would cost me some extra funds but I am able to manage that and will gladly bear them to secure your collaboration.

Desclée had received the necessary new type from the Parisian foundry Deberny & C^{ie}, though is it unclear whether Desclée was responsible for commissioning the type or whether that impetus came from Solesmes. There is evidence to suggest that strict controls were put in place by the authorities of Solesmes to regulate further sale of the new type—we shall return to that point and its implication for publishers below (§ 4.2.4).

Poelman evidently had little success in procuring the type for himself—perhaps Solesmes suspected piracy—and was forced to improvise. A new approach to representing the *Liber gradualis*'s neumes was required so harmonisations would not be encumbered by metrical baggage, as Van Damme explained:

⁴³⁸Pierre Combe, *Histoire de la restauration du chant grégorien d'après les documents inédits : Solesmes et l'Édition Vaticane* (Solesmes: Abbaye de Solesmes, 1969), 105; Combe, *Restoration*, 88–9.

⁴³⁹Pothier, *Les mélodies grégoriennes*, 179.

⁴⁴⁰Van Damme to Pothier, 25 January 1883, *F-SWF*: 1 W 175 (4).

Je voudrais bannir de la notation du plain-chant harmonisé cet élément qui lui est étranger, et tout-à-fait antipathique : *la mesure*. Je voudrais revenir, sous ce rapport, au *principe de la notation primitive*.⁴⁴¹

I would like to banish that element from the notation of harmonised plainchant which is foreign to and completely at odds with it: meter. I would like to revert, under this heading, to the principle of the primitive notation.

A new system was cobbled together from the movable type Poelman had to hand: modern notation was taken as the starting point but stems were dispensed with to create a new notational system of filled and void notes. One may observe from its first use, cited in ex. 70, that filled notes transcribed the chant, these being little more than former quavers or crotchets; stubs where they formerly connected with stems may still be discerned.

The filled notes of the chant were arranged at the top of the four-part texture and grouped to represent the original neumes. Chords were struck on the first notes of such groups, a void note enduring for two or more filled notes and ties retaining their conventional function. Lhoumeau opined that it was in fact possible to assign harmonies to notes other than those at the beginnings of neumes,⁴⁴² yet there was nothing systematic about his approach, save for some contrary motion in the tenor part.

Van Damme went on to develop filled-and-void notation in an accompanied *Ordinarium Missæ* for Ghent, where he was involved in diocesan administration.⁴⁴³ Stems were used in exceptional cases to distinguish between two parts occupying the same pitch (ex. 71), the chant once more being arranged into groups of two and three notes.⁴⁴⁴ Void notes were worth two filled notes; and should three filled notes be notated above one chord then they were arranged as a triplet in a noteworthy departure from Pothier's doctrine of equalism. Supplementary to those notational novelties was Van Damme's proposal that performances should be laden with nuances to bring life and movement to the chanting ('plein de vie et de mouvement')—the singer was well advised not to dwell on notes enclosed within parentheses.

⁴⁴¹Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'Utilité pratique du Graduel de Dom Pothier : au point de vue de l'accompagnement', *Musica sacra* 3, no. 4 (November 1883): 30–31.

⁴⁴²Lhoumeau, *De l'harmonisation*, 15.

⁴⁴³Ludo Collin, 'Pierre Jean Van Damme', *Adem: Driemaandelijks tijdschrift voor muziekcultuur* 15, no. 1 (January–February 1979): 39.

⁴⁴⁴See footnote 446.

Accompaniments were to proceed not from one note to the next but from group to group, and Van Damme understood those binary and ternary groups—so called after the number of notes they comprised—as the fundamental rhythmic units (‘notre accompagnement procède, en règle générale, non par notes uniques, mais par groupes binaires ou ternaires’). They were said to function like musical syllables (recalling Guido’s analogy), and the hierarchy of ‘syllables’ in a phrase was said to be capable of representation by a system of nested arcs, though no such system was demonstrated by Van Damme in practice.⁴⁴⁵ Another novelty of Van Damme’s interpretation of grammatical rules concerned syllables of lesser importance which were annotated with a zero to warn the singer not to accent them. A horizontal line connected to one side of the zero indicated which of the adjacent syllables was the more important.⁴⁴⁶ Van Damme followed that accompanied *Ordinarium Missæ* with other books for Vespers and Lauds, which were nearing completion by the beginning of 1885. Those accompaniments were notated along similar lines, one notable innovation being a cross that marked certain beats as metrical, or strong (ex. 72; ‘La petite croix indique la place des accents métriques ou principaux temps forts’).⁴⁴⁷

Van Damme continued his foray into notational experimentation in *Musica sacra* by expanding on his idea that performances of chant should be nuanced. He codified a system that used ‘p’ and ‘s’ to show primary and secondary accents, and ‘a’ and ‘t’ to mark accented notes and notes of transition. The accented note was always to receive a new chord (or, at the very least, a new bass note) whereas others, such as those coinciding with unaccented beats (‘le temps levé’), would permit the accompaniment to rest. 5/3 chords were said to be particularly useful for demarcating strong accents while 6/3 chords were considered more appropriate for weaker accents. In a departure from Nisard’s practice where the array

⁴⁴⁵Pierre-Jean Van Damme, ‘Utilité pratique du Graduel de Dom Pothier : au point de vue de l’accompagnement’, *Musica sacra* 3, no. 1 (August 1883): 23.

⁴⁴⁶Pierre-Jean Van Damme, *Ordinarium missæ : ordinariire de la messe à l’usage du diocèse de Gand avec accompagnement d’orgue* (Ghent: C. Poelman, 1884), pp. iii–v, 7; Although no date of publication is printed on the text itself, its imminent publication is announced in the September–October 1884 issue of *Musica sacra*.

⁴⁴⁷Utto Kornmüller, ‘Des principales obligations des maîtres de chœur, des organistes et des chanteurs’, trans. Abbé Bour, *Musica sacra* 4, no. 6 (January 1885): p. 43 n. 1; Pierre-Jean Van Damme, *Vesperæ et laudes vespertinæ : Les Vêpres à l’exception des antiennes et le salut avec accompagnement d’orgue* (Ghent: C. Poelman, 1885), pp. iv, 13; The text in question, along with *Psalmi vesperarum : les psaumes des Vêpres pour tous les Dimanches et fêtes de l’année*, is announced in the September 1885 issue of *Musica sacra*.

of available dissonances was limited to passing notes,⁴⁴⁸ Van Damme described a certain strongly accented note in descent as a long appoggiatura ('lange Vorschlag'). Auxiliary notes, anticipations and suspensions ('le retard') could also be used, as could a type of the last that ascended by a minor second.⁴⁴⁹ Van Damme coined the term *Sprachbegleitung*, or Speech Accompaniment, to describe the process,⁴⁵⁰ though it ought not to be confused with the vocal technique *Sprechgesang*, even if both concepts concern themselves with the expressionistic delivery of text.⁴⁵¹ Nevertheless, Van Damme was more than ten years ahead of Engelbert Humperdinck who introduced the term *Sprechgesang* with his 1897 opera *Königskinder*, and more than twenty years ahead of Arnold Schönberg, whose use of *Sprechstimme* in *Pierrot lunaire* of 1912 was so termed only subsequently, by Alban Berg.⁴⁵²

As other Belgian composers adopted filled-and-void notation for their accompaniments, it became less common for ternary groups to be notated as triplets. Two and three filled notes were eventually considered as equivalent to one void note depending on the context. Moreover, where Van Damme had left the staff blank to indicate rests, as early as 1892 Aloys Desmet preferred a crotchet rest (♩) for this purpose instead. Other practitioners used what Tinel termed 'vertical bars' ('Les barres verticales marquent des silences pour l'orgue comme pour le chant'),⁴⁵³ though they may more properly be considered obliques because, in contrast to conventional rests, they could be extended horizontally on the staff for as long as a rest was required. A near-horizontal oblique in ex. 73 covers the duration of five filled notes,⁴⁵⁴ and in certain cases could also indicate a resting part when more than one occupied a staff. The versatility of the notation led Wanger to deploy obliques in the book of accompaniments to his Zulu chant book (see § 1.2.4 above).

⁴⁴⁸Nisard, *Les vrais principes*, 37.

⁴⁴⁹Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'De l'accentuation du latin au point de vue du chant liturgique', *Musica sacra* 5, no. 10 (May 1886): 75–7.

⁴⁵⁰Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'De l'accentuation du latin au point de vue du chant liturgique', *Musica sacra* 5, nos 8, 9 & 10 (March, April & May 1886), pp. 60, 69, 77.

⁴⁵¹Martin Knust, 'About Richard Wagner's Creative Process', *19th-Century Music* 38, no. 3 (2015): 229.

⁴⁵²Paul Griffiths, 'Sprechgesang', Grove Music Online, accessed 4 May 2021, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000026465>.

⁴⁵³*Mélodies tirées*, 1:18, 20; The word 'barres' is absent from the first volume but appears in vol. 4 p. 1.

⁴⁵⁴*Asperges me, Vidi aquam, Modus respondendi in missa et Credi I, II, III, IV : Organum comitans ad cantum gregorianum juxta editionem Vaticanam* (Ghent: A. Huyshauwer & L. Scheerder, [1907?]), 11.

3.1.5 *Freely rhythmized accompaniments in Germany*

Pothier's textbook on rhythm, *Mémoires grégoriennes d'après la tradition* of 1880, and its subsequent German translation in 1881 by the Emmaus monk Ambrosius Kienle (1852–1905), aroused interest in free rhythm among Francophone and Teutophone musicians alike.⁴⁵⁵ The appearance of the *Liber gradualis* inspired Paul Schmetz (1845–97), a former pupil of Peter Piel's, to devise a new notational method to represent harmonic accompaniments in free rhythm without recourse to modern notation.⁴⁵⁶

Schmetz recognised that Pothier's *Liber gradualis* transmitted certain neumes that were verifiable among manuscript sources while being conspicuously absent from Pustet's editions. In 1884, he devised a set of symbols that could stand in for the missing neumes in any chant book: they included a horizontal line for the *pressus*, a wavy line for the *strophicus*, a caret for shortened notes ('für verkürzende Formulen') and a dot for lengthened notes, after the 'mora ultimæ vocis'.⁴⁵⁷ A similar system was used in a joint Piel-Schmetz publication of the Mass Ordinary (ex. 74) in which notes receiving emphasis were annotated by several signs: a circumflex for single notes, a horizontal bar for several notes, and dots for notes at which the voice was required to renew its emphasis.⁴⁵⁸ One advertisement for those Mass Ordinary accompaniments credited Schmetz with their invention.⁴⁵⁹ Dominant → tonic progressions were a hallmark of Piel's harmonic style, as the presence of 'F'♯ at 'Altissimus' attests. To clarify the discussion on chant harmonisation in his harmony treatise, Piel deployed the same annotations and stated that dominant → tonic progressions could indeed be used at intermediate cadences.

⁴⁵⁵ Joseph Pothier, *Der gregorianische Choral, seine ursprüngliche Gestalt und geschichtliche Überlieferung*, trans. Ambrosius Kienle (Tournai: Desclée, 1881).

⁴⁵⁶ Paul Schmetz, *Musica sacra* 30, no. 20 (15 October 1897): 243.

⁴⁵⁷ Paul Schmetz, *Dom Pothier's Liber Gradualis (Tournayer Ausgabe), seine historische und praktische Bedeutung mit 7 Facsimiles einer vor dem Jahre 1379 geschriebenen Pergamenthandschrift* (Mainz: Franz Kirchheim, 1884), 17.

⁴⁵⁸ Peter Piel and Paul Schmetz, *Orgelbegleitung zum Ordinarium Missæ (Melodien des officiellen Graduale) : nebst Darlegung der bei der Harmonisierung leitenden Grundsätze* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1887), pp. v, 51.

⁴⁵⁹ 'Orgelbegleitung zum Ordinarium Missæ', *Gregorius-Blatt : Organ für katholische Kirchenmusik* 13, no. 2 (1888): unpaginated advertisement.

Sharping was therefore an ordinary component of Piel's practice, and his permissiveness also extended to $\hat{3}\sharp$ in terminal chords at deuterus cadences.⁴⁶⁰

Ignaz Mitterer (1850–1924) favoured the Piel-Schmetz approach because quadratic notation could be preserved in the chant part. Similarly, Schildknecht's compromise in typesetting the chant part in larger noteheads (see p. 35 above) did not go far enough for one critic who considered it to be an inferior alternative to retaining the quadratic notation in the first place.⁴⁶¹ A belief circulated among certain theorists that to retain quadratic notation for the chant part was to retain a distinction between chant and accompaniment, to set in relief the sacred connotations of the one from the secular implications of the other. Michael Horn (1859–1936) could well have subscribed to that notion since he is among those who retained quadratic notation for the chant in his accompaniments.⁴⁶² Theorists such as Ambrosius Kienle certainly went to some effort to link quadratic notation to numinism when he associated it with entering a church via the sanctuary.⁴⁶³ And perhaps the notion might explain why Mohr's *Ordinarium Missæ* set unaccompanied intonations by the priest or cantor in quadratic notation, whereas the accompaniments by Piel were set in modern notation.

Although such symbols as those devised by Schmetz were evidently quite useful in conveying more information than was otherwise represented by notational systems, the notation of accompaniments was still considered by some to be inherently deficient because rhythmic nuances were difficult to convey. Presumably, that view prompted Schmetz to typeset an accompaniment of Piel's in the same quadratic notation that Desclée had used to engrave melodies for the *Liber gradualis*. Using that notation (and with Desclée's support), Schmetz arranged chords on treble and bass staves (ex. 75; note the G2 and F4 clefs). Perhaps Schmetz believed that an accompaniment notated in such a way would permit the player to follow the chant's nuances better than an accompaniment in modern notation,

⁴⁶⁰Peter Piel, *Harmonie-Lehre : Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Anforderungen für das kirchliche Orgelspiel*, 8th ed. (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, [1903?]), 240–44.

⁴⁶¹CVK № 1732.

⁴⁶²Michael Horn, *Ordinarium missæ : organo concinente, juxta editionem Solesmensem* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898), p. 3 and *passim*.

⁴⁶³Ambrosius Kienle, *Choralschule : ein Handbuch zur Erlernung des Choralgesanges*, 3rd ed. (Freiburg: Herder, 1899), 13; Evidently cited from a previous edition of Kienle's work in Joseph Mohr, *Einleitung und Quellennachweis zum Psalterlein* (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1891), 31–2.

since the accompanist could apply the same rhythmical rules to the chords as a singer did to the chant. Two of Piel's harmonisations of 'Benedicamus domino' were transcribed, a bass part being added to match their neumatic layout. If a three-note neume occurred in the chant then a three-note group would be arranged in the bass, and so forth.

Apparently, only certain chords were indicated, for the void inner notes at the starts of phrases showed an arrangement of the parts that would lead naturally to the following chord, thence to the chord after that, and so on. $5/3$ chords were the default unless indicated otherwise by a bass figure. A nonsensical $5/4$ chord near the end of the first line stands as a testament to the notational method still being in its conceptual infancy, though the inner part g seems clearly to be a typographical error for f . A symbol at the beginning of the second system, comprising two vertical strokes plus one horizontal stroke, presumably stood in for \sharp that would produce a dominant \rightarrow tonic chord progression, in complete accordance with Piel's practice at intermediate cadences. Since it was left to the imagination of the reader to fill in the missing notes, a realisation has been provided in ex. 76 with dotted slurs serving to indicate the disposition of neumatic groups.⁴⁶⁴

Schmetz soon departed from Piel's chord-against-note style when he concluded that chords were only to be struck on certain notes, notably in melismatic chants:

Bei syllabischen Gesängen bekommt im allgemeinen jede Melodienote ihren eigenen Akkord; bei reicher gestalteten Melodien dagegen, wo die Begleitung jeder Melodienote aus ästhetischen und technischen Rücksichten unzulässig ersceint, erhält in der Regel jede *Notengruppe* eine Harmonie.

Nur wenn die Begleitung zu dürftig erscheint, oder wenn Accentuierung, fließendere Stimmführung, langsamer Rhythmus etc. es verlangen, gibt man den einzelnen Tonfiguren mehrere Harmonien.⁴⁶⁵

In the case of syllabic chants, each melody note generally gets its own chord; but in the case of melismatic chants where the accompaniment of each melodic note is inadmissible for aesthetic and technical reasons, each group of notes usually receives one harmony.

Only when the accompaniment seems too meager or when accentuation, more fluent part writing, or slower rhythm are required are melismata furnished with several harmonies.

⁴⁶⁴Schmetz, *Dom Pothier's Liber Gradualis*, 35; Although this text was published in Mainz, a note in the backmatter confirms it was printed by Desclée in Belgium.

⁴⁶⁵Schmetz, *Die Harmonisierung*, 21–2.

Schmetz was already aware of Van Damme's ideas concerning groups of notes, and reproduced some examples from the latter's accompanied *Ordinarium Missæ*. The array of dissonances accepted by Schmetz comprised passing notes, auxiliaries, suspensions, anticipations and the 'Hilfston', an arcane term for a kind of unaccented appoggiatura. His Düsseldorf-based publisher L. Schwann seems not to have had access to Desclée's type when demonstrating Schmetz's new harmonic ideas in 1894, when extracts from the *Liber gradualis* (such as that in ex. 77) were typeset in quite a different style of quadratic notation (quoted in ex. 78).⁴⁶⁶ One may remark that the inclusion of dashed vertical lines clarified where chords were to be struck, and that the placement of the latter was dictated by the neumatic layout of the chant.

3.2 Popularising free rhythm in France and beyond

3.2.1 *Prosodic analysis and the Lhoumeau effect*

Contrary to those novel notational approaches followed by Van Damme and Schmetz, French theorists devised their own methods of representing free rhythm. Among such theorists was Lhoumeau who exchanged correspondence with Pothier on the matter as early as 1882,⁴⁶⁷ and who sought to codify the principles underpinning free rhythm for the benefit of accompanists. The fruits of Lhoumeau's endeavours bear some similarities to Van Damme's proposals on the same subject, though Lhoumeau was careful to note in 1884 that his own were the first to appear in print. Lhoumeau deployed modern notation to represent the chant and accompanying chords which the accompanist was advised to read as though they were amensural; the singer, by contrast, was to read from the typographical neumes placed directly above the accompaniment.

The example of Lhoumeau's practice shown in ex. 79 is markedly distinct from Van Damme's. The chant was not always placed in the top part of the keyboard texture but either flitted between inner parts or was omitted entirely. Quasi-orchestral writing called on the player to switch between 'Grand orgue' and 'Récit' manuals, and the arpeggiated chords

⁴⁶⁶Joseph Pothier, ed., *Liber Gradualis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1883), p. 7*; Schmetz, *Die Harmonisierung*, 59.

⁴⁶⁷H. Clemens, 'Le Très Révérend Père Lhoumeau' within a folder marked 'Père Antonin L'houmeau à D. Mocquereau + biographie' in *F-SO*

at ‘quia gloria’ required the right hand to make a pianistic foray into the top half of the keyboard. Although the *pressus* neume at ‘super te’ was considered inherently expressive and a natural cause of crescendo and diminuendo, the distinct lack of contrapuntal rigour in the accompaniment causes the suspended fourth to shun its conventional resolution downward by step, thereby inviting the suspicion that Lhoumeau’s compositional process consisted of feeling his way around a keyboard prior to committing his thoughts to paper. Should that have been the case, then the trill in the last system may be considered to be notional instead of neoclassical. Accompaniments of this type might be most charitably explained as a first step for Lhoumeau who abandoned the style within several years. As will be evident from examples to be cited shortly, his later work—despite other, significant eccentricities—was to be characterised by more consistent textures and more rigorous part-writing.⁴⁶⁸

Lhoumeau’s notion that the *pressus* caused a crescendo–decrescendo effect was likely influenced by theorists of secular music, who were evaluating the topic of musical expression and the role for amensural nuances to supplement meter. In 1884, Hugo Riemann (1849–1919) proposed the idea that *sforzandi* caused a similar crescendo–decrescendo effect,⁴⁶⁹ and it was not long before the notion of a metaphysical rise and fall was being applied by analysts to musical phrases and even to works as a whole. The Latin terms describing rise and fall, *arsis* and *thesis*, first entered the *lingua franca* of nineteenth-century plainchant theory with Edmond de Coussemaker (1805–76) in 1852, whose study of the origin of neumes attempted to prove how closely their graphical forms matched the rise and fall of the voice in prosodic expression. But we might question whether Coussemaker’s conclusions owed more to French pronunciation practice than to any theories of classical Latin prosody, because he held an *arsis* to be equivalent to the grave accent and a *thesis* to be equivalent to the acute. Circumflexes were then described as a vague combination of both.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸Lhoumeau, *De l’harmonisation*, unpaginated preface, pp. 44, 48–9, 53–4, p. 87 n. 1.

⁴⁶⁹Hugo Riemann, *Musikalische Dynamik und Agogik : Lehrbuch der Musikalischen Phrasirung auf Grund einer Revision der Lehre von der musikalischen Metrik und Rhythmik* (Hamburg: D. Rahter, 1884), 48–9.

⁴⁷⁰Coussemaker, *Histoire de l’harmonie au moyen âge*, 158; For an Anglophone description of Coussemaker’s contributions, see Rayburn, *Gregorian Chant: A History of the Controversy Concerning Its Rhythm*, 10.

A quirk concerning the usage of the terms *arsis* and *thesis* by nineteenth-century theorists should also be acknowledged here, for it continues to influence understandings of chant rhythm today. The prehistory of those terms stretches further back into antiquity than some nineteenth-century theorists realised, to Ancient Greece where *arsis* (ἄρσις) and *thesis* (θέσις) were taken to mean unaccented and accented beats respectively. When the writings of classical authorities appeared to contradict that status quo, some later editors silently ‘corrected’ what they believed to be mistakes, in vain attempts to eliminate confusion. That practice has recently been criticised by Tosca A. C. Lynch, who makes a compelling case for a more complex reality in the music-making of Ancient Greece than such scholars were willing at first glance to admit.⁴⁷¹ It was Riemann who popularised the notion that the definitions of *arsis* and *thesis* had been inverted by Roman scholars, who reportedly confused them in a way reminiscent of the *rhythmus/numerus* debacle discussed above (pp. 101 and 102). Those scholars were reported to have defined *arsis* as the accented beat and *thesis* as the unaccented one, exchanging their definitions compared with accepted Ancient Greek usage.

As the terms came down to the nineteenth century, a further complication arose when two separate disciplines allied themselves with opposing definitions. Metricians, who concerned themselves with prosody, preferred *arsis* for the strong verbal accent, whereas musicians preferred *thesis* for the strong musical accent.⁴⁷² What was presumably of no great disadvantage to either faction in isolation became problematic when nineteenth-century scholarship on chant rhythm caused textual and musical matters to come hurtling together. Seeking to reconcile verbal and musical accents, chant theorists settled on the term *arsis* to mean the strong accent, whether that happened to describe phenomena in words or in the chant. This ran contrary to the musical convention that *thesis* should be the strong accent, and was to have sometimes bizarre consequences when theories of chant rhythm were taken as the basis for chant harmonisation, as we shall see.

⁴⁷¹Tosca A. C. Lynch, ‘*Arsis* and *Thesis* in Ancient Rhythmics and Metrics: A New Approach’, *The Classical Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (2016): 492, 496.

⁴⁷²Hugo Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon* (Leipzig: Bibliographischen Instituts, 1882), 44; Hugo Riemann, ‘*Arsis*’, in *Dictionnaire de musique*, trans. Georges Humbert (Paris: Perrin et C^{ie}, 1899), 34–5.

One early consequence of the tension between definitions arose in Lhoumeau's accompaniment manual of 1892. He, like other chant theorists, adopted *arsis* as the rise and *thesis* as the fall, and proposed a graphical system of arcs which he claimed represented the rise and fall of one's hand, an anacrusic note or notes being superscribed with a horizontal line attached to the ensuing arc. In spite of maintaining the metrical definition of *arsis*, Lhoumeau applied the musical custom of placing chords ordinarily on the *thesis*, producing a syncopated effect whereby textual accents are desynchronised from chord changes in his accompaniments. What we choose to term the 'Lhoumeau effect' may be observed in ex. 80, where the chords at 'dexteram Patris' align not with accented syllables but with the unaccented syllables instead.⁴⁷³ The 'Lhoumeau effect' cropped up in a later journal article, where the final notes of neumes were made to coincide with the downbeat of a bar (ex. 81).⁴⁷⁴ The consistency with which Lhoumeau set chords shows incontrovertibly that his practice was no fluke, and embodied a determined yoking of the contradictory definitions of *arsis* and *thesis*.

It seems likely that Lhoumeau's concept of 'masculine' and 'feminine' phrase endings was derived from the Swiss music theorist Mathis Lussy (1828–1910), whose writings are liberally quoted in Lhoumeau's accompaniment manual. According to Lussy, a slow tempo could transform a weak, feminine ending into a strong, masculine one.⁴⁷⁵ Lhoumeau held that an ending was invariably masculine when the terminal syllable was set to a single note, and feminine when set to a neume. The masculine ending was obviously easier to harmonise, because it simply involved placing a single chord on the terminal chant note. The feminine ending was not so straightforward, because it required a bass note to be placed on the first note of the neume and an inner note to be suspended, its resolution not occurring until the terminal chant note. The beginning of a terminal neume could also be demarcated by an appoggiatura. The arcs in ex. 82 terminate in short horizontal strokes to

⁴⁷³Lhoumeau, *Rythme, exécution et accompagnement*, pp. 5, 13, 240, 245, 329.

⁴⁷⁴Antonin Lhoumeau, 'Un accord pour chaque neume?', *Revue du chant grégorien* 1, no. 11 (15 June 1893): 140; The final note is evidently a mistranscription.

⁴⁷⁵Mathis Lussy, *Traité de l'expression musicale : accents, nuances et mouvements dans la musique vocale et instrumentale*, 1st ed. (Paris: Heugel et C^{ie}, 1874), 19–20, 22.

indicate endings of the feminine type. The direction ‘r. p.’ stands for the ‘rallentando poco’ Lhoumeau believed would transform feminine endings into masculine ones.

The accompaniment quoted in ex. 83 demonstrates not only Lhoumeau’s practice when faced with such *rallentandi* but also how he applied rhythmic arcs to melismatic chants. In the absence of changing syllables, the disposition of arcs was entirely dependent on the musical matter. Notches midway through these arcs indicate subdivisions within neumes of many notes. The junction between arcs or notches was simultaneously the *thesis* of one phrase and the *arsis* of the next, and it appears as though a hierarchy of musical accents in a phrase determined which accent was more important than another. Perhaps Coussemaker’s notion of the circumflex contributed to Lhoumeau’s understanding of those junctions; perhaps, also, Lhoumeau simply applied the concept of elision to the musical material.⁴⁷⁶

3.2.2 *The decline of the École Niedermeyer*

A group of Francophone Catholics became suspicious of Niedermeyer’s principles (including, in particular, the diatonicism that they espoused) owing to that theorist’s being a Protestant. Félix Clément (1822–85) argued in 1872 that Catholic music could not be based on any such heresy, and considered Niedermeyer’s diatonicism to be unsuited to the Catholic Church:

La théorie de l’accompagnement *unitonique*, qui a envahi un grand nombre de nos églises, est une hérésie musicale dont l’oreille et la raison finiront par triompher, mais qui fait en attendant, et de jour en jour, des ravages incessants, et cause un chant religieux qu’il défigure le plus grand dommage.⁴⁷⁷

The theory of unitonic accompaniment, which has invaded a great number of our churches, is a musical heresy over which the ear and reason will eventually triumph, but which in the meantime, and day by day, wreaks boundless havoc and causes the greatest harm to the sacred chant which it disfigures.

Clément proposed a method of his own which he reportedly derived from classical French practice: chant was presented alternately in the top and bottom parts of a four-part texture while chromatic inner parts accompanied.⁴⁷⁸ Clément believed his own was a more

⁴⁷⁶Lhoumeau, *Rythme, exécution et accompagnement*, 33–4, 240–43.

⁴⁷⁷Clément, *Méthode complète*, 360.

⁴⁷⁸Félix Clément, ‘Accompagnement du plain-chant’, in *Méthode, d’orgue d’harmonie et d’accompagnement*, vol. 4 (Paris: Hachette, 1873), 191, 194.

appropriate method, a belief he reiterated in 1894 when proposing the system again. But the contrapuntal writing in ex. 84 can hardly be considered to be the work of someone concerned with tradition, because apart from the harmonic tautology the alto part frequently incorporates the prohibited interval of a diminished fifth.⁴⁷⁹ Clément's system was therefore anachronistic and a far cry from the practice of composers such as Titelouze and Nivers. Leßmann attributed Lhoumeau's preference for cadential sharpening to a lack of widespread adoption of Niedermeyer's theory,⁴⁸⁰ Lhoumeau having taken the approach from Morelot's descriptions of tetrachordal substitution (see pp. 87 and 88 above).⁴⁸¹

A group of influential Catholic composers nonetheless continued to advocate Niedermeyer's anti-sharpening principles. Niedermeyer was survived at the École bearing his name by his son-in-law Gigout, who propagated those principles to the next generation of musicians, including to Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924). Gigout not only delivered lessons in chant, counterpoint, fugue and the organ from 1860 to 1885, but also contributed to the second edition of Niedermeyer's *Traité* in 1876, for which he composed an appendix of music examples.⁴⁸² As a complementary exercise, Gigout composed three volumes of *Chants du Gradual et du Vespéral Romains* which were sold separately by the publisher at a reduced price to encourage their adoption by French and Belgian *maîtres de chapelle* and to discourage unauthorised copying.⁴⁸³

Gigout also applied Niedermeyer's principles to a new kind of diatonic composition published in *Cent pièces brèves dans la tonalité du plain-chant* towards the end of the 1880s. Although the collection has today been hailed as one of the first attempts to adapt the modes of plainchant to modern harmony,⁴⁸⁴ it might be more realistic to consider it the first attempt at expanding Niedermeyer's principles beyond the limits of chant accompaniment.⁴⁸⁵ Gigout programmed some of those modal pieces in a recital at the

⁴⁷⁹Félix Clément, *Méthode d'orgue et d'accompagnement : comprenant toutes les connaissances nécessaires pour devenir un habile organiste*, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Paris: Hachette et C^{ie}, 1894), 191.

⁴⁸⁰Leßmann, *Die Rezeption*, 220.

⁴⁸¹Lhoumeau, *De l'altération*, 4, 8, 14, 16–17.

⁴⁸²Leßmann, 'All These Rhythms Are in Nature', p. 134 n. 1; Leßmann notes Gigout contributed to the second edition of Niedermeyer's text, referring quite correctly to the 'Nouvelle' edition of 1876 and not the '2è tirage' of 1859 which was little more than a re-print of the first edition.

⁴⁸³Gigout, 'Partie pratique', unpaginated 'Note des éditeurs'.

⁴⁸⁴Jacques Viret, *Le chant grégorien et la tradition grégorienne* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 2001), 177.

⁴⁸⁵*Eugène Gigout, *Cent pièces brèves dans la tonalité du plain-chant (modes naturels et transposés) pour*

Trocadéro and reaffirmed his commitment to Niedermeyer's legacy as late as 1921 by including further modal pieces in the collection *Cent pièces brèves nouvelles...*, published in London by J. & W. Chester.⁴⁸⁶

Gigout disagreed with certain reforms imposed on the École Niedermeyer by the anticlerical campaign of the Third Republic, leading him to resign his post and to establish a school of church music on his own account in 1885.⁴⁸⁷ Ironically, Gigout's Institut d'orgue actually benefited from the same campaign of anticlericalism when it came to locate a venue for the school's activities. The Salle-Albert-le-Grand, a recently vacated Dominican convent, offered itself as the ideal location, not only due to its central location in the Parisian eighth arrondissement but also because it housed a Merklin organ. When the Dominicans reclaimed the premises in 1887, however, Gigout was required to relocate the Institut to his residence at 63 bis rue Jouffroy, for which he acquired a three-manual Orgue de salon from Cavaillé-Coll.⁴⁸⁸

Classes were divided into two strands. The lower made a special study of 'des cadences grégoriennes' and also the realisation of figured bass, along with studies on keyboard and pedal technique. The upper studied the interpretation of repertoire, organ registration and improvisation. Both strands also studied the accompaniment of chant according to Niedermeyer's principles. The Institut was principally aimed at amateur musicians who paid the hefty sum of 40 F. in monthly tuition fees.⁴⁸⁹ In 1900 it was relocated once again, this time to 113 avenue de Villiers, and closed entirely in 1911 when Gigout was appointed organ teacher at the Paris Conservatoire.⁴⁹⁰

Gigout's authority on church music made him attractive to chant theoreticians who sought approval for and approbation of their rhythmic theories. One such theory was

orgue ou harmonium (Paris: Heugel, [c.1888]).

⁴⁸⁶Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 138.

⁴⁸⁷The year 1895 is incorrectly provided in Guy Hartopp, *Paris, a Concise Musical History* (Delaware: Vernon Press, 15 February 2019), 252, probably the result of a typographical error.

⁴⁸⁸Carolyn Shuster-Fournier, *Les orgues de salon d'Aristide Cavaillé-Coll* (Paris: Cahiers et mémoires de l'orgue, 1997), 83.

⁴⁸⁹Kurt Lueders, 'Gigout', in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIX^e siècle*, ed. Joël-Marie Fauquet (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 515; Also referenced in Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant*, 116.

⁴⁹⁰Syllabus printed in *Le ménestrel*, 11 October 1885, p. 360; Cited with discussion in Mark D. Bailey, 'Eugène Gigout and His Course for Organ, Improvisation, and Plainchant', *The American Organist* 28 (March 1994): 76–9.

proposed in 1889 by the abbé Auguste Teppe (1838–1906) and is described in rather understated terms by a biographer as being ‘a bit abstract’ (‘un peu abstrait’).⁴⁹¹ That abstraction did not preclude Gigout from composing two accompaniments to the Christmas introit ‘Puer natus est’, rhythmised according to the system. The first (ex. 85) comprises mainly sustained chords while the second (ex. 86) comprises a more independent keyboard part—in both cases the harmony remains resolutely diatonic.⁴⁹² Teppe claimed that the chant could be delegated to a violin, cello or flute, and, in presenting Gigout’s harmonisations, made the bold assertion that the rhythmic theory enjoyed ‘l’adhésion des maîtres’. Gigout’s allegiance lay not with Teppe, however, but with Niedermeyer, a fact Teppe was not careful enough to suppress when he relayed part of Gigout’s correspondence:

<p>Il ne m’a fallu abandonner en rien les principes d’harmonisation grégorienne posés par mon illustre maître Niedermeyer, principes qui se combinent parfaitement avec n’importe quelle donnée rythmique du chant grégorien.⁴⁹³</p>	<p><i>I did not have to abandon in any way the principles of Gregorian harmonisation laid down by my illustrious teacher Niedermeyer, principles that align perfectly with any rhythmic approach to Gregorian chant.</i></p>
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Teppe commissioned other composers to write more harmonisations based on his system into the early years of the twentieth century,⁴⁹⁴ but not everyone proved receptive to Teppe’s requests. Émile Bouichère (1861–95), then *maître de chapelle* of La Trinité, Paris, declined an invitation to compose an accompaniment because he simply did not hold with Teppe’s theory.⁴⁹⁵ That stance was also taken by the Widor student and editor of the Parisian journal *Le Ménestrel* Henry Eymieu (1860–1931), who, along with one F. Emery-Desbrousses, nevertheless politely acknowledged Teppe’s competence in musical matters.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹¹L[éon] Joly, ‘L’abbé Auguste Teppe’, *Bulletin de la Société Gorini* 3 (1906): 8, 337, 351.

⁴⁹²Teppe’s use of ties appears to follow no logical framework and therefore differs slightly from that represented here which have been modified to follow the disposition of syllables.

⁴⁹³Eugène Gigout to Auguste Teppe, 5 October 1890, published in Auguste Teppe, *Premier problème grégorien : nature et fixation du rythme liturgique paroissial*, ‘Nouvelle’ edition (Châlons-Sur-Marne: F. Thouille, 1889), 5, 255–31; Inconsistencies in Teppe’s slurring and omissions of dots are corrected in the transcriptions which are the work of the present author.

⁴⁹⁴*Auguste Teppe, ed., *Livre d’orgue* (Paris: Loret fils & H. Freytag), a collection of harmonisations that reportedly obviated the need for Teppe to publish *Le second problème grégorien*. See Auguste Teppe, *Parallélisme : vers et strophes dans le texte hébraïque des psaumes* (Châtillon-sur-Chalaronne: Louis Chaduc, 1900), 19

⁴⁹⁵Dom Antoine Delpech to Mocquereau, 8 February 1894, *F-SO*.

⁴⁹⁶Henry Eymieu and F. Emery-Desbrousses, *Études et biographies musicales suivies d’un aperçu sur les*

3.2.3 Charles Mégret and a forum for investigative composition

Teppe was not alone in commissioning accompaniments to promote a rhythmic theory. The Solesmes monk Dom Charles Mégret (1853–1933) used the same strategy to popularise Pothier’s free oratorical rhythm. Mégret had been tasked with photographing European manuscripts for the new Solesmian publication *Paléographie musicale* which will be discussed in more detail below (§ 4.1.1),⁴⁹⁷ and when he left Solesmes for Saint-Martin de Ligugé in the early 1890s he established himself as something of an authority on chant performance practice. Mégret published a textbook on the subject under the nom-de-plume ‘Gregorianus’, which was nonetheless attributed to Mégret in 1893 by one sharp-eyed German cataloguer.⁴⁹⁸

Archival material on Mégret is either vague or has not yet come to light,⁴⁹⁹ and not even his obituary discloses much, offering little more than a taciturn account of his support for Pothier’s rhythm.⁵⁰⁰ Although Mégret discarded his anonymity in 1892 when he vouchsafed that Pothier’s was the only true method (‘à notre humble avis, il n’y a qu’une bonne méthode : c’est celle de D. Pothier’),⁵⁰¹ he evidently preferred keeping his contributions on the subject anonymous. He edited a five-volume collection of accompaniments between 1892 and 1893 that do not bear his name, yet his identity was something of an open secret in Benedictine circles where the collection was known, at least to some, as ‘Mégret’s volumes’ (‘les livraisons de Mégret’).⁵⁰²

origines et l’harmonisation du plain-chant (Paris: Fischbacher, 1892), 167.

⁴⁹⁷Mégret’s ordination date of 11 July 1884 as included in *Bibliographie des Bénédictins de la congrégation de France* (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1889), 133 pre-dates his entry into Solesmes; The *Paléographie*’s initial members are noted in Alicia Scarcez, ‘Les écrits sur le plain-chant de Gevaert et les éditions critiques de Solesmes’, *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 64 (2010): 161 n. 27.

⁴⁹⁸The textbook in question, *Des conseils pratiques sur le chant liturgique dans les séminaires, les communautés et les paroisses*, is attributed to Mégret in Beda Plaine, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Benedictiner-Congregation in den Jahren 1891 und 1892’, ed. Maurus Kinter, *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner- und dem Cistercienser-orden* 14 (1893): 104.

⁴⁹⁹Some eighty six letters between Mégret and Pothier are preserved in the Saint-Wandrille archives, but at the time of writing are not yet digitised for consultation: Saint-Wandrille archivist Frère Thomas Zanetti to the author, 26 October 2020 and 24 February 2021 on the subject of *F-SWF*: 1 W 105.

⁵⁰⁰‘Dom Charles Mégret’, *Revue du chant grégorien* 37, no. 2 (March–April 1933): 63.

⁵⁰¹Charles Mégret, *Le chant liturgique dans les séminaires, les communautés et les paroisses*, 2nd ed. (Ligugé: Imprimerie Saint-Martin, 1892), 53.

⁵⁰²Antoine Delpech to André Mocquereau, 17 April 1903, *F-SO*; Mégret’s involvement is made explicit in 1914 by the Librairie de l’art catholique which printed his name in square brackets. See the catalogue of works in Jean Parisot, *L’accompagnement modal du chant grégorien* (Paris: Librairie de l’art catholique,

Pothier outlined his preferences for accompaniments to Mégard directly in January of 1892:

Deux principes sont admis : 1^{er} Il faut que les accords respectent la tonalité grégorienne, certaines altérations sont-elles, ou ne sont-elles pas contraires ? Ceci peut encore être discuté, bien que je regarde ces altérations comme très dangereuses et que je ne les aime pas. 2^b Le rythme également doit être respecté, et pour cela, il faut n'accompagner que les notes appelées réelles par les harmonistes : notes qui sont surtout celles qui tombent au point du départ (arsis) et au point d'arrivé (thesis) de chaque division ou petite partie du mouvement. Les notes non accompagnées ne font pas à proprement parlant dissonance, elles ne comptent pas dans l'harmonie.⁵⁰³

Two principles are accepted. First, chords must respect the Gregorian tonality. Do certain changes [sharps] contradict it or do they not? This can be discussed further, although I consider these changes [sharps] to be most dangerous and I dislike them. Second, the rhythm must also be respected, and to achieve that only the notes harmonisers call real are to be accompanied, especially those that occur at the up-beat (arsis) and at the down-beat (thesis) of each division or small part of the movement. Unaccompanied notes are not strictly speaking dissonances, they do not count in the harmony.

Pothier would later voice his support for Lhoumeau's treatise, though he conceded that there existed many different ways of applying chant rhythm to the accompaniment.⁵⁰⁴ Although not keen to embroil himself publicly in the debate, Pothier proposed to Mégard that harmonisers be tasked with composing accompaniments so that an optimum approach could be arrived at through practice.

Solesmian chant books furnished a kind of scientific control for each experiment, the reader being directed to find the original melody in either the *Liber gradualis* or two other chant books co-produced by Pothier and Dom Raphaël Andoyer, *Variae preces ad Benedictionem SS. Sacramenti praesertim cantandae* and *Processionale monasticum*.⁵⁰⁵ The layout of Mégard's volumes was comparative in nature, usually presenting the chant in

1914), 6.

⁵⁰³Pothier to Mégard, January 1892, *F-SO*.

⁵⁰⁴Pothier to Lhoumeau, 10 May 1892, unpaginated 'Approbations' in Lhoumeau, *Rythme, exécution et accompagnement*.

⁵⁰⁵Combe, *Histoire*, 142; Combe, *Restoration*, 122; References to the *Variae* do not concord with page numbers in the third edition which appeared in 1892 and either refer to **Variae preces ad Benedictionem SS. Sacramenti praesertim cantandae*, 1st ed. (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1888) or to the second edition that appeared in 1889; References to the *Processionale* concord with *Processionale monasticum*, 1st ed. (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1888).

quadratic notation atop a transcription into modern notation, the lowest two staves of the system comprising the accompaniment itself. Accompaniments were commissioned of the best known organist-composers of the age and were reproduced in the notational style used by each composer. Thus, notational differences could be exemplified at the expense of a complicated *mise-en-page* that seemingly exceeded the capabilities of the Ligugé printing press. Instead of producing the volumes in-house, then, Ligugé delegated the process of their lithography to the Baudoux printing firm, whose premises at 13 rue Saint-François in the nearby city of Poitiers was probably convenient enough for Mégrét to inspect the proofs. Ligugé nevertheless advertised the collection as part of the Imprimerie de Saint-Martin catalogue, an example of which was included in the back-matter of Mégrét's 1892 textbook. That advertisement claims the publication incorporated notation from twelfth-century manuscripts ('écriture imitée des manuscrits du XII^e siècle'), a notion that had perhaps germinated while Mégrét photographed similar such manuscripts for the *Paléographie musicale*. Each volume cost 6 F., the first four being available together for the discounted price of 20 F.⁵⁰⁶ Though not mentioned in any of these first four volumes, a fifth was subsequently published. Considering that the copy of the fifth volume deposited at the British Museum bears the stamped date of July 1893, it is likely that it was not produced until that year, and after Mégrét's textbook had been sent to print.

Several contributions to Mégrét's volumes will be discussed over the following paragraphs, but the reader should recognise the difficulty in deducing a composer's personal preferences from the guidelines which he may have been advised to follow. Composers could have been coached in Pothier's dictum, and may have therefore contrived accompaniments that avoided chromatic pitches which they might otherwise have employed—a few accompaniments making use of sharps are included, though they are conspicuously not attributed to anybody. Personal preference is particularly difficult to quantify in the case of musical chameleons such as Gigout, who seemed quite at ease composing in different idioms. Nonetheless, the fact that many accompaniments omit the

⁵⁰⁶Mégrét, *Le chant liturgique*, 19 and appendix entitled 'Imprimerie Saint-Martin à Ligugé (Vienne)' p. 4.

chant entirely should not be dismissed, since it evidences a growing trend among composers to fashion a less intrusive organ part.

3.2.4 *The quest for an optimum accompaniment*

The accompaniments in Mégret's volumes will here be discussed according to their layouts which divide into at least four categories. The first category concerns Gigout's adaptability and comprises four accompaniments. In two, the chant is not always reproduced in the accompaniment, and some passages are left unaccompanied since they were presumably intended to be delegated to a cantor (ex. 87). A footnote advises the reader that 'notes retain their customary values' ('les notes conservent leur valeur habituelle'),⁵⁰⁷ opening something of a lexical gap in English where 'habituelle' could mean either a mensural accompaniment (if the notation were considered divisible) or a freely rhythmmed one (if modern notation were used purely for the sake of convenience). In another case, Gigout maintains the chant in the top part throughout while other parts are laid out in a four-part chorale texture (ex. 88).⁵⁰⁸ A further case not only pits 'tutti' and 'solo' forces against each other but also marks certain passages 'più lento' and others 'mouvement plus vif'. Some of the former seem to incorporate more rests, as if the slower tempo required more acoustic space (ex. 89), though it is difficult to tell whether that was determined by rule or by flight of fancy. In any event, an editorial note describes one chant as being solely 'of archaeological interest', but it is unclear whether the piece was proscribed by ecclesiastical authorities or whether it simply held little value in Mégret's eyes.⁵⁰⁹

Contrasting sections are also a characteristic of an accompaniment by the Versailles cathedral organist Dominique-Charles Planchet (1857–1946) who permitted his accompanying parts to drop in and out without reproducing the melody.⁵¹⁰ Léon Boëllmann (1862–97) also regulates the number of parts by omitting the chant, a procedure he could have derived from Gigout himself since the two shared close personal

⁵⁰⁷*Mémoires tirées*, 1:3, 5.

⁵⁰⁸*Mémoires tirées*, 2:7.

⁵⁰⁹Note des Editeurs: 'Cette pièce n'a qu'un intérêt purement archéologique. Nous l'avons cependant laissée à titre de curiosité, persuadés qu'elle sera étudiée avec plaisir. See *Mémoires tirées*, 4:20.

⁵¹⁰Compare, for instance, the homophonic texture at 'Precibus ergo tuis' to the refrain at 'O Hilari' in *Mémoires tirées*, 4:6–9.

links (the Boëllmann–Gigout connection was strengthened by Boëllmann’s marriage to Gigout’s niece in 1885, after which the newly wedded couple joined Gigout at his residence and Léon began teaching at the Institut d’orgue).⁵¹¹ Like Gigout, Boëllmann freely alternated between three and four parts; but unlike him, Boëllmann tried out a different way of indicating rests when the parts strayed above or below the staff. Unlike conventional semibreve and minim rests which would affix themselves to upper and lower ledger lines (← and →), Boëllmann rendered the horizontal rectangle without the ledger line (ex. 90). While this remains an innocuous detail, it was borne of Boëllmann’s understanding of chant mensuration which also required rests of longer durations to be notated similarly to breve rests.

The second category concerns the chord-against-note procedure which, contrary to Kunc’s best expectations, had not disappeared entirely by 1892. Charles-François Gounod (1818–93) was among those composers who adopted the style, admitting 5/3 and 6/3 chords alone. This approach was consistent with Niedermeyer’s method but was avowedly old hat for the 1890s. At first glance, Gounod’s accompaniment (quoted in ex. 91) appears rather more turgid than accompaniments by other composers who employed fewer chords, though his advice that it should ‘flow with care’ was probably intended as a warning against laborious performances (‘Couler cet accompagnement avec soin’).⁵¹² Performative challenges led Émile Brune to advise that proportional notation was only intended for inner parts and that the chant was intended to be performed in free rhythm (vol. 5 p. 25).⁵¹³

⁵¹¹Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 216–17.

⁵¹²*Mélodies tirées*, 3:7, 13; The second part from the top in the third chord following the double barline is probably a misprint and should be a ‘G’ since it is rendered as such when the same accompaniment is repeated later on.

⁵¹³Brune advises ‘Les notes n’ont de valeur proportionnelle que dans les parties intermédiaires et inférieures’.

Gounod's preference for a supple performance of chant was corroborated by several journalistic accounts that appeared after his death. The following anecdote, for instance, notes Gounod's preference for Pothier's chant editions:

Puis, montant à son orgue, il chanta en s'accompagnant l'Alleluia du Commun des Martyrs, le *Beatus vir* d'un Confesseur non Pontife, le *Sicut lilium* de la messe de la *Pureté de la Vierge*, des graduels pris au hasard dans ce merveilleux Commun des Saints. 'N'est-ce pas que c'est beau ?' me disit-il. 'C'est une gerbe mélodique qui monte, comme un nuage d'encens, jusqu'au ciel.'⁵¹⁴

Then, going up to his organ, he accompanied himself singing the Alleluia from the Common of Martyrs, the Beatus vir of a non-Pontiff Confessor, the Sicut lilium from the Mass of the Purity of the Virgin, and some graduels taken at random from the wonderful Common of Saints. 'Isn't that beautiful?', he said to me. 'It is a melodic wreath that rises like a cloud of incense to the heavens.'

Gounod had declined an invitation from Lhoumeau to compose an accompaniment in 1889, saying he awaited a certain forthcoming text by Pothier before committing harmonic thoughts to paper. The sixteen-page publication entitled **Principes pour la bonne exécution du chant grégorien* of 1891 coincided with Gounod's completion of a new *Requiem*,⁵¹⁵ factors that likely made him more amenable to receiving Mégret's advances. Among the other composers who preferred the chord-against-note style were Dubois and Hanon who offered no performance directions to refute the allegation that their methods remained largely unchanged from those we examined above in the previous chapter. Widor also adopted the texture (ex. 92), though we shall return to his contribution below (§ 3.2.7).

The third category concerns contributions largely by Belgian musicians who adopted the filled-and-void notational style, though not without certain novel elaborations on Van Damme's practice. A contribution by Van Damme is joined, for instance, by two others

⁵¹⁴ Auguste-Jean Boyer d'Agen, *Considérations sur le génie du christianisme, les beaux-arts : introduction aux mélodies grégoriennes* (Paris: H. Oudin, 1894), pp. xi–xii. The *Revue du chant grégorien* ascribes the anecdote to the Lyon organist Jules Ruest in 1893—see Jules Ruest, 'Gounod et le chant grégorien', *Revue du chant grégorien* 2, no. 4 (15 November 1893): 62—though it retracts that attribution in a subsequent issue; The anecdote could either be set in the Parisian church of Saint-Cloud where Gounod was the organist since 1877 or at his private residence at 20 place Malesherbes, for which he acquired an *Orgue de salon* from Cavaillé coll in 1879. See Shuster-Fournier, *Les orgues de salon d'Aristide Cavaillé-Coll*, 73.

⁵¹⁵ Combe, *Histoire*, 180; Combe, *Restoration*, 156; It has not been possible to consult the *Requiem*'s MS to determine the dates of composition since it is held in a private collection, but they range from 1889 to 1891. See Charles Gounod, *Requiem in C*, ed. Barbara Grossmann (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 2011), p. iii; Lhoumeau was put in contact with Gounod by a mutual acquaintance and former school friend of Gounod's Bishop Charles-Louis Gay; For Lhoumeau's report of Gounod's refusal, see Lhoumeau to Pothier, n.d., *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (a) 59.

by Tinel, whose preference for an unobtrusive registration (see p. 107 above) found its match in an equally unobtrusive keyboard texture. Only two or sometimes three parts are used in the accompaniment which does not comprehend the notes of the chant itself: the accompanying parts are placed in the lower registers of the keyboard, perhaps to match the pitch of sung voices (ex. 93).⁵¹⁶ Another adherent to filled-and-void notation was one ‘abbé Busschaert’, who was probably Tinel’s acquaintance, the Belgian priest Pieter Lodewijk Busschaert (1840–92).⁵¹⁷ Although it is possible that filled-and-void notation passed from Tinel to Busschaert outside the normal regimen of classes at the Lemmens Institute, a closer scrutiny of Busschaert’s accompaniments reveals an avoidance of Tinel’s obliques (ex. 94).⁵¹⁸ Tinel notes in a seven-column necrology published in 1892 that Busschaert was a musical autodidact,⁵¹⁹ so he probably arrived at his own conclusions on the matter. The inclusion of Busschaert’s accompaniment begs the question, however: why was the work of a musical amateur published alongside compositions by professionals? Few answers come readily from the accompaniments themselves, though maybe Pothier and Mégrét deemed his being a priest sufficient, perhaps believing that musical inspiration could arrive by spiritual means. Given the somewhat exploratory *modus operandi* of Mégrét’s volumes, the idea does not seem far-fetched.

We have already evaluated how Aloys Desmet’s use of rests differed from Tinel’s (see p. 112 above), but he too elaborated on Van Damme’s advice that singers need not dwell on notes in parentheses. Such notes were not to be played at all, in fact,⁵²⁰ a recommendation that was also made by one Louis Vanhoutte. Meanwhile, Émile de Groote transcribed the chant by slurring each neume; chords were changed at the first notes of these neumes in a manner that was not dissimilar to Van Damme’s procedure. The Jesuit F. J. Brault, by

⁵¹⁶*Mémoires tirées*, 4:1–2.

⁵¹⁷Tinel had previously dedicated his opus 39 composition *Der XXIX. Psalm* to Busschaert with the dedication reading ‘seinem Freunde dem Hochw[ürden] Herrn P[ieter] Busschaert’. See Edgar Tinel, *Der XXIX. Psalm. : Vierstimmiger Männerchor ohne Begleitung* (Leipzig and Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, [c.1890]), 1.

⁵¹⁸*Mémoires tirées*, 4:11.

⁵¹⁹The necrology is printed in the Brussels-based *Musica sacra*, spelled as *Musis Sacrae* in Herbert Antcliffe, ‘Music and the Flemish Movement’, *The Musical Times* 87, no. 1244 (1946): 300; Note that a † symbol is placed adjacent to Busschaert’s name, indicating that he predeceased the appearance of his accompaniments in print.

⁵²⁰A footnote reads ‘Note de l’auteur: Les notes entre parenthèses ne se jouent pas.’

contrast, transcribed neumes and certain individual notes as small notes which were not to be played by the organ at all (ex. 95).

The fourth category concerns mensural transcriptions without conventional barlines or indications of meter. In one case, Gevaert transcribed neumes in shorter note values, with some even being notated as triplets (ex. 96). The dotted, single and double barlines which, along with fermata marks, delimit sections of the chant seem to embody Gevaert's view that one phrase was to be separated from the next.⁵²¹ In another case, the Swedish composer and plainchant historian Oscar Byström (1821–1909) anticipated a wider movement in the reform of Sweden's church music by contributing a kind of mensural accompaniment of his own. He used triplets and dotted rhythms with barlines to cast the accompaniment quoted in ex. 97 in a metrical scheme that changed between 6/8 and 4/4 time signatures. Moreover, Byström later included a mensurated example of the Christmas sequence 'Lætabundus' in a revision of his chamber work *Quartetto Svedese* in 1895,⁵²² introducing a new 'Intermezzo' as the third movement. In this, the chant was provided a section of its own.⁵²³ Byström's interest in chant eventually sparked what may be considered a kind of Lutheran Cecilian movement in Sweden. In consequence, the Swedish king appointed the composer and former ecclesiastic Gunnar Wennerberg (1817–1901) to oversee a new publication fit for the nation's church services, and from 1897 *Musika till Svenska Mässan* reinstated Renaissance music in the Swedish liturgy.⁵²⁴

Lhoumeau's contribution to Mégret's volumes is worthy of note in itself since it proposes a metronome marking and dispenses with the quadratic notation above the transcription. His *arsis-thesis*, masculine-feminine approach is evident in chord changes that coincide with the first and last notes of neumes (ex. 98).⁵²⁵ The *quilisma* shown in

⁵²¹ *Mémoires tirées*, 2:12, 16–17, 19; 4:2–3.

⁵²² Sverker Jullander, 'Retaining the Fine Bouquet: Otto Olsson's Use of Plainsong in Organ Music', in *Liturgical Organ Music in the Long Nineteenth Century: Preconditions, Repertoires and Border-Crossings*, ed. Peter Peitsalo and Markus Kuikka, DocMus Research Publications 10 (Helsinki: Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts, 2008), 210.

⁵²³ A reproduction of what appears to be the fair copy of Byström's *Quartetto svedese* is published by Hans Ahlberg Musik: Oscar Byström, 'String Quartet 'Swedish'', IMSLP, accessed 9 February 2021, [https://imslp.org/wiki/String_Quartet_%27Swedish%27_\(Bystr%C3%B6m%2C_Oscar\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/String_Quartet_%27Swedish%27_(Bystr%C3%B6m%2C_Oscar)).

⁵²⁴ Sverker Jullander, 'Gregoriansk sång i svensk gudstjänst: Historiska och aktuella perspektiv', in *Kyrkomusik: ett tema med variationer*, ed. Stephan Borgehammer and Jonas Lundblad, Svenskt gudstjänstliv 87 (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma bokförlag, 2012), 58.

⁵²⁵ *Processionale monasticum*, 1:287.

ex. 99 is also noteworthy for being transcribed as a diminutive note. Moreover, Lhoumeau indicated section breaks by using barlines.⁵²⁶

3.2.5 Accompaniment and the popularising of free rhythm

Lhoumeau recognised the potential in Mégret's venture to benefit not just the practice of accompaniment but also the chant restoration movement more generally, vocalising to Pothier that a more consolidated effort could prove most beneficial.⁵²⁷ By the beginning of 1893, Lhoumeau had set his sights on a wider suite of measures to popularise Benedictine chant and proposed an ambitious plan to recruit compositional talent under the aegis of Pothier's authority:

Il y a de Lyon, les Trillat, [Jules] Rüest, l'abbé [C.] Marcetteau, probablement [Émile] Brune et un autre. Je verrai à [Alexandre] Guilmant, [Charles-Marie] Widor de St Sulpice et [Edgar] Tinel avec [Henri] Eymieu, le rédacteur du *Ménestrel*. Le Comité étudiera et travaillera avec moi, sous votre présidence effective. Donc on travaillera à la publication de pièces accompagnées, traduites pour cela en musique, arrangées p^f voix et orgue, ou p^f chœurs à plusieurs parties, soit pour orgue seul, même pour orchestre. On les fera connaître partout, on intéressera le public musicien à cela, on fera du grégorien au lutrin, mais aussi dans les chorales, à l'orgue et aux concerts, mais du vrai, selon *votre* école, et mes livraisons annoncées seront le 1^{er} champ de bataille de ces MM. Qu'en dites-vous ? Ce sera l'affaire de D. Mégret mais plus sérieux, dans le vrai cette fois.⁵²⁸

From Lyon, we have the Trillats, [Jules] Ruest, abbé [C.] Marcetteau, probably [Émile] Brune and one other. I will see as to [Alexandre] Guilmant, [Charles-Marie] Widor of Saint-Sulpice and [Edgar] Tinel with [Henry] Eymieu, the editor of Ménestrel. The committee will study and work with me basically under your presidency. So, we will work on the publication of accompaniments transcribed for the purpose into music [modern notation] and arranged either for voices and organ or for choir in several parts or for organ solo, or even for orchestra. We will publicise them everywhere, we will excite the interest of the musical public in them, we will have Gregorian chant performed at the lectern, but also by choirs, on the organ and at concerts, but authentically according to your school, and my proposed volumes will be the first battleground of these gentlemen. What do you say? It will be Dom Mégret's business but more serious, for real this time.

⁵²⁶*Mémoires tirées*, 4:12.

⁵²⁷Lhoumeau to Pothier, 12 May [c.1892], *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (a) 28; In this letter Lhoumeau indicates he had just sent off the above accompaniment to Mégret.

⁵²⁸Lhoumeau to Pothier, 25 January [1893], *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (a) 19; 1893 seems the most plausible year since the letter anticipates reviews of *Rythme, exécution et accompagnement* in *L'Univers* (published on

Lhoumeau had announced a practical supplement to his 1892 accompaniment manual that was to contain transcriptions of Office and other chants into modern notation ('des offices et des pièces diverses').⁵²⁹ The first volume 'Douze mélodies' was announced in *Revue du chant grégorien* on 15 December 1893 and was promised to contain several compositions along the lines of those modal pieces with which Gigout had been experimenting since the 1880s. The dotted barlines in exx. 100 and 101 divided up pieces into binary and ternary groups, pieces that were intended for performance by solo organ.⁵³⁰

Lhoumeau's use of cadential sharpening soon clashed with Pothier's preference for diatonicism. It was a matter of some embarrassment for Lhoumeau when Pothier took to the *Revue du chant grégorien* to dismiss harmonisers such as Lemmens and Lhoumeau for preferring sharpened cadences over the so-called 'tonalité régulière'.⁵³¹ Lhoumeau admitted in the very next issue that his use of sharps had been a mistake,⁵³² and signalled to Pothier in private correspondence that he would delay the third volume to 'improve its content' ('de soigner le travail'),⁵³³ probably to remove sharps. Although Lhoumeau's collection eventually ran to five volumes (table B.6), he admitted that his 'science' was amateurish ('je n'ai qu'une science d'amateur'), and vowed to approach other musicians for assistance.⁵³⁴

Lhoumeau consulted Tinel, Lussy and Guilmant for advice on the transcription of chant into modern notation. He sent each a transcribed music example for their comments, and each confirmed that the chant was well laid out and no difficulties arose from singing it, admittedly quite innocuous statements which hardly justify Lhoumeau's claim that his

13 February) and in *La Croix* (published on 18 February). Lhoumeau also anticipates the following text which does not come to light until later that year: F. L. Comire, 'Le chant grégorien: rythme, exécution et accompagnement d'après un ouvrage récent', *Études religieuses, philosophiques, historiques et littéraires* 54 (May–August 1893): 304–320.

⁵²⁹Lhoumeau, *Rythme, exécution et accompagnement*, pp. xviii–xix, 312–20.

⁵³⁰Original copies of Lhoumeau's volumes were not available to consult, though extracts therefrom were reproduced some years later, in Amédée Gastoué, *Traité d'harmonisation du chant grégorien sur un plan nouveau* (Lyon: Janin Frères, 1910), pp 74–6; Lhoumeau probably transcribed the chants from Pothier, *Liber Gradualis*, pp. 465–6, [43–4].

⁵³¹Joseph Pothier, 'De la tonalité du 'Sanctus' et de 'l'Agnus Dei' à la messe de 'Requiem'', *Revue du chant grégorien* 2, no. 8 (15 March 1894): 133.

⁵³²Antonin Lhoumeau, 'Observation', *Revue du chant grégorien* 2, no. 9 (15 April 1894): 152.

⁵³³Lhoumeau to Pothier, 6 March [c.1894], *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (a) 6.

⁵³⁴Lhoumeau to Pothier, 29 February [c.1894], *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (a) 4.

approach to transcription was successful.⁵³⁵ Lhoumeau also sent a transcription to Gigout who in turn sent back an accompaniment, asking whether it demonstrated his understanding of the rhythmic scheme. Lhoumeau recounted the event to Pothier:

Gigout a fait mieux ; il m'a renvoyé mon spécimen harmonisé me demandant si son accomp^t prouvait qu'il avait compris ? Et de fait, lui qui pour D. Mégret et ailleurs avait tant gâché, m'a donné du premier coup un accomp^t fort correct ; preuve que le rythme était clair pour lui.⁵³⁶

Gigout did better; he returned my piece harmonised asking if his accompaniment proved whether he had understood? And in fact, he, who according to Dom Mégret and others had bungled everything, gave me at a stroke a completely correct accompaniment, proof that the rhythm was clear to him.

Lhoumeau's side of this correspondence with Gigout could be preserved among some letters presently held at the BNF. One discusses how a transcription of chant into modern notation could lessen difficulties encountered by a harmoniser:

Quant à l'harmonisation du chant grégorien en ce qui concerne le rythme, cette mensuration lève toute difficulté pour le musicien.⁵³⁷

As for the harmonisation of Gregorian chant, as far as the rhythm is concerned, this mensuration lessens any difficulty for the musician.

Another thanks the correspondee for a 'petit essai d'accomp^t' which according to Lhoumeau 'proves that my musical transcription is a clear and steadfast guide' ('[L'accompagnement] me prove que ma traduction musicale est un guide clair et sûr'). The letter goes on to mention how, with the support of 'your institute' ('votre Institut'), French-taught chant practice could be popularised among musicians, particularly in the wake of the École Niedermeyer's decline.⁵³⁸ The way was clear to Lhoumeau: where Regensburg had chant and liturgical compositions in the *Palestrinastil*, France could have chant and liturgical compositions based on Pothier's rhythm.

⁵³⁵Lhoumeau to Pothier, [August 1893], *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (a) 12; Lhoumeau refers to his recent attendance at the installation of Mgr Joulain as bishop of Jaffna, which took place on 24 August 1893. See 'L'ordination de Vilatte', *La Croix* (Paris), 20 February 1907, n.p.

⁵³⁶Lhoumeau to Pothier, n.d., *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (a) 38.

⁵³⁷Antonin Lhoumeau to Unaddressed, 13 or 19 August [c.1893], *F-Pn Dm* 78-199 MUS LA-LHOUMEAU ANTONIN-3 and digitised at *F-Pn IFN*-53150297. Although the BNF catalogues the letter as bearing the date '1^{er} août', the glyph following '1' is more likely either a '3' or a '9', based on further evidence of Lhoumeau's handwriting viewed by the present author. Moreover, the BNF catalogues the letters in reverse chronological order, a fact made clear by comparing them with correspondence in *F-SWF*: 1 W 153.

⁵³⁸Antonin Lhoumeau to Unaddressed, 12 September [c.1893], *F-Pn Dm* 78-199 MUS 'LA-LHOUMEAU ANTONIN-2' and digitised at *F-Pn IFN*-53150298.

First, though, Lhoumeau believed Gigout's allegiance still lay with Tepe (so effective had that individual's bluster been in 1889) and set about trying to win over Gigout to Pothier's side. Lhoumeau acted on Gigout's request for Pothier to send a complimentary copy of 'Mélodies' by conveying the sentiment to Pothier directly. Considering the number of texts published in the era bearing that word in their titles, it is necessarily difficult to pick out which one was to be sent to Gigout, though we may speculate that the text in question must have been *Mélodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition*. In any case, Pothier's cooperation was deemed a prerequisite for gaining Gigout's support:

J'ai reçu une charmante lettre de Gigout qui paraît bien disposé à nous seconder. Il m'a dit qu'il serait très-désireux et très-honoré d'avoir de vous l'hommage des *Mélodies avec une suscription*. Je crois que pour le gagner à la cause et nous en faire un solide appui, vous feriez bien de l'amorcer ainsi, puisqu'il y tient tant. Ce sera le moyen de le détacher de Tepe et autres.⁵³⁹

*I received a charming letter from Gigout who seems well inclined to endorse us. He told me that he would be very eager and honoured to be sent a signed, complimentary copy of *Mélodies*. I believe that to win him over to our cause and to gain his full backing you would do well to entice him in this way, since it matters so much to him. This will be the way to separate him from Tepe and others.*

A copy had not yet been sent by the following December owing to Pothier's being abroad. So, instead, Lhoumeau elected to send on 'ma 1^{re} livraison', which was presumably the first of those volumes of composed pieces discussed above. Evidently in an attempt to pique the interest of his correspondee, Lhoumeau indicated that the tenth piece in the volume had been performed at two organ inauguration concerts in an arrangement for cello solo, organ and violins.⁵⁴⁰ In the *Revue du chant grégorien*, Lhoumeau outlined one such inauguration that took place on 23 June 1894, at which chant harmonisations by Niedermeyer and others were performed alongside organ repertoire to demonstrate how effectively the organ could manage in a liturgical setting. One attendee remarked of the 'mystic effect' produced by the chant, a trait Lhoumeau put down to the chant's having gained for itself an artistic status completely separate from other repertoire.⁵⁴¹ Gigout did not seem particularly receptive to Lhoumeau's advances, though the potential to gain ground on Regensburg with the backing

⁵³⁹ See footnote 535.

⁵⁴⁰ Antonin Lhoumeau to Unaddressed, 18 December [c.1893], *F-Pn Dm* 78-199 MUS 'LA-LHOUMEAU ANTONIN-1' and digitised at *F-Pn IFN*-53150299.

⁵⁴¹ Antonin Lhoumeau, 'Inauguration d'orgue', *Revue du chant grégorien* 2, no. 12 (15 July 1894): 196–7.

of a French musical institution was probably responsible for Lhoumeau's seeking out other figures who could lend him their support.

3.2.6 *Guilmant, Early Music, and the Schola Cantorum*

Institutions like Gigout's Institut d'orgue benefited from a certain degree of independence that was not afforded to state-funded institutions such as the École Niedermeyer and the Paris Conservatoire. Their church music curricula were susceptible to anticlerical misgivings, particularly in the case of the latter where the pedagogy became increasingly focused on secular music. The Conservatoire will be discussed in more detail next, but for the moment we shall examine what came of a failed attempt to reform its curriculum in 1892; namely, that a faction splintered off to establish yet another school of church music, the Schola Cantorum. Led by Charles Bordes (1863–1909), Guilmant and Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931), the Schola Cantorum was established between June and December of 1894 as an alternative to the Conservatoire. Guilmant earned himself the title of president of a related society with far-reaching aims to promote Early Music and plainchant in the liturgy. Bordes established the journal, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais (TSG)*, calling it after his own position as *maître de chapelle* at the Parisian church of the same name. The Schola Cantorum received its first enrollment of pupils in 1896 and embarked on several years of trial and error as its teachers refined the curriculum.⁵⁴²

Since the 1870s, Guilmant had established himself as something of a musical antiquarian by programming Bach and Handel's music in organ recitals.⁵⁴³ Moreover, his authority as *titulaire* at La Trinité permitted him to replace the orchestral transcriptions parishioners had come to expect with more Early Music, particularly when the organ intervened in the course of the liturgy. By 1898, secular music at such occasions had been replaced entirely.⁵⁴⁴

Prior to embarking for Brussels around 1860, Guilmant had gained some experience of accompanying chant when he succeeded Hanon as the organist of the *église Saint-Joseph*,

⁵⁴²Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 221.

⁵⁴³Catrena M. Flint, 'The Schola Cantorum, Early Music and French Political Culture from 1894 to 1914' (McGill University, 2006), 5, 20, 80–82.

⁵⁴⁴Lueders, 'Alexandre Guilmant', 364.

Boulogne-sur-Mer, later becoming the *maître de chapelle* and then the organist at the nearby église Saint-Nicolas (where his father had played).⁵⁴⁵ His biographer Kurt Lueders noted that several MSS of chant harmonisations in Guilmant's hand date from this era,⁵⁴⁶ though Lueders omitted the holograph *F-Pn* MS 6979 which deserves some consideration here.

Although space was allotted beneath transcriptions of chants for harmonisations, only some received four-part accompaniments, others being notated in figured bass or not at all (table B.5). Four elements of Guilmant's process are particularly noteworthy. First, the mensural transcriptions of the chants probably matched the layout of neumes in the chant book Guilmant used. Second, chords were mainly of the 5/3 variety but a smattering of 6/3 were included for good measure. Third, Guilmant sometimes indicated organ registrations at particular moments, such as one instance of an enclosed clarinet stop accompanied by 'Bourdon' and pedal (ex. 102). Foundation stops took over and were probably preferred from the outset of the harmonisation too. Another instance required the player to draw a 'Gambe' before the same phrase was repeated, this time transposed up an octave on an 'Oboë' stop (ex. 103). The 'G^d Chœur' resumes the harmonisation with a *forte* dynamic, producing what is arguably a romantic *Affekt*. Fourth, the pedal part is doubled at the octave above, where its span exceeds that of an octave from the next part up: perhaps the accompaniment was intended to be played on manuals alone or even on a harmonium.⁵⁴⁷

To Mégrét's volumes, Guilmant contributed one accompaniment in the chord-against-note style and another with chords coinciding with the first notes of neumes. Lueders reports that the latter, a harmonisation of 'Media vita', was composed at Guilmant's Meudon residence on 25 June 1891,⁵⁴⁸ making it predate Pothier's dictum quoted above. Neumatic chord changes pervade the accompaniment (ex. 104),⁵⁴⁹ and that tacit practice of tying notes common to consecutive chords is made explicit in the notation. The slurring of neumatic groups is also noteworthy.

⁵⁴⁵Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 69.

⁵⁴⁶Lueders, 'Alexandre Guilmant', pp. 693–4 §28.

⁵⁴⁷*F-Pn* MS 6979 ff. 1v, 2r.

⁵⁴⁸Lueders, 'Alexandre Guilmant', p. 695 §32; Guilmant's 'Media vita' is preserved in **F-Pn* MS 17194, on which the date and place of composition are reported to have been preserved.

⁵⁴⁹*Mémoires tirées*, 1:15.

It is unclear when Lhoumeau's accompaniments came to Guilmant's attention, though the organist received the Montfortian at La Trinité when Guilmant demonstrated several interludes in a new compositional style.⁵⁵⁰ During the 1890s, Guilmant published *Soixante interludes dans la tonalité grégorienne pour orgue ou harmonium* op. 68, which might have proceeded from his demonstrations to Lhoumeau. Like Gigout, therefore, Guilmant turned his attention to composing pieces according to his conception of the Gregorian *tonalité*, and agreed to work with Lhoumeau not only on so-called 'pure' arrangements of chant for organ but on accompaniments too:

Il est question de faire à nous deux, mais avec beaucoup de temps et de soins, des travaux d'accompagnement sur le chant grégorien et aussi d'arrangements *purs* des chants pour orgue. Il m'a dit que cependant il ne croyait pas pouvoir se passer de vos conseils. Vous avez là une belle conquête, plus docile que Lemmens. Qu'en pensez-vous ?⁵⁵¹

It is a matter between us of taking much time and care on accompaniments for Gregorian chant and also on pure arrangements of the chants for organ. He told me, moreover, that he did not think it possible to do without your advice. You have there a fine devotee, more amenable than Lemmens. What do you think?

Guilmant was pleased to learn of Pothier's assent to the proposal and set out to produce accompaniments which, in Lhoumeau's words, would be as unobtrusive as possible.⁵⁵² Faced with the perennial question of where chords should change, Guilmant was unsure how best to proceed. The more Guilmant wished for unobtrusiveness, the more he perceived inadequacies in the way the repertory had been transcribed. Further work was required in rhythmic analysis, a task which, although Lhoumeau accepted it, made him all the more conscious of his musical limitations:

⁵⁵⁰Lhoumeau to Pothier, n.d., *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (a) 74.

⁵⁵¹Lhoumeau to Pothier, 14 June 1894, *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (b) 131.

⁵⁵²Lhoumeau to Pothier, 19 November 1894, *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (b) 137.

Guilmant ne voit d'espérance que dans un accomp^{nt} sobre à l'excès, fort doux, et où le chant soit traité comme un récitatif. C'est tout à fait selon vos idées et les miennes aussi, mais la réalisation de ce plan exige une analyse minutieuse du rythme qu'il me faut faire, et une pratique du métier harmonique que je n'ai pas et qui me fait hésiter souvent.⁵⁵³

Guilmant sees merit only in a very soft accompaniment that is excessively solemn, where the chant is treated as a recitative. That is entirely according to your ideas and mine too, but the realisation of this plan requires both a detailed analysis of the rhythm (which I have to do) and a practice of the harmonic craft which I do not have and which makes me hesitate often.

Results were delayed for quite some time as Lhoumeau undertook work on transcriptions into modern notation.⁵⁵⁴ He even took to the *TSG* to try out a quasi-mensural approach where time signatures continually changed to accommodate shifting accents.⁵⁵⁵

It was in the spirit of mimicking something along the lines of *recitative secco* that Guilmant began introducing rests into the accompaniment, thereby leaving the chant unaccompanied for several notes or perhaps even for several bars. In an uncharacteristic appeal to Regensburg's practice, Lhoumeau mused how Cecilian composers made use of similar devices,⁵⁵⁶ though one notes that Mégrét's volumes had contained examples by Belgian composers who had made use of a similar approach.

Guilmant's wish for discretion might explicate his preference for foundation stops. Lhoumeau set out Guilmant's position on the matter in an 1897 issue of the *TSG*:

Notre vénéré président M. Guilmant, ne cesse d'enseigner aux organistes la prédominance des fonds sur les anches, et l'emploi plus que rare de ces derniers jeux pour accompagner les voix.⁵⁵⁷

Our revered president Mr Guilmant, continues to teach organists the predominance of foundations over reeds, and the rarer use of these latter stops for accompanying voices.

Lhoumeau's description was admittedly rather *maladroit*, however, and could be taken to imply Guilmant advocated the use of reeds, though the practice was generally considered rare. As we have seen, Guilmant was not averse to using clarinet and oboe stops for colouristic effect, though his preference appears to have lain with foundation stops for the

⁵⁵³Lhoumeau to Pothier, 24 April [n.y.], *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (b) 126.

⁵⁵⁴Lhoumeau to Pothier, 29 December [n.y.], *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (b) 143.

⁵⁵⁵Antonin Lhoumeau, 'Le plain-chant à l'orgue', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 1, no. 12 (December 1895): 6.

⁵⁵⁶Antonin Lhoumeau, 'Étude d'accompagnement', *Revue du chant grégorien* 7, no. 3 (October 1898): 44–5.

⁵⁵⁷Antonin Lhoumeau, 'De l'accompagnement du chant grégorien', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 3, no. 7 (July 1897): 103.

accompaniment of voices. The confusion explains why one Anglophone writer has claimed Guilmant preferred reeds to foundations,⁵⁵⁸ though since the musical evidence indicates the contrary the writer might also have mistranslated ‘la prédominance des fonds sur les anches’.

Incidentally, there is nothing contained in the Guilmant–Pothier correspondence viewed by the present author to suggest that either party consulted the other on rhythm or harmony. If any such discussion did take place it was probably either conducted in person or via Lhoumeau, who functioned as a kind of translator between musician and chant expert. Guilmant was responsible for inviting Pothier to review Gevaert’s newly published *La mélopée antique dans le chant de l’église* for the *TSG* in March 1896,⁵⁵⁹ though the relevant correspondence does not treat of any topics, musical or chant-based, in any amount of detail. Lhoumeau’s archives were held by the Company of Mary but their whereabouts, at the time of writing, are unknown.⁵⁶⁰

In 1895, another forum to discuss the appropriateness of church music was convened at Rodez, at which Guilmant and Bordes represented the Schola Cantorum. Guilmant’s address on the role of the liturgical organ proposed that any interventions made during the liturgy were to match the style of chant. What that style might encapsulate when translated into solo repertoire was probably informed by his deliberations with Lhoumeau and his experiments with the Gregorian *tonalité*. Guilmant then laid down the gauntlet for composers to devise a new genre of liturgical composition along the lines of Lemmens’s *École d’orgue*, though the genre was not to be based on Lemmens’s preferred ‘plain-chant parisien’ which was considered ill equipped for the *fin-de-siècle* liturgy.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸Laura F[rances] Wagstaff, ‘Guilmant’s ‘Credo’: A Catholic Pipe Organist’s Theology of Music at the Turn of the Twentieth Century’ (M.A., Georgetown University, 2015), 29–30.

⁵⁵⁹Guilmant to Pothier, 19 January 1896, *F-SWF*: 1 W 204 item 2; Joseph Pothier, ‘Review of *La mélopée antique dans le chant de l’église latine*’, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 2, no. 3 (March 1896): 33–5.

⁵⁶⁰Patrick Hala to the author, 24 June 2020.

⁵⁶¹The first volume of *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* restarted each issue’s pagination. Only from the second volume did the pagination run contiguously Alexandre Guilmant, ‘Du rôle de l’orgue dans les offices liturgiques’, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 1, no. 9 (September 1895): 11.

3.2.7 *A new method at the Paris Conservatoire*

While the Schola Cantorum and Gigout's Institut d'orgue were trailblazers, the Paris Conservatoire remained conservative. Benoist's 'choral' procedure remained the staple diet of the Conservatoire's organ students long after Benoist had retired. Considering Franck's experience in a more sustained style of chant accompaniment, one might suppose the examination rubrics would be updated. But Vierne encountered the 'choral' on his entry to the Conservatoire in 1890 and described it as a somewhat ossified procedure that was deemed a traditional component of organ studies:⁵⁶²

Elle existait depuis la fondation de la classe d'orgue. Elle consistait en l'accompagnement note contre note d'un chant liturgique à la partie supérieure ; puis ce chant devenait basse en rondes, non transposée, accompagnée de trois parties supérieures d'une sorte de contrepoint fleuri d'école ; les rondes passaient ensuite à la partie supérieure ; une quarte plus haut et recevaient à leur tour l'accompagnement du « fleuri » d'école. Rien n'était plus formulaire que ce contrepoint, rigoureux sans l'être, bourré de quintes retardées, d'accords de septième prolongée avec quintes, de marches, en un mot de tout ce qu'on interdit en contrepoint écrit. C'était la « tradition », et Franck n'y pouvait rien changer.⁵⁶³

Existing since the inception of the organ class, it consisted of a note-for-note accompaniment of a liturgical chant in the upper voice; the chant then became the bass in whole notes, not transposed, accompanied by three upper parts in a sort of academic florid counterpoint. The semibreves then passed into the top voice, transposed a fourth higher, receiving in their turn a 'florid' academic accompaniment. Nothing was more formalized than that counterpoint—strict without being exactly so, crammed with retarded fifths, seventh chords prolonged with fifths, and sequences—in a word, with all that is forbidden in written counterpoint. It was 'traditional,' and Franck could not change anything about it.⁵⁶⁴

Vierne was not the only organist to encounter the 'choral': Tournemire also included an example of the procedure in a 1936 textbook where the chant was placed alternately in top and bottom parts.⁵⁶⁵ Moreover, the 'choral' idiom surely inspired the compositional

⁵⁶²Vierne had also studied at the Institution des jeunes aveugles since 1881, where Braille had invented his eponymous writing system some seven decades prior. See Felix Aprahamian, 'Louis Vierne, 1870-1937', *The Musical Times* 111, no. 1526 (1970): 430.

⁵⁶³Louis Vierne, 'Mes souvenirs', in *L'Orgue*, vol. 134 bis, Cahier et mémoires de l'orgue (1970), 22 wherein 'elle' refers to the content of Franck's plainchant class, on which was set one of four tests ('épreuves') faced by Conservatoire organ students in their examination.

⁵⁶⁴Adapted from Rollin Smith, *Louis Vierne: Organist of Notre Dame Cathedral*, *The Complete Organ 2* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2009), pp. 41, 43.

⁵⁶⁵Tournemire, *Précis d'exécution*, 105; Reproduced in Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 40.

process of *L'Orgue mystique* where Tournemire annotated prominent occurrences of chant with the term 'choral', just like the instance of *Beata gens* quoted in ex. 105.⁵⁶⁶ A section bearing the phrase 'Fragments du choral' later in the same movement occurs when the chant was placed in the top voice of a four-part chorale-like texture, suggesting Benoist's influence might run deeper than the scholarship on the subject has yet acknowledged.⁵⁶⁷

Bordes mused some fifteen years after Franck's death that it was simply too early in the chant restoration movement for Franck to have become involved.⁵⁶⁸ That reason did not satisfy d'Indy, however, who couched Bordes's view in stronger language, claiming Franck ignored Benedictine research altogether. D'Indy then went further by suggesting Franck's inaction cast doubt on whether his liturgical music was to be considered fit for liturgical use.⁵⁶⁹ It is difficult to agree with d'Indy's view since he himself seemingly did not encounter Pothier's *Liber gradualis* until 1890.⁵⁷⁰ D'Indy seemed keen to adopt the latest techniques of music theory to parse the chants in that book, borrowing formal, symbolic and technical methodologies from Riemann and Lussy. Given hindsight, however, it is hard not to see exaggeration in Gilles Saint-Arroman's claim that, thereby, nothing escaped d'Indy's analysis ('aucun aspect n'échappe à son analyse').⁵⁷¹

The pedagogical tradition of the 'choral' changed little when Widor succeeded Franck in 1891. Records dating from 1892 show the class divided into two strands, each cohort learning (among other things) different aspects of the accompaniment of chant. The lower, 'premier degré' applied to the chant repertory the chord-against-note routine and also a method called 'harmonie figurée' (likely a type of arpeggiated accompaniment rather than the traditional 'basse chiffrée'). The upper, 'supérieur', refined those studies with an

⁵⁶⁶ Charles Tournemire, 'Dominica XVII post Pentecosten', in *Cycle après la Pentecôte*, vol. 44, *L'Orgue Mystique* (Paris: Heugel & Cie, [1932?]), 9; Elizabeth Anne Gotlund, 'A Guide to Chant in Charles Tournemire's *L'Orgue Mystique*' (DMA, University of Iowa, 2015), 265.

⁵⁶⁷ David Connolly, whose study relies chiefly on Anglophone literature, does not engage with the 'choral' idiom in Tournemire. Nevertheless, see David Connolly, 'The Influence of Plainchant on French Organ Music after the Revolution' (PhD diss., Dublin Institute of Technology, 2013), 194–215.

⁵⁶⁸ Charles Bordes, 'Le sentiment religieux dans la musique d'église de Cesar Franck', *Le Courrier musical* 7, no. 21 (1 November 1904): 578.

⁵⁶⁹ Vincent d'Indy, *César Franck*, 3rd ed., *Les maîtres de la musique* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1907), p. 107 with citations from Bordes spanning pp. 108 and 109.

⁵⁷⁰ D'Indy's copy is preserved at *F-Pn RES VMC MS-223.

⁵⁷¹ Gilles Saint-Arroman, 'L'influence des livres solesmiens sur l'enseignement et l'œuvre de Vincent d'Indy : l'exemple du *Liber gradualis* (1883)', *Études grégoriennes* 46 (2019): 82, 86.

in-depth examination of the modes and their origin ('la connaissance des modes du plain-chant et de leur formation historique').⁵⁷² If at the Brussels Conservatoire Lemmens had taught Widor how to accompany using Fétis's method, then it is evident that sometime after his return to Paris Widor was inclined to adopt Niedermeyer's principles. Emery-Desbrousses asserted in 1892 that Widor and Dubois both adhered to them,⁵⁷³ an assertion corroborated by each organist's contributions to Mégret's volumes.

Widor's contribution was one of a select few of his pieces intended for multi-author collections, another being a short polyphonic mass composed to mark, in 1888, the tenth anniversary of Leo XIII's election to the papacy.⁵⁷⁴ Michael Bundy has recently noted that it exists alongside 'another collection of simple chant harmonisations' in the Widor canon entitled 'Laetare puerpera – Séquence pour le temps de Noël', reporting the latter to have been published in 1893.⁵⁷⁵ But it is more likely that the 'collection' in question was none other than Widor's contribution to Mégret's volumes, since it shares the same name and a similar date of publication. Whether or not the harmonisation was ever published separately has been impossible to ascertain.

Widor's duties at Saint-Sulpice probably afforded him few opportunities to accompany the chanting at Offices, this being the ordinary responsibility of the *organiste de chœur*. One reliable account of chant practice at Saint-Sulpice in 1896 tells of snail's-pace chanting accompanied on full organ—presumably on the *orgue de chœur* ('avec plain-chant à l'escargot et accompagnement à organo pleno')—and waxes lyrical about how effectively Widor played Magnificat versets on the grand orgue, the chant set in the bass part on the pedal while contrapuntal material was played on the manuals. By that account, alternatim practice was anything but a retired technique.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷²Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 375; Translated in Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 101 where 'harmonie figurée' is confusingly rendered as 'unfigured harmony'. It should be noted that the style is unlikely to have been figured bass which was usually rendered as 'la basse chiffrée'.

⁵⁷³Eymieu and Emery-Desbrousses, *Études et biographies musicales*, 160.

⁵⁷⁴Eugène Grivet, *Litanies à la sainte vierge* (Paris: V. Durdilly & Cie, 1888), 'Avis des éditeurs' and pp. 15–16.

⁵⁷⁵Michael R. Bundy, *Visions of Eternity: The Choral Works and Operas of Widor, Vierne and Tournemire* (Troubador Publishing Ltd, 20 June 2017), 86–7.

⁵⁷⁶Peter Wagner to Dom Antoine Delpech, 27 August 1896, *F-SO*.

When Guilmant inherited the Conservatoire's organ class in 1896 the Schola Cantorum's curriculum was just getting under way, and it is therefore unsurprising that one of Guilmant's first decisions at the Conservatoire was to replace the 'choral' with a more supple accompaniment based on his own researches.⁵⁷⁷ He took up the matter with his *assistant* Vierne, who recalled the exchange in his memoirs:⁵⁷⁸

Nous convînmes de ce qui suit, après en avoir mûrement discuté. Le contrepoint hybride et formulaire, dont j'ai parlé au début de ce chapitre, disparaîtrait et serait remplacé par le commentaire du chant liturgique préalablement accompagné comme à l'église, non plus 'note contre note', mais dans un style plus large, admettant les ornements mélodiques tels que *broderies* et *notes de passage*, les accords étant réservés aux notes principales.⁵⁷⁹

*After serious discussion, we agreed upon the following: the hybrid, stereotyped counterpoint should be dropped and replaced by a commentary on the liturgical chant, no longer accompanied 'note for note,' as in church, but in a broader style, admitting melodic ornaments, such as embellishments and passing notes, chords being reserved for principal notes.*⁵⁸⁰

Guilmant's more sustained style may more advantageously be understood in the light of further developments at Solesmes where so-called 'free musical rhythm' elaborated on the tenets of Pothier's 'free oratorical rhythm'. This led to a new procedure of accompaniment and the publication of new accompaniment books by the monks of Solesmes.

⁵⁷⁷For the events leading to Widor's succession, see Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 116.

⁵⁷⁸The circumstances surrounding the meeting are also discussed in Benedikt Leßmann, 'L'anachronisme le plus musical.' L'accompagnement du plain-chant et l'idée de modalité libre en France dans l'entre-deux-guerres', *Revue de musicologie* 105, no. 2 (2019): 362.

⁵⁷⁹Vierne, 'Mes souvenirs', 54.

⁵⁸⁰Smith, *Louis Vierne*, 121, 123.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE VATICAN'S ADOPTION OF SOLESMIAN CHANT BOOKS

4.1 *Fin-de-siècle* accompaniment at Solesmes4.1.1 *Elaborating on free rhythm*

By the end of the nineteenth century, the circulation of numerous competing theories of chant rhythm led some theorists to devise new methods of popularising their approaches. Gaining the support of institutions such as the Schola Cantorum or Gigout's Institut d'orgue counted as one approach, but fending off theories such as Teppé's required a different strategy altogether. A resurgence of Enlightenment thinking provided a new way of justifying notions concerning chant rhythm: just as eighteenth-century philosophers had sought truths about the natural world by devising scientific experiments, so music theorists devised musical 'experiments' to provide fail-safe, objective conclusions in support of their theories.⁵⁸¹ As we have observed (on pp. 117 and 119 above), writings by Lussy and Riemann propounded systems that claimed to reveal common characteristics underpinning musical expression in secular music, and it was not long before chant aficionados applied those systems to the sacred repertory.

One approach popularised by Lussy had been posited by Johann Mattheson (1681–1764) in 1739, when he parsed a minuet using commas, full stops, colons and semicolons to show how phrases could be divided into discrete units (ex. 106).⁵⁸² Those symbols, however, were ill-equipped to handle the peculiarities of music notation, and so

⁵⁸¹Michael D. Green, 'Mathis Lussy's "Traité de l'expression Musicale" as a Window into Performance Practice', *Music Theory Spectrum* 16, no. 2 (1994): 197.

⁵⁸²For a discussion of the approach in the seventeenth century, see Stephanie Vial, *The Art of Musical Phrasing in the Eighteenth Century: Punctuating the Classical 'period'* (New York: University Rochester Press, 2008), 41.

special symbols were used in addition, including a three-dot mark (:·) for a phrase's cadential notes ('unter ihren Schluss-Noten mit dreien Punkten').⁵⁸³

Surely the precision in Mattheson's method was what enticed Lussy to adopt a similar punctuation system to annotate expressive nuances previously relegated to the imagination. Lussy's textbook proved popular on its appearance in 1874, and maintained that popularity through eight further editions, until 1904. Much of the material on rhythm and phrasing was also published separately in the 1884 pamphlet *Le rythme musical*.⁵⁸⁴

Lussy was not alone in looking to past centuries for certain methods. In 1875, Gevaert provided a system of colons and dots reportedly used in Ancient Greek music (ex. 107),⁵⁸⁵ though he neglected to explain fully how they were meant to function in practice. It fell to Van Damme to describe Gevaert's system in 1882 as one of pointing that could convey the rhythmic nuances which modern notation was reportedly incapable of representing:

Les points placés au-dessus des notes marquent (comme dans la musique grecque) les temps forts du rythme. Par rythme je n'entends pas ici une division en temps isochrones, mais un rythme semblable à celui de la prose poétique, le *tempo rubato*.⁵⁸⁶

The dots placed above the notes mark (as in Greek music) the strong beats of the rhythm. By rhythm I do not mean here a division into isochronal beats, but a rhythm similar to that of poetic prose, the tempo rubato.

A similar system was used by the abbé Marcetteau in 1909 to parse the strong and weak beats of a metrical melody (ex. 108).⁵⁸⁷ We shall return to the influence of such annotative systems later in this chapter.

Another approach was proposed by Lhoumeau in an attempt to demonstrate how closely Pothier's chant editions followed the manuscript tradition and how others fell short: why not publish reproductions of the original MSS? Lhoumeau's rationale was based on a conviction that the general public, when faced with the source material, would decide for themselves that the *Liber gradualis* was the most historically representative of all modern chant books. Pothier was not convinced, however, being wary of the possibility that the

⁵⁸³Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739), p. 224, §82.

⁵⁸⁴Mathis Lussy, *Le rythme musical : son origine, sa fonction et son accentuation* (Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1884), 52.

⁵⁸⁵Gevaert, *Histoire et théorie*, 1:350.

⁵⁸⁶Pierre-Jean Van Damme, 'De l'accompagnement du plain-chant', *Musica sacra* 1, no. 11 (June 1882): p. 83, n. 1.

⁵⁸⁷C. Marcetteau, *La logique du rythme musical* (Paris: Au bureau d'édition de la 'Schola', 1909), 26.

untrained public could misinterpret the MSS.⁵⁸⁸ Perhaps Lhoumeau's proposal would do more harm than good?

In spite of those warnings, one of Pothier's fellow monks André Mocquereau pushed ahead with the plan. He organised a group that travelled around Europe photographing select MSS for inclusion in the new publication entitled *Paléographie musicale*, whose first volume of 1889 comprehended a facsimile of St Gall Codex 339. The *Paléographie* took on the aura of a scientific publication in which supposedly objective facts were presented with reference to the available evidence. In a bid to assuage Pothier's concerns, an explanatory preface attempted to anticipate any potential misreadings on the reader's part by describing the contents that followed. On Pothier's departure for Ligugé in 1893, Mocquereau became the principal of the chant restoration movement at Solesmes, and used the *Paléographie's* prefaces as vehicles for conveying his own opinions on how the MSS offered clues to performance practice.⁵⁸⁹

The adjective 'Solesmes' ceased being metonymic for Pothier's free oratorical rhythm and came to be synonymous with a new theory of 'free musical rhythm', Mocquereau's attempt at clarifying Pothier's method, that appeared piecemeal in successive instalments of the *Paléographie*. First, in a discussion on psalmody, Mocquereau argued that melodic and textual accentuation were separate phenomena because higher notes in a psalm tone were shown not to coincide with the accented syllables of every verse.⁵⁹⁰ Then, he appealed to the authority of classical Greek and Roman writers, judging that by 'the natural laws of melody and rhythm' the former had priority.⁵⁹¹ And to this axiom, Mocquereau yoked methodologies derived from Lussy and Riemann.

He devised a system of pointing to represent certain nuances, in a similar venture to Mattheson's. The pointing represented where the so-called *ictus* occurred in the melody, an elusive concept that Solesmian writers could not describe without recourse to metaphor.

⁵⁸⁸Combe, *Histoire*, 130–31; Combe, *Restoration*, 110–111.

⁵⁸⁹Daniel K. S. Walden, 'Dom Mocquereau's Theories of Rhythm and Romanic Musical Aesthetics', *Études grégoriennes* 42 (2015): 14–15; Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 63–8.

⁵⁹⁰André Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 3 (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1892), 12; For a discussion of how textual and musical accents are separate, see André Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 5 (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1896), 20.

⁵⁹¹André Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 4 (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1894), 68.

In metaphorical terms, it was the point at which a skimmed stone contacted the surface of a pond: with each successive bounce the stone was robbed of more energy.⁵⁹² In musical terms, it was supposedly representative of the rhythm's metaphysical rise and fall. An impulse (in the jargon of Solesmian writers) prompted the conductor's hand to rise, and so forth. While the ensuing paragraphs will discuss the theory of the *ictus* in more detail and how it influenced the practice of accompaniment, it should be noted that Solesmes retired Mocquereau's theory in the twentieth century in favour of Gregorian Semiology, a new theory of chant rhythm championed by Mocquereau's successor Eugène Cardine (1905–88).⁵⁹³

4.1.2 *Towards a Solesmian accompaniment book*

Mocquereau's theory of the *ictus* was applied in a new accompaniment book published at Solesmes. The task of producing the book fell to one of Mocquereau's *confrères* Antoine Delpech (1846–1909) who, prior to entering the Solesmes novitiate, had studied the organ with one Louis de Croze (d.1912). Delpech became the titular organist of Limoux sometime around 1880 and worked up a small reputation as a composer of several organ pieces in Jean-Romary Grosjean's *Journal des organistes*.⁵⁹⁴

Delpech's first visit to Solesmes in 1887 coincided with a state-sanctioned expulsion (not the first) of the monks from Saint-Pierre. Faced with no other option, they lodged temporarily with benevolent locals and took in their daily regimen of Offices at the nearby Benedictine convent of Sainte-Cécile where the nuns had been permitted to remain. There, Delpech heard a method of accompaniment that piqued his curiosity, and on his return to Limoux petitioned Mocquereau to obtain an example.⁵⁹⁵ Abbess Mère Cécile Bruyère (1845–1909) conveyed it via Mocquereau, though Delpech reckoned despite his initial enthusiasm that it was not without fault:

⁵⁹² A metaphor of a golfer is provided in André Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 7 (Tournai: Desclée, 1901–5), 303.

⁵⁹³ Viret, *Le chant grégorien et la tradition grégorienne*, 77.

⁵⁹⁴ Déodat de Séverac and Pierre Guillot, *Déodat de Séverac: la musique et les lettres* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2002), 47; Also referenced in Patrick Hala, *Solesmes et les musiciens : La Schola Cantorum*, vol. 1 (Solesmes: Les Éditions de Solesmes, 2017), 451.

⁵⁹⁵ Delpech to Mocquereau, 7 January 1888, *F-SO*.

Son accompagnement m'a plu en bien des points. Dans d'autres, il me semble qu'il ne seconde pas assez le rythme binaire ou ternaire des neumes. Les accords tombent q.q. fois sur des notes qui me paraissent plutôt notes de passage que réelles. D'autres fois encore, on aurait pu éviter de mettre des accords sur bien des notes ; cela rappelle un peu la vieille méthode.⁵⁹⁶

I liked her accompaniment in many ways. In others, it seems to me that it does not sufficiently follow the binary and ternary rhythm of the neumes. Chords are struck sometimes on notes that seem to me more passing notes than real ones. And elsewhere, chord changes could have been avoided on many notes; it reminds one a little of the old method.

By the 'old method', Delpech no doubt referred to the chord-against-note style, which was widely considered out of date by 1888. Following Delpech's entry into Solesmes the monastic authorities assigned him to the *Paléographie musicale* project, sometime around 1888 or '89.

Along with facsimile work, Delpech was tasked with recruiting subscribers; his cousin the abbé Pratx is listed among those to the first volume.⁵⁹⁷ Delpech and Pratx pronounced an unfavorable judgement on one of Lhoumeau's accompaniments:

Ah ! Son accompagnement. Pratx et moi l'avons joué et analysé. C'est un travail déplorable, à tous points de vue. Il défigure la mélodie, nuit au rythme, le contrarie ou le défigure. Cet homme ruinera notre œuvre. Pauvre P. Pothier !⁵⁹⁸

Ah! His accompaniment. Pratx and I played and analysed it. It is a deplorable work in every respect. He disfigures the melody, works against the rhythm, contradicting or disfiguring it. This man will ruin our œuvre. Poor Fr Pothier!

Some months previously, however, Delpech had been polite enough about Lhoumeau in his correspondence with the nun Mère de Vibraye (a superior in the congregation of Notre Dame de Cénacle, then resident at Versailles), when he stated that Lhoumeau's accompaniment manual of 1892 was 'almost completely correct' save for the idea of *arsis* and *thesis* which Delpech dismissed as completely superficial ('une pure superfétation').⁵⁹⁹

Delpech contended instead that chord changes were to take place on *ictuses* without their needing to coincide with verbal accents. His view on the matter accorded with

⁵⁹⁶Delpech to Mocquereau, 23 May 1888, *F-SO*.

⁵⁹⁷André Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 1 (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1889), p. 7*.

⁵⁹⁸Delpech to Mocquereau, 11 December 1893, *F-SO*; Delpech refers to 'mon cousin Pratx' in various letters, including Delpech to Mocquereau, 7 January 1888, *F-SO* and Delpech to Delatte, May 1891, *F-SO*.

⁵⁹⁹Delpech to Mère de Vibraye, 18 March 1893, Reproduction provided to the author by Père Patrick Hala on 6 August 2019.

Mocquereau's axiom that verbal and musical accents were distinct from one another.⁶⁰⁰ It was relayed to Mère de Vibraye who is responsible for having conveyed one of Delpech's accompaniments to Gigout around January 1894. Gigout was reportedly quite complimentary of the accompaniment but raised objections about the placement of some chords.⁶⁰¹ While visiting Paris soon thereafter, Delpech accepted Bouichère's invitation of a personal introduction to Gigout,⁶⁰² but reported to Mocquereau that Gigout's reception was frosty:

Vu Gigout. Accueil froid, ennuyé, pénible. Je suis parti mal impressionné et quasi renvoyé, quoique poliment.⁶⁰³ *Met Gigout. Cold, bored, difficult meeting. I left with a bad impression and felt almost dismissed, albeit politely.*

We shall never know whether or not Delpech had proposed that Gigout write accompaniments for Solesmes, but that proposition was certainly put to Étienne Hémery (1842–97), a composer today more associated with opera than church music even though he was the organist of Saint-Lô for several decades. Hémery encountered the *Liber gradualis* during the Christmas period of 1892, after which he sought correspondence on the matter with the monks of Solesmes. That placed Hémery in the orbit of Delpech, who asked the composer to write a book of accompaniments to demonstrate the theory of the *ictus* ('on demandait à Hémery d'écrire lui même l'accompagnement des Chants communs de Solesme [*sic*]'). While Hémery's ailing health led him to refuse, he nonetheless agreed to coach Delpech in harmony and counterpoint so the project could be undertaken at Solesmes itself. Weekly exercises were exchanged between them in an attempt to bring Delpech's compositional and harmonic techniques up to the required standard.⁶⁰⁴

Delpech's unfavourable meeting with Gigout did not prejudice those in the Schola Cantorum against him. Fernand de La Tombelle (1854–1928) met Delpech several months

⁶⁰⁰Delpech to Vibraye, 21 April 1893, see footnote 599.

⁶⁰¹Delpech to Mocquereau, 3 February 1894, *F-SO*.

⁶⁰²Delpech to Mocquereau, 8 February 1894, *F-SO*.

⁶⁰³Delpech to Mocquereau, [12 March] 1894, *F-SO*.

⁶⁰⁴Philippe Hémery, 'Étienne Hémery : Sa vie et ses œuvres', *Mémoires de la Société Éduenne* 26 (1898): 231–4.

before the school was founded,⁶⁰⁵ and Bordes even made him the following proposition: Bordes would agree to finance organ lessons for Delpech delivered by none other than Guilmant on condition that Delpech taught two chant classes, one at an orphanage attached to the Salesians of Ménilmontant and another for adults at Bordes's church, Saint-Gervais. Delpech accepted and the half-price sum of 10 F. was negotiated for the organ lessons provided they took place at Guilmant's residence at Meudon.⁶⁰⁶

4.1.3 Peter Wagner's views on chant accompaniment

During the following Autumn, Delpech undertook further study at Fribourg with the academic and chant specialist Peter Wagner (1865–1931).⁶⁰⁷ Abbot Delatte's words of gratitude to Wagner indicate that Delpech was receiving tuition in harmony.⁶⁰⁸ By September, Delpech had seemingly gained enough confidence in his abilities that he believed the collection of accompaniments was ready to be announced:

Je crois qu'il serait bon d'annoncer notre travail. Je vous ai dit que le *Kyriale* est fini. Nous n'avons qu'à le revoir avec Mr Hémery, s'il est en état de suivre ce travail, sinon je le verrai moi-même et l'expédierai ensuite ici à Mr Wagner.⁶⁰⁹

*I believe that it would be good to announce our work. I mentioned to you that the *Kyriale* is finished. We only have to review it with Mr Hémery if he is able to undertake this work, if not I will have a look at it myself and send it on then to Mr Wagner.*

But by October, an Eastertide Mass was still outstanding, and the accompaniments were not yet in a ready state to be published.⁶¹⁰ In May, Hémery advised restraint by saying further improvements were yet to be made:

⁶⁰⁵Delpech to Mocquereau, 9 March 1894, *F-SO*.

⁶⁰⁶Bordes to Delpech, July 1894, *F-SO*; Also discussed in Hala, *La Schola Cantorum*, 120.

⁶⁰⁷Wagner notes the first anniversary of Delpech's arrival in Wagner to Mocquereau, 20 October 1895, *F-SO*.

⁶⁰⁸Delatte to Delpech, 22 September 1894, *F-SO*; The abbot's gratitude was conveyed via Delpech.

⁶⁰⁹Delpech to Mocquereau, 21 September 1894, *F-SO*.

⁶¹⁰Delpech to Mocquereau, 25 October 1894, *F-SO*.

J'ai reçu une bonne lettre de St Lô. M. H[émery] tout en me félicitant de mes envois nouveaux, me recommande de ne pas me presser de publier des accompagnements. 'Nous sommes encore dans la période des tâtonnements.'⁶¹¹

I received a nice letter from St Lô. Mr H[émery], while congratulating me on my latest consignment, advises me not to rush into publishing accompaniments. 'We are still in the phase of trial-and-error.'

There is evidence that the trial-and-error phase led Delpech to consult Tinel, but the advice he received only conflicted with that already proffered by Wagner and Hémery.⁶¹² Since Delpech had avowed that the *ictus* should take precedence over accented syllables, it is possible that the resultant process of harmonisation entered a state of quandary that was difficult to resolve.

Wagner took a dim view of Lhoumeau's practice of changing chords on unaccented syllables and also criticised the number of chords that led to an accompaniment's being too dense ('trop épais').⁶¹³ He continued to ruminate on chant rhythm following Delpech's departure, and communicated the results of his deliberations to Solesmes:

J'ai réfléchi en cette affaire beaucoup depuis le départ du bon P. Delpech. Espérons que bientôt vous verrez quelque chose d'imprimé sur mes idées d'accompagnement. Selon moi, la première et souveraine loi de l'accompagnement c'est : s'adapter à la logique de la mélodie, la mettre en relief, faire ressortir ses effets mélodiques, mais pas les détruire ; faire oublier l'accompagnement par sa simplicité, sa modestie, de sorte qu'on ne croit entendre que la mélodie. Pour cela il faut laisser de côté tout ce qui rend l'accompagnement trop gros etc.⁶¹⁴

I have reflected on this matter a lot since the departure of the good Fr Delpech. Let us hope that soon you will see something on my ideas on accompaniment in print. In my opinion, the first and sovereign law of accompaniment is the following: to adapt to the logic of the melody, to place it in relief, to bring out its melodic effects but not to destroy them, to hide the accompaniment by means of its simplicity, its modesty, so that one thinks one only hears the melody. For that, one has to leave out everything that makes the accompaniment too heavy, etc.

Delpech's sojourn at Fribourg led Wagner to abandon Pustet's 'édition de l'Église' in favour of Solesmian editions, and to deem the *Liber usualis* more historically accurate and

⁶¹¹Delpech to Mocquereau, 9 May 1895, *F-SO*.

⁶¹²Delpech to Mocquereau, 23 May [n.y.], *F-SO*.

⁶¹³Wagner to Delpech, 6 February 1895, *F-SO*.

⁶¹⁴Wagner to Delpech, 20 January 1895, *F-SO*; Although the letter is arranged in the Wagner–Delpech correspondence, no fewer than five instances where Wagner refers to Delpech in the third person might in fact suggest a different intended recipient.

therefore more appropriate for the university's 'office académique'.⁶¹⁵ Wagner's willingness to depart from the official chant edition left him in a vulnerable position, however, and to be regarded by some colleagues as a traitor ('il y a quelques professeurs de ma faculté qui me regardent comme un traître'). Despite those German bishops who could opt to send their students to other universities, Wagner would stay the Solesmian course until his Damascene conversion to mensuralism in 1910.⁶¹⁶

Perhaps those articles in the *Paléographie* provided Wagner with the confidence to adopt Solesmian theories in the first place. In 1895, his voice became the first among German scholars to question Haberl's theories. Wagner's textbook *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien* became the subject of a back-and-forth polemic with Haberl,⁶¹⁷ who in turn launched *ad hominem* attacks on Wagner, saying the academic relied on 'lessons and teachings' ('empfangenen Lektionen und Unterweisungen') received from Mocquereau and Delpech.⁶¹⁸ The drama caused quite a stir in Cecilian circles and led some prominent Cecilians to request copies of the textbook so they could form their own judgements. Singenberger requested three copies from Wagner's publisher B. Veith for the American Cæcilienverein to evaluate the book,⁶¹⁹ and later published a review in that society's journal that took an opposing view to Haberl's, deeming Wagner's book an important study wrought of thoroughness and clarity.⁶²⁰ The support assuaged Wagner's concerns and probably those of his colleagues too, while also being a notable crack in the façade of Cecilian unity. That fissure, Wagner hoped, would rally others to his side.

Wagner's textbook contained some taciturn thoughts on accompaniment, borne of the notion that Medieval composers had concealed certain characteristics within the chant that could be revealed through harmony. As we have seen, Wagner described such characteristics

⁶¹⁵Delpech to Mocquereau, 18 November 1894, *F-SO*.

⁶¹⁶Wagner to Delpech, 15 December 1894, *F-SO*; , 'Wagner, Peter', Grove Music Online, accessed 13 September 2021, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.elib.tcd.ie/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000029790>

⁶¹⁷Wagner to Delpech, 23 February [1896], *F-SO*; This letter is catalogued as bearing the date 1890, which cannot be the case since it refers to the 1896 review cited in footnote 618.

⁶¹⁸Franz Xaver Haberl, 'Review of *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*. Ein Handbuch der Choralkunde', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 11 (1896): 123; Copy consulted lacked pages 126–7.

⁶¹⁹Wagner to Delpech, 7 January 1896, *F-SO*.

⁶²⁰'Neue Publikationen', *Cæcilia: Vereinsorgan des Amerikanischen Cæcilien Vereins: Motansschrift für Katholische Kirchen Musik* 23, no. 1 (January 1896): 4.

as ‘melodic effects’, and their revelation, he believed, could establish a certain unity between chant and accompaniment:

Im Mittelalter wusste man nichts von einer Begleitung, hatte auch nicht das geringste Bedürfnis darnach. Die Summe musikalischen Inhaltes, die wir heute der Interpretation durch die Harmonie überlassen, mussten die alten Melodisten in die Melodie selbst legen. Diese vollzieht in sich selbst die vollständige Wiedergabe der Eingebungen der künstlerisch erregten Phantasie.⁶²¹

In the Middle Ages, no one knew anything about accompaniment, nor had they the slightest need of it. The sums of musical content, which today we leave to harmony to interpret, the old melodists had to place in the melody itself. This accomplishes on its own the complete reproduction of the inspirations of the artistically excited imagination.

Mocquereau objected to one of Wagner’s accompaniments for containing harmonic progressions he deemed were too modern. Wagner agreed to send accompaniments to Solesmes directly for vetting, a generous concession on Wagner’s part considering Mocquereau’s lack of formal harmonic or contrapuntal training. But Wagner’s belief that through analysing the chant a harmonic solution could be revealed probably trumped any reservations he would have had in similar arrangements.

Mocquereau attacked the use of V–I progressions in perfect cadences.⁶²² Wagner parried by claiming an avoidance of V–I progressions made the cadence in ex. 109 lack ‘something’ (‘il manque encore quelque chose’). Whatever it was, that ‘something’ constituted the musical fault line along which French and German theories of modality were delimited. On one side resided Niedermeyer’s proposal to supplant V–I progressions with diatonic alternatives; on the other, the retention of cadential sharpening. Therein, Wagner held, lay the difference between French and German ears:

⁶²¹Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien : ein Handbuch der Choralkunde*, 1st ed. (Freiburg: Universitäts-Buchhandlung (B. Veith), 1895), 26, 252 n. 1.

⁶²²Wagner to Mocquereau, 29 December 1895, *F-SO*.

Si j'accompagne de la manière suivante [ex. 110] il faut reconnaître qu'il manqua aussi là quelque chose pour l'effet parfait d'une vraie conclusion. Mais à cause de la tonalité grégorienne je ne peux admettre le sol \sharp . Mais plus loin je n'airai pas. Je regrette beaucoup que l'oreille française, comme dit le bon P. Delpech, ne peut pas goûter cela ; mais c'est une erreur de croire que la progression de la 5^e à la tonique est moderne.⁶²³

If I accompany in the following way [ex. 110] then one must recognise that it also lacks some perfecting factor of a true cadence. But owing to the tonalité grégorienne I cannot admit the G \sharp . But I will not go on about it. I very much regret that the French ear, as the good Fr Delpech says, cannot abide that; but it is a mistake to believe that the progression from the 5th to the tonic is modern.

Delpech's appraisal of the French ear may not be far fetched, for Gigout and others were already applying Niedermeyan diatonicism to their freely composed church music. Evidently, however, Wagner subscribed to a modal tradition that was quite different.

4.1.4 *The Livre d'Orgue: Solesmes's accompaniment book*

Wagner's dim view of diatonicism might explain why the task of proof-reading Delpech's harmonised collection was delegated to Hémary, who completed it between August and September of 1896.⁶²⁴ A harmonised 'Asperges me' was published in the *TSG* in August 1897, and Wagner asked that a copy be sent to Fribourg so he could evaluate it for himself.⁶²⁵ It is not clear whether the harmonisation simply languished for eleven months following Hémary's involvement or whether further revisions were necessary to bring Delpech's harmonisation up to standard. It may have been a calculated move by Delpech and Mocquereau to publish a single extract ahead of a larger publication to allow for further edits if a reviewer found a passage particularly unpalatable.

In an article published to complement the extract Mocquereau outlined his system of rhythmic pointing, which was placed above the transcription of the chant into modern notation to display whether an *ictus* happened to be *arsic* or *thetic*. In that way, it bore some resemblance to Lhoumeau's rising and falling arcs which represented essentially the same thing, though in 1907 Lhoumeau distanced himself from Mocquereauvian developments with the following comment:

⁶²³Wagner to Mocquereau?, 20 January 1895, *F-SO*.

⁶²⁴Hémary, 'Étienne Hémary', 234.

⁶²⁵Wagner to Mocquereau, 30 August 1897, *F-SO*.

Les publications faites par le R. P. Dom Mocquereau n'ont pas donné sur la question du rythme grégorien ce qu'on en pouvait espérer. J'y retrouve bien toute la théorie dont je me reconnais l'auteur ; mais si je n'en recuse pas la paternité, je crois que l'enfant a singulièrement dégénéré ou qu'on me l'a changé en nourrice.⁶²⁶

The publications by the Reverend Father Dom Mocquereau did not offer what one might hope on the question of the Gregorian rhythm. I find in them all the theory of which I recognise myself to be the author; but even if I do not deny its paternity, I think that the child has particularly regressed or that someone has changed it on me in the cradle.

Lhoumeau's belief that his theory essentially fell apart in Mocquereau's hands takes on a certain poignancy given the import Bergeron ascribes to 'Mocquereau's Hands' in the development of Gregorian chironomy.⁶²⁷ And just as Lhoumeau had developed his system of arcs to show the course of a conductor's hand through the air, Mocquereavian chironomy did the same with a set of curlicues.

A precursor to that system of curlicues was Mocquereau's system of 1x2 Braille-like cells that were similar to those annotations of Gevaert's discussed above (§ 4.1.1). A dot in a cell's upper position was used for an *arsis* while a dot in the lower position was used for a *thesis* (ex. 111). The cell at '1' shows an anacrusic *ictus* that anticipates the cell at '2', showing a so-called primary *arsic ictus*. In the latter case, dots in the upper and lower positions produce what looks like a colon, but seem reminiscent of Lhoumeau's practice of eliding successive arcs when the *thesis* of one phrase coincides with the *arsis* of the next. The cell at '3' shows a *thetic ictus* which is prolonged by a further cell at '4'. The cell at '5' shows a fresh rhythmic impulse with another primary *arsic ictus*, though this time it does not give way to a *thesis* straight away, leading instead to the cell at '6' which shows a so-called secondary *arsic ictus*. The cells at '7' and '8' show *theses* as before.⁶²⁸

The pointing was applied to those of Delpech's accompaniments that were published subsequently by the Imprimerie Saint-Pierre and entitled *Livre d'Orgue*, a title perhaps harking back to collections of versets by classical French composers such as Nivers discussed above (see p. 6). Solesmes's *Livre d'Orgue* was published in four volumes plus

⁶²⁶Antonin Lhoumeau, *Études de chant grégorien* (Angers: J. Siraudeau, 1907), 2.

⁶²⁷Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 112–121.

⁶²⁸André Mocquereau, 'Note sur la ponctuation rythmique de l'«Asperges me» harmonisé par Dom Delpech', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 3, no. 9 (August 1897): 127.

a supplement of accompanied psalm tones: the first in February 1898; the second in July 1898; the third in May 1899; and the fourth in March 1900—the supplement of psalm tones bears the date April 1899.⁶²⁹ The first four volumes contained sections of the Mass Ordinary and a fifth was planned for around 1900 with further accompaniments, but—for reasons we shall discuss later—it never saw the light of day.

The ‘Asperges me’ accompaniment heading Delpech’s first volume (ex. 112) is laid out similarly to those harmonisations in Mégret’s volumes. A quadratic staff is placed above five-line staves bearing a transcription and the accompanying parts for the organist. Chords are struck to coincide with *ictuses*, but since most of the primary *arsic* type are in alignment with the verbal accents the harmonisations seem almost regressive, particularly where a preponderance of *ictuses* necessitated many chord changes. Moreover, modern notation was not always sufficient to represent certain neumes and therefore an array of supplementary symbols was required.

Some neumes were considered important enough to draw away the primary *arsic ictus* from a nearby verbal accent. A *pressus* is said to divert the primary *arsic ictus* (and, therefore, the chord that accompanies it) owing to its being a repeated note: it is represented by the caret symbol (ex. 113). A note prolonged by a *mora vocis* dot of addition is treated in like manner (ex. 114), though it was simply transcribed as a crotchet without the need for any supplementary glyph.⁶³⁰ Prolongations by horizontal *episemata* often coincide with *ictuses*, as do *distropha* and *tristropha* which were amalgamated into one note of longer duration in the transcription, a triangular mark setting these latter apart from other longer notes. Wavy lines are common annotations to signal the presence of *quilismata*. Metronome markings were added to each accompaniment, a noteworthy feature since they were probably borne of the same notion of a fail-safe, objective performance practice discussed above (see p. 145).⁶³¹

⁶²⁹For the date of publication of the first vol. see Hala, *La Schola Cantorum*, 416, n. 35; The cover pages of the remaining volumes were viewed by the present author.

⁶³⁰*Livre d’Orgue : Chants ordinaires de la messe et des vêpres transposés et harmonisés*, 4 vols. (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1898–1900), 1, 34, 47, 87.

⁶³¹The annotations are also described in Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant*, 64–5.

While the *Livre d'Orgue*'s preface is not attributed to Mocquereau, it repeats much of the same material Mocquereau had published in the *TSG*. It was expanded to include a discussion of the permissibility of accompaniment in the first place, and, contrary to what one might expect, it takes an ideological stance against accompaniment on the grounds of its being anachronistic. Nonetheless, it concedes that the *Livre d'Orgue* project had been undertaken to answer requests for an appropriate genre of accompaniment that could support less experienced voices:

Disons-le sans détour : c'est à regret que nous l'avons entrepris, & nous le publions seulement pour donner satisfaction à tous ceux qui nous le demandent depuis plusieurs années.

A les en croire, outre qu'il est nécessaire de venir au secours des voix inexpérimentées de nos chantres, il est encore opportun de condescendre à cette déviation regrettable du goût général qui a créé, chez les fidèles, le besoin tout moderne d'entendre un accompagnement polyphone.⁶³²

Let us say it bluntly: it is with regret that we undertook it, and we are only publishing it to satisfy all those who have asked us for it for the past several years.

If one is to believe them, besides the need to come to the aid of the inexperienced singers among our number, it is still opportune to give in to this regrettable deviation of general taste which has created the very modern need among the faithful to hear a polyphonic accompaniment.

Although the preface tacitly intended the Solesmian accompaniments for use in parish churches, Solesmes itself was accused of modernism by the music critic Camille Bellaigue (1858–1930) as, contrary to the above moralising statement, it too made use of accompaniment. Although the monks were surely anything but 'inexperienced singers', Bellaigue reported that, during a visit to Saint-Pierre in 1898, the Offices he attended were accompanied by the organ. While Bellaigue drew short of accusing Solesmes of hypocrisy, his account seems to suggest that the Solesmian community valued accompaniment on aesthetic grounds, rather than on purely practical ones:

Si, partout ailleurs qu'à Solesmes, l'accompagnement du plain-chant est une faute nécessaire, à Solesmes c'est presque une heureuse faute.⁶³³

If, everywhere other than at Solesmes, plainchant accompaniment is a necessary fault, then at Solesmes it is almost a happy one.

⁶³²*Livre d'Orgue*, p. v.

⁶³³Camille Bellaigue, 'A l'abbaye de Solesmes', *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1829–1971) 150, no. 2 (15 November 1898): 353–5.

4.1.5 *Organs and organists at Solesmes*

Bellaigue's account raises a question: what kind of instrument accompanied the chanting at Solesmes? A history of organs at Solesmes was written by the present (2021) organist, Frère Yves-Marie Lelièvre, whose account is contained at the Solesmes archive and will form the basis of the following paragraphs. In general, Solesmes conformed with the widespread trend in French churches to install two organs (on which, see § 2.1.2), one on the gallery for improvisation and repertoire, and another nearer the altar to accompany singing.

Monastic accounts for February 1852 bear witness to a harmonium's having been sold to the nuns of Saint-Jean d'Angély for 135 F. Presumably, it was rendered obsolete by a new organ which had been constructed for the abbey church between 1849 and 1850 by one Hippolyte Givelet, who later entered Solesmes's novitiate. Guéranger mentioned the new 'orgue au chœur' in a description dated 25 January 1850, though it is difficult to ascertain whether the organ was a worthwhile addition since the organist's playing reportedly left much to be desired ('cela relève un peu, bien que l'instrument soit faible et l'artiste aussi'). The organist was not identified: perhaps it was Givelet himself. He was succeeded by one Frère Forgeois around 1854, about whom no further details were available.

Further accounts from December 1850 showed 4,400 F. allocated to finance a larger organ to match the growing number of professions. That instrument was commissioned of the organ builder Frédéric Verschneider (1810–84) and the task of playing it fell to fifteen-year-old Nicolas Karren. Meanwhile, the 'orgue au chœur' retained its function as a Choir organ. A further iteration of the grand orgue came about around 1856 when a new two-manual instrument disposed with twenty-five stops was built by Frédéric's younger brother Charles (1825–65), the 1850 instrument being sold to the minor seminary at Précigné. Charles was already an organ builder of some experience and had been associated with the English inventor Charles Spackmann Barker and the Parisian church of Saint-Eustache.⁶³⁴ Solesmes therefore shows itself to have been decidedly à la mode by adopting two organs for its liturgy, following the lead of the principal cathedrals and parish churches elsewhere in France.

⁶³⁴Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, pp. 255–6 §10 n. 3.

A series of lay organists presided over the grand orgue following Karren's departure in 1859 until the conclusion of Camille Donay's tenure on 27 August 1866 when the responsibility for playing both organs fell to Forgeois. The abbey church had been enlarged in June 1861, and the removal of a wall separating chancel from nave on 9 March 1865 incited the monastic authorities to reorganise the disposition of organs in the space. One (presumably the Givelet instrument) was placed above the corbel arch in the north Choir, where it was first played on 23 August 1865. In 1895, Cavaillé-Coll recorded its disposition as Bourdon 16', Salicional 8', Kéraulophone 8', Flûte 8', Prestant 4', Trompette 8', and this was probably the same instrument Bellaigue heard during his visit in 1898.

Dom Georges Legeay (1842–1903) became the first member of the monastic community after Forgeois to be appointed as an organist of Solesmes.⁶³⁵ Legeay's reputation had extended beyond the cloister in the 1870s when several collections of *Noëls anciens* were published under his editorship in an edition with piano accompaniment. His organ playing at Solesmes placed him at the centre of a dramatic stand-off between monks and gendarmes when the latter—following anticlerical orders—attempted to evict the monks from their monastery on 6 November 1880:

Les moines se relèvent dans leurs stalles. Les gendarmes les engagent à sortir, à commencer par le dernier des novices, un manceau tout récemment entré. Il faut les arracher un à un. Les uns s'accrochent aux stalles, d'autres s'étendent à terre et se laissent porter comme des cadavres. Quelques-uns étendent les bras en croix. Pendant ce temps, continue le chant des antiennes et des psaumes, infatigablement soutenus par dom Legeay au grand orgue.⁶³⁶

The monks stand up in their stalls. The gendarmes bid them to leave, starting with the last of the novices, a local who had only recently entered. They have to be taken out one by one. Some cling to the stalls, others stretch out on the ground and let themselves be carried out like corpses. Others open their arms in the shape of a cross. While this is going on, the chanting of antiphons and psalms continues, accompanied tirelessly by Dom Legeay at the grand orgue.

⁶³⁵Frère [Yves-Marie] Lelièvre, 'Note sur les premières orgues de Solesmes (1849–1867)', *F-SO*.

⁶³⁶Louis Soltner, *L'Abbaye de Solesmes aux temps des expulsions (1880–1901)* (Solesmes: Éditions de Solesmes, 2005), p. 54 after the account by Étienne Cartier in *Les moines de Solesmes – expulsions du 6 novembre 1880 et du 22 mars 1882*.

Accompaniment by the grand orgue was presumably extraordinary and might be explained on this occasion by the access route to the organ gallery not being straightforward for the gendarmes to locate. Legeay would later contribute to Mégret's volumes an accompaniment in free rhythm that did not reproduce the chant in the organ part. Instead, the accompaniment was notated according to a method similar to that adopted independently by Novello and Schmitt (see ex. 115 and pp. 86 and 87 above),⁶³⁷ though in Legeay's case the beams were to indicate sustained notes and not the grouping of notes into neumes. The accompaniment was therefore notated amensurally, and required the organist to change to a new chord only when the singer had arrived at a particular note. Legeay outlined the rationale for his system in a footnote:

Les notes n'ont ici qu'une valeur purement conventionnelle, entièrement dépendante du rythme de la partie vocale. La transcription en notes de musique de la mélodie du plain-chant reproduit aussi fidèlement qu'il est possible toutes les notes et leur groupement. La partie d'orgue est écrite de telle sorte que chaque accord est exactement placé sous la note du chant qu'il accompagne. Le groupe ♩ indique que la note doit être tenue jusqu'à l'accord suivant.⁶³⁸

The notes here only have a purely conventional value and are entirely dependent on the rhythm of the vocal part. The transcription into music [modern notation] of the plainchant melody reproduces all its notes and groupings as faithfully as possible. The organ part is written so that each chord is placed directly under the note of the chant that it accompanies. The group ♩ indicates that the note should be held until the next chord.

The following account of the early years of the *orgue de chœur* at Solesmes was provided in the 1980s, and makes clear that Legeay's style was eventually superseded:

Lorsque l'orgue de chœur a été construit, nous avons fait changer trois fois le jeu d'accompagnement pour avoir exactement le son que nous désirons.⁶³⁹

When the orgue de chœur was built, we had the playing style of the accompaniment changed three times to get exactly the sound we wanted.

⁶³⁷Legeay points the reader to the 'Graduel bénédictin p. (112)', and it should be noted that the chant 'Alleluia: Post partum' is found in Pothier, *Liber Gradualis* pp. [112–113].

⁶³⁸*Mémoires tirées*, 4:14.

⁶³⁹Francis Pinguet, *Les écoles de la musique divine* (Lyon: À Cœur joie, 1987), 401, quoting perhaps Jean Claire.

4.1.6 A greater focus on dissonance

There is no evidence to suggest Legeay's opinions on organ accompaniment of chant held any sway in the lead-up to publishing the *Livre d'Orgue*. Delpech reportedly fashioned the accompaniments to 'better respect the character and suppleness of the chant',⁶⁴⁰ or, in other words, to apply Wagner's theory of 'melodic effects' to the accompaniment. Nevertheless, harmonic questions still remained. As mentioned previously, a preponderance of *ictuses* left Delpech with no option other than to deploy a great number of chords, a stricture that begat accompaniments in the chorale texture which did little to preserve Wagner's notion of unity with the chant.

Nevertheless, to at least one contemporary French commentator no opposition to Delpech's style was apparent. In the opinion of one Pierre Aubry (1874–1910), stated in an address at the Parisian Institut catholique on 3 May 1899, Delpech's use of dissonance achieved the very unity Wagner had proposed. Aubry recognised Niedermeyan diatonicism as the norm in the *Livre d'Orgue* which, together with passing notes, so-called 'artificial dissonances', and appoggiaturas (simple and double), meant that 'the melodic line was respected and the plainchant conserved its veritable character'. Aubry also recognised that certain terminations in the third, fourth and eighth modes seemed to follow rubrics set down by the Mechelen school,⁶⁴¹ but it is difficult to tell whether they resulted from Tinel's advice. We shall return to that matter later in the chapter.

For the moment, it may be noted that some theorists who had previously favoured the chord-against-note style began to change tack and offer more advice concerning the use of dissonance. In an 1895 accompaniment manual, the *maître de chapelle* of the Église métropolitaine de Rennes abbé Louis Lepage (1852–1906) had provided no alternative to the chord-against-note style, but to his second edition of 1900 added a second volume detailing how to use 'Notes Foreign to Chords'. The inspiration for that addition probably resulted from a meeting with Delpech at the seminary of Rennes in January 1896, when, following an unclear chain of events, Delpech agreed to become Lepage's teacher. The

⁶⁴⁰*Livre d'Orgue*, p. v.

⁶⁴¹Pierre Aubry, 'L'Œuvre bénédictine', in *La musicologie médiévale, histoire et méthodes : cours professé à l'Institut catholique de Paris (1898–99)* (Paris: H. Welter, 1900), 98.

event was reported to abbot Delatte with Delpech's noting how useful Lepage's influence could be in propagating Solesmes's theories:

Les élèves suivent avec zèle et entraînent les cours de chant quelque multipliés qu'ils soient. Après les cours, je vois les organistes en particulier, ou bien M. l'abbé Lepage, le célèbre maître de chapelle de la cathédrale qui s'est gentiment constitué mon élève dès le premier jour. Je crois que ce sera une excellente recrue, car son influence est ici en rapport avec son talent d'organiste et de compositeur.⁶⁴²

Pupils follow the chant classes with zeal however many there may be. After class, I see the organists in particular, or even Fr Lepage, the famous cathedral maître de chapelle who kindly made himself my pupil from the first day. I believe he will be an excellent recruit, because his influence here is set in relation to his talent as an organist and composer.

Lepage's second volume reproduces the same description of Mocquereau's pointing as had been published in both the *TSG* and the *Livre d'Orgue*. Furthermore, he included no less than an entire chapter of music examples with the *mise-en-page* being the same as in the latter (an example is quoted in ex. 116). Lepage's second volume was a joint venture between the Rennes-based publisher Bossard-Bonnell and the Imprimerie de Saint-Pierre. We may assume that such an arrangement suited Solesmes, which could thereby maintain its guard on the proprietary musical type used for its chant editions.⁶⁴³ A positive review of Lepage's method appeared in the March 1900 issue of *Revue du chant grégorien* penned by one 'A. D.',⁶⁴⁴ later unmasked as none other than Delpech in a 1906 bibliography of Benedictine publications.⁶⁴⁵ It is an example of that curious genre of panegyric, semi-anonymous reviews fawning over a publication brought to market by a member of the reviewer's own circle.

Lepage's practice certainly aligned with Delpech's, so there is little wonder why the monk's praise was so effusive. Chords generally align with primary *arsic ictuses* which themselves ordinarily align with textual accents, save for the exceptions listed above (p. 157). Notes between *ictuses* were usually treated as various types of dissonance, including *échappées*, auxiliaries, anticipations, passing notes and appoggiaturas. In spite of

⁶⁴²Delpech to Delatte, 31 January 1896, *F-SO*.

⁶⁴³Louis Lepage, *Traité de l'accompagnement du plain-chant : concernant les notes étrangères aux accords*, vol. 2 (Rennes & Solesmes: Bossard-Bonnell & Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1900), 85.

⁶⁴⁴A[ntoine] D[elpech], 'Review of Lepage, *Traité de l'accompagnement Du Plain-Chant*', *Revue du chant grégorien* 8, no. 8 (March 1900): 136.

⁶⁴⁵*Bibliographie des Bénédictins de la congrégation de France* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1906), 41.

the obvious similarities with the *Livre d'Orgue*, however, divergences may be recognised on the quadratic staff. First, *porrecti* were typeset using a piece of type more curved than that previously used. Second, *strophici* were annotated with crescendo and decrescendo markings in a way not dissimilar to Lhoumeau's interpretation of the *pressus*. The triangular mark used by Delpech for *strophici* might not annotate an accent, therefore, and might instead signify an expressive nuance to be produced by the voice, though confirmation of that practice is not to be found in the available relevant literature.

4.1.7 *The reception of Solesmes's Livre d'Orgue*

Delpech's harmonisations were generally well received by critics. In an approbative review in the *Revue du chant grégorien*, Lhoumeau stated that his own views on rhythm were matched by Delpech's.⁶⁴⁶ In private correspondence to Pothier, Lhoumeau went further by stating that Solesmes had not innovated on his own rhythmic theories and had adopted them unchanged.⁶⁴⁷ A review by La Tombelle in *TSG* was similarly congratulatory, though he questioned why harmonisations of deuterus chants arranged 5/3 chords on $\hat{6}$, thereby reputedly destroying the chant's modality. For instance, the $E\flat$ major chord quoted in ex. 117 was said to make the fourth mode indistinguishable from the eighth.⁶⁴⁸ La Tombelle's review of the *Livre d'Orgue's* second volume claims the foible had apparently been rectified:

Si nous considérons ce travail au point de vue musical, nous serons porté[s] à préférer encore cette seconde livraison à la première, tant à cause de certaines recherches heureuses dans l'harmonisation que d'une logique plus rigoureuse dans le maintien de la modalité.⁶⁴⁹

If we consider this work from the musical point of view, we will be inclined still to prefer this second volume to the first, as much because of certain successful researches in harmonisation as because of more rigorous logic in the maintenance of modality.

⁶⁴⁶Antonin Lhoumeau, 'Le livre d'orgue de Solesmes', *Revue du chant grégorien* 6, no. 10 (15 May 1898): 168.

⁶⁴⁷Lhoumeau to Pothier, 3 June 1898, *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (c) 203.

⁶⁴⁸Fernand de La Tombelle, 'Notes bibliographiques : Livre d'Orgue', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 4, no. 6 (June 1898): 143.

⁶⁴⁹*Ibid.*, no. 9 (September 1898): 216.

But there is musical evidence to contradict La Tombelle's change of stance: should the C major chords quoted in ex. 113 not have elicited the same criticism as before?⁶⁵⁰

The Schola Cantorum was partial to Mocquereau's pointing and employed it in a collection of its own, even though no explanatory preface was provided for a student of chant accompaniment to decipher them. *Melodix paschales* contains accompaniments by d'Indy, Guilmant, La Tombelle and Bordes for different parts of the Mass Proper for Easter Sunday. Each composer's initials follow the portion of the Proper for which he was responsible. The accompaniments demonstrate a wide variety of approaches that bring a certain disunity to the Proper as a whole. Nevertheless, the collection provided one François Brun with the basis for an accompaniment manual that appeared first in the *TSG* in 1909, and which examined the means whereby individual passages had been harmonised. Brun's manual was published as a standalone leaflet in 1912, whereafter the Italian journal *Rassegna gregoriana* took issue with the Schola Cantorum's practice of making chords coincide with metrical accents in hymns.⁶⁵¹ The Schola Cantorum had anticipated such criticism in the *TSG* by claiming its personnel followed the 'traditional' Solesmes school of Joseph Pothier:

Nous suivons à la Schola les principes traditionnels de l'école de Solesmes, tels que Dom Pothier les a formulés il y a trente ans, tels que Dom Delpéch les a appliqués dans le *Livre d'orgue* publié à la célèbre abbaye. Que d'autres aient cru devoir changer depuis, c'est leur affaire, et non la nôtre.⁶⁵²

We follow at the Schola the traditional principles of the Solesmes school that Dom Pothier formulated thirty years ago and that Dom Delpéch applied in the Livre d'orgue published at the famous abbey. Whether others believed that it needed to be changed in the meantime, that is their business and not ours.

One notes a certain proclivity for the Schola Cantorum to distance itself from Mocquereauvian theories of rhythm, doubtless owing, as we shall see, to the controversy stirred up at the end of the century.

Although no date of publication was stated in *Melodix paschales*, the book was likely to have been published in 1898 following the first volume of the *Livre d'Orgue* and perhaps in

⁶⁵⁰ *Livre d'Orgue*, 23, 47.

⁶⁵¹ F[ranois] Brun, *Traité de l'accompagnement du chant grégorien*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Au bureau d'édition de la 'Schola', 1912), p.21 §1 n. 2 and *passim*.

⁶⁵² 'Réponses à des polémiques grégoriennes', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 17, no. 4 (April 1910): 92.

readiness for Easter Day on 10 April 1898. That way, the chants of the Proper would still be fresh in the minds of *maîtres de chapelle*. The Ligugé monk Dom Jean Parisot (1861–1923) suggested in 1914 that the book had been published in 1889,⁶⁵³ but that seems improbable because the Schola Cantorum was not founded until 1894 and the pointing was not devised until at least 1897. Guilmant’s contribution offers a further piece of evidence to corroborate 1898 as the date of publication: his initials are prefixed with the name of the Canadian city ‘Montréal’ where, on his second American tour, Guilmant played an organ recital at Saint George’s church on 4 March 1898.⁶⁵⁴ That would have allowed ample time to mail an accompaniment to Paris and for it to appear in print by 10 April. The copy consulted by the present author at the BNF is stamped with the year 1898, making that sequence of events all the more plausible.

In any event, Lhoumeau had already learned of the Schola Cantorum’s collection by June of 1898 and compared the method of transcription to that in the *Livre d’Orgue*. While the rhythmic theory evidently aligned with his own, Lhoumeau considered neither the *Livre d’Orgue* nor *Melodiae paschales* to represent an ideal method of transcription, a reservation he noted in a letter to Pothier:

Les accomp^{ts} publiés par la Schola ne sont pas non plus mon idéal. D. Mocquereau leur a traduit le rythme d’une façon qui les brouille et leur fait commettre des erreurs.⁶⁵⁵

The accompaniments published by the Schola are not ideal either in my view. Dom Mocquereau transcribed the rhythm for them in a way that confuses them and causes them to commit errors.

Lhoumeau’s original letter bears one notated music example illustrating a specific instance where Mocquereau’s pointing differed from Lhoumeau’s conception of the rhythm, the example matching a transposed passage in ‘Alleluia, Pascha Nostrum’ (ex. 118). La Tombelle, the harmoniser, had dutifully changed chords according to most *ictuses*, but Lhoumeau was unwilling to accept the result as correct, and indicated by way of barlines those notes on which chords could more effectively have been changed.

⁶⁵³Parisot, *L’accompagnement modal*, 34.

⁶⁵⁴See *Programme of Organ Recital Given by Mons. Alexandre Guilmant (Organist of La Trinitie [sic] and the Trocadero, Paris) on Friday Evening, March 4th, 1898* (Montreal, 1898).

⁶⁵⁵Lhoumeau to Pothier, 3 June 1898, *F-SWF*: 1 W 153 (c) 203.

Lhoumeau considered Bordes to be the weakest harmoniser since his approach was said to be a bit blasé ('Bordes harmonise en « je m'en foutiste »'). By contrast, Guilmant 'did the best', perhaps owing to a more economical use of chords. Guilmant, nonetheless, also followed Mocquereau's pointing (ex. 119), save at the beginnings of phrases when he appears to have followed his own rhythmic instinct.

One of Bordes's hymn harmonisations is notable in that each verse is individually pointed (ex. 120).⁶⁵⁶ Generally, primary *arsic ictuses* align with the verbal accents and as a result no two verses are pointed identically. A far-reaching new approach to pointing is evident in a hymn from *Melodiæ natales* (ex. 121), a book of harmonisations of the Proper for Mass on Christmas Day.⁶⁵⁷ Again, it was an enterprise of the Schola Cantorum, but this time the harmonising was entrusted to Guilmant alone. It was deemed unnecessary to point each hymnodic verse individually, and unlike before each primary *arsic ictus* was not always aligned with a verbal accent or even with a note of longer duration. The pointing was now contrived to suit the melody (or, at least, not to follow the verbal accents in every case), thus affecting where the harmoniser could change chords, as we shall now see.

4.1.8 Mocquereau, d'Indy and the fate of Delpech

Between the second volume of the *Livre d'Orgue* (July 1898) and the third (May 1899), there began the trend of distributing the pointing not according to verbal accents but according to a different method altogether. Chords were to be placed not on strong verbal accents but on weak syllables, often at the ends of words, causing the accompaniment to exhibit symptoms of the Lhoumeau effect (see § 3.2.1). It is to this phenomenon that we shall now turn, not alone because it was responsible for an international fracas and an inconsolable rift between Mocquereau and Delpech, but also because the Solesmian propagation of the Lhoumeau effect continues to influence methods of accompaniment today.

⁶⁵⁶Vincent D'Indy et al., *Melodiæ paschales : Choix de pièces grégoriennes et du moyen-âge pour les fêtes de Noël*, in collab. with André Mocquereau (Paris: Au bureau d'édition de la Schola Cantorum, 1898), 4–6, 9–11.

⁶⁵⁷Alexandre Guilmant, *Melodiæ natales : Choix de pièces grégoriennes et du moyen-âge pour les fêtes de Noël*, in collab. with André Mocquereau (Paris: Au bureau d'édition de la Schola Cantorum, [c.1898]), 5.

Delpech's harmonisation of 'Dies irae' (quoted in ex. 122) in the fourth volume of the *Livre d'Orgue* (March 1900) stirred up controversy in the international press on account of chords' being placed on the final, weak syllables of words.⁶⁵⁸ As Katharine Ellis has observed, the pointing is conspicuously absent from above the chant,⁶⁵⁹ though the manner in which the accompanying parts are beamed makes the rhythmic intention clear. So polarising was Mocquereau's new approach that the Turin-based composer and organist Giovanni Pagella (1872–1944) lamented how 'hardened' in his stance the monk had become. Pagella absolved Delpech of harmonic wrong-doing on account of monastic inferiors not being permitted to diverge from the views of their superiors.⁶⁶⁰ The new approach drew the criticism of Wagner, who warned abbot Delatte of the necessity for caution. A remarkable and still unpublished account in the Solesmian archives describes how Wagner was invited to Solesmes to present a case against Mocquereau's approach, which provoked Mocquereau to tender his resignation as editor of the *Paléographie* and as Solesmes's *maître de chœur*. Delatte refused, however, and Mocquereau then requested to consult further theorists and to publish his findings on placing chords on weaker syllables.⁶⁶¹ Pierre Combe fails to mention the incident which must have caused Mocquereau and Solesmes considerable embarrassment.⁶⁶²

On the subject of chant rhythm, Mocquereau consulted d'Indy, arguably one of the foremost music theorists in France at the time.⁶⁶³ Terminology proved of interest: d'Indy proposed the French terms 'temps léger' and 'temps lourd' instead of *arsis* and *thesis* because in his experience students were sometimes confused by the classical terms. Notes taken by d'Indy's student Auguste Sérieyx (1865–1949) formed the basis of a 1912 composition treatise in which the terms 'léger' and 'lourd' are used to describe how

⁶⁵⁸*Livre d'Orgue*, 142.

⁶⁵⁹Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant*, 64–6.

⁶⁶⁰Relayed in Delpech to Delatte, 28 February 1901, *F-SO* and separately by a musician based in Turin in Giulio Bas to Mocquereau, 21 April 1903, *F-SO*; Pagella's review appeared in the Turin-based periodical **Santa Cecilia*.

⁶⁶¹'Affaire Wagner (vers 1896–1897)' dated 28 August 1929 among the Delpech archives at *F-SO*.

⁶⁶²Combe, *Histoire*; Combe, *Restoration*.

⁶⁶³For transcriptions of the available d'Indy–Mocquereau correspondence see Hala, *La Schola Cantorum*, 426–43; At the time of writing, much of the Mocquereau–d'Indy correspondence had not yet come to light.

rhythm was independent of meter.⁶⁶⁴ D'Indy admitted to coining the French terms after the German ones 'schwer' and 'leicht' had been introduced by Riemann.⁶⁶⁵ But when the topic of 'temps léger' and 'temps lourd' arose in a manual of chant rhythm, Riemann's misattribution to Mocquereau of the French translation was quoted by Mocquereau himself, without due acknowledgement to d'Indy.⁶⁶⁶

Perhaps d'Indy's erasure from the record was due to opinions he held on accompaniment that were probably disappointing to Mocquereau. Apparently, Mocquereau asked for d'Indy's opinion on the Requiem Mass, perhaps to ascertain the validity of the controversial 'Dies irae' harmonisation. Chords, d'Indy wrote in reply, were to reinforce the accent whether it be 'léger' or 'lourd'—those placed on the former were liable to create syncopated accompaniments.⁶⁶⁷ When composing accompaniments of chant, d'Indy was sensitive to a great many considerations that made it impossible to set out an immutable method. And since harmony was necessarily governed by modern rules, he was also sceptical that an authentic method of accompaniment could be established in the first place:

Faut-il vraiment établir une *théorie d'accompagnement ne varietur*, chercher un *système* qui ne sera forcément qu'une adaptation de notre pensée harmonique moderne aux rythmes libres anciens.

N'est-ce pas contribuer à une déformation?... et en ce cas serait une besogne anti artistique...

Et, que si *il faut* accompagner harmoniquement, est-ce que la *musique* ne devrait pas l'emporter dans cet accompagnement sur des règles que nous aurions, en somme, établies nous-mêmes ?⁶⁶⁸

Is it really necessary to establish an unvarying theory of accompaniment, to seek a system that will necessarily only be an adaption of our modern harmonic thinking to the ancient free rhythms?

Does this not add to a deformation?... and in that case it would be an anti-artistic task...

And in this accompaniment, if it is necessary to accompany harmonically, should musicality not prevail over rules that, in short, we would have established ourselves?

⁶⁶⁴Vincent D'Indy and Auguste Sérieyx, *Cours de composition musicale*, vol. 1 (Paris: Durand, 1912), 26.

⁶⁶⁵D'Indy to Mocquereau, 30 January 1901, *F-SO*; Some twenty-one letters between Riemann and Mocquereau dating from 1899 to 1914 are preserved in the Solesmes archives, though at the time of writing none was published. See Hala, *La Schola Cantorum*, 410, n. 26.

⁶⁶⁶Mocquereau, *Le nombre musical*, 52 n. 1. Riemann's involvement is also discussed in Walden, 'Dom Mocquereau's Theories of Rhythm and Romanic Musical Aesthetics', 3 n. 11 and *passim*.

⁶⁶⁷D'Indy to Mocquereau, 10 February 1901, *F-SO*.

⁶⁶⁸D'Indy to Mocquereau, 31 March 1901, *F-SO*; Hala, *La Schola Cantorum*, Transcribed on p. 440 and reproduced between pp. 444 and 445.

The controversy might explain why the *Livre d'Orgue's* fourth volume contains markedly fewer accompaniments than its earlier volumes. While Mocquereau was in the process of soliciting advice from theorists, Delpech sent a fifth volume of harmonisations to Wagner who returned the verdict that they ought to be published without amendment:

<p>Votre livraison est très bien faite. Je souhaite qu'elle puisse venir au jour telle qu'elle est, sans que vous soyez obligé d'adopter un système qui ne repose sur aucune donnée scientifique sérieuse.⁶⁶⁹</p>	<p><i>Your volume is very well done. I hope it can come to light as it is, without your having to adopt a system that is not based on any serious scientific evidence.</i></p>
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Wagner's view was forwarded by Delpech to abbot Delatte along with the request that the volume be sent to d'Indy for further comment. Wagner's approbation also emboldened Delpech to request that Delatte inform Mocquereau that chords need not change at every *ictus*, but Mocquereau proved unyielding. The rationale for placing chords on weaker syllables was published by Mocquereau as an article in the seventh volume of the *Paléographie musicale* entitled 'The Role and Place of the Latin Tonic Accent in Gregorian Rhythm'. It contained (among many other ideas) select music examples from classical and modern sacred repertoires that were supposed to justify his method.⁶⁷⁰ Mocquereau relies on an extract from Josquin Desprez's composition 'Ave Christe immolate' to demonstrate how weak syllables were arranged on strong metrical beats, but by applying the principle of polyphonic syncopation to a monophonic repertory that had originated a thousand years earlier, Mocquereau is most assuredly guilty of anachronism.

A further example taken from the *Oratorio de Noël* by Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921) serves only to confirm the anachronism and speciousness of Mocquereau's argument. The movement 'Et intendit mihi' was supposed to demonstrate how modern composers placed final syllables on the first, strong metrical beat of the bar,⁶⁷¹ but Mocquereau did not acknowledge the distinct possibility that Saint-Saëns had set the Latin text in the manner normative for a French one. Neither did Mocquereau note that throughout the *Oratorio* accented syllables are almost invariably aligned with strong

⁶⁶⁹Delpech to Delatte, 28 February 1901, *F-SO*.

⁶⁷⁰See footnote 661.

⁶⁷¹Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, 7:32–3.

musical beats. Mocquereau's *faux-pas* in quoting the movement was made all the more apparent in 1919 when Saint-Saëns himself passed the following judgement on d'Indy's perception of chant rhythm:

<p>Dans la musique du moyen âge, dont M. d'Indy donne des exemples et que l'on désigne sous le nom de <i>plain-chant</i>, créée avant l'invention barbare de la mesure, j'ai beau chercher le rythme ; c'est seulement l'absence de rythme que j'y trouve.⁶⁷²</p>	<p><i>In the music of the Middle Ages, of which Mr d'Indy gives examples and which one designates by the name plainchant, created before the savage invention of la mesure, in vain did I seek rhythm; but I find only the absence of rhythm.</i></p>
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Mocquereau's rationale nonetheless convinced Delatte, with the result that Delpech's and Wagner's warnings fell on deaf ears and the fifth of Delpech's harmonised volumes was withheld from publication even though the process of engraving had already commenced. Its proofs have not been observed in the Solesmes archive by the present archivist.⁶⁷³ On Delpech's expulsion from the *Livre d'Orgue* project, the role of harmoniser passed to the former Solesmian monk and former Delpech pupil Louis Gregory Sergent (b.1870), then organist at Oosterhout abbey, Holland.⁶⁷⁴ Delpech had recommended in 1896 that Sergent follow Loret's organ method,⁶⁷⁵ and Sergent became confident enough in his own abilities to write a new accompaniment manual. One catalogue describes it as being based on 'new and precise principles' ('d'après des principes très nouveaux et très précis'),⁶⁷⁶ which also probably influenced Sergent's 1905 **Accompagnement du Credo des Anges d'après les Editions de Solesmes*, published in Paris by Haton.⁶⁷⁷

Delpech's fate was already sealed, then, by the time an anticlerical law took effect in 1901 banning religious communities from France. The Solesmes monks were faced with no alternative other than to emigrate, and settled on the Isle of Wight in England, first at Appuldurcombe House and later at Our Lady of Quarr (see § 5.2.1). Meanwhile, Delpech was separated from the main community and was sent to the Abbey of Saint Michael at Farnborough. Wagner recounted Delpech's fate to a certain Dom Émile Daval in 1903:

⁶⁷²Camille Saint-Saëns, *Les idées de M. Vincent D'Indy* (Paris: Pierre Lafitte, 1919), 13.

⁶⁷³Père Patrick Hala to the author during a visit to the Solesmes archives in August 2019.

⁶⁷⁴Delpech to Mère de Vibraye, 3 February 1903, see footnote 599.

⁶⁷⁵Delpech to Mocquereau, 4 June 1896, *F-SO*; *Orpha [Caroline] Ochse, 'Nineteenth-Century Organ Tutors Published in France and Belgium', *The Tracker* 51, no. 4 (Autumn 2007): 20.

⁶⁷⁶Joseph Joubert, *Les maîtres contemporains de l'orgue*, vol. 3 (Paris: Maurice Sénart, 1912–14), 4.

⁶⁷⁷*Bibliographie des Bénédictins* (1906), p. 159.

Je sais tout ce qui s'est passé, étant mêlé moi-même dans le combat qui s'est livré à Solesmes, il y a 2 années, et qui a fini par le bannissement du bon P. Delpech à Farnborough, et la victoire des idées vraiment folles du P. Mocquereau qui les contient avec un entêtement fanatique.

Vous verrez leurs caprices encore mieux quand elles seront transplantées dans l'accompagnement. Il place les accords nouveaux sur les syllabes faibles, forçant ainsi les chantres qui ne comprendront du reste, jamais ces idées, et surtout ceux qui ne savent pas le latin, à appuyer les syllabes faibles, à les accentuer. Mais il n'y a pas de transaction possible là-dessus avec le P. Mocquereau.

Je prévois cependant que sa théorie fait le plus grand tort à Solesmes ; lui est son plus grand ennemi, plus dangereux que une douzaine de Haberl, car il commence déjà à falsifier et fausser les mélodies vieilles, en les arrangeant d'après ses idées préconçues et *tout arbitraires*.⁶⁷⁸

I know all about what happened, having been embroiled myself in the fight that took place at Solesmes two years ago which ended in the banishment of the good Fr Delpech to Farnborough and the victory of the truly mad ideas of Fr Mocquereau, who maintains them with a fanatical stubbornness.

You can see their fickleness much better when they are applied in the accompaniment. He places new chords on weak syllables, thus forcing singers who will never understand these ideas (and especially those who do not know Latin) to stress the weak syllables, thereby accenting them. But there is no possible negotiation with Fr Mocquereau on this point.

I therefore predict that his theory causes the greatest damage to Solesmes. He is his own worst enemy and is more dangerous than a dozen Haberls, because he already begins to falsify and distort the old melodies by arranging them according to preconceived and completely arbitrary notions.

Daval's reply to Wagner was intercepted by one Dom Athanase Logerot (1840–1908) who drew the matter to Delatte's attention. Logerot was aware of rumours circulating that Solesmes itself was divided on the rhythmic question, and determined that discussing the matter with those outside the monastic community would be improper.⁶⁷⁹ Daval therefore raised the matter with Delatte directly, and argued Delpech's case by asking the abbot to reconsider Mocquereau's pointing. That which had been added to the recent *Liber usualis* was, in Daval's words, 'infinitely unfortunate' ('chose infiniment regrettable').⁶⁸⁰ Daval's supplications amounted to nothing, however, even though other French musicians were making their own cases against Mocquereau's system. Widor regretted that rhythmic signs were invented according to whim and without much consideration for the historical facts:

⁶⁷⁸Wagner to Émile Daval, 21 February 1903, *F-SO*.

⁶⁷⁹Logerot to Delatte, 12 March 1903, *F-SO*.

⁶⁸⁰Daval to Delatte, 10 March 1903, *F-SO*.

Voici qu'aujourd'hui se forme, chez les Bénédictins mêmes, une autre école plus hardie, plus ambitieuse, plus autoritaire, déclarant que le rythme est soumis à certaines lois par elle-même édictées, qu'il faut accentuer telle note de préférence à telle autre, inventant des signes, empruntant à la fois aux neumes et à notre système moderne, voulant imposer au monde un régime dont il est difficile de dire s'il est plus traditionnel ou plus novateur.⁶⁸¹

And now today, among the Benedictines themselves, another more daring, more ambitious, more authoritarian school is taking shape. The school proposes that the rhythm be subject to certain laws prescribed by that selfsame school, that one note must be accented in preference to another, inventing signs, borrowing both from the neumes and our modern system, wanting to impose on the world a regime that makes it difficult to say whether it is more traditional or more innovative.

Claiming that Mocquereau had invented the notion of the *ictus*, Delpech distanced himself not only from his prior view that chords were to change on *ictuses* but also from his own harmonisations in the *Livre d'Orgue*:

Remarquez que dans le *Livre d'Orgue*, il y a changement d'harmonie sous chaque ponctuation rythmique etc. Ces accompagnements sont insupportables. Je vous assure que je ne me vante de les avoir faits.⁶⁸²

Notice that in the Livre d'Orgue there is a change of harmony under each rhythmic punctuation etc. These accompaniments are unacceptable. I assure you that I do not brag about having composed them.

When Delpech was called to review an accompaniment based on the same system, he wrote to Delatte to clarify whether the theory of the *ictus* was still in vogue:

Je désirerais savoir exactement : 1. Si en me rangeant du côté de M. d'Indy, au point de vue de l'harmonisation, je me mets au nombre de vos adversaires.

I would like to know exactly: 1. If I place myself among your adversaries, from the harmonic point of view, by siding with Mr d'Indy.

2. Si, pour vous, l'accent a cessé d'être *toujours* à l'*arsis*. C'est d'après l'idée de l'*arsis*, temps fort, que j'ai écrit les deux premières livraisons du *Livre d'orgue*, où j'ai fait concorder le temps fort *harmonique* avec le temps fort de la déclamation (*Arsis*).

2. If, for you, the accent has ceased always to be on the arsis. It is according to the idea of the arsis, temps fort, that I wrote the first two volumes of the Livre d'Orgue, where I made the harmonic temps fort coincide with the temps fort of the declamation (Arsis).

J'ai refusé de continuer quand on a bouleversé capricieusement cette manière d'entendre l'harmonisation des mélodies grégoriennes.⁶⁸³

I refused to continue when this way of hearing the harmonisation of Gregorian chant was capriciously upset.

⁶⁸¹Widor, 'La révision du plain-chant', 58.

⁶⁸²Delpech to Mère de Vibraye, 12 July 1906, see footnote 599.

⁶⁸³Delpech to Delatte, 25 July 1905, *F-SO*; Also printed in Hala, *La Schola Cantorum*, 421–2.

While Delpech's interest in accompaniment abated thereafter, one letter to the Farnborough abbot Fernand Cabrol (1855–1937) bears witness to his enduring disquiet.⁶⁸⁴

4.2 Towards a new official chant edition

4.2.1 *Vatican approval for Solesmes*

The French government's exiling of religious communities coincided with a period of significant upheaval in Catholic church music. Not only had the monopoly previously granted to Pustet expired, but the Holy See also ruled in the letter 'Nos quidem' (dated 17 May 1901) that the task of restoring the chant repertory was thenceforth to be delegated to Solesmes.⁶⁸⁵ As we have seen (§ 1.2.4), Haberl and his circle proved resistive to that ruling and continued to use Cecilian chant editions and organ accompaniments as they had before. Outside that circle, however, musicians were divided. A nonplussed cohort took little heed of the new papal directives, at least initially, while a proactive cohort took up the mantle of applying them to musical composition. Prior to examining how 'Nos quidem' and other papal decrees exerted changes on the musical traditions in Catholic worship, it is first necessary to consider two early advocates of the Vatican's updated stance.

Wagner received papal assent on 7 June 1901 for a new school of chant at the University of Fribourg, for which he placed advertisements in French and German periodicals, tailoring their content to suit populations with discrete interests. No mention is made of Regensburg in the French advertisement, for instance, which focuses instead on the papal backing the school had received. It also notes the proposed curriculum, which was divided into theory—history of chant aesthetics and manuscript studies—and practice—chanting, accompanying and choral directing.⁶⁸⁶ By contrast, the Teutophone advertisement tackled the Regensburg quandary, albeit in a subtle way:

⁶⁸⁴Delpech to Cabrol, 13 July 1908, *F-SO*.

⁶⁸⁵Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 182–191.

⁶⁸⁶Notice dated 10 August 1901 in Peter Wagner, 'Académie grégorienne à Fribourg, Suisse', *Revue du chant grégorien* 10, no. 1 (August 1901): 10.

Die gregorianische Akademie zu Freiburg i[n] d[er] Schweiz ist bischer die einzige Kirchenmusikschule deutscher Zunge, in welcher der traditionelle Choral gründlich und nach den Resultaten der neuesten wissenschaftlichen Forschung gelehrt wird. Der Besuch dieser Schule bildet demnach unter den obwaltenden Verhältnissen des geeignetste Mittel, sich auf die gregorianische Restauration durch intensive praktische wie gelehrte Arbeit vorzubereiten.⁶⁸⁷

The Gregorian Academy in Fribourg, Switzerland, is the only German-language church music school in which the traditional chant is taught thoroughly and according to the results of the latest scientific research. Attending this school is therefore, under the prevailing circumstances, the most suitable means of preparing for the Gregorian restoration through intensive practical and learned work.

By the academy's third semester, in 1903, further advertisements broke down the course into six classes, the number of registered pupils here being noted in parentheses: history of chant (8), theory (8), reading and accompaniment (9), critique of chant editions (4), semiography (4), and practical exercises (16).⁶⁸⁸ It is hardly surprising that more demand existed for practical classes than theoretical ones, because the papal decrees of the early years of the twentieth century placed a particular emphasis on practical aspects of church music. Those aspects grew in importance with each passing year as further decrees reinforced earlier bans on secular genres, requiring church musicians to adopt various approved repertoires in their stead.

Perhaps with a view to meeting the demands of such musicians, Wagner edited and published a chant book of his own. The chants themselves were reportedly of Germanic origin and laid claim to a heritage quite distinct from the Latin repertory which had been taken as the basis of Roman chant books. There is little doubt that a Germanic book would have appealed to German-speaking congregations, but the venture would have been for naught had the quadratic notation been illegible and the Latin rubrics incomprehensible. Wagner therefore brought out a version in modern notation and with German rubrics.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁷Peter Wagner, 'Gregorianische Akademie zu Freiburg i. d. Schweiz', *Gregorius-Blatt : Organ für katholische Kirchenmusik* 29, no. 12 (1904): 106; Peter Wagner, 'Kleinere Mitteilungen', *Gregorianische Rundschau* 3, no. 9 (1 September 1904): 150.

⁶⁸⁸Peter Wagner, 'Gregorianische Akademie zu Freiburg (Schweiz)', *Gregorius-Blatt : Organ für katholische Kirchenmusik* 28, no. 3 (1903): 35.

⁶⁸⁹Peter Wagner, *Kyriale sive Ordinarium missae cum cantu gregoriano, quem ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis cisalpinis collegit et hodierno usui accommodavit* (Graz: Styria, 1904), p. iii; Peter Wagner, *Kyriale : Die gewöhnlichen Messgesänge nach unseren ältesten Handschriften bearbeitet und in moderne Notation umgeschrieben* (Graz: Styria, 1904), p. iii.

Nor were transcription and translation Wagner's only tactics in the interest of popular dissemination, for he also composed a complementary book of accompaniments so that choirs could benefit from the support of organs or harmoniums.⁶⁹⁰ Was this a further ploy to draw Germanic audiences away from Regensburg? Perhaps, though Wagner was inevitably assisted in that regard by the Vatican which caused Cecilians to lose substantial ground to Solesmes.

Wagner was not alone in advocating the Vatican's new stance on plainchant. Another advocate was found in the Italian composer Giulio Bas (1874–1929) who, for some twenty years, enjoyed the *de facto* status as pseudo-official harmoniser for Solesmes. Bas had studied the organ with Marco Enrico Bossi (1861–1925) and counterpoint and composition with Josef Gabriel Rheinberger (1839–1901),⁶⁹¹ and therefore could hardly have enjoyed a more prestigious professional training. He became better acquainted with the chant repertory on his appointment as director of a Teano-based Schola Cantorum, and subsequently as *maestro di cappella* at the Venetian Basilica of Saint Mark. In tandem with the latter post, during the winter of 1902 Bas began composing chant accompaniments which the Turin-based publisher Marcello Capra (1862–1932) published in monthly instalments under the title *Repertorio di melodie gregoriane trascritte ed accompagnate con organo od armonium*. Each was cheaply priced at 50 *centesimi*. The instalments were to encompass all the first class feasts in the church year—rather an undertaking to achieve in one go—but the monthly routine afforded Bas the time to compose as he went along. It also permitted Bas the flexibility to alter his approach when some journalists levelled criticism at his style of accompaniment, as we shall see.

The first of Bas's instalments, containing the Proper for All Saints, was released on 15 October 1902, in good time for the feast at the beginning of November.⁶⁹² It received a positive review in the recently launched, pro-Solesmian periodical *Rassegna gregoriana*, a publication for which Desclée's Roman branch was responsible and of which Bas later

⁶⁹⁰ *Peter Wagner, *Orgelbegleitung zum Kyriale : nach unsern ältesten Handschriften* (Graz: Styria, 1904).

⁶⁹¹ 'Giulio Bas', *Church Music: A Magazine for the Clergy, Choirmasters and Organists* 2, no. 2 (January 1907): 95; Joel F. Scrapper, 'Josef Gabriel Rheinberger and the Regensburg Cecilian Movement' (DMA, University of Missouri, 2006), 42.

⁶⁹² 'Pubblicazioni gregoriane', *Rassegna gregoriana per gli studi liturgici e pel canto sacro* 1, no. 10 (October 1902): p. 153.

became the editor. Bas's transcription of the chant into modern notation made less use of the *mora vocis* dot of addition than the reviewer was expecting, however, leading to the following comment:

<p>La melodia è assai bene trascritta, secondo le regole da noi proposte e seguite. Però non sarebbe stato male introdurre qua e colà qualche <i>mora vocis</i> di più, dove il senso logico della melodia pareva richiedere. L'accompagnamento d'organo procede bene, semplice, diatonico.⁶⁹³</p>	<p><i>The melody is very well transcribed, according to the rules we propose and follow. However, it would not have been bad to introduce a few more mora vocis here and there, where the logical sense of the melody calls for them. The organ accompaniment proceeds well, simple, diatonic.</i></p>
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Bas's accompaniments for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception were already in print by the time the review appeared, having been released in November, again in good time for the feast day in December. The third instalment, for the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, followed shortly thereafter and proved acceptable to reviewers in the Milanese *Musica Sacra* and the Turinese *Santa Cecilia*. Both lavished praise on Bas's style of accompaniment and—in contrast to the *Rassegna*, but with the concurrence of at least one German reviewer—noted the practicality of his transcriptions.⁶⁹⁴

4.2.2 *Bas's allegiance with Mocquereau*

Positive verdicts on Bas's accompaniments were not forthcoming from those French journalists who were vociferous in defending Solesmian methodologies. The *maître de chapelle* of Poitiers cathedral, Clément Gaborit, suggested that Bas's 'numerous rhythmic faults' resulted from placing chords elsewhere than on the 'levé'. Moreover, Gaborit tried to prove his point by using barlines to analyse Bas's method of placing chords: the two redactions quoted in ex. 123 outline two different rhythmic results, the upper showing the rhythm as Bas had treated it, and the lower showing how Gaborit believed it should have been treated.⁶⁹⁵ Since Bas's original accompaniment could not be consulted for the present study, Gaborit's claims must continue to await evaluation. Yet, it is notable that

⁶⁹³*Ibid.*, no. 11 (November 1902): p. 171.

⁶⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 2, no. 1 (January 1903): cols 43–4; 'Besprechungen', *Gregorianische Rundschau* 1, no. 12 (15 December 1902): 179.

⁶⁹⁵Clément Gaborit, 'Le nouveau manuel grégorien', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 9, no. 1 (January 1903): p. 19, n. 3.

one contemporary theorist arrived at a similar conclusion to Gaborit's via the same analytical procedure. Louis Laloy (1874–1944) added the barlines in the passage quoted in ex. 124 to demonstrate, to his own satisfaction if not necessarily to everyone else's, that Bas's accompaniment produced a syncopated effect:

Que résulte-t-il de là ? Une mesure syncopée, où le temps fort est réduit à une croche, tandis que le temps faible en a deux ; un rythme brisé, assez familier à notre musique, mais qui surprend dans le chant grégorien, si paisible et si grave.⁶⁹⁶

What follows from this? A syncopated bar where the temps fort is reduced to one quaver while the temps faible has two; a broken rhythm rather familiar in modern music, but one that stands out in Gregorian chant which is so peaceful and solemn.

Laloy offered an alternative transcription of the same passage (quoted in ex. 125), opining that the two quavers on the syllable 'mi' are thetic and should therefore receive a chord. That analysis evidently captured Mocquereau's attention who reproduced it in the *Paléographie*. Mocquereau nonetheless steered clear of voicing his own opinions on harmonic matters, at least in the public arena, opting instead to leave them in the hands of established commentators.⁶⁹⁷

Still, Mocquereau did not shy away from holding forth in private, and sought to establish a line of communication with Bas directly. The Italian dispatched a telegram to Capra to suspend engraving future instalments of the *Repertorio* before the *tête-à-tête* could take place, requesting of Mocquereau that future transcriptions be sent from Solesmes directly so that his accompaniments might better conform to Mocquereau's ideas.⁶⁹⁸ Mocquereau did not restrict his recommendations to the transcription of chant melodies alone, voicing several opinions on the matter of accompaniment in a memorandum dated January 1903:

⁶⁹⁶Louis Laloy, 'Quelques mots sur le rythme grégorien', *La Revue Musicale* 3, no. 13 (1 October 1903): 547; It is likely that, in the process of adding barlines, an accidental is omitted from the second bar..

⁶⁹⁷Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, 7:169–70.

⁶⁹⁸Bas to Mocquereau, 17 December 1902, *F-SO*.

Le rôle de l'accompagnement, relativement au rythme est de suivre le rythme de la mélodie grégorienne. L'accompagnement doit marcher du *même pas* qu'elle, s'appuyer où elle s'appuie. La place ordinaire des accords est donc toute indiquée sur les touchements. Mais, étant données la souplesse infinie, la marche, le vol aérien, la spiritualité du rythme grégorien, l'accompagnement est toujours pour lui un danger ; c'est le revêtir d'une lourde cuirasse. Le plus léger, le plus subtil sera le meilleur. Mieux n'en vaudrait pas du tout. Dans toutes nos grandes exécutions, nous l'avons toujours repousé.⁶⁹⁹

*The role of the accompaniment, relative to the rhythm, is to follow the rhythm of the Gregorian melody. The accompaniment must proceed at the same pace as the melody, rest where the melody itself rests. The ordinary place of chords, therefore, is entirely indicated in the rhythmic alighting places. But given the infinite suppleness, movement, soaring flight and spirituality of the Gregorian rhythm, accompaniment is always a threat to it; it is akin to cloaking the melody in heavy armor. The lighter and more subtle, the better. No accompaniment would be best of all. In all our major performances, we have always eliminated accompaniment.*⁷⁰⁰

While it is possible that Solesmian mores had changed since Bellaigue's visit to Saint-Pierre in 1898, one should not overlook the fact that monastic life had been thrown into quite considerable disarray by the community's exile to England. It is difficult to ascertain whether a harmonium was available to accompany the chanting at Appuldurcombe, but a Mutin-Cavaillé-Coll *orgue de chœur* was installed there around 1903.⁷⁰¹ Eliminating accompaniment outside Lent and Advent might therefore have been borne of necessity rather than of a change in doctrine.

We might take the mention of 'rhythmic alighting places' to be analogous to those *ictuses* that proved so contentious in Delpech's accompaniments. Let us not dismiss the possibility that Mocquereau, by establishing contact with Bas, was seeking Delpech's replacement, or at least someone more willing to apply Solesmian rhythm to accompaniments without igniting public opinion. Sergent had already commenced a harmonisation of the Kyrial from scratch, but Bas warned Mocquereau that the venture was amateurish and could undermine Solesmes's authority:

⁶⁹⁹Combe, *Histoire*, 238–9.

⁷⁰⁰Adapted from Combe, *Restoration*, 209–210.

⁷⁰¹Paul Hale, 'French Treasure on the Isle of Wight', *Organists' Review*, December 2017, 31.

Ce qui vient de Solesmes doit être indiscutablement fort, et votre *Livre d'Orgue* menace d'être indiscutablement faible, comme l'œuvre d'un amateur maladroit.⁷⁰²

What comes from Solesmes must be unmistakably strong, and your Livre d'Orgue threatens to be unmistakably weak, like the work of a clumsy amateur.

The task of harmonising the Kyrial was thereafter reassigned solely to Bas, who hoped his involvement in the *Livre d'Orgue* would extend to harmonising other portions of the chant repertory too.⁷⁰³ He stepped into his new role as semi-official Solesmian harmoniser, and by January 1904 was using Desclée's Kyrial in modern notation as the basis for his accompaniments. These transcriptions did not always offer answers to his rhythmic questions, however, and Bas continued to probe Mocquereau for further advice.⁷⁰⁴

Not only was a newly harmonised Kyrial essential to superseding Delpech's harmonisations, but Mocquereau's evolving ideas on rhythm had rendered the pointing in the *Livre d'Orgue* obsolete. In 1904, a distinction was no longer drawn between *arsic* and *thetic ictuses*, at least as far as the pointing was concerned, and the colon-like annotation was therefore discontinued, its place being taken by single dots of the kind illustrated in ex. 126.⁷⁰⁵ Comparing them to the *Livre d'Orgue*'s pointing (of which an example is reproduced in ex. 113), we note that, irrespective of the form the pointing took, the placement of *ictuses* underwent few changes. But even that was set to change as the new chant edition promised by 'Nos quidem' modified the chants in subtle ways, the effect of which being discussed in more detail below (§ 4.3.3).

Bas acknowledged the need, in tandem with annotative differences, for a stylistic approach predicated on more simplicity.⁷⁰⁶ Practically speaking, he seems to have accepted the proposition in Mocquereau's memorandum that the accompaniment should rest when the chant itself rests by anticipating accented notes with such rests. Ex. 127 illustrates one of Bas's early forays into applying Solesmian rhythm to his accompaniments, one which would lead to his routinely placing chords on unaccented

⁷⁰²Bas to Mocquereau, 11 January 1904, *F-SO*.

⁷⁰³Bas to Mocquereau, 8 and 10 October 1903, *F-SO*.

⁷⁰⁴Bas to Mocquereau, 24 January 1904, *F-SO*.

⁷⁰⁵*Kyriale seu Ordinarium missarum in recentioris musicae notulas*, 'Alterà' (Rome & Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & Soc., 1904), 26 (Desclée № 576).

⁷⁰⁶Bas to Mocquereau, 2 April 1903, *F-SO*.

syllables. Although the chant was reportedly one of Pothier's fabrications ('la melodia è tutta sua'), the accompaniment could hardly have embodied greater opposition to his opinions.⁷⁰⁷ Gaborit's incomprehensible suggestion that syncopation could be avoided by placing chords on *ictuses* led Bas to commit the very error of which d'Indy had warned Mocquereau two years earlier. The persistent refusal of Bas's accompaniment to engage with the verbal accents is explicable only in terms of the incompatible definitions of *arsis* and *thesis* held by metricians and musicians (on which, see § 3.2.1). Nor was the predicament lost of Bas himself, who went as far as to raise with Mocquereau the question of why accompaniments of syllabic chants such as *Victimæ paschali* should not simply observe the verbal accents.⁷⁰⁸ Whereas in later correspondence Bas downplayed his concerns as a temporary fit of foolishness, they continued to bubble beneath the surface of his relationship with Mocquereau, leading around 1920 to its foundering.⁷⁰⁹

In spite of harbouring doubts about Mocquereauvian rhythm, Bas engaged in some propaganda on Solesmes's behalf and became something of an ambassador for Mocquereau's rhythmic theories in Italy. A pamphlet in Italian was published dealing with chant performance practice according to Solesmian rhythm,⁷¹⁰ of which the proofs of a French translation bear some marginalia that include the suggestion to Frenchify Bas's forename as Jules.⁷¹¹ Bas's early thoughts on applying Solesmian rhythm to the accompaniment were aired in an article he contributed to a chant method by the Benedictine monk Gregorio María Suñol y Baulenas (1879–1946). The events leading to the article's appearance were not without certain complications, however, since it was not included in the original Spanish edition of Suñol's method, but rather in its subsequent French translation.⁷¹² When the article did appear, it stated that chords were to be placed preferentially on the *ictus* and that so-called rich harmonisations were ideally suited to

⁷⁰⁷ 'Salve mater misericordiae', *Rassegna gregoriana per gli studi liturgici e pel canto sacro* 2, no. 7 (July 1903): cols 179, 181–2.

⁷⁰⁸ Bas to Mocquereau, 19 January 1903, *F-SO*.

⁷⁰⁹ Bas to Mocquereau, 7 November 1903; 28 March 1906; 10 July and 26 August 1907, *F-SO*.

⁷¹⁰ *Giulio Bas, *Nozioni di canto gregoriano* (Rome: Desclée, 1904).

⁷¹¹ See the handwritten 'Notions du Chant Grégorien' among Bas's correspondence in *F-SO*.

⁷¹² Note the absence of Bas's contribution in Gregorio María Suñol, *Método completo de solfeo, teoría y práctica de canto gregoriano según los principios de los RR. PP. Benedictionos de Solesmes*, 1st ed. (Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & C^{ie}, 1905), 195–7.

accompanying syllabic chants—plainer harmonisations were reported to be preferable for accompanying melismatic chants. A separate category was created for what an Anglophone translator termed ‘festooned melodies’, a kind of chant that continually circles back to the same pitch, thus requiring a special type of accompaniment with as few chord changes as possible.⁷¹³ Bas’s private reservations notwithstanding, his public adoption of Mocquereau’s ideas was taken by Solesmian apologists as proof that those ideas must be correct, Laloy being among the first to broadcast the matter, followed shortly thereafter by the *Paléographie* which did not pass up the opportunity to claim Bas and the American cleric Norman Dominic Holly as converts.⁷¹⁴

4.2.3 *Bas’s revised accompaniments*

Until his break with Mocquereau, Bas was apparently prepared to secure Solesmes’s continued support, nearly any cost. Was Bas’s adherence to Solesmian rhythm financially motivated? There is no doubt that he aired his financial grievances often in correspondence with Mocquereau. To make matters worse, the *Repertorio* failed to make a convincing impression on the Italian clergy and was under threat of folding despite the positive reviews it was receiving in the press. Bas’s attempts to drum up more support for the publication amounted to little if anything at all: even though he sent the first instalment free gratis to one hundred Italian seminarians, only three subscribed. Although the SCR decree of 1894 had banned ‘theatrical motives, variations and reminiscences’, Italian musicians were rather slow to change their customs. Not even ‘Nos quidem’ sparked enough interest for Italian musicians to interrupt the use of secular music in the liturgy.⁷¹⁵

The situation led the *Repertorio* into dire straits since Bas could no longer justify financing the project with personal funds. His monthly organist’s salary (reported as 50 F.) only just covered the monthly outlay on printing costs of 30 F.⁷¹⁶ Pleas were placed in the

⁷¹³Gregorio María Suñol, *Text Book of Gregorian Chant According to the Solesmes Method*, trans. Maur Sablayrolles and G. M. Durnford (Tournai: Desclée & Co, 1930), pp. 153, 158–60.

⁷¹⁴Laloy, ‘Quelques mots sur le rythme grégorien’, 547–8; Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, 7:154–7.

⁷¹⁵Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 141; Eckhard Jaschinski, ‘The Renewal of Catholic Church Music in Germany/Austria, France and Italy in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II*, ed. Paul Collins (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 27–8.

⁷¹⁶Bas to Mocquereau, 27 July 1903, *F-SO*.

Rassegna to attract further subscribers by mentioning that the cost of publication had not yet been recouped ('le spese della pubblicazione non sono coperte per nulla'),⁷¹⁷ but that was hardly a convincing advertisement for a venture that did not enjoy much demand, at least not in the domestic market. Fewer than half of the eighty total subscribers were Italian, and the *Repertorio* instead found a small niche for itself abroad, particularly in those places where chant was sung but where no accompaniments were readily available. One subscriber, for example, required his or her instalments to be dispatched to faraway Santiago del Chile.⁷¹⁸ Faced with impending financial ruin, then, Bas appealed to Mocquereau for assistance, asking whether Desclée might be convinced to take on the publication. Mocquereau proved amenable to the request and Desclée began bearing the financial and productive burdens of Bas's accompaniments sometime during the Autumn of 1903.

The transfer provided Bas not only with financial relief but also with the opportunity to revise the accompaniments that had appeared prior to his collaboration with Mocquereau.⁷¹⁹ Among the changes to the Office of the Purification is a chord placed on the second syllable of 'Domini' (ex. 128), just as Gaborit had suggested,⁷²⁰ and among those to the Office of All Saints is the transcription quoted in ex. 129 that follows Laloy's suggestion.⁷²¹ These revised accompaniments came to the attention of Heinrich Beverunge (1862–1923), the Professor of Church Chant and Organ at St Patrick's College Maynooth who, as a staunch opponent of Mocquereau's theories, did not consider Bas's rhythms satisfactory. Speaking of the Epiphany accompaniment (comprising the first instalment in Desclée's first volume), he queried whether chords should not coincide with accented syllables.⁷²² Bas's reasons for placing chords on the second syllables of 'stellam' and 'ejus' (ex. 130) eluded him.⁷²³ The same gripe was communicated to the Stanbrook

⁷¹⁷L. R., 'Del Repertorio di Melodie gregoriane', *Rassegna gregoriana per gli studi liturgici e pel canto sacro* 2, no. 7 (July 1903): cols 319–20.

⁷¹⁸Clovis Montero, 'America Latina (Santiago Del Chile)', *Rassegna gregoriana per gli studi liturgici e pel canto sacro* 2, no. 8 (August 1903): col. 375–6.

⁷¹⁹Bas to Mocquereau, 1 September 1903, *F-SO*.

⁷²⁰Giulio Bas, 'In Purificatione B. Mariæ Virginis', in *Repertorio di melodie gregoriane trascritte ed accompagnate con organo od armonium*, vol. 1 (Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre & C^{ie}, [c.1904]), p. 11.

⁷²¹*Ibid.*, 'Festum omnium Sanctorum,' *ibid.*, p. 51

⁷²²Darina McCarthy, 'Heinrich Beverunge (1862–1923): A Critical Reassessment of His Life and Influence' (PhD diss., Maynooth University, 2015), 222, 251–2.

⁷²³Giulio Bas, 'In Epiphania Domini', in *Repertorio di melodie gregoriane trascritte ed accompagnate con organo od armonium*, vol. 1 (Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre & C^{ie}, [c.1904]), 5.

nun Dame Laurentia McLachlan (1866–1953) which probably informed the brief discussion of accompaniment in Stanbrook’s 1905 *Grammar of Plainsong*. That publication was intended for the Archdiocese of Birmingham, having been requested by archbishop Edward Ilsley,⁷²⁴ and was among the first manuals to introduce Solesmes’s theory of the *ictus* into the Anglophone discourse.⁷²⁵ Bewerunge offered no answers to the questions he posed, musing instead: ‘Is it not truly wonderful what queer things men can do out of theoretical considerations?’⁷²⁶

Prior to returning to Bewerunge’s review, we must acknowledge a potentially thorny issue concerning the order in which Bas’s *Repertorio* was published. We have already observed how three instalments respectively for the feasts of All Saints, Immaculate Conception and Purification had appeared in 1902, and in December Bas advertised the volumes set to appear in 1903 in the following order: 1. Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2 February); 2. Easter (12 April 1903); 3. Ascension of Jesus (21 May 1903); 4. Pentecost (31 May 1903); 5. Corpus Christi (11 June 1903); 6. Ss Peter and Paul (29 June); 7. Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15 August); 8. Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September); 9. All Saints’ (1 November), 10. Immaculate Conception (8 December); 11. Christmas (25 December); 12. Epiphany (6 January). The ninth and tenth instalments in that list corresponded to those that had already been published in 1902, a fact Bas acknowledged by following them with the Italian word ‘uscita’, or ‘released’.⁷²⁷ To that confusion may be added a further change made to the ordering of instalments: when Desclée took over the *Repertorio*, the first volume was rearranged to place Epiphany as the first instalment. Hence, when Bewerunge described the Epiphany accompaniment, he reviewed it as the first to appear from the Desclée press. The entabulated contents of Bas’s *Repertorio* in table B.7 therefore correspond to the Desclée publications, and are not to be confused with any of those instalments printed by Capra.⁷²⁸

⁷²⁴Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England*, 209.

⁷²⁵Benedictines of Stanbrook, *A Grammar of Plainsong in Two Parts* (London: Burns & Oates Ltd, 1905), 35, 62–3.

⁷²⁶Heinrich Bewerunge, ‘Notices of Books’, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 15 (May 1904): 478–9.

⁷²⁷L. R., ‘Pubblicazioni gregoriane’, *Rassegna gregoriana per gli studi liturgici e pel canto sacro* 1, no. 12 (December 1902): p. 189.

⁷²⁸Bas later reported having dispatched harmonisations for a ninth series in Bas to Mocquereau, 11 November 1909, *F-SO*.

Bewerunge took further issue with Bas's practice of 'leaving a few notes here and there unaccompanied' because, in his view, an accompaniment ought to be unobtrusive. Bringing in a new chord after a rest would divert the ear from the chant and produce an unsatisfactory effect, so he believed.⁷²⁹ But Bas probably owed the passage illustrated in ex. 131 to Mocquereau's memorandum, since chords are reserved for accented notes alone.⁷³⁰ Bas was allotted space in the *Paléographie* to deliver a more detailed explication of his method but failed to note whether the organ was to remain silent during rests or whether the chant was to be accompanied at the unison. Instead, he proposed various strategies for handling successive *ictuses* which included a method of managing the part writing so that the introduction of parts would coincide with a succession of accents (ex. 132).⁷³¹ Bewerunge was in agreement with Bas's explication and conceded that chords should indeed be changed on *theses*, but he also perhaps conjured up the metrician/musician dichotomy when querying where exactly those *theses* occurred:

The natural place for [a] change of harmony is on a thesis, there is no doubt of that. In practice I would, however, allow anticipations and retardations, whenever they are fairly easily intelligible. It is very common in plainchant to have the main note preceded, on the beat, by an appoggiatura. If you bring in your harmony on this appoggiatura you get often very harsh suspensions. But the main question is, where are the *theses*?⁷³²

On the harmonic substance of Bas's accompaniments, Bewerunge could not abide the tendency to harmonise the deuterus cadence 'F' → 'E' with D minor → E minor harmony, preferring deuterus accompaniments to terminate on A minor harmony instead. His preference illustrates that consensus had not yet been reached on the subject of deuterus harmonisations. As we have seen (pp. 164 and 165) La Tombelle had previously aired a similar reservation in connection with deuterus harmonisations in the *Livre d'Orgue*. But in contrast to Bewerunge's reservations, Gaborit appreciated Bas's new style, though he admitted that the accompaniments could do with being more 'full-bodied' ('plus corsée') for the sake of choral support—perhaps the sparse texture did not agree with him. Gaborit

⁷²⁹See footnote 726.

⁷³⁰Bas, 'In Epiphania Domini', 4.

⁷³¹Giulio Bas, 'Le rythme et l'harmonie : leurs rapports dans le chant grégorien', in *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 7 (Tournai: Desclée, [c.1905]), 332.

⁷³²Bewerunge to McLachlan, 27 October 1905, cited in McCarthy, 'Heinrich Bewerunge: A Critical Reassessment', 251–2.

mentioned that a full-bodied style was being proposed by a certain organist of Strasbourg cathedral, to whose accompaniments we shall turn in due course (§ 4.2.5).⁷³³

4.2.4 *The Vatican commission*

Although Italian seminarians proved themselves ambivalent to chant in the early years of the twentieth century, ‘Nos quidem’ was unquestionably a harbinger of a new era in Catholic Church music. Cardinal Giuseppe Melchiorre Sarto (1835–1914) had kept abreast of Solesmes’s researches during the 1890s and committed the first draft of the ground-breaking *motu proprio* ‘Tra le sollecitudini’ (TLS) to paper in 1893.⁷³⁴ Following his election as Pope Pius X in August 1903 the draft was revised and published on 22 November. It stipulated that vocal music was to be considered as the music most befitting of the Catholic Church and also made pronouncements on the use of instruments in the liturgy. An outright ban was placed on pianos, drums and cymbals, and orchestras were only to be permitted with ‘the explicit permission of the local Ordinary’. The organ, by contrast, was deemed the church instrument *par excellence*, provided, of course, that it was properly played. TLS permitted preludes, interludes and the like provided that they were appropriately solemn, and also permitted accompaniments provided that they did not drown out the singing:

Siccome il canto deve sempre primeggiare, così l’organo o gli strumenti devono semplicemente sostenerlo e non mai opprimerlo. ⁷³⁵	<i>Since the singing must always be the chief thing, the organ and the orchestra may only sustain and never crush it.</i> ⁷³⁶
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Saint-Saëns repudiated the rationale behind the ban on percussive instruments because, in his view, cymbals and drums could be orchestrated with sufficient decorum to warrant a place in the liturgical orchestra. He also mused how depictions of such instruments in sacred imagery surely provided ample justification of their retention. Since TLS provided only a general outline for the new musical topography, Fauré was obliged to conclude that

⁷³³Gaborit’s correspondence to Bas is quoted in Bas to Mocquereau, 15 August [n.y.], *F-SO*.

⁷³⁴Combe, *Histoire*, 186–7; Combe, *Restoration*, 162.

⁷³⁵‘Tra Le Sollecitudini (22 Novembre 1903)’, §§15–16, accessed 7 July 2020, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/it/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html.

⁷³⁶Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 228–9.

applying it to church music would come down to a matter of personal opinion. D'Indy and Guilmant were nonetheless pleased by the directive, the former because the Schola Cantorum had already gone some way towards adopting it, and the latter because it spelled the end of marching music in the Nuptial Mass.⁷³⁷

A further *motu proprio*, 'Col nostro', followed in April 1904 which detailed the appointment of a papal commission to oversee the production of that chant book profiled in 'Nos quidem'. The book itself was to be free of copyright so that any publisher irrespective of nationality could disseminate the official chants, provided, of course, that the approved melodies were not altered in any way. The chants, as prepared by Solesmes, were to be vetted and approved prior to their publication by the commission, led by Pothier. Although Haberl and his circle were invited to take part, they reportedly declined the invitation.⁷³⁸ Combe, who asserted that no German expert responded to the call ('Aucun des Allemands invités à titre d'experts n'avait répondu à cet appel'), remains misleading on this point, since there were indeed Germans who did accept the Vatican's invitation. Wagner, Raphael Molitor, and Horn joined with French experts including Gastoué and Mocquereau to thrash out the way forward.

The commission met several times in Rome during the spring and summer of 1904, and once again at a seminal gathering at Appuldurcombe hosted by Solesmes from 6 to 9 September.⁷³⁹ The Solesmians tried steering the commission towards adopting the *Liber usualis* as the basis for the Vatican's new edition, but experts expressed such doubts about the authenticity of its rhythmic signs that Pothier's *Liber gradualis* was settled on instead. With Solesmes's entreaties falling on deaf ears some hubbub erupted in the months that followed, leading to Delatte's withdrawing from the commission outright, followed shortly thereafter by Mocquereau who tendered his resignation on 17 July 1905. The task of preparing the Vatican Edition continued in spite of those departures, without Solesmes's direct involvement.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁷J[ean] de Muris, 'Le 'Motu proprio' sur la musique sacrée et la presse française', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 6, nos. 5–6 (May–June 1904): 183–4.

⁷³⁸Combe, *Histoire*, 318; Combe, *Restoration*, 285.

⁷³⁹Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 256–60.

⁷⁴⁰Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant*, 109–111.

While Solesmes had transferred the copyright of the chants to the Vatican,⁷⁴¹ the same was not done for the rhythmic signs. There had been a danger since at least 1895 of other publishers swooping in to produce chant books in the same typeface Solesmes had designed for its own use: Wagner had warned of the potential for confusion if Pustet were to have started down that path.⁷⁴² Solesmes therefore maintained a jealous guard over the type used to print its rhythmical signs. As we have seen (on p. 109 above) the type was forged neither at Solesmes nor by Desclée, but by a third party, the Parisian type foundry Deberny & C^{ie}, which advertised a special ‘Casse de plain-chant’ in a splendid brochure showing off excerpts from the *Liber gradualis* with a kind of double-impression printing. Black neumes are set on red rastrations in a display of the five available point sizes: 32, 40, 48, 84 and the gargantuan 120.⁷⁴³ The last was probably intended not for chant books but for prompt sheets displayed in a prominent location to remind an ensemble of singers of common chants without their needing to find the relevant page. One such sheet of responsories in Pustet’s characteristic notation was displayed above the organ console in Regensburg cathedral in the early years of the twentieth century.⁷⁴⁴

As Mocquereau’s theories of chant rhythm evolved so too did the requirements for typographical symbols, and Deberny was tasked with forging the relevant type necessary to print them. Solesmes put stringent controls in place to thwart potential pirates; so stringent, in fact, that even Desclée’s Roman branch was unable to purchase *episemata*, *orisci* or rhythmical dots for the *Rassegna* without Bas requesting the necessary permissions from Mocquereau.⁷⁴⁵ The situation was vexing to one Jules Combarieu who, in a review of the *Liber usualis*, complained that he could not provide music examples since he did not have access to the type required to print them.⁷⁴⁶

The Vatican commission approved for publication the first extract of its chant edition in 1905 which comprised the Kyrial, but prior to discussing it in more detail we must first

⁷⁴¹Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England*, 206.

⁷⁴²Wagner to Mocquereau, 28 December 1895, *F-SO*.

⁷⁴³Fonderie Deberny & C^{ie}, *Le livret typographique : spécimen de caractères* (Paris: Fonderie de caractères d’imprimerie), part iv, pp. 210–14.

⁷⁴⁴See the photograph cited in footnote 106.

⁷⁴⁵Bas to Mocquereau, 8 February 1904, *F-SO*.

⁷⁴⁶Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant*, 93–4.

evaluate Desclée's version with added rhythmical signs. It had potentially broken the clause in 'Col nostro' forbidding editors to alter the chants, causing some consternation that prompted the commission to weigh in on the matter. It affirmed that signs could indeed be added to versions of the Vatican Edition,⁷⁴⁷ a finding corroborated by the SCR which confirmed the legality of Desclée's publication.⁷⁴⁸ But sufficient confusion continued to abound for the American organist Caspar Petrus Koch (1872–1970) to take up the matter with Pothier's monastery directly. Koch had been steeped in the Cecilian tradition, having received his musical training first at the Amerikanische Cäcilien-Verein under Singenberger (at Saint Francis College, Wisconsin) and later at the Regensburg Kirchenmusikschule.⁷⁴⁹ The Saint-Wandrille monk Dom Lucien David (1875–1955) responded on Pothier's behalf, noting that the SCR had done little more than to permit the signs 'invented by Dom Mocquereau'. David noted, however, that *episemata* had no basis in historical fact and that neither the SCR nor the Vatican commission had explicitly approved their use. They had also steered clear of drawing conclusions on chant rhythm and performance practice.⁷⁵⁰

4.2.5 Mathias's graduated stages

While the Vatican Kyrial was at an advanced stage of preparation, the commission elected to convene a congress of international experts to consider the implications of TLS on chant performance practice. Haberl believed that such a gathering was premature because, at the time, the new chant edition had not yet been published; Pothier did not approve it for publication until the congress was underway.⁷⁵¹ Haberl was nonetheless among some

⁷⁴⁷Combe, *Histoire*, 286; Combe, *Restoration*, 253.

⁷⁴⁸Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 158–9.

⁷⁴⁹Robert A. Skeris, 'Musica Sacra in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, 1858–1958', in *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II*, ed. Paul Collins (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 198–200; A discrepancy in Koch's educational history is evident in *Grove Music Online* which states he attended Saint Francis College, Joliet, Illinois. See Vernon Gotwals and Judi Caldwell, 'Koch, Caspar', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 28 September 2020, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002088635>; For descriptions on his passage to Regensburg and to the Kirchenmusikschule, see Koch's obituary in *The Pittsburgh Press*, 25 June 1933, p. 20.

⁷⁵⁰Dom Lucien David to Caspar Petrus Koch, 20 December 1906, original reprinted in *Les éditions rythmiques de Solesmes à propos d'une association cécilienne française*, 46–7; Translation and discussion in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 277–9.

⁷⁵¹Combe, *Histoire*, 419, 421; Combe, *Restoration*, 372, 374.

fifty-six members of the organising committee that convened the congress in Strasbourg between 16 and 19 August, and at which the debates on a wide range of chant-related topics were considered in Francophone and Teutophone sessions.⁷⁵² The tenor of their debates on chant accompaniment will be explored in the following paragraphs, but it should be noted that the topic was considered separately by each cohort, and as a result the delegates attending a session conducted in French could not necessarily make their opinions known in the parallel session conducted in German. Any bias arising in one session and conflicting with ideas raised in the other might be recognised as a side effect of this crude division along linguistic lines.

The organist of Strasbourg cathedral mentioned by Gaborit, Franz Xaver Mathias (1871–1939), chaired the Teutophone session. He outlined a system of his own design that attempted to codify how a player might handle greater or lesser accents by using greater or lesser motion in the accompanying parts. In short, a greater accent required either a greater amount of motion or an excursion to a harmonically remote chord. A lesser accent, by contrast, required less motion and for the harmony to remain static.⁷⁵³ In one way, Mathias's system may be considered analogous to Mocquereau's theory of chant rhythm because it too analysed the chant to determine a codifiable method of performance. In another way, however, Mathias's system diverged from theories of rhythm because it depended on them for the purposes of the accompanist alone.

The system was codified in nine ascending stages of part movement, each being designed to mark a greater accent than the last. They were first outlined in a series of journal articles appearing between 1902 and 1903 and are described briefly below—the reader is invited to consult Mathias's examples quoted in ex. 133 in conjunction with the description of each stage. The first three stages concern parts moving between chords that share the same harmony: first, a single inner part moves to another note in the same chord; second, several inner parts move in like manner or a bass part traverses the interval of an

⁷⁵²Martin Vogeleis, *Festschrift zum Internationalen Kongress für Gregorianischen Gesang 16.–19. August 1905 zu Strassburg i. E.* (Strassburg i. E.: F. X. Le Roux & Co., 1905), 7–8; Report referenced in Myriam Geyer, *La vie musicale à Strasbourg sous l'empire allemand (1871–1918)*, *Mémoires et documents de l'école des chartes* 57 (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 1999), 258.

⁷⁵³Vogeleis, *Festschrift*, 75.

octave; and third, a bass part moves to a different chordal note producing, say, the progression ‘A’ 6/3 → ‘F’ 5/3. The next three stages concern parts moving between chords of different harmonies: fourth, by inner parts; fifth, by the bass part; and sixth, by most parts in conjunct motion. The final three stages concern more energetic motion: seventh, by most parts moving to a new harmony in disjunct motion; eighth, by changing to a chord that is not necessarily harmonically related; and ninth, by using dissonances such as suspensions and anticipations. Should such dissonances occur in inner parts, they are used to smooth over certain chord changes, Mathias classifying them as dampening, blunting and hardening (‘Abdämpfung, Abstumpfung, Verbreiterung de Akkordwechsels’). But should they occur in the top or bottom parts, the effect is said to be quite different, Mathias claiming that they produce the strongest accents of all which are sharp and cutting (‘scharf und schneidend’).⁷⁵⁴ Even unprepared dissonances may form part of the ninth stage, a subject Mathias also discussed during the congress:

Da unter den Fachleuten auch Meinungsverschiedenheiten über den Wechsel zwischen Konsonanzen und Dissonanzen in der Choralbegleitung obwalten, erörterte Dr. Mathias auch diese Frage ; er hielt unvorbereitete Dissonanzen nicht bloß für berechtigt, sondern bezeichnet sie als dem Charakter des Chorals geradezu entsprechend.⁷⁵⁵

Since there are also differences of opinion among the experts about the alternation between consonance and dissonance in chant accompaniment, Dr. Mathias discussed this question also; he not only considered unprepared dissonances to be correct, but described them as being almost in keeping with the character of chant.

Perhaps that might explain why, at the second syllable of ‘magnam’ quoted in ex. 134, the first quaver is treated as an accented passing note. It is perhaps an example of the ‘scharf’ dissonance, even though the pitch class is prepared in the preceding chord’s bass part. The tenor note *g* on the same syllable becomes more like the ‘Abdämpfung’ dissonance, not solely because it is relegated to an inner part but also because at the second quaver of the syllable ‘nam’ it becomes dissonant.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵⁴Franz Xaver Mathias, ‘Die Choralbegleitung’, *Gregorianische Rundschau* 2, no. 4 (1 April 1903): 62–4; Franz Xaver Mathias, *Die Choralbegleitung* (Regensburg, Rome, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1905), 39–41.

⁷⁵⁵M[ichael] H[orn], ‘Der internationale Kongreß für gregorianischen Gesang.’, *Gregorianische Rundschau* 4, no. 11 (1 November 1905): 170.

⁷⁵⁶*Franz Xaver Mathias, *Orgelbegleitung zu den gebräuchlichsten Meß-, Vesper- und Segensgesängen* (Strasbourg: Le Roux, [c.1903]), 16.

Mathias's dizzying system seems to unravel somewhat at certain cadences, where he seems more intent on striking a dissonance than resolving it on a given chant note. The tenor part at the end of the line illustrates one such one example, owing to its resolution's coinciding with neither a new note nor a new syllable. The cadence might instead be emblematic of so-called beautiful cadences ('schönen Kadenzen'),⁷⁵⁷ though it is necessarily difficult to judge how Mathias managed the inevitable tension between his nine stages and greater aesthetic endeavours. He was not alone in attempts at codifying dissonance, however, and an attempt at demarcating *ictuses* was trialled at around the same time by Pierre Chassang (1855–1933), then *maître de chapelle* of Avignon's minor seminary. Although Chassang's accompaniment quoted in ex. 135 is not really in compliance with theories of free rhythm (because it admits triplets in the transcription), Chassang nevertheless appears disposed to treating each *ictic* note as a dissonance by the underlying chord changes.⁷⁵⁸ Later, Chassang admitted that *ictuses* need not always require a new chord,⁷⁵⁹ but his method nevertheless joined Mathias's as being among the first to use dissonance to demarcate points of rhythmical activity.

Amédée Gastoué, the chant teacher at the Schola Cantorum, recognised the merit in Mathias's graduated stages and considered them to have great practical potential.⁷⁶⁰ Using them to arrive at an acceptable accompaniment remained a challenge, however, because their use depended on the verisimilitude of the associated rhythmic theory. Should the theory prove faulty, then any accompaniment based on it would also find itself vulnerable. Gastoué's gripe with Mathias's examples did not concern the stages themselves but rather the faulty chant edition that Mathias had used in his illustration of them, this being the chant book in use at the diocese of Strasbourg ('sur les éditions fautives en usage au diocèse de Strasbourg').⁷⁶¹ The transcription of its chants into modern notation was also called into question owing to its being based on a proprietary rhythmic scheme devised by

⁷⁵⁷Franz Xaver Mathias, 'Die Choralbegleitung', *Gregorianische Rundschau* 2, no. 8 (1 August 1903): 124–5.

⁷⁵⁸P[ierre] Chassang, *Manuel de l'accompagnateur de chant grégorien et de cantiques populaires* (Arras: Procure générale de musique religieuse, 1904), 110.

⁷⁵⁹P[ierre] Chassang, 'De l'accompagnement du chant grégorien', *La Musique Sacrée* 16, nos. 5–6 (May–June 1917): 21.

⁷⁶⁰Amédée Gastoué, 'Revue de *Die Choralbegleitung*', *Revue du chant grégorien* 14, nos. 4–5 (November–December 1905): p. 80 with attribution to Gastoué on p. 81.

⁷⁶¹Amédée Gastoué, 'Bibliographie', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 10, no. 12 (December 1904): 385–6.

the cathedral's *maître de chapelle*, abbé Joseph Victori (1871–1935).⁷⁶² Victori's scheme seems to be quite arbitrary and was apparently not described anywhere, thus diminishing the pedagogical value of any accompaniments Mathias based on it.

The Strasbourg congress therefore provided Mathias with an opportunity to rectify vulnerabilities in his previous adhesion to Victori's scheme. New accompaniments of Mass chants were recorded for posterity in a pamphlet published by Pustet, whose foreword credits the *Paléographie musicale* with supplying the rhythmic framework. Mathias revealed that *melismata* were beamed according to where *ictuses* were marked, and the player was advised to lengthen notes immediately preceding *quilismata* to produce a beautiful and light effect ('schönste und leichteste'). The accompaniments encompassed the feasts that had occurred while the congress was in progress, each day's proceedings having been anticipated by chanted High Mass. The feasts included the Octaves of Saint Lawrence and Assumption, but a miscellany of other accompaniments were also included in the pamphlet which were probably intended for the lecture-recitals ('Praktische Übungen im Chor Vortrag') where experts demonstrated various different styles of chanting.⁷⁶³ Some parts of the Ordinary were also included, and by comparing ex. 136 (Mocquereau's method of pointing in 1904) to ex. 137 (Mathias's method of harmonising in 1905), one notices how chords were placed at almost every dot marking an *ictus*, a similarity that is perhaps too great to be explained away as mere coincidence.⁷⁶⁴

Mathias also seemed to reinforce where *ictuses* occurred by the arrangement of parts on the staff. There is some evidence to suggest that he preferred shorter, tied notes to longer ones to make *ictuses* more obvious to the player, even if the difference might not have been obvious to a listener. The bare octaves at 'Cum Sancto' almost hark back to the Cecilian practice discussed above (p. 20) and deserve some consideration because there is also evidence that Delpech used them in the *Livre d'Orgue*. In Delpech's case, the technique

⁷⁶²For a description of Victori's involvement in the musical life at Strasbourg, see Geyer, *La vie musicale*, 264–5; Victori's dates of birth and death are noted in 'Périodiques', *Revue de Musicologie* 17, no. 57 (1936): 55.

⁷⁶³Vogeleis, *Festschrift*, 11.

⁷⁶⁴Franz Xaver Mathias, *Orgelbegleitung zu den für den Internationalen Gregorianischen Kongress in Strassburg i. E. (16-19 August 1905) zusammengestellten Cantus varii* (Regensburg, Rome, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1905), unpaginated 'Vorwort', pp. 3, 39; *Kyriale seu Ordinarium missarum in recentioris musicae notulas*, 12.

might have been inherited from Wagner who also used it as a cliché to provide relief from a persistently four-part texture or when his capacity for harmonic invention failed. Whatever the reason for their retention, bare octaves continued to be a useful weapon in the arsenal of Teutophone accompanists in particular, and we shall return to another instance of Wagner's use of them below (§ 4.3.1).

In light of Mathias's pledge to follow Solesmian rhythm, the *Paléographie* labelled him a 'convert'—recalling Bas and Holly—and reproduced music examples from the Pustet pamphlet without describing anything about his stages. It is therefore most unlikely that the *Paléographie* enlightened anybody as to Mathias's attempt at establishing a connection between Solesmian chant rhythm and harmony.⁷⁶⁵ The foreword to Mathias's pamphlet is dated 21 July 1905, a mere three days after Mocquereau's resignation from the Vatican commission which probably churned up controversy among the congressional delegates.

The session parallel to Mathias's took a decidedly anti-Solesmian stance: it was chaired by Gastoué who later dismissed 'la nouvelle école de Solesmes' outright,⁷⁶⁶ showing himself to be critical of placing chords on *ictuses*. In Gastoué's opinion, chords were to be placed instead on the first notes of neumes.⁷⁶⁷ But the view ruffled some delegates' feathers and one even took to the floor to argue Mocquereau's case.⁷⁶⁸ The English Benedictine Thomas Anselm Burge (1846–1929) witnessed the exchange first-hand, and identified Gastoué's interlocutor as none other than Bas. The Italian's protests failed to stir the other delegates to his side, however, before a frosty Gastoué brought the session firmly to a close.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁵Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, 7:336–41.

⁷⁶⁶For a discussion of Gastoué's criticism of placing chords according to Solesmes rhythm, see Leßmann, 'L'anachronisme', 364–5.

⁷⁶⁷H[enri] Villetard and A[lexandre] GrosPELLIER, 'Le Congrès international du chant grégorien de Strasbourg (16–19 août 1905)', *Revue du chant grégorien* 14, nos. 1–3 (August–October 1905): 35–6.

⁷⁶⁸Michel Brenet, 'Le Congrès international de chant grégorien à Strasbourg', *Le Correspondant* 221 [legacy system] 185 [new system] (10 October 1905): 167–8.

⁷⁶⁹T[homas] A[nselm] Burge to Delpech, 10 October 1905, *F-SO*.

4.3 Accompanying the Vatican Edition

4.3.1 *Publishers: their œuvres and manœuvres*

Solesmes's version of the Vatican Kyrial was one of at least thirty-two in circulation by the Autumn of 1906.⁷⁷⁰ The extent of certain publishers' interests in the matter did not stop at producing chant books, for the possibility of driving sales led some to publish complementary accompaniment books. Congresses provided networking opportunities for publishers to solicit the necessary harmonisations from experts, and it was under these circumstances that Henri Delépine (1871–1956), the Arras-based priest and founder of the publishing house La Procure générale de musique religieuse, approached Wagner.

Delépine was not alone in employing the tactic: Capra had established himself at the centre of Turinese chant-based deliberations with the periodical *Santa Cecilia*, gaining for himself a commercial foothold in the chant restoration movement there.⁷⁷¹ Capra convened a conference of his own in the same city from 6 to 8 June 1905, making himself its secretary and entrusting his own printing house with publishing the official congressional report.⁷⁷² One commentator noted the obvious conflict of interest but admired the report all the same for its laudable impartiality ('con lodevole imparzialità').⁷⁷³ Capra's conference hosted a discussion of accompaniment led by Bas,⁷⁷⁴ so it seems that transferring the *Repertorio* to Desclée had not affected Bas's standing with his fellow countryman. That such conferences were convened purely for commercial interests was something of an open secret. When another was convened years later (ostensibly to discuss church music style), it was recognised as being a convenient advertising platform for publishers to advertise their wares.⁷⁷⁵ Nonetheless, the

⁷⁷⁰The numerals adjacent to Kyrials in the *Revue du chant grégorien* serve as a sort of index of the published versions. See 'Bibliographie grégorienne : Les éditions du Kyriale vatican', *Revue du chant grégorien* 15, nos. 1–2 (August–September 1906): p. 29 and *passim*.

⁷⁷¹Marco Caroli, 'La musica sacra in periodici di area settentrionale dei secoli XIX e XX' (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Padova, 2017), 22–5.

⁷⁷²**Atti del VII congresso di musica sacra, Torino 6, 7 ed 8 giugno 1905* (Turin: Capra, 1905).

⁷⁷³'Review of M. Capra, *Atti del VII Congresso di Musica Sacra*', *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 12 (1905): 852.

⁷⁷⁴'Review of M. Capra, *Atti del VII Congresso di Musica Sacra*', *Revue du chant grégorien* 14, nos. 1–3 (August–October 1905): 47.

⁷⁷⁵Henri Potiron to Joseph Gajard, n.d., *F-SO*.

commercial interests at play had little bearing on the relationship between publishers and chant experts, which, by all accounts, proved to be a symbiotic one.

Wagner completed his accompaniments for Delépine at extraordinary speed, sending off the first tranche less than a fortnight after the Strasbourg congress was brought to a close and the remainder a day later.⁷⁷⁶ It has not been possible to ascertain whether these accompaniments constituted a simple rehashing of those published in 1904,⁷⁷⁷ but whatever the facts as to their origin, the combination of Delépine's shrewd business acumen and Wagner's celerity made Arras the first publisher to bring an accompanied Vatican Kyrial to market. Given Wagner's views discussed above in connection with Mocquereau's rhythm (pp. 171 and 172), it is hardly surprising that Wagner avoided the *Paléographie musicale*'s pronouncements on rhythm in his preparation of his accompaniments. He did not place chords on the second notes of *salici* or *scandici*, and surely had Mocquereau in mind when castigating some of Pothier's rhythmic 'disciples' for their arbitrary meddling:

Le R^{me} Abbé de S^t Wandrille a eu des disciples qui n'ont pas compris que le très grand mérite de leur Maître était précisément de n'avoir pas de système. Ils ont cru pouvoir ajouter quelques nouveautés à son enseignement; malheureusement, s'il en est qui peuvent être utiles, d'autres sont manifestement dangereuses et arbitraires.⁷⁷⁸

Father Abbot of Saint-Wandrille had followers who did not understand that the very great merit of their Maître was precisely not to have a system. Those followers thought new elements could be added to his teaching; unfortunately, if some of them are potentially useful, others are clearly dangerous and arbitrary.

The book's preface, dated 30 October 1905, couched Wagner's methodology in plain terms: chords were placed on the first notes of neumes and, presumably for the sake of variety, different accompaniments were provided when the chant was to be repeated, such as at 'Kyrie eleison'.

One journalist recognised Wagner's accompaniments as being simple enough for less practiced organists to navigate, though in some places that simplicity reportedly made the harmonisation a bit lean ('un peu maigre').⁷⁷⁹ Simplicity was evidently the watchword

⁷⁷⁶Wagner to Delpech, 18 and 28 August 1905, *F-SO*.

⁷⁷⁷See footnote 690.

⁷⁷⁸Peter Wagner, *Ordinarium Missæ juxta editionem Vaticanam organo concinente* (Arras: Procure générale de musique religieuse, 1905), p. iii.

⁷⁷⁹'Bibliographie grégorienne : Les éditions du Kyriale', *Revue du chant grégorien* 14, nos. 4–5 (November–

because composers could not assume that the musicians taking up their books would know how to handle them. Moreover, the style of organ playing adumbrated by TLS was to be strictly ecclesiastical, free from profane and, specifically, theatrical characteristics, and could well have informed compositional decisions to dispense with gaudy superfluities. It could explain why some of Wagner's harmonisations flit between two, three and four audible parts while others commence in bare octaves (ex. 138).⁷⁸⁰ Although Wagner's book benefited from being the first of its kind to market, it did not enjoy that unique position for very long. Three more had appeared by the beginning of 1906, one by the Belgian trio Desmet, Desmet and Depuydt, a second by Horn and a third by Mathias, which we shall discuss in turn.

One of the most striking aspects of the Belgian book concerns the adoption of filled-and-void notation, as popularised at the Lemmens Institute.⁷⁸¹ As we have seen (p. 108), Aloys Desmet had notated rests using crotchet rests instead of obliques in 1892, but in 1906 obliques were common, along with some other notational novelties. The different melodic groups in the chant book were set apart from each other laterally on the staff and liquescent neumes were placed in parentheses (as illustrated in ex. 139). The wedge-shaped glyph was intended to indicate a *mora vocis* and suggests that Mocquereau's edition might have had some influence on their approach.⁷⁸² The three harmonisers provided two sets of cadences—one diatonic and the other sharpened—for certain deuterus chants ('des finales altérées et non altérées'), no doubt to avoid prejudicing warring factions against their accompaniments. The book was well received by a reviewer who predicted that the trio's efforts would 'continue to enhance the merit of Mechelen's École de musique religieuse' ('qui rehaussera encore le mérite de l'école de musique religieuse de Malines').⁷⁸³ And in the opinion of another reviewer, the

December 1905): 77.

⁷⁸⁰Wagner, *Ordinarium Missæ*, 42.

⁷⁸¹The Lemmens Institute opened new buildings on 5 November 1903 to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary in October. See Fr. Guillaume, 'A Propos de Musique Religieuse', *La revue apologétique* 8 (16 May 1906): 66; Léopold Godenne, *Malines : jadis et aujourd'hui* (Malines: Godenne, 1908), p. xviii; The school's twenty-fifth anniversary has been erroneously placed in 1908 in Robijns, 'Jaak Nikolaas Lemmens', 18.

⁷⁸²Aloys Desmet, 'Commune Plurium Confessorum Pontificum', in *Organum Comitans Ad Graduale Romanum*, 3rd ed., vol. 6 (Mechelen: Ch. Dessain, [c.1910]), unpainted approbation pp. 5, 97.

⁷⁸³*Alphonse Desmet, Aloys Desmet and Oscar Depuydt, *Organum comitans ad Kyriale Vaticanum* (Mechelen: Ch. Dessain, 1906); J. J. D. Swolfs, 'Bulletin bibliographique international', in *Revue*

accompaniments were simple enough for novice organists to play, and choirs would benefit from the unobtrusive organ part.⁷⁸⁴ In a letter of approbation dated 25 April 1907, the then Cardinal Archbishop of Mechelen, Désiré Joseph, declared the Desmet-Desmet-Dupuydt accompaniments as being in conformity with Pothier's theory of rhythm, and recommended therefore that they be adopted in his diocese. The declaration anticipated by three years the outright banning of the pipe organ from participating in Belgian Low Masses, from 1 January 1910.⁷⁸⁵

In contrast to the Belgians, Horn indicated neumatic groups with slurs and reportedly abandoned his earlier *mise-en-page* (quadratic notation surmounting the accompaniment) for filled-and-void notation. He apparently followed Mocquereauvian rhythm which required him to signal *morae vocis* dots of addition by adding stems to certain noteheads,⁷⁸⁶ and accents by the use of carets.⁷⁸⁷ A reviewer was complimentary of the layout, but took issue with the thirty-seven percent of Horn's accompaniments that were transposed; allegedly, the transpositions made singing from the official chant book an impossible task. The same reviewer also bemoaned a lack of registration indications and suggested that Horn might include them in a revised edition.⁷⁸⁸ Whether or not Horn was made aware of the review is not certain, though for future editions he did not accommodate the reviewer's suggestions. The third edition was not entirely as the reviewer had described the first, however, particularly since the accompaniments were notated in ordinary quavers and not in filled-and-void notation. Perhaps the caret symbols quoted in ex. 140 were supposed to represent certain accents; Horn provided no relevant words of explanation. He nonetheless permitted his inner parts a certain amount of contrapuntal freedom, which, in contrast to Wagner's, were rather more disjunct.⁷⁸⁹

bibliographique belge rédigée par une reunion d'écrivains, vol. 18 (Brussels: Société Belge de librairie, 1906), 391.

⁷⁸⁴ 'Bibliographie grégorienne : Les éditions du Kyriale vatican', *Revue du chant grégorien* 14, nos. 6–7 (January–February 1906): 117.

⁷⁸⁵ 'Nouvelles musicales : Belgique', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 16, no. 4 (April 1910): 80.

⁷⁸⁶ 'Bibliographie grégorienne', 14:116–117.

⁷⁸⁷ *Michael Horn, *Organum comitans : Kyriale sive Ordinarium missæ*, 1st ed. (Graz: Styria, 1906).

⁷⁸⁸ [Joseph] Mantuani, 'Kunst und Kunstgeschichte', *Allgemeines Literaturblatt* 15, no. 8 (30 April 1906): cols 245–6.

⁷⁸⁹ Michael Horn, *Organum comitans : Kyriale sive Ordinarium Missæ*, 3rd ed. (Graz & Vienna: Styria, 1932), 1.

4.3.2 *The double-signature method and polemics on diatonicism*

Not only were composers of accompaniments required to bear in mind accessible vocal ranges for amateur choirs, but they also had to ensure that their accompaniments did not stray into a part of the keyboard's range where the texture became muddy or unclear. Balancing the practical potential of a choice of transpositions with the added cost of a larger volume was surely a reason why so few accompaniment books offered any such choice. Bas was among the first to offer a selection of transpositions in the second volume of the *Repertorio*, where two signatures are notated on some staves (ex. 141),⁷⁹⁰ illustrating for the first time the procedure described by Haberl some years earlier (see p. 30 above). Since both signatures had to apply to the same staff notes, the resulting transpositions lay necessarily a chromatic semitone apart. *Ficta* accidentals applying to the primary signature were placed before the relevant notes in the usual way; those applying to the secondary signature were placed above or below. Novel though the method may have been, it provided only for the smallest possible variation in transposition, and merely spelled out an inherent general capacity of staff notation that—to all except the most inexperienced of organists—ought to have been glaringly obvious. Bas made no mention of his transposition gimmick in the advertisements viewed by the present author, but touted instead the convenience of his harmonisations for less practiced musicians. He stressed that his accompaniments were simple and easy to play, which (along with the addition of dynamics) reportedly resolved the ‘difficult problem of accompanying’ (‘risolve il difficile problema dell’accompagnamento’).⁷⁹¹

Mathias's Strasbourg pamphlet led to his writing an accompanied Kyrial, in which he too offered a choice of two signatures. Unlike Bas, however, Mathias did not indicate secondary accidentals, and left it to players to infer the relevant one for themselves. Given that his harmonisations are diatonic, Mathias required players to do so only for the transposed equivalent of ‘B’ \flat , deeming no words of explanation necessary in the book's

⁷⁹⁰Giulio Bas, ‘Missa de Angelis’, in *Repertorio di melodie gregoriane trascritte ed accompagnate con organo od armonium*, vol. 2 (Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre & C^{ie}, [c.1904]), 15.

⁷⁹¹‘Pubblicazioni gregoriane’, *Rassegna gregoriana per gli studi liturgici e pel canto sacro* 3, no. 3 (1904): col. 154.

preface (ex. 142). The double-signature method offered several advantages and disadvantages. First, Mathias could include transpositions without increasing his book's page count. Second, relatively inexperienced players were equipped to offer a choice of lower and higher options to a choir. His accompaniment book was certainly intended for such players and included several 'easy cadences' so that portions of recited text could be brought to a conclusion in a simple idiom. At the same time, no precedent was set for providing a second signature when the first consisted of neither sharps nor flats; we might settle the matter now by assuming Mathias considered seven-sharp or seven-flat signatures beyond the technical abilities of amateur players. Conceivably, such signatures could have been notated in parentheses, leaving players to grapple with the tacit presence of all-natural signatures. A further disadvantage concerned the necessarily limited set of transpositions by a chromatic semitone up or down. To fulfil a promise that his harmonisations would 'suit the compass of all voices', Mathias reprinted select accompaniments at different transposition levels, labelling the choices 'a', 'b', and so forth. Nowhere is Mathias more verbose in offering alternatives than in an appendix containing responses to 'Ite missa est' and 'Benedicamus Domino' where each is iterated up to four times. Many of the iterations are also provided with secondary signatures.⁷⁹²

In the wake of the Vatican Kyrial, demand swelled not just for fully notated accompaniment books but also for methods of accompaniment. It is hardly a coincidence that Mathias's articles describing his nine stages of part movement were published in textbook form in 1905,⁷⁹³ as well as in a French translation.⁷⁹⁴ This new textbook was also translated into English by Bewerunge in 1907, but was not widely disseminated, if at all. The copy extant at the Russell Library in Maynooth up to 1993 is now no longer accounted for.⁷⁹⁵ An Anglophone translation of Niedermeyer's *Traité* appeared in 1905, intended for the benefit of the English and American Catholic markets. On the grounds

⁷⁹²Franz Xaver Mathias, *Organum comitans ad Kyriale seu Ordinarium missæ quod juxta editionem vaticanam harmonice ornavit* (Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1906), pp. 29–30, 44, 5*.

⁷⁹³See footnote 754.

⁷⁹⁴Auguste Le Guennant, *Vade mecum paroissial de l'accompagnateur grégorien*, vol. I (Saint-Laurent-sur-Sèvre: L. J. Biton, 1910), p. 'a' n. 1.

⁷⁹⁵McCarthy, 'Heinrich Bewerunge: A Critical Reassessment', p. 252 n. 191.

that Niedermeyer ‘treats of plainsong accompaniment, and not of ritual’, the translator suggested that the book might also be of interest to Anglican musicians.⁷⁹⁶

While the diatonic approach was gaining more prevalence in the English-speaking world, its tenets were not universally accepted in some parts of Europe. As we have seen, Desmet, Desmet and Dupuydt were not alone in offering alternative sharped cadences, and Mathias also permitted those who found diatonicism too ‘crude’ to make whatever chromatic adjustments to his harmonisations that they wished.⁷⁹⁷ Mathias was drawn into a polemic on diatonicism by the priest and Cecilian composer Franz Nekes (1844–1914), whose arguments against diatonic harmony stemmed from a certain unwillingness to depart from the myth of Palestrinian authority, a mare’s nest that nevertheless continued to beguile Cecilian composers long after the Vatican had sided with Solesmes. Nekes pitted himself against the Vatican’s decrees that relegated the accompaniment to a status beneath that of the chant.⁷⁹⁸ Just how starkly he deviated from TLS may be understood with respect to Wagner’s view on the matter, who held that at points where melody and harmony were in conflict, the former was always to prevail.⁷⁹⁹ By contrast, Nekes argued that accompaniments were works of art in their own right and should therefore be granted equal status.⁸⁰⁰ The reluctance to follow those of his peers who capitulated to navigating the Vatican’s new musical topography left Nekes increasingly marginalised as the twentieth century progressed.⁸⁰¹

In comparing Nekes’s harmonisations to Mathias’s, the *CVK* was predictably rather complimentary of the former’s approach.⁸⁰² Other enclaves of the German press were not so forthcoming with praise, however, and tended to side with Mathias.⁸⁰³ In spite of those rebuttals, Nekes remained committed to chromaticism long after the dust had settled,

⁷⁹⁶Niedermeyer and D’Ortigue, *Gregorian Accompaniment*, pp. iii–iv.

⁷⁹⁷Mathias, *Organum comitans ad Kyriale*, unpaginated introduction.

⁷⁹⁸P. T., ‘Review of Nekes, F: Kyriale Sive Ordinarium Missae’, *Church Music: A Magazine for the Clergy, Choirmasters and Organists* 1, no. 4 (September 1906): 564.

⁷⁹⁹Wagner, *Ordinarium Missae*, p. v.

⁸⁰⁰Franz Nekes, ‘Über Choralbegleitung’, *Gregorius-Blatt : Organ für katholische Kirchenmusik* 29, nos. 8–9 (1904): 104.

⁸⁰¹Udo Wagner, *Franz Nekes und der Cäcilianismus im Rheinland*, *Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte* 81 (Köln: A. Volk, 1969), 83–4.

⁸⁰²*CVK* № 3388.

⁸⁰³‘Literarisches’, *Gregorianische Rundschau* 4, nos. 9–10 (September–October 1905): 156.

using many more sharps in deuterus harmonisations than French critics were willing to accept (ex. 143).⁸⁰⁴ One such complained that many truly bizarre cadences ('plusieurs cadences véritablement bizarres') were not in keeping with the Gregorian *tonalité*.⁸⁰⁵ Another took the same stance when reviewing a later accompaniment, though noted without irony that conventional harmonic rules were well observed, and concluded that Nekes's work obviously proceeded from a good musician and was not merely the result of a hapless Gregorianist straying beyond his domain.⁸⁰⁶ Indeed, Nekes maintained that one ought to be a good composer prior to turning to compose accompaniments,⁸⁰⁷ but his musical aptitude did little to sway ardent diatonicists to his side.

Nekes was not alone in maintaining a preference for cadential sharpening. The Belgian composer François Johanns also used sharps, particularly in dominant → tonic progressions of the type quoted in ex. 144. Several other features of Johanns's style are notheworthy too, such as the notating of certain chant notes in small type so that by means of their omission the chant could gain independence from the accompaniment. Some phrase endings were marked with 'rall', while others were followed by a comma above the next barline to indicate that the value of a 'temps faible' was to be added to the note preceding the barline.⁸⁰⁸ Despite maintaining sharpening in their accompaniments, Nekes and Johanns admittedly drew short of the type of chromaticism we have observed in some nineteenth-century accompaniments (compare, for instance, exx. 6 and 7), though a revival of that genre of chromaticism was trialled at the beginning of the next decade and will be considered in the next chapter.

4.3.3 *The revising of obsolete Solesmian accompaniments*

As we have seen (p. 188), the Vatican commission had voiced its tolerance for the rhythmical signs Solesmes had added to its versions of the Vatican Kyrial. Desclée

⁸⁰⁴Franz Nekes, *Kyriale sive Ordinarium missae, missa pro defunctis, toni communes missae, modus cantandi Alleluia t.p., Te Deum, Veni Creator, Pange lingua*, 2nd ed. (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1912), 94.

⁸⁰⁵'Bibliographie grégorienne : Les éditions du Kyriale vatican', *Revue du chant grégorien* 14, nos. 10–11 (May–June 1906): 178–9.

⁸⁰⁶'Review of Nekes *Missæ in summis festis juxta ed. vat. Organum comitans op. 46d*', *Revue du chant grégorien* 18, no. 3 (January–February 1910): 99.

⁸⁰⁷Nekes, 'Über Choralbegleitung', 104.

⁸⁰⁸François Johanns, *Accompagnements du Kyriale ou Ordinarium Missæ (Édition vaticane)* (Bruxells: Schott Frères, 1909), pp. iii–iv, 50.

published no fewer than three versions with rubrics in Latin, English and French, while a fourth presented the chant in modern notation. But subtle changes to certain chants rendered Solesmes's previous chant books and their associated accompaniments obsolete. The updated chant quoted in ex. 145 omitted one note from the third syllable of 'Kyrie' in conformity with the Vatican Edition.⁸⁰⁹ Solesmes had no option other than to contend with the Vatican commission's approved revisions which made the accompaniments shown in exx. 141 and 146 out of date. A review of Bas's accompanied Kyrial commented that he had been obliged to revise the accompaniments previously published in the *Repertorio* for this very reason,⁸¹⁰ and the fruits of his labours in that regard may be recognised in ex. 147 where the same note was omitted.⁸¹¹ Incidentally, Bas now placed secondary accidentals in parentheses, thereby creating a stronger semiotic link to the similarly parenthesised secondary signatures.

Given that Solesmes's versions were based on the Vatican Kyrial, Desclée was technically correct to advertise Bas's accompaniments as conforming to the Vatican Edition, when in truth they were well known to be based directly on Solesmes's rhythmical editions, as one wry quip in the *Revue du chant grégorien* attests:

M. Bas se conforme toujours, pour les appuis harmoniques, aux indications rythmiques des éditions rythmées de Solesmes, dont il s'est fait, on le sait, le champion.⁸¹²

Concerning the harmonic stresses, Mr Bas follows as ever the rhythmic indications in the rhythmmed editions of Solesmes, of which he makes himself, as we know, the champion.

Be that as it may, there is another notable difference between Bas's new Kyrial accompaniments and those which had appeared in the *Repertorio*, concerning where chords were placed. Could the omitted note have changed Mocquereau's interpretation of the chant's rhythm? Perhaps, though Desclée's version in modern notation was not available for the present author to evaluate the hypothesis. A transcription of the chant from 1924 (quoted in ex. 148) might offer some clues, since it bears the same ♩ = 138

⁸⁰⁹ *Kyriale seu Ordinarium missae cum cantu gregoriano ad exemplar editionis vaticanae concinnatum et rhythmicis signis a solesmensibus monachis diligenter ornatum* (Rome & Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & Soc., 1905), 28*.

⁸¹⁰ See footnote 812.

⁸¹¹ Giulio Bas, *Kyriale seu ordinarium missae ad exemplar editionis vaticanae concinnatum* (Rome, Tournai & Paris: Desclée, 1906), 40.

⁸¹² 'Bibliographie grégorienne : Les éditions du Kyriale vatican', 178.

tempo indication as the *Livre d'Orgue* while also beaming the chant in the same way Bas did in 1906.⁸¹³ Provided the beaming and the initial quaver rest were also in force in the 1906 version, it may corroborate the assertion that Bas's *modus operandi* consisted of faithfully reproducing Solesmes's rhythmized transcription and choosing chords to fit.

When Bas learned from Desclée's agent in Rome Auguste Zucconi that Wagner's book was outperforming his own in the French market, he traced the reason back to the *Revue du chant grégorien* wherein advertisements for Wagner's accompaniments were placed among others for the Solesmes-Desclée chant books. Bas complained that the general public was being led to believe that Wagner's accompaniments were based on those chant books when in fact they were not, Bas's were.⁸¹⁴ Mocquereau could probably do little about it, for that periodical was not under Solesmes's control; its contributors, in fact, had long shown themselves to be wary of Mocquereauvian rhythm.⁸¹⁵ Solesmes would not establish a periodical of its own until the *Revue grégorienne* was started in 1911—until then, Solesmes relied on other periodicals to advertise its books.

Another accompanied Kyrial 'conforming to the Vatican edition' was prepared by Leo Peter Manzetti (1867–1942), master of music at St Peter's Cathedral in Cincinnati, Ohio. Its preface stated that the 'Benedictine method of Gregorian chant' (by which Solesmes's was presumably to be inferred) had guided the process of composition. Manzetti's New York-based publisher J. Fischer & Bro. brought out two versions of the Vatican Kyrial, both without rhythmical signs, the one in quadratic notation and the other in modern notation. The degree to which Manzetti's accompaniments followed the transcription, however, is not altogether clear.⁸¹⁶ He reserved a more detailed discussion of his method for an advertised publication entitled *Method of Accompanying Gregorian Melodies* which seemingly never saw the light of day. Norman Holly posited in the

⁸¹³*Compendium gradualis et antiphonalis pro dominicis et festis cum cantu gregoriano quem ex editione typica in recentioris musicæ notulas translatum solesmensis monachi rhythmicis signis diligenter ornaverung* (Paris, Tournai & Rome: Desclée & Cie, 1924), 39.

⁸¹⁴Bas to Mocquereau, 27? February 1908, *F-SO*; Although the letter in question is typewritten, the second numeral in the date is only partially struck.

⁸¹⁵Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant*, p. 42 n. 50, p. 72.

⁸¹⁶*Kyriale sive Ordinarium Missæ juxta Editionem Vaticanam* (New York: J. Fischer & Bro., 1906), p. 29* and *passim*.

Repertorio that Manzetti followed Mocquereau's teachings and Bas's practice,⁸¹⁷ a claim supposedly held up by the passage quoted in ex. 149 which incorporates a similar transcription to that quoted in ex. 147, including the ♩ = 138 tempo indication.⁸¹⁸ Note how Manzetti placed his secondary accidentals in parentheses to the right of the note to which the accidental pertained, which (when printed on a busy staff) surely invited trouble for unobservant sight-readers.

It is doubtful that Manzetti had access to Bas's accompanied Kyrial prior to composing his own, for a copy of the first tranche of Manzetti's accompaniments was already in a reviewer's hands when the same reviewer evaluated Bas's accompaniments.⁸¹⁹ We may set any accusation of plagiarism aside, therefore, and seek a more plausible explanation for how two accompaniments may be so similar. One reason could be that Manzetti simply based his accompaniments on the transcriptions into modern notation published by Desclée. A notable difference in Manzetti's accompaniments actually lends the notion some credence, because chords were placed where vertical *epistemata* divided groups of four beamed quavers into two groups of two (see ex. 148). Assuming both Manzetti and Bas followed the rubric that chords were to be placed on each *ictus* (whether demarcated by beaming or by *epistemata*), then an unavoidable similarity must have resulted in their accompaniments because each composer was obliged to place a chord on the same note.

Manzetti's book was well received by an American periodical which seemed more willing than some of its European counterparts to give Mocquereau's ideas the benefit of the doubt.⁸²⁰ By contrast, the *Revue du chant grégorien* took a predictably dim view of Manzetti's application of Solesmian rhythm.⁸²¹ The accompaniments perplexed the Anglican plainsong pedagogue Francis Burgess (1879–1948) who questioned why Manzetti should deliberately place chords 'on a subsidiary stress':

⁸¹⁷ Norman Holly, 'Letter to the Editor', *Church Music: A Magazine for the Clergy, Choirmasters and Organists* 2, no. 1 (November 1906): 49.

⁸¹⁸ L[eo Peter] Manzetti, *Organ Accompaniment to the Kyriale sive Ordinarium missæ Conforming to the Vatican Edition* (New York: J. Fischer & Bro., 1906), unpaginated preface and p. 48.

⁸¹⁹ 'Bibliographie grégorienne : Les éditions du Kyriale vatican', 179.

⁸²⁰ 'Publications Reviewed: Manzetti, Organum Ad Kyriale Sive Ordinarium Missæ Juxta Editionem Vaticanam', *Church Music: A Magazine for the Clergy, Choirmasters and Organists* 1, no. 4 (September 1906): 571.

⁸²¹ 'Bibliographie grégorienne : Les éditions du Kyriale vatican', 30–31.

Thus the weaker thing is helped at the expense of the stronger; but it is impossible to avoid feeling that the result is fantastic, that it produces a conflict between the words and the accompaniment, and that it seems to subvert the fundamental law of musical rhythm.⁸²²

At the time, few descriptions of Mocquereauvian rhythm existed in the Anglophone literature, even in spite of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society's having followed, since its foundation in 1888, developments in the chant restoration movement at Solesmes. A delegation of around twenty British musicians and clerics visited Saint-Pierre from 24 to 26 August 1897—among whom was the organist Rev. George Herbert Palmer (1846–1926)—but,⁸²³ as we have seen, Mocquereau's theory of the *ictus* did not mature until several years after their visit and was not well known to any except perhaps certain Anglo-Catholic specialists with more than an incidental connection to the continent. As we shall see in chapter five, however, Solesmes's displacement to the Isle of Wight made visits by English musicians more convenient and thereby gave rise to detailed descriptions of Solesmian theories of chant rhythm in the English language.

4.3.4 *Extracts from the Gradual*

Producing the relatively circumscribed repertory of the Kyrial presented no serious financial challenges to publishers, whose accompaniment books seldom exceeded 10 F. The Kyrial constituted what we here term an extract from the Gradual, and soon there arose the issue concerning how best to publish a complete accompanied Gradual that was not prohibitively expensive. The first problem facing publishers was the requirement to await the Vatican commission's approval of the chant repertory. Fascicles containing approved chants for the Common of the Saints began circulating during 1906,⁸²⁴ allowing publishers to get a head start on engraving their own versions. Some began publishing what they had engraved and in many cases the Common of the Saints became the next extract after the Kyrial to receive organ accompaniments. But the manager of the Vatican Press intervened in April 1907 to halt premature publications, and publishers were then

⁸²²Francis Burgess, *The Teaching and Accompaniment of Plainsong* (London: Novello, 1914), 80.

⁸²³Patrick Hala, 'La restauration du plain-chant dans l'Église anglicane (1888–1901): Solesmes et la fondation de la *Plainsong & Medieval Music Society*', *Études grégoriennes* 43 (2016): 164.

⁸²⁴A[lexandre] GrosPELLIER, 'Le *Commune sanctorum* de l'édition vaticane', *Revue du chant grégorien* 15, nos. 1–2 (August–September 1906): 6.

obliged to await the completed Gradual before they could bring their own versions to market.⁸²⁵

The Gradual, which was not ready until 1908, ran to 900 pages. How could accompaniments—which evidently required more space—be provided in an affordable format? One solution was to divide the complete edition into extracts, but some of these were still too large, such as the Proper of the Time which some publishers broke down further into two or three volumes. Another solution was to publish abridged extracts that dispensed with less common chants in the name of offering a more affordable publication.⁸²⁶ We shall return to abridged extracts later, but for the moment let us consider how composers tackled accompanied extracts and how publishers divided up the material between various volumes.

Harmonisation itself was an obvious bottleneck in the publication of accompaniments. Awaiting too long the completion of the thousands of new harmonisations could mean a publisher was slow off the mark in securing purchases by one diocese or another. Conceivably, a diocese that had adopted Wagner's Kyrial accompaniments would prefer to await Wagner's accompaniments of the Proper of the Time so that the music in its liturgy would be relatively cohesive. Wagner's accompanied Proper of the Time was divided among three volumes, the first from Advent to Lent, the second from Lent to Easter, and the third from Easter to Advent, and by 1911 they were in circulation along with two more volumes comprising the Proper of the Saints. Considering Wagner had one more volume to compose before his accompanied Gradual could be deemed whole, there is little doubt that such an enormous task required a long span of time to complete. Wagner's publisher Delépine mitigated the delays by attracting subscriptions at 5 F. apiece for one hundred of the most recently engraved pages as the process of composition was going along. A player could also subscribe only to those accompaniments in which he or she was most interested.⁸²⁷ When Wagner's volumes were eventually completed, they ranged in price

⁸²⁵ Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 287–8.

⁸²⁶ Karl Weinmann, 'Die Orgelbegleitung zum Graduale Romanum der Editio Vaticana', *Musica sacra : Monatschrift für Förderung der katholischen Kirchenmusik* 44, no. 3 (March 1911): 50–52.

⁸²⁷ Peter Wagner, *Proprium de Tempore : Du premier Dimanche de l'Avent au Dimanche de la Septuagésime*, vol. 1, Graduale Romanum d'après l'Édition Vaticane avec accompagnement d'orgue 1 (Arras: Procure générale de musique religieuse, [c.1908]), unpaginated frontmatter bearing the title 'Mode de souscription'.

from 5 F. to 14 F. depending on the page count, but a buyer could also opt to purchase the volumes unbound at a slightly reduced cost.

Wagner's accompaniments were put into circulation in quite a different manner from those of Bas, who used the *Repertorio* as a kind of proving ground for his own accompanied Common of the Saints. When those accompaniments were later published by Desclée in collated form, their pagination and layout were independent of what had gone before. This was in marked contrast to Delépine's subscription model, which provided finalised pages in advance of the finished product. Like Delépine's model, however, the *Repertorio* also generated revenue as the process of composition was in train, no doubt a boon for Bas and Desclée who were not obliged to await the final published volumes before reaping financial benefits from the accompaniments. But Bas's progress trailed Wagner's, such that by 1911 Desclée had published only the accompanied Common of the Saints, setting itself at a disadvantage to its French rival.

By then, even Pustet lagged behind Delépine, since Mathias had completed only the Common of the Saints and one volume of the Proper of the Time, comprising Advent to the sixth Sunday after Epiphany. The preface to that volume is dated Candlemas Day 1910 and incorporates some introductory words in four languages: German, English, Italian and French. While the translations into English and Italian comprehend much of the same material as the German, that into French is about half its length and omits the reference to Mathias's accompaniment method. It also omits the permission granted to players to alter the accompaniments chromatically as they saw fit. Perhaps French booksellers were simply unwilling to stock a German-language textbook; perhaps, also, Mathias recognised how the French ear favoured diatonicism, and suspected that any allusion to chromaticism would prejudice the French market against his accompaniments. He continued to offer double signatures and provided parenthesised secondary accidentals, but only when they pertained to the chant part. When accidentals occurred in an accompanying part, secondary accidentals were not notated at all, leaving the player to arrive at the correct secondary accidental in all cases (ex. 150).⁸²⁸

⁸²⁸Franz Xaver Mathias, *Organum comitans ad Proprium de Tempore – Adventus, Nativitatis, Epiphaniae usque ad Dominicam VI. post Epiphaniam: Gradualis Romani quod juxta editionem Vaticanam harmonice*

Karl Weinmann (1873–1929), Haberl’s successor as director of Regensburg’s Kirchenmusikschule, compared those accompanied Graduals by Wagner, Bas and Mathias, noting that Mathias’s was more expensive than it should have been owing to its inclusion of multiple transpositions of some chants. At a reported 40 M., Wagner’s was expensive too, placing it beyond the reach of smaller and less financially endowed choirs. But with dimensions of 27cm x 19cm, it was at least comfortably sized to fit on an organist’s music desk. The same could not be said of Bas’s, which at 35cm x 27cm was deemed unwieldy.

Pustet had commercial interests in mind when producing an accompanied ‘little Kyrial’ (‘Kyriale parvum’), which excised eight of the eighteen Mass Ordinaries from the accompanied Kyrial by Mathias discussed above. Those Ordinaries were said to be surplus to the requirements of Alsatian congregations, and so a thinner book at a reduced price proved to be the obvious commercial step.⁸²⁹ The venture was not an isolated one: the organist of Emaus Abbey, Prague, Max Springer (1877–1954), omitted the Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost from his accompanied ‘Graduale parvum’ but included accompaniments for the Sundays in Advent and Lent. Those on which organ playing was prohibited by ecclesiastical decree are marked ‘silent organa’ or ‘non pulsantur organa’, whereas those for Gaudete and Laetare Sundays are either marked ‘Organis comitantibus’ or not at all. Springer included these accompaniments for the benefit of less experienced choirs and also for use in rehearsal.⁸³⁰ Having started out as a staunch diatonicist, Springer underwent a conversion to moderate sharpening, the implications of which will be examined below (§ 5.1.1).

The father-son duo August Wiltberger (1850–1928) and Karl Wiltberger (1876–1954) also used sharpening in their abridged Gradual, dividing the task of harmonising the chants between them. August took on the Proper of the Time, the Proper of the Saints (pagination followed by asterisks) and the Common of the Saints (pagination in square brackets), whereas Karl took on the Votive Masses and the Missæ pro aliquibus locis.

ornavit, 4th ed. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1936), unpaginated introductory remarks, pp. 50, 89.

⁸²⁹Weinmann, ‘Die Orgelbegleitung’, 50–51.

⁸³⁰Max Springer, *Organum comitans ad Graduale parvum quod juxta Editionam Vaticanam transposuit et harmonice ornavit* (Regensburg: Alfred Coppenrath, 1910), 1, 4, 8, 11, 50, 53, 58.

Karl also turned his hand to editing his father's harmonisations. The accompaniments were advertised at less experienced organists, allowances being made in the preface for experienced players to substitute certain passages with their own so-called 'artistically designed forms' ('künstlerisch gestalteten Begleitungsformen'). The Wiltbergers' Düsseldorf-based publisher Schwann had previously published Nekes's accompanied Kyrial, and so the Mass Ordinary was not harmonised anew. In a similar manner to Nekes, the Wiltbergers harmonised some protus and tetrardus cadences $\hat{2} \rightarrow \hat{1}$ with $\hat{7}\sharp$. The pitch $\hat{3}\sharp$ was also a common feature of terminal deuterus cadences (ex. 151).⁸³¹ The Wiltberger accompaniments were arguably a more viable option for amateur organists with proclivities for sharpening than Mathias, since in the Wiltbergers's book the musical material did not require any editing.

4.3.5 *Fragments*

The demand for accompaniments grew steadily as more Catholic church musicians sought to align their practice with the Vatican. In some markets, though, demand was not sufficiently strong enough even for abridged extracts to become saleable propositions. To appeal to such markets, publishers brought out what we here term fragments, slight publications containing perhaps only a single accompanied Ordinary or Proper. Today, such fragments provide insights into the musical requirements of a particular region or religious order; when they were published, they were useful devices to whet the appetites of potential customers, and also responded to the needs of musicians who could not afford more expensive publications.

An accompaniment of the 'Missa de Angelis' by the Dutch organist Peter Johannes Joseph Vranken (1870–1948) follows a similar chord placement routine to those of Bas and Manzetti, to say nothing of reproducing the well-nigh ubiquitous $\text{♩} = 138$ tempo indication (ex. 152).⁸³² Vranken was nonetheless able to keep the number of pages in his fragment to a minimum by providing a single harmonisation for repeated lines of the

⁸³¹ August Wiltberger and Karl Wiltberger, *Organum comitans ad Epitomen e Graduali Romano*, vol. 1 (Düsseldorf: Schwann, [c.1910]), p. [60].

⁸³² Peter Johannes Joseph Vranken, *Missa Duplicibus; 'de Angelis'*, Original Compositions and Harmonizations of Gregorian Chants (New York: J. Fischer & Bro., 1910), 7.

chant, simply instructing players (by way of an italicised Roman numeral) to repeat a given line. Vranken's 'Christe' accompaniment is arranged largely in three parts, perhaps with a view to setting it apart from the four-part texture of the 'Kyrie'. Even though Weinmann considered Vranken's accompaniments to be sometimes empty and unsatisfactory ('die Begleitung mitunter leer und unbefriedigend klingt'),⁸³³ that view was evidently not shared by one American publisher, who anthologised them in a hymn book for Cathedral and Parish musicians.⁸³⁴

Sometime after 1913, the Spanish publishing house Boileau brought out a fragment of the same chant with an accompaniment by the Benedictines of Besalú, Girona (ex. 153).⁸³⁵ Even though the identity of the composer (assuming there was only one) was not indicated, a likely candidate is the Benedictine monk Dom Maur Sablayrolles (1873–1956) who had joined the abbey of En-Calcat in 1891 and was thereafter appointed as the abbey's organist and *maître de chœur*. When the congregation was forced into exile during the early years of the twentieth century, it moved south into Spain, settling at Besalú.⁸³⁶ Sablayrolles thereafter undertook paleographical research on Catalanian and Spanish manuscripts, and described Mocquereau's rhythm in various widely disseminated publications.⁸³⁷

Sablayrolles's adherence to Mocquereau's theory might explain why the Besalú accompaniment was so similar to those by Bas, Manzetti and Vranken in style; he also worked with Suñol, translating his chant manual into French.⁸³⁸ Bas remarked in 1909 that a certain Spanish priest had been granted permission to reproduce his accompaniments, but there is little evidence to name Sablayrolles definitively as he.⁸³⁹ Sablayrolles was a composer in his own right, and brought out accompaniments to various Spanish chants in

⁸³³Weinmann, 'Die Orgelbegleitung', 52.

⁸³⁴G. Burton, ed., *The Choir Manual for Cathedral and Parish Church* (New York: J. Fischer & Bro., 1914), 7; Reproduced in Eerik Jöks, 'Contemporary Understanding of Gregorian Chant: Conceptualisation and Practice' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), 65.

⁸³⁵RR. PP. Benedictinos de Besalú, *Misa 'De Angelis' conforme a la edición vaticana : Armonización fácil para Organo o Armonia*, Lauda Sion : Publicación escojida de Música Religiosa aprobada conforme a las disposiciones del *Motu proprio* de S. S. Pio X (Barcelona: Boileau), 1.

⁸³⁶Dominique-Marie Dauzet, 'Les Congrès de Musique Sacrée à l'époque Contemporaine', in *Le Catholicisme En Congrès (XIX^e–XX^e Siècles)*, ed. Claude Langlois and Christian Sorrel, Chrétiens et Sociétés. Documents et Mémoires 8 (Rhône-Alpes: Larhra, 2009), see paragraph 19.

⁸³⁷Rafel Pujol, 'Els monjos benedictins d'Encalcat, a Besalú', *Revista de Girona* 314 (2019): 51.

⁸³⁸Josep Massot i Muntaner, *Aproximació a la història religiosa de la Catalunya contemporània*, 1st ed. (Montserrat: Abadia de Montserrat, 1973), 47.

⁸³⁹Bas to Mocquereau, 11 November 1909, *F-SO*.

1912 that were largely in three parts (ex. 154).⁸⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the similarity of the above fragment to those accompaniments by other figures close to Solesmes lends credence to the notion that Solesmes's transcriptions were governing how such accompaniments were to be composed. Any individual flair on the part of a composer was apparently subdued by that apparently pervasive rubric requiring consonant chords to be placed where indicated by vertical *episemata*. In short, a consensus on accompanying style had largely been arrived at, in Solesmian circles at least.

In parts of Europe where musical traditions had not previously lent themselves to chanting, fragments proved indispensable to introducing the chant repertory at a reasonable price. The director of music at Ljubljana cathedral, Stanko Premrl (1880–1965), mused in the early years of the twentieth century that chanted masses were a rarity indeed in Slovenia, and as such there was little demand for the accompaniment books of Mathias, Springer, Nekes and Horn. A common vehicle for disseminating music among Cecilian musicians in Germany had been the musical supplement, typically a short composition added to the verbal content of one periodical or another. They proved themselves to be useful vehicles in Slovenia too, where the periodical *Cerkveni Glasbenik* offered to domestic musicians affordable accompaniments in fragment form. The first such was written by the Czech expatriate Anton Foerster (1837–1926), who from 1877 had been the principal of Slovenia's Orglarska šola, a music school for young organists.⁸⁴¹ But Foerster's transcription quoted in ex. 155 shows itself divorced from the latest developments in French and German practice, it being based not on an equalist approach but on a quasi-mensural rhythmic scheme that transcribed lozenge-shaped neumes as shorter notes, and so forth.⁸⁴² Foerster indicated that the intonation was either to be unaccompanied or accompanied in bare octaves, the latter indication bearing witness, perhaps, to the spread of Cecilian practice across Europe. Assuming that to be the case, the instances of cadential sharpening hardly seem out of place.

⁸⁴⁰Maur Sablayrolles, 'Alleluia, Psallite Deo', *La Musique sacrée* 11 (Supplement to 9–10 1912): 31.

⁸⁴¹Edo Škulj, 'A Survey of the Evolution of Slovene Church Vocal Music', *Slovene Studies* 17, nos. 1–2 (1995): 179–80.

⁸⁴²Ant[on] Foerster, 'Asperges me I. – Trad. Koral. Ton. VII', *Cerkvenega Glasbenika (Glasbene priloge)* 29, no. 5 (1906): 17; For Foerster's accompanied responses see the appendix to the 1907 volume.

For all of Foerster's attempts to promote chant in Slovenia, his accompaniments did not spark much interest. In 1909, Frančišek Kimovec (1878–1964) took up the mantle to offer an accompanied 'Missa de Angelis' to persuade domestic musicians to introduce at least one Mass Ordinary into their annual repertoires.⁸⁴³ The *CVK* noted how Kimovec's was a sustained style, but also that many so-called 'deviations' were present in his harmonisations ('so viele Abweichungen in der Harmonisierung der Chorals'). Another contributor stated that 'various corrections' ('Es sind verschiedene Korrekturen vorzunehmen') would be required to bring them up to standard.⁸⁴⁴ Maybe those reviewers took issue with the passage quoted in ex. 156, on the basis of which Premrl found Kimovec guilty of close consecutive octaves and fifths. But Premrl's redaction—which suppresses the musical context that presumably governed Kimovec's contrapuntal decision-making—suggests the carping of a narrow-minded grammarian. The admittedly poor sonority of the first dyad was a very likely concession to better sonority in the chords immediately preceding it. Kimovec's options were also presumably limited in terms of where chords could be placed in the sustained style. Considering sporadic Cecilian resistance to musical neologisms, it is quite possible that the reviewers' pedantry was simply that and nothing more.

Kimovec's accompaniment was regarded in its day as a pioneering attempt at promoting chant in Slovenia, and according even to Premrl it heralded the beginning of a new era.⁸⁴⁵ Premrl and Kimovec later collaborated on a collection of harmonised introits and communions for twenty-four first class feasts, publishing them as supplements in *Cerkveni Glasbenik*.⁸⁴⁶ Not only could choir directors purchase each instalment at a reduced cost, but the editors also added Slovene translations of the Latin. Some chant notes quoted in ex. 157 are treated by the harmonisers as dissonances; the use of pedal point is also rather a progressive inclusion. Whereas sustained chords are used consistently, the same cannot be said of the 'B' ♯ in ex. 158, which is anticipated in the

⁸⁴³ *Frančišek Kimovec, *Missa de Angelis (Cod. Vatic. VIII. – In Festis Duplicibus.) : Transcripsit organumque comitans adornavit* (Ljubljana: Sumptibus Auctoris, 1908).

⁸⁴⁴ *CVK* № 3871.

⁸⁴⁵ Stanko Premrl, 'Missa de Angelis', *Cerkveni Glasbenik : Organ Cecilijinega društva v Ljubljani* 32, no. 1 (January 1909): 6–7.

⁸⁴⁶ For Anglophone biographies of Kimovec and Premrl, see Škulj, 'Slovene Church Vocal Music', pp. 182 n. 27, 183 n. 28.

accompaniment before becoming audible in the chant, quite a forward-looking gesture. Neither is there much consistent about the contrapuntal imitation in the bass part quoted in ex. 159, which may be viewed as little more than a sporadic venture.⁸⁴⁷

The Premrl-Kimovec accompaniments were collated and published, in 1910, as a single volume,⁸⁴⁸ but an advertisement in *Cerkveni*'s October issue stated that the individual Propers could still be purchased at a reduced price.⁸⁴⁹ The advertisement also advised organists against prejudicing themselves against the difficulty of performing chant,⁸⁵⁰ indicating that Premrl and Kimovec were still fighting an uphill battle at introducing chant into all liturgical corners of the domestic market. Some circumstantial evidence points to an increase in interest by Slovene church organists in the repertory, namely that each periodical's issue dedicated a section to discussing the dispositions and technical features of new organs that were being introduced into Slovene churches.

Quite apart from encouraging accompaniments in the first place were certain fragments published as supplements to a composer's previously issued accompaniment books. Nekes composed at least five such supplements to his op. 46 Kyrial of 1906 in a kind of continuing series, providing alphabetised entries that covered other parts of the Gradual, including op. 46a, *Missa pro defunctis*;⁸⁵¹ op. 46d, *Missæ in summis festis* (containing ten Propers, among which are Christmas, Epiphany, Easter Sunday, Ascension, Pentecost Sunday, Corpus Christi, and All Saints);⁸⁵² and op. 46e, *Commune Sanctorum*.⁸⁵³ His fragments appeared in the years following 1906, and their being

⁸⁴⁷ Frančišek Kimovec and Stanko Premrl, *Introitus et Communiones pro festis I. cl. necnon pro quibusdam aliis infra annum ecclesiasticum occurrentibus ex graduali Romano* (ed. Vat.) (Ljubljana: Zadrūzna tiskarna, 1909), 7, 34, 14.

⁸⁴⁸ *Frančišek Kimovec and Stanko Premrl, *Introitus et Communiones pro festis I. cl. necnon pro quibusdam aliis infra annum ecclesiasticum occurrentibus ex graduali Romano* (ed. Vat.) (Ljubljana: Librariæ catholicæ, 1910).

⁸⁴⁹ Kimovec also publishes another fragmented accompaniment in 1911 entitled *Missa pro defunctis cum responsorio 'Libera'*. See Janko Šlebinger, ed., *Slovenska Bibliografija Za I. 1907–1912* (Ljubljana: Matica Slovenska, 1913), 226.

⁸⁵⁰ S[tanko] P[remrl], 'Oglasnik', *Cerkveni Glasbenik : Organ Cecilijinega društva v Ljubljani* 33, no. 10 (October 1910): 80.

⁸⁵¹ CVK № 3609.

⁸⁵² 'Organaria', *Musica sacra : Monatschrift für Hebung und Förderung der kathol. Kirchenmusik* 43, no. 1 (1 January 1910): 7.

⁸⁵³ 'Besprechungen : Verschiedene Kompositionen', *Musica sacra : Monatschrift für Hebung und Förderung der kathol. Kirchenmusik* 44, no. 5 (May 1911): 95.

supplements might explain why one of Nekes's biographers erroneously dated the publication of his accompanied Kyrial to 1908.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵⁴Wagner, *Franz Nekes und der Cäcilianismus im Rheinland*, 205.

CHAPTER FIVE

MODERNISM

5.1 Broadening modality

5.1.1 *At the apogee of chromaticism*

The diatonicism preferred by Mathias and Bas was set quite apart from the type of harmony preferred by Cecilian composers who admitted cadential sharpening. We have already discussed Nekes's reluctance to diverge from the latter tradition, and how the Wiltbergers followed his lead. But in some quarters, the use of sharpening was believed to exist at a single point on a spectrum that spanned between Gevaert's hexachordal accompaniment and unbridled chromatic harmony. It was towards the chromatic end of the spectrum that some composers were drawn, first in their permitting sharpening for stylistic effect and then by their adopting a similar kind of chromaticism to that used by Gorączkiewicz and others. Prior to discussing a movement to promote the unrestricted admittance of chromatic notes to chant accompaniments, we shall first consider how some composers of the 1900s and 1910s came to prefer more sharps than their Cecilian predecessors had admitted.

As we have seen (p. 209), Springer adopted sharpening in his accompaniments after having previously expressed a preference for diatonicism. His *volte-face* is notable for being in the opposite direction to some French and Belgian composers, who had abandoned their preference for chromaticism in favour of diatonicism. Prior to taking on his revised stance, Springer had campaigned for diatonicism in his manual *Die Kunst der Choralbegleitung*, a book that won some celebrity in America in 1908 when the

Benedictine monks of Conception MO published its translation into English.⁸⁵⁵ But Springer later put down his preference for diatonicism to ‘youthful over-zeal’,⁸⁵⁶ and assumed a more tolerant attitude to the use of sharps. It earned his style the epithet ‘relaxed diatonicism’ (‘gelockerter Diatonik’), a phrase coined by Söhner presumably because Springer only admitted sharps when they did not effect modulations.⁸⁵⁷

Springer was nonetheless cognisant that some musicians simply preferred diatonicism, and suggested therefore that any sharps printed in his accompaniments could safely be ignored by the player.⁸⁵⁸ This was the inverse of the compromise that Mathias—presumably with the intention of selling his accompaniment on the French and Belgian markets—had made several years earlier (see p. 208 above). Similarities to Mathias did not stop there either, for Springer also seems to have adopted a method similar to Mathias’s nine stages, whereby the accompaniment was designed to follow certain characteristics in the chant (ex. 160).⁸⁵⁹ Perhaps Springer used the half-diminished chord quoted in ex. 161 because the chant note it accompanied was annotated by a caret. Why other notes annotated similarly do not receive equally dissonant chords is not altogether clear, though this might have something to do with the hierarchy of accents in Springer’s method. A particularly prevalent accented note perhaps required harmony of even greater vividness. Springer furthermore flouted traditional contrapuntal rules by permitting parallel bare fifths, a sonority he deployed without reserve. He even lists several instances of their use in the preface to his accompanied Gradual, no doubt to head off any accusations by grammarians that his accompaniments were benighted by amateurish blunders.⁸⁶⁰

Certain Anglophone critics remained out of touch with Springer’s new stance, and continued to cite his earlier judgement that ‘chromatics can have no place in Gregorian

⁸⁵⁵*Max Springer, *Die Kunst der Choralbegleitung : Theoretisch-praktische Anleitung zum richtigen Singen und Begleiten des gregorianischen Chorals* (Regensburg: Cöppenrath, 1907).

⁸⁵⁶Gregory Hügle, ‘Chromatics: Use and Abuse’, *The Catholic Choirmaster* 3, no. 2 (April 1917): 31; Hügle translates the passage from a *1910 issue of *Gregorianische Rundschau*.

⁸⁵⁷Söhner, *Die Orgelbegleitung zum gregorianischen Gesang*, 52.

⁸⁵⁸Springer, *Organum comitans ad Graduale parvum*, p. iii.

⁸⁵⁹Max Springer, *The Art of Accompanying Plain Chant*, trans. Benedictine Fathers of Conception (New York: J. Fischer & Bro., 1908), pp. x, 57–8, 221.

⁸⁶⁰Springer, *Organum comitans ad Graduale parvum*, pp. v, 16.

accompaniment, although it has charm for some'.⁸⁶¹ That particular translation appeared in the magazine *The Catholic Choirmaster* in 1917, almost a decade after Springer had turned away from diatonicism. It fell to Dom Gregory Hügler, prior of the same Conception Abbey that had translated Springer's manual in the first place, to clarify matters,⁸⁶² taking to the same magazine to alert Anglophone readers that Springer now favoured a moderate, discreet use of sharps.⁸⁶³

The prospect of admitting sharps in contexts other than cadences did not escape the notice of composers at the Regensburg Kirchenmusikschule, where Josef Renner the younger (1868–1934) freely admitted sharps in a manner his predecessors had not. Renner had studied composition with Rheinberger in Munich,⁸⁶⁴ and in 1893 succeeded Hanisch as the organist of Regensburg cathedral. He was then appointed as a lecturer in organ playing at the Regensburg Kirchenmusikschule in 1896.⁸⁶⁵ The chromatic bass part quoted in ex. 162 dates from 1914, succeeding Springer's accompaniments by some years but adopting a similar approach to the use of sharps. The bass part climbs chromatically from 'G' to 'A' (traversing a diminished chord), the alto part at 'gratias' bringing 'C'♯ into close proximity with 'C'♯ two notes later. Do these sharps effect modulations to A minor and D minor respectively, however brief such modulations may be? It is not altogether clear what Renner's thoughts on the matter were: perhaps his aims were more aesthetic in nature, and his admission of sharpening could quite simply have been a modern affectation; perhaps, also, his use of sharps was simply a matter of personal preference, a factor that is necessarily difficult to quantify.

Renner was nonetheless keen to compose accompaniments that were easy to play. To that end, he claimed to arrange the parts in one comfortable hand position ('in einer, und

⁸⁶¹ See *✱Musica divina*, August–September 1913, p. 191; Translated in 'The Use of Chromatics in the Accompaniment of the Chant', *The Catholic Choirmaster* 3, no. 1 (January 1917): 7.

⁸⁶² Mark Everist is apparently mistaken to record Hügler as the prior of a certain Conception Abbey in Minnesota. See Mark Everist, *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 140.

⁸⁶³ Hügler, 'Chromatics: Use and Abuse', 30.

⁸⁶⁴ Walther Killy and Rudolf Vierhaus, eds., *Dictionary of German Biography*, vol. 8 (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2005), 260.

⁸⁶⁵ Rudolf Vierhaus, ed., *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie*, 2nd ed., vol. 8 (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2007), 326; Renner is captured in a seated position at the organ console of Regensburg cathedral in 1905 in the photograph we discussed above on page 28.

zwar der bequemsten Lage'). The claim holds up in the accompanied psalm tones where only cadences were accompanied—the organ rested for recitations. But it does not hold up when considering the accompaniment quoted in ex. 162 which, especially if played without pedals, calls for frequent changes of hand position and the transferring of inner parts from one hand to the other.⁸⁶⁶

One of Renner's colleagues made an even more daring foray beyond Cecilian sharpening practice by admitting to an individual chant accompaniment all the notes of the chromatic octave. Peter Griesbacher (1864–1919) was appointed as a lecturer in counterpoint at Regensburg's Kirchenmusikschule in 1911,⁸⁶⁷ and soon thereafter sought to re-establish chromaticism as the appropriate harmonic language of chant accompaniment. Not only did Griesbacher view diatonicism as an inartistic principle ('ein völlig unkünstlerischer Grundsatz'), but he also dismissed it as a modern invention without a basis in history, a claim that was surely levelled at the theorists professing to apply long-lost musical methods to harmony of the modern age. As far as Griesbacher was concerned, chromaticism was far better at capturing the modern *Zeitgeist* than any made-up diatonic theory; and it was also more stylistically appropriate than diatonicism because it permitted more conjunct motion in the accompanying parts, all while the chant itself remained diatonic (ex. 163). He argued that conjunct motion was a feature of the chant repertory which should therefore be matched in the accompaniment, going on to posit that diatonicism had been forcing composers to use disjunct motion which, in his opinion, resulted in ugly accompaniments that did not suit the repertory at all.⁸⁶⁸

Griesbacher followed up his admittedly incendiary view with a textbook on aestheticism in church music where the question of chromaticism was broached once again. He provided

⁸⁶⁶Josef Renner, *Organum comitans ad Tonos Communes Missæ necnon Vesperarum juxta Editionem Vaticanam* (Regensburg, Rome, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1914), unpaginated 'Vorwort', p. 5; While no date of publication was marked on Renner's pamphlet, it was published no later than 1914 when it was reviewed in 'Books Received', *The American Ecclesiastical Review* 51, no. 3 (September 1914): 383.

⁸⁶⁷'Musikalische Rundschau', *Musica sacra : Monatschrift für Förderung der katholischen Kirchenmusik* 44, no. 3 (March 1911): 55.

⁸⁶⁸*P[eter] Griesbacher, *Quatuor modi cantandi Credo choraliter juxta Vaticanam comitante organo vel harmonio interjectis VIII diversis modulis polyphonicis ad IV–V voces inæquales cum appendice* (Regensburg: Coppenrath, [c.1911]); Reproduced in P[eter] Griesbacher, 'Choral und Chroma: Ihr künstlerisches Verhältnis', *Musica sacra : Monatschrift für Förderung der katholischen Kirchenmusik* 45, no. 9 (September 1912): 202.

a similarly chromatic harmonisation that was said to capture his ideal style (ex. 164), one derived from sonorities popularised by Richard Wagner:

<p>Meine Devise heisst: Choral und Wagner! Choral und volle Freiheit der Harmonie! Choralbegleitung ohne jede Einschränkung der künstlerischen Idee! Mag sie manchem Ohre heute noch herbe klingen, die Zeit wird kommen, wo sie Leben gewinnt.⁸⁶⁹</p>	<p><i>My motto is chant and Wagner! Chant and full freedom of harmony! Chant accompaniment without any restriction of the artistic idea! It may still sound bitter to some ears today, but its time will come.</i></p>
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We might recognise in Griesbacher's motto a certain elaboration of Nekes's view that the accompaniment had 'rights' just as much as the chant did. It seems to have gained the support of one Anton Möhler (1866–1939) who hoped an accompanied Vatican Gradual would be produced by Griesbacher in his Wagnerian idiom.⁸⁷⁰ Möhler even proposed that chromatic accompaniments were required so that modern ears did not become fatigued, this in a textbook on Catholic Church musical aesthetics.⁸⁷¹

Griesbacher's failure to produce a chromatic, accompanied Gradual was probably due to the backlash against his system arising from various quarters.⁸⁷² The critical reception to Nekes's use of sharpening in 1906 had not boded well for Griesbacher, and sure enough, Möhler's approval was drowned in a cacophony of opposition to such chromatic accompaniments. The Swiss musician Joseph Frei (1872–1945), despite being partial to cadential sharpening provided it did not distract the listeners from the chant,⁸⁷³ rose up against Griesbacher in the periodical **Chorwächter* to accuse the composer of bungling his way through harmonisations. Griesbacher took to Regensburg's *Musica sacra* to defend his own track record as a composer. The matter was batted between the two polemicists without either side ceding much ground to the other.

⁸⁶⁹P[eter] Griesbacher, *Kirchenmusikalische stilistik und formenlehre: Choral und kirchenlied*, vol. 1 (Regensburg: Coppenrath, 1912), 88–9.

⁸⁷⁰A[nton] Möhler, 'Über Choralbegleitung', *Musica sacra : Monatschrift für Hebung und Förderung der kathol. Kirchenmusik* 45, no. 2 (February 1912): 32.

⁸⁷¹A[nton] Möhler, *Ästhetik der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, 2nd ed. (Rottenburg: Wilhelm Bader, 1915), 144–6.

⁸⁷²Griesbacher applied chromaticism to the psalms for Vespers. See *P[eter] Griesbacher, *Psalterium vespertinum : Tonos 8 cum peregrino et solemnibus complectens additis antiphonis marianis et tonis Deo gratias ac versiculorum harmoniæ melodiis Vaticanis circumdatæ* (Regensburg: Coppenrath, 1913).

⁸⁷³J[oseph] Frei, 'Choral und Chroma: Eine Abwehr', *Musica sacra : Monatschrift für Förderung der katholischen Kirchenmusik* 45, no. 11 (November 1912): 251.

Franz Josef Breitenbach (1853–1934), another Swiss musician, weighed in on the matter by accusing Griesbacher of wishing to create a ‘very subjectively coloured tone picture’ (‘ein ganz subjektiv gefärbtes Tonbild’).⁸⁷⁴ Mitterer voiced his opinion in the *CVK* by claiming his own ideal lay somewhere between the two extremes of diatonicism and chromaticism.⁸⁷⁵ In other words, the weight of consensus rested with cadential sharpening rather than with Griesbacher’s chromaticism. Without the support of his peers, his style all but petered out, leading Heinz Wagener to deem his attempt at resurrecting chromaticism a failure.⁸⁷⁶

Chant aesthetics were nonetheless developing to a point at which certain harmony treatises by deceased Cecilian composers (such as Peter Piel) were being revised to suit evolutions in taste. Bearing in mind that Piel had died in 1904, the 1910 edition of his *Harmonie-Lehre* incorporated a revised and expanded chapter on accompaniment that was presumably the work of the book’s editor Paul Manderscheid. Manderscheid’s Italian translator Eduardo Dagnani made some additions of his own to suit the Italian market, such as the addition of example accompaniments by Bas and Peter Wagner, as well as the provision of an up-to-date bibliography to benefit Italian students.⁸⁷⁷ The driving force behind that translation was Giovanni Tebaldini (1864–1952), Bas’s former teacher, who had been critical of Bas for adopting the Solesmian approach to accompaniment when a Cecilian one was, he claimed, more practical.⁸⁷⁸ Perhaps the rationale for Tebaldini’s criticism stemmed from the nineteenth-century view of Solesmian scholarship: that its value was more theoretical than practical. Such had been the view propagated by the Vatican prior to the twentieth-century decrees establishing Solesmes as the seedbed of

⁸⁷⁴F[rantz] J[osef] Breitenbach, ‘Choral und Chroma’, *Musica sacra : Monatschrift für Förderung der katholischen Kirchenmusik* 45, no. 11 (November 1912): 249.

⁸⁷⁵*CVK* № 4031.

⁸⁷⁶Wagener, *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals*, 100.

⁸⁷⁷P[eter] Piel and P[aul] Manderscheid, *Trattato di composizione specialmente dedicato all’organista liturgico*, ‘Nuova’, trans. G[iovanni] Tebaldini and E[duardo] Dagnino (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1911), 256–60; Manderscheid’s editorship of the 1910 edition is not mentioned in conjunction with its entry in James E. Perone, *Harmony Theory: A Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut & London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997), p. 111 under T544.

⁸⁷⁸Guido Milanese, ‘Giovanni Tebaldini e l’accompagnamento al Canto Gregoriano’, *Il Santo : Rivista Francescana di Storia Dottrina Arte* 42, nos. 1–2 (2017): 98.

Catholic church music. But considering Nekes's reluctance to adopt the Church's new stance, it is quite possible that other Cecilians were equally as reluctant.

Yet another edition of Piel's treatise was published in 1910 this time in Polish, but little about it seems to have been updated from Piel's own eighth edition of c.1903. In fact, the copy of that edition consulted by the present author omitted the discussion of accompaniment, perhaps because Piel's methods were considered out of date. That is not to say, however, that chant was edited out of the Polish edition: where chant was used to demonstrate harmonic progressions, the editor retained it, including those psalm tones Piel had parsed using Roman numerals to demonstrate major-minor progressions at cadences.⁸⁷⁹

Schildknecht's *Orgelschule* also underwent revisions, reaching its twentieth edition around 1935, some three-and-a-half decades following the author's death. Among the editors by then was Söhner, who was no doubt responsible for updating the chapters on accompaniment. The inference is supported by the appearance of identical prose in a separate publication attributed to Söhner's sole authorship in which he describes a more recent Solesmian method of accompaniment that was not devised until two decades following Schildknecht's death, to be discussed below.⁸⁸⁰

5.1.2 *Broadening concepts of diatonicism and modality*

Just as Griesbacher had sought to extend chant harmony to comprehend chromaticism, so certain other theorists sought to extend diatonicism to comprehend more dissonance. Nineteenth-century theories of diatonic chant harmonisation rendered exclusively as consonant chords seemed no longer fit for purpose, and although the French ear in particular remained prejudiced against the use of sharps, it did not take exception to the dissonant-laden accompaniments that Lepage and others had been popularising since the

⁸⁷⁹Compare, for instance, Piel's proposed psalm tone harmonisations using Roman numerals in Piel, *Harmonie-Lehre : Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Anforderungen für das kirchliche Orgelspiel*, 55 with the same discussion in Peter Piel, *Wykład nauki harmonii z uwzględnieniem harmonizacji śpiewu gregoriańskiego wraz z kluczem zawierającym rozwiązanie przykładów*, trans. Eugeniusz Gruberski (Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1910), 55.

⁸⁸⁰Joseph Schildknecht and Otto Dunkelberg, *Jos[ef] Schildknecht's Orgelschule für Kirchenmusikschulen und Lehrerbildungsanstalten sowie für den Privat- und Selbsterunterricht mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Orgelspiel beim katholischen Gottesdienst*, 20th ed., in collab. with Hermann Keller, Leo Söhner and Carl Elis (Altötting: Alfred Coppenrath (H. Pawelek), [c.1935]), 140–60; Leo Söhner, *Kurze Anleitung zur Begleitung des gregorianischen Gesangs* ([Altötting]: Alfred Coppenrath, [c.1935]).

end of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the normalisation of dissonant sonorities might be explained by wider developments in musical modernism; whatever the reason, extensions to chords were to be permitted in chant accompaniments provided that the chords themselves remained diatonic. Like rhythm, then, diatonicism itself became free as composers assembled the notes of plainchant into chords of the seventh and ninth.⁸⁸¹

The tendency to permit more dissonance in an accompaniment arose contemporaneously with the desire to limit the frequency of chord changes. By permitting more dissonance, composers could justify greater quantities of chant notes above a single bass note. In contrast to those Cecilian ideologues who held that chant and accompaniment should be granted equal status, Benedictine practitioners in particular recognised that the accompaniment ought to be relegated to the background. From as early as 1906, the Beuron-based Benedictine monk Dominicus Johner (1874–1955) set forth a ‘strictly diatonic’ (‘streng diatonisch zu verfahren’) scheme that not only permitted bare fifths but also seventh chords without any preparation,⁸⁸² anticipating by four years the publication of Debussy’s ‘La cathédrale engloutie’. The passage describing seventh chords was revised in 1921 to address not only how they could be approached but also how they could be quitted:

Manchmal wird man den Septimenakkord vorbereiten können. Häufig wird er unvorbereitet eintreten müssen. Die Septime kann regelmäßig aufgelöst werden oder liegen bleiben, oder nach oben oder sprungweise nach unten gehen.⁸⁸³

*Occasionally it will be feasible to furnish a preparation before the seventh-chord. It will frequently obtrude itself without preparation. The seventh can always be resolved or left unresolved: it may be led upwards or by step downwards.*⁸⁸⁴

The seventh chord was therefore considered to be a sonority in its own right, a consideration that extended to all its diatonic dispositions, between which Johner drew no distinction. He probably discussed the idea with his *confrère* Ferdinand Gregor Molitor (1867–1926) who proffered advice of his own on the matter in 1913. Along with a

⁸⁸¹Leßmann, ‘L’anachronisme’, 359, 363.

⁸⁸²Dominicus Johner, *Neue Schule des gregorianischen Choralgesangs*, 1st ed. (Regensburg, Rome, New York & Cincinnati: Pustet, 1906), 207.

⁸⁸³Dominicus Johner, *Neue Schule des gregorianischen Choralgesanges*, 5th ed. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1921), p. 135*; Compare to p. 208 in the edition cited in footnote 882.

⁸⁸⁴Dominicus Johner, *A New School of Gregorian Chant*, 3rd ed., trans. Hermann Erpf and Max Ferrars (Regensburg & Rome: Pustet, 1925), 290–91; This translation was made from the fifth Teutophone edition.

discussion of seventh chords, Molitor provided more avant-garde principles that flouted conventional rules. For instance, there was a framework for using bare fifths depending on an interpretation of chant rhythm, and proposals for different textures to suit different kinds of chants. A freely composed, artistic kind of accompaniment was said to be best for accompanying melismatic passages sung by soloists (ex. 165). The chant itself was not to be replicated by the accompaniment, whose texture often increased in density the closer it approached a cadence. The latter technique was a difficult one, however, and was said to be beyond all but the most experienced players. Consequently, Molitor offered little advice about how it might be applied, leaving that kind of detail to the imagination of his readers and the skill of prospective players.

That is not to say that Molitor shied away from providing any instructions at all. In fact, he suggested that accompaniments were to be played in three parts (save, perhaps, at cadences) and on manuals alone. The chant, as noted, was to be omitted entirely, a measure obviously fit for relegating accompaniments to the background:

In diesem Falle trete sie vollständig in den Hintergrund und beschränke sich darauf, der frei hingleitenden Melodie einen weichen harmonischen Untergrund zu bieten, der noch lediglich den Zweck hat, die Melodie um so deutlicher hervortreten zu lassen.⁸⁸⁵

In this case it moves into the surroundings and is limited to providing the freely moving melody with a soft harmonic background, whose only purpose is to make the melody stand out all the more clearly.

The desirability of omitting the chant and increasing the level of dissonance is evident also from Bewerber's 1916 statement that 'the organ ought not to play the melody' and from his conclusion that frequent changes of harmony were best avoided.⁸⁸⁶

A more sustained style of accompaniment in which greater numbers of chant notes were accompanied with fewer changes of harmony presented quite a peculiar problem to composers. How were dissonances to be handled? The problem was initially addressed by Brun, whose parsing of the Schola Cantorum accompaniments (see p. 165 above) led him to identify three categories of accompaniment: one that reproduced the chant in the top

⁸⁸⁵Ferdinand Gregor Molitor, *Die diatonisch-rhythmische Harmonisation der gregorianischen Choral-melodien* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913), 92–101.

⁸⁸⁶McCarthy, 'Heinrich Bewerber: A Critical Reassessment', 252.

part throughout, another that omitted the chant and reserved chords for ‘des *notes réelles*’, and a third that comprehended a more elaborate texture for which Brun coined the term ‘*accompagnement concertant*’.⁸⁸⁷

While it is true that Brun overlooked many other approaches to accompaniment, his third category was particularly significant because it comprehended the more dissonant texture that was gaining popularity among those seeking to detach chant from accompaniment. Marc de Ranse, the *maître de chapelle* of the Parisian church of Saint-Charles de Monceau, composed an accompaniment in the ‘concertant’ idiom for the Ascension-tide chant ‘*Viri Galilœi*’ (ex. 166), a footnote directing a ‘discreet and light’ registration to be used. A heavy registration would hardly have suited the accompaniment’s texture, which ascends gradually through the keyboard’s register. The process of adding notes to create ascending complexes of decorative, diatonic dissonance results in a gentle, amorphous aura that might be described as an auditory equivalent of incense.⁸⁸⁸

The definition of the ‘concertant’ idiom might not limit itself to mild decorative dissonance, for Heinrich Wismeyer (1898–1984) arguably produced a similar effect during the 1930s by maintaining pedal notes, ascending chords and restricting the accompaniment to an octave or two above sung pitch, depending on whether the chant was sung in the monks’ octave or in the nuns’ (ex. 167).⁸⁸⁹ The celebrated Belgian organist Flor Peeters (1903–1986) will be discussed below, but for the moment it should be noted that, in 1946, he demonstrated a similar texture to Wismeyer’s where the accompaniment also remained resolutely above sung pitch (ex. 168).⁸⁹⁰ Peeters gave no details about the antecedents of his texture, however, when he instantiated it as just another available method.

⁸⁸⁷Brun, *Traité de l’accompagnement*, 19–20; Discussed in Federico Del Sordo, ‘La monemica nell’accompagnamento del canto gregoriano’, *Arte organaria e organistica: Periodico bimestrale* 7 (2:32 2000): 56.

⁸⁸⁸Marc De Ranse, ‘Supplément : Introït du Jeudi de l’Ascension’, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 15, no. 9 (August–September 1909): 14; Re-printed in Brun, *Traité de l’accompagnement*, 54–5.

⁸⁸⁹*Heinrich Wismeyer, *Orgelbegleitung zu Choral-gesangen* (Munich, 1933); Reproduced in Potier, *L’art de l’accompagnement du chant grégorien : Défense et illustration de l’harmonie grégorienne et Essai de bibliographie critique*, 118.

⁸⁹⁰Flor Peeters, *A Practical Method of Plain-Chant Accompaniment* (Mechelen: H. Dessain, 1949), 73.

Whereas Brun discussed the Schola Cantorum's methods as they were at the end of the nineteenth century, a former Schola Cantorum teacher Maurice Emmanuel (1862–1938) brought out a manual in 1913 that took a self-consciously historicist view on the subject. Emmanuel had held the post of teacher of music theory from 1907 to 1912, and succeeded his mentor Bourgault-Ducoudray as the teacher of music history at the Paris Conservatoire in 1909.⁸⁹¹ It was under Bourgault-Ducoudray that Emmanuel had first encountered the modes,⁸⁹² a formative step which led him to seek out a historic method of accompaniment in the music of the distant past. He did not accept the rhythmical theories posited by Solesmian theorists and adopted instead the mensural theory of the Medieval historian Georges-Louis Houdard (1860–1913). It is not clear how any such mensural theory could have influenced Emmanuel's accompaniments, however, because he held that only the psalm tones could be accompanied. On receiving the manual, Saint-Saëns quipped that 'one does not accompany psalms'; Emmanuel rejoindered 'If you had read my book as far as page 3 inclusively, you would have seen how I do not counsel accompaniment of the psalms, but that, if one must do it, one must employ the modes'.⁸⁹³

Emmanuel was nonetheless one of the very few harmonisers to recognise the desirability of arranging the accompaniment specifically for the octave in which the chant was to be sung. Niedermeyer's rule that the melody should always be placed in the top part (see p. 83 above) had up to this point been almost universally observed, with the result that the organ accompaniments invariably—and, it might be said, tediously—doubled the chanting of men's voices at the octave above. Emmanuel, however, specified that the texture quoted in ex. 169 as being adapted to children's voices ('On suppose ici les versets chantés par des voix d'enfants. La hauteur de l'accompagnement s'y adapte.').⁸⁹⁴ The accompaniment did not double the psalm tone, permitting greater freedom to the chanting as it meandered on occasion beneath the topmost accompanying part. At the medial cadence, one recognises that the chanted 'B'̣ was treated as a

⁸⁹¹ Christophe Corbier, 'Les relations musicales franco-helléniques de 1919 à 1939', in *Le double voyage : Paris-Athènes (1919–1939)*, ed. Lucile Arnoux-Farnoux and Polina Kosmadaki, Mondes méditerranéens et balkaniques 12 (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 2018), 265.

⁸⁹² H. F. Stewart, 'Maurice Emmanuel (1862–1938)', *Music & Letters* 20, no. 3 (1939): 279.

⁸⁹³ Ronald Stevenson, 'Maurice Emmanuel: A Belated Apologia', *Music & Letters* 40, no. 2 (1959): 162.

⁸⁹⁴ Maurice Emmanuel, *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes* (Lyon: Janin Frères, 1913), 102.

dissonance, perhaps deliberately so in order to demarcate the accented syllable in ‘meam’. But that dissonance also might have something to do with urging on the singers: Johner recommended dissonance for just such a purpose,⁸⁹⁵ which arguably lent itself well to accompanying children or to an ensemble singing without the aid of a conductor.

While Emmanuel sought an authentic historical framework for his theory of accompaniment, a contrary stance was taken up by the fellow Bourgault-Ducoudray pupil Charles Koechlin (1867–1950), who recognised that accompaniment was inalienably an anachronistic endeavour. In a similar argument to Griesbacher’s, Koechlin opined that there was little sense in seeking historical rules to govern accompaniment when no such accompaniment had existed in the first place, and recommended instead ‘the most musical kind of anachronism’, a type of modern accompaniment complete with passing notes, unprepared dissonances, modulations, and so forth.⁸⁹⁶

While that sort of accompaniment was evidently appealing to those in the orbit of the Schola Cantorum, we should not forget *alternatim* practice, which continued to enjoy widespread use in French churches. In contrast to the modern invention of diatonicism, there can be no doubt as to its historical authenticity, which as we have seen (p. 143) was still current at Saint-Sulpice in the very late nineteenth century. Practice of that kind would appear to have inspired a genre of choral composition in which sung polyphonic parts alternated with monophonic chanting. One example was composed by Louis-Lazare Perruchot (1852–1930), the *maître de chapelle* of Monaco cathedral, who accompanied both the polyphony and the chanting. Note how, in the latter case, the accompaniment quoted in ex. 170 was governed by the rule whereby chords changed on the first notes of beamed groups.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁵Johner, *A New School of Gregorian Chant*, 296.

⁸⁹⁶Leßmann, ‘L’anachronisme’, 382–3.

⁸⁹⁷Lazare Perruchot, *Messe dite ‘des Anges’* (Paris: Répertoire moderne de la Schola Cantorum, [c.1910]), 1; A separate choral part was also attached to *TSG*. See Lazare Perruchot, ‘Supplément : Messe dite Des Anges pour 2 voix mixtes et chœur populaire’, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 16, nos. 1–2 (January–February 1910): 2.

5.1.3 *Bas and the 'courageous' style*

Among the first contributions to Solesmes's journal *Revue grégorienne* in 1911 was a short series of articles by Bas, who took up the matter of changing chords less frequently. With a view to systematising the approach, he divided up phrases into 'protase' (antecedent) and 'apodose' (consequent), harmonising the former in bare octaves and the latter with chords (ex. 171).⁸⁹⁸ It was a texture harking back to Ett's accompaniment of 1834 (see pp. 19 and 20 above) and was similar to that which Witt had advocated as his ideal in 1872 (see pp. 24 and 25 above), the latter having subsequently been revived in 1910 by Gastoué, who decided it was suited to large choirs and an organ registration consisting of Trompette and Clairon.⁸⁹⁹ Bas acknowledged none of those musicians in his articles, and either arrived at the texture independently or elaborated on a technique that was circulating among practitioners.

Whatever the case may be, Bas levelled criticism at certain composers who he claimed changed chords more frequently than necessary because they were trying to make their accompaniments follow every rhythmic nuance in the chant. Overwrought accompaniments were a far cry from the mellifluousness Bas believed French audiences preferred. And omitting the chant from busy accompaniments made matters even worse, because the next part down in the texture distracted the listener's ear with what sounded like an overactive counter-melody. To substantiate these claims, Bas reproduced six anonymous accompaniments for 'Kyrie fons bonitatis', comparing them with one of his own examples that used fewer chords.⁹⁰⁰ He naturally concluded that the true path to success was comprehended by his sustained accompaniment, quoted in ex. 172, whose parts moved so infrequently as not to distract should the chant be omitted by the accompanist. Comparison with Bas's earlier harmonisations (see again exx. 127, 131, 141

⁸⁹⁸Giulio Bas, 'La simplicité dans l'accompagnement du chant grégorien', *Revue grégorienne* 1, no. 5 (September–October 1911): 116.

⁸⁹⁹Gastoué, *Traité d'harmonisation*, 87.

⁹⁰⁰Giulio Bas, 'La simplicité dans l'accompagnement du chant grégorien', *Revue grégorienne* 1, no. 6 (November–December 1911): 143–9.

and 147) shows clearly that by 1911 his style was characterised by part-writing that was much more sustained.⁹⁰¹

Aside from those textural matters, Bas also embraced a broader concept of chant harmony that blurred the lines between diatonicism and major-minor harmony. While at work for Desclée on the accompanied Proper of the Time, Bas remarked that his harmonisations contained some novel features, including major-minor harmony ('même du côté tonal').⁹⁰² The first volume, covering Sundays between Advent and Easter, was due for publication in time for 1 December 1912, the first Sunday of Advent, and by October the accompaniments had been engraved. That left only the preface, which Bas wrote in Italian and translated into French, and which arrived at Solesmes in time for vetting.⁹⁰³ From the first lines of the original and the translation, Bas made it clear that he viewed harmony and melody as equal partners ('Armonia e melodia sono due elementi d'uguale important'), and that he believed 'la tonalità antica' was founded on the very same basis as modern harmony, a belief that permitted greater latitude in his choice of chords. Harmony was to be 'simple', a French term suggested in the markup to replace Bas's instinct first to use 'pauvre', a literal translation of the Italian 'povera'.⁹⁰⁴

Bas's admission of major-minor harmony anticipated by three years his foray into chant-based free composition. In the same spirit as Gigout and Guilmant, Bas wrote a piece for organ solo that matched the style of an accompaniment to the Epiphany chant 'Reges Tharsis' (ex. 173).⁹⁰⁵ In fact, the tail end of the chant was printed as the first line of the piece, making it clear how the accompaniment was to segue into the composition. While the one cannot be directly equated to the other, the postlude serves nonetheless as a witness to cross-fertilisation between accompaniments and solo literature.

Bas's conscription into military service at the outbreak of WWI interrupted his work on accompaniments. He was drafted in to serve with the French territorial forces, in the

⁹⁰¹ Bas, *Kyriale*, 10.

⁹⁰² Bas to Mocquereau, 19 June 1912, *F-SO*.

⁹⁰³ Bas to Mocquereau, 18 October 1912, *F-SO*.

⁹⁰⁴ *Giulio Bas, *Proprium de tempore : ab Adventu usque ad Pascha*, vol. 1 (Rome, Tournai & Paris: Desclée & Cie, 1912).

⁹⁰⁵ Giulio Bas, 'Alla Messa ed al Vespro', in *L'Organista Gregoriano*, vol. 1 (Turin: Marcello Capra, [c.1915]), 3.

98th and later the 102nd Infantry Regiments, which saw battle at the Somme, Aisne and Oise. Further details on Bas's function in the military have not yet come to light, but from the patchy correspondence he exchanged with Solesmes he appears to have been some kind of clerical functionary. That was musically advantageous for a number of reasons, not least because it granted him access to the writing paper on which he penned three treatises on chant, including one on accompaniment, to which we shall now briefly turn.

The first, entitled **La sostanza dei modi gregoriani*, was sent to Quarr around 1916 with the macabre intent of preserving his thoughts on chant matters should he perish at the front.⁹⁰⁶ The second concerned the subject of chant accompaniment and was completed during 1917 before it was also dispatched to England. Bas hoped it could benefit the Solesmian monk and organist Leopold Alphonse Zerr (1879–1956) who was to correct the French translation:⁹⁰⁷

Depuis quelques semaines nous avons moins à travailler dans notre bureau, et j'ai commencé un petit ouvrage pratique, où se trouve réuni en forme simple tout le résultat de mon expérience en fait de tonalité grégorienne en rapport à l'harmonie et partant à l'accompagnement. Ce petit travail est en français, mais naturellement dans un français pitoyable. Je m'adresse à l'amabilité du P. Zerr. Il pourrait faire les retouches nécessaires, et en même temps la connaissance du petit livre l'intéresserait. Après il y aurait le problème de trouver un éditeur, chose pas très facile en ce moment. Pourriez-vous m'en indiquer un ? Je pense que Desclée ne pourra pas s'en occuper dans les conditions actuelles.⁹⁰⁸

For the last several weeks we have had less to do in our office, and I started on a small practical work, in which I have assembled in simple form the entire summary of my experience on the question of Gregorian tonality in its relation to harmony and from the perspective of accompaniment. This little work is in French, but naturally in very poor French. I appeal to the kindness of Fr Zerr. He could doctor it up, and at the same time the content in the little book might interest him. Then there would be the problem of finding a publisher, not an easy task at present. Could you recommend one to me? I think Desclée cannot take this on in the present climate.

We shall return to the subject of publishers in due course, but for the moment let us consider Zerr's interest in accompaniment, for his link to Bas predated WWI. In 1909, Mocquereau

⁹⁰⁶Bas to Mocquereau, [c.1916], *F-SO*; The letter was written at Compiègne, Oise.

⁹⁰⁷The present author is grateful to Dom Cuthbert Brogan, abbot of St Michael's Abbey Farnborough, for confirming Zerr's year of birth.

⁹⁰⁸Bas to Mocquereau, 15 May 1917, *F-SO*.

had asked Bas to find for Zerr an organ teacher who could reside for a time in England: Bas's teaching commitments prevented his accepting the task for himself so he instead suggested Oreste Ravanello (1870–1938). Ravanello's credentials surely made him an ideal choice since he was a practitioner in his own right with experience as *maestro di cappella* at the Basilica of Saint Anthony, Padua.⁹⁰⁹ One year prior to Bas's suggestion, however, Ravanello had criticised Mocquereau's rhythm, claiming that it was better suited to singing in French than in Latin ('serveno mirabilmente la lingua francese').⁹¹⁰ That comment probably owed its existence to the view that Mocquereau's theory placed *ictuses* on the last notes of groups, rather like the way the strong accent in French prose often falls on the last syllable (see § 4.1.8). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Mocquereau declined Ravanello as a suitable candidate as Zerr's teacher; but it is not altogether clear who might have taken up the position in his place.

Whoever was chosen to teach him, Zerr became sufficiently skilled to assume the position of organist at Farnborough Abbey, where, in the 1930s, he wrote some accompaniments of his own. We might trace the lineage of the conjunct passage quoted in ex. 174 to Bas's 1905 entry in the *Paléographie* (on which, see p. 185), for Zerr's parts entered one-by-one, perhaps to coincide with successive *ictuses*.⁹¹¹ Note, also, how Zerr adopted the double-signature method, his publisher separating primary from secondary signatures with the conjunction 'or'. In a separate fragment brought out by the same publisher, Zerr adopted two different textures when accompanying a cantor versus accompanying a choir, the former being accompanied in three parts and the latter in four; though it is necessarily difficult to prove that those textures came from Bas directly since they could just as readily have been absorbed from the practice of others.⁹¹²

The accompaniment manual Bas wrote at the front was not his first attempt at such a textbook. He had first started drafting a similar book while preparing the accompanied

⁹⁰⁹Bas to Mocquereau, 4 February and 8 May 1909, *F-SO*.

⁹¹⁰*Oreste Ravanello, *Sull ritmo e sull'accompagnamento del canto gregoriano, studi ed osservazioni* (Padua: Salmin, 1908); Adapted from its citation in Del Sordo, 'La monemica', 56.

⁹¹¹Leopold Alphonse Zerr, *Ordo ad recipiendum episcopum, De confirmandis: Organ Accompaniment* (London: J. & W. Chester, Ltd., 1937), 2.

⁹¹²Leopold Alphonse Zerr, *Missa Orbis factor 'In dominicis infra annum' (No. XI in Vatican Gradual), Credo IV: Organ Accompaniment* (London: J. & W. Chester, Ltd., 1936), 1.

Proper of the Time for publication in 1912.⁹¹³ But an entirely separate manual he was in the process of writing at the time, on musical form, caused him to question Mocquereauvian rhythm.⁹¹⁴ His doubts had seemingly dissolved by the time he took up the matter once again while at the front, where he also conducted demonstrations of Mocquereauvian rhythm at a certain thirteenth-century Église de Saint-Yves in a fit of propaganda more musical than political ('j'exerce un peu de propagande pour la bonne cause').⁹¹⁵ The third of Bas's treatises to have been written at the front concerned chant rhythm which he intended as a short primer on the transcription of chant into modern notation. It was scribbled on the back of an army ledger and was dispatched to Quarr for comments. Bas also requested that Mocquereau add metronome markings to the music examples since he, understandably, did not have access to a metronome at the front.⁹¹⁶

Shortly after Armistice Day, Bas visited the Desclée branch in Brussels, but found that not only the publishing house but also the plates used to print his previous accompaniment books had been destroyed ('l'établissement de Tournai a été brûlé par les boches partants'). Bas was far from despondent, however, and took the opportunity to revise his previous accompaniments and to bring them up to date with more recent developments in Mocquereau's ideas.⁹¹⁷ Bas's approach to accompaniment had also evolved, and suggests that his time as a soldier had come to influence his process of harmonisation:

Que	penseriez-vous	si	<i>What would you think if the</i>
l'accompagnement	était	très	<i>accompaniment were very courageous,</i>
<i>courageux, c'est-à-dire très transparent,</i>			<i>that is to say very transparent and not</i>
et ne reproduisent [<i>sic</i>] pas toujours le			<i>always reproducing the chant?</i>
chant ? ⁹¹⁸			

Between February and April of 1919, Bas recomposed the accompanied Kyrial Desclée had published in 1906, reworking it from scratch ('en le retravaillant à fond').⁹¹⁹

⁹¹³Bas to Mocquereau, 16 May 1912, *F-SO*.

⁹¹⁴For Bas's discussion of the form of chant sequences and responses, see Giulio Bas, *Trattato di forma musicale* (Milan: Ricordi), 133–5.

⁹¹⁵Bas to Mocquereau, 18 December 1917, *F-SO*.

⁹¹⁶Bas to Mocquereau, 20 February 1918, *F-SO*.

⁹¹⁷Bas to Mocquereau, 5 December 1918, *F-SO*.

⁹¹⁸Bas to Mocquereau, 2 February 1919, *F-SO*.

⁹¹⁹Bas to Mocquereau, 9 and 22 February, 13 and 18 March, 10 and 21 April 1919, *F-SO*.

Accompaniments to the Requiem mass and Sunday Vespers were dispatched to Solesmes the following December, whence they were forwarded to Desclée by Dom Le Floch,⁹²⁰ The newly accompanied ‘Missa de Angelis’, to be discussed below, followed in February 1920.⁹²¹

The ‘nuova armonizzazione’ of the Kyrial appeared later that year. The general texture, illustrated in ex. 175, is notable for the greatly increased proportion of unharmonised notes. Chords were reserved for cadences in an application of the ‘protase’/‘apodose’ notion, while the density of the texture constantly varies, chords consisting of increasing numbers of notes as certain cadences are approached. Although dissonances are prepared in the traditional manner, some, such as that in the tenor part at the end of the first line of ex. 176, do not resolve until after a rest. A particularly striking case also occurs in the Credo IV harmonisation, at ‘et homo factus est’ (ex. 177).⁹²² There is no avoiding the termination of the previous phrase on a dissonance, but it is unclear whether this eccentricity originated with Bas or elsewhere; in any case there has been a clear divergence from his 1906 practice—note, for instance, how Bas now indicated the division of the chant between groups of singers. One Teutophone writer described Bas’s accompaniments as being the easiest to play of all those on offer in 1922, but judged them not demonstrative of much artistry (‘Bas ist von allen Orgelbegleitungen die einfachste und leichteste, ohne viel Kunst’).⁹²³

Bas followed up his new accompaniments with a manual that codified a further topic he had broached in 1911: omitting the chant from the accompaniment. When presented with an accompaniment such as the one quoted in ex. 178, the player was instructed to omit the chant entirely, and (rather than reducing the texture to three parts) to extemporise an uppermost part in the sustained style.⁹²⁴ Ex. 179 was Bas’s ideal solution, which began

⁹²⁰Bas to Le Floch, 9 December 1919, *F-SO*; Bas to Mocquereau, 19 December 1919, *F-SO*

⁹²¹Bas to Mocquereau, 2 February 1920, *F-SO*.

⁹²²Giulio Bas, *Kyriale seu ordinarium missae ad exemplar editionis vaticanae concinnatum* (Tournai: Desclée, [c.1920]), 33, 35, 78.

⁹²³Wilhelm Weitzel, *Führer durch die katholische Kirchenmusik der Gegenwart*, vol. 1, Hirt und Herde: Beiträge zu zeitgemäßer Seelforge 10 (Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1922), 25.

⁹²⁴Bas, *Kyriale*, 38.

with a more sustained organ part at the choir's entry before picking up the chant again at the end of the phrase.⁹²⁵

The manual was published in Italian around 1920 and was published in a French translation undertaken by the Chartres priest Yves Delaporte (1878–1979) in 1921.⁹²⁶ Around that time, however, the reservations concerning Solesmian rhythm which Bas had suppressed for nearly two decades finally came to a head. Bas accused Mocquereau of placing the accent spontaneously on the 'levé' and of being unable to explain the progeny of certain aspects of his theory.⁹²⁷ With that, their collaboration ended almost as quickly as it had begun. Although several accompaniment books by Bas were published by Desclée in later years, he ceased being Solesmes's pseudo-official harmoniser, a role that was taken up by the Benedictine monk to whom we shall now turn.

5.2 A new approach to *tonalité* at Solesmes

5.2.1 *Modal equivalence*

During the late 1910s a new method of chant analysis surfaced at Solesmes which was, during the 1920s, adopted as the official *modus operandi*. It was borne of an analytical method devised by Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes (1887–1973), who was professed a monk of Solesmes on the Isle of Wight in 1911. By then, the Solesmes community had moved to Quarr Abbey near Ryde, their lease on Appuldurcombe having expired in 1908. It was at Quarr that a monastery was built according to plans drawn up by the Benedictine monk and architect Dom Paul Bellot (1876–1944). A new Mutin-Cavaillé-Coll organ was installed on the gallery of the abbey church in 1912,⁹²⁸ over which Desrocquettes himself presided as organist from 1917.

Desrocquettes's interest in music led the monastic authorities to assign him to a chant-based paleographical project, just as they had assigned Delpech. While in the process of transcribing chants for the 1934 *Antiphonale Monasticum*, Desrocquettes

⁹²⁵Giulio Bas, *Méthode d'accompagnement du chant grégorien et le composition dans les huit modes suivi d'un appendice sur la réponse dans la fugue* (Paris, Tournai, Rome: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1923), 144–5.

⁹²⁶Bas to Mocquereau, 18 January 1921, *F-SO*.

⁹²⁷Bas to Mocquereau, 5 January 1923, *F-SO*.

⁹²⁸*GB-OLQ* QAA-B-448.

believed he observed a previously unnoticed trait that governed how certain chants were made up, whereby the same phrases occurred at two or three different transposition levels.⁹²⁹ He observed, for instance, that ‘Pange lingua’ sometimes began on ‘E’, the semitone occurring between that pitch and ‘F’; and also that the very same chant sometimes began on ‘A’, the semitone occurring between that pitch and ‘B’ \flat .⁹³⁰ He also recognised a third transposition level, whereby the semitone would occur between ‘B’ and ‘C’, though not in the case of ‘Pange lingua’, since retaining the disposition of tones and semitones would require a prohibited ‘F’ \sharp .

Desroquettes’s observation proved seductive enough to lead him to a theory whereby the three transposition levels comprised different yet equivalent *tonalités*. Each could establish itself whenever its characteristic semitone was heard. That postulate spawned another: a deuterus cadence could take place on ‘E’, on ‘A’, or indeed on ‘B’, depending on the chant. Hence Desroquettes reckoned that a characteristic cadence on a specific pitch could also establish a given *tonalité*.

In each of the *tonalités*, Desroquettes constructed a tetrachord of finals, naming it after its highest note, terming ‘G’–‘A’–‘B’–‘C’ the *Do tonalité*, ‘C’–‘D’–‘E’–‘F’ the *Fa tonalité* and ‘F’–‘G’–‘A’–‘B’ \flat the *Si \flat tonalité*. Either the characteristic semitone ‘E’–‘F’ or a deuterus cadence on ‘E’ could establish the *Fa tonalité*, and so forth. Protus cadences on ‘D’ and tritus cadences on ‘F’ were also said to establish the *Fa tonalité*.⁹³¹ Tetrardus cadences on ‘G’, by contrast, established the *Si \flat tonalité*.

It was and still is a confusing state of affairs, which Desroquettes attempted to explain by the diagram reproduced in ex. 180.⁹³² Note that each horizontal row of letters signified pitches in each of the three *tonalités*: the *Do tonalité* at the top, the *Fa* in the middle and the *Si \flat* at the bottom. The signifier of each one was printed as a slightly larger, emboldened

⁹²⁹Jean Claire, ‘Modality in Western Chant: An Overview’, trans. Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 17, no. 2 (2008): 108–109.

⁹³⁰Jean-Hébert Desroquettes, ‘Liste des principales équivalences mélodiques’, in *Monographies grégoriennes*, 6 (Paris, Tournai, Rome: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1925), 29.

⁹³¹Jean-Hébert Desroquettes, ‘L’accompagnement de la mélodie grégorienne’, *Revue grégorienne* 8, no. 6 (November–December 1923): 208–209.

⁹³²Supplement to Jean-Hébert Desroquettes, ‘L’accompagnement de la mélodie grégorienne’, *Revue grégorienne* 9, no. 1 (January–February 1924): 1–13; English translation in Potiron, *Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant* between pp. 110 and 111.

uppercase letter, though these are not visually as distinct from their neighbours in the diagram as they might be. Other pitches in uppercase denoted the tetrachord of finals in each *tonalité*. The square brackets and Roman numerals surmounting the tetrachords indicated the modal cadences Desroquettes believed established a given *tonalité*: as mentioned, protus cadences on ‘D’ established the *Fa tonalité*, but protus cadences on ‘A’ or ‘G’ established the *Do* or *Si^b* *tonalités* respectively.

Still, each *tonalité* was comprised of more pitches than its tetrachord of finals, three adjunct pitches being shown in lowercase. These were divided into two kinds. To the left of each tetrachord were two so-called ‘continuous notes’, which when added to the tetrachords converted them into hexachords similar to Guido’s *durum*, *naturale* and *molle* types. To the right was a ‘supplementary note’, which being a tone below its adjoining final was adapted to the formation of tetrardus cadences. Considering the *Do tonalité*, then, tetrardus cadences on the note ‘G’ were said to have recourse to the note ‘F’ often enough for the latter note to be included as a ‘supplementary’ note. Owing to the mutual equivalence of the three *tonalités*, the same was then said of the pitches ‘B’^b in the *Fa tonalité* and ‘E’^b in the *Si^b* *tonalité*. But since ‘E’^b was prohibited outright by Desroquettes’s conception of modality (owing in no small part to Niedermeyer’s influence), its appearance was thought to be little more than a theoretical quirk of ‘modal equivalence’. Tetrardus cadences in the *Si^b* *tonalité* were therefore deemed impossible.

The ‘supplementary notes’ were to be treated with much caution, for if they were to assert themselves with any deal of prominence, they could establish a different *tonalité* altogether. Likewise, should the characteristic semitone in a tetrachord of finals be heard, then the *tonalité* associated with that tetrachord would be established in a process Desroquettes called ‘modulation’. Hence, the triangular glyph surrounding each ‘supplementary note’ indicated that leftward motion was out of the question, even though the apex of the shape might suggest the opposite to be the case. Directional arrows were drawn between characteristic semitones to demonstrate how one *tonalité* could ‘modulate’ to another, as, for instance, how the ‘E’–‘F’ semitone could establish the *Fa tonalité*, or how a ‘B’^b–‘C’ semitone could establish the *Do tonalité*.

5.2.2 *Permissible chords*

Although the theory of modal equivalence was originally conceived as a tool for melodic analysis, before long it was applied to the accompaniment. In spite of Desrocquettes's appointment as Solesmes's organist, there is insufficient evidence to conclude whether his training could have equipped him with the skills required to codify a harmonic method in this regard. He was certainly on friendly terms with the organist René Lefebvre at Honfleur, but whether that organist was ever Desrocquettes's teacher is not altogether clear. In 1920, Desrocquettes admitted that his own organ technique was not robust enough to provide music suitable for the offertory. And when Mocquereau's eventual successor as *maître de chœur* Joseph Gajard (1885–1972) indicated some years later that the organist Joseph Bonnet (1884–1944) was due to visit Solesmes, Desrocquettes recognised an opportunity to benefit from some informal tuition.⁹³³ Bonnet had been a pupil of Guilmant's at the Paris Conservatoire,⁹³⁴ and later became a Benedictine oblate. It was through Bonnet's insistence that Tournemire commenced *L'Orgue mystique*,⁹³⁵ and it was in a private meeting with Bonnet, Tournemire and Emmanuel several weeks before his death that Guilmant confessed to having turned against chant accompaniment and to agreeing with Gevaert's 1895 view that chant was not to be accompanied at all (see § 3.1.1 above).⁹³⁶

It fell not to Bonnet to apply 'modal equivalence' to harmony, however, but to another organist, Henri Potiron (1882–1972). Potiron had not always been on the best terms with Solesmian theorists, having railed against Mocquereauvian rhythm in 1912, dismissing the rhythmical signs as 'useless and dangerous' ('inutiles et dangereux').⁹³⁷ That view was probably borne of encountering the chant at the Basilica of Sacré-Cœur, Montmartre, where Potiron had been appointed *maître de chapelle* in 1911, succeeding Gabriel Mulet.⁹³⁸ But during a visit to Quarr Abbey in April 1922, Potiron claimed to have simply misinterpreted

⁹³³Desrocquettes to Gajard, 10 June 1920 and 26 December 1926, *F-SO*.

⁹³⁴Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing*, 198.

⁹³⁵Connolly, 'The Influence of Plainchant', 194.

⁹³⁶Emmanuel, *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes*, 3.

⁹³⁷Henri Potiron, *Méthode d'harmonie appliquée à l'accompagnement du chant grégorien (d'après l'édition vaticane)* (Paris: Hérelle, 1912), unpaginated 'Avant-propos'.

⁹³⁸Jacques Benoist, *Le Sacré-Cœur de Montmartre: De 1870 à nos jours* (Editions de l'Atelier, 1992), 608–609.

Mocquereau's ideas, and performed a *volte-face* in their favour as Bas had done.⁹³⁹ The early 1920s had been tumultuous time indeed for the Solesmes community, but its monks were permitted to return to France in 1922; Desrocquettes's stint at Saint-Pierre lasted only until 1925, however, when, on 1 September, he was ordered back to the Isle of Wight.⁹⁴⁰ From around 1927, Desrocquettes noted to his chagrin that he was no longer 'à Quarr' but 'de Quarr'.⁹⁴¹

Potiron contributed numerous articles to the *Revue grégorienne* on divers subjects, and collaborated with Desrocquettes throughout the 1920s on a method of accompaniment that applied Mocquereauvian rhythm and 'modal equivalence' to the chant repertory. The method gained credibility from its promotion by Solesmes and Desclée prior to its being phased out in the 1930s for three reasons: the accompaniments became too dissonant for the some practitioners to accept; Desrocquettes's application of the system proved too sporadic for Potiron who struck out on his own to codify another approach; and Solesmes quietly moved away from Mocquereauvian rhythm following his death in 1930, thereby making accompaniments based upon it obsolete.

Potiron's first contribution to the *Revue grégorienne* had necessitated Mocquereau to alert its readers to Potiron's change of heart:

Dans sa *Méthode d'harmonie appliquée à l'accompagnement du chant grégorien*, [Potiron] s'était séparé de nous sur la question du rôle de l'accent tonique latin dans le rythme et dans l'harmonie. Ce n'était qu'un malentendu, qu'une discussion amicale eut tôt fait de dissiper au cours d'un récent voyage à Quarr Abbey.⁹⁴²

In his Méthode d'harmonie appliquée à l'accompagnement du chant grégorien, [Potiron] had separated himself from us on the question of the role of the Latin tonic accent in rhythm and harmony. This was only a misunderstanding which was quite soon dispelled during a friendly discussion on a recent trip to Quarr Abbey.

Joined to that statement was a list of personal credentials which Potiron had supplied Mocquereau in private correspondence.⁹⁴³ The statement was no doubt meant to satisfy

⁹³⁹Potiron to Mocquereau, [24 April 1922], *F-SO*.

⁹⁴⁰Document bearing the title 'Foreigners resident at Quarr Abbey' dated 21 October 1931, *GB-OLQ QAA-M-1391*.

⁹⁴¹Desrocquettes to Mocquereau, 27 January 1927, *F-SO*.

⁹⁴²Introduction to Henri Potiron, 'L'accent musical moderne et l'accent tonique dans le chant grégorien', *Revue grégorienne* 7, no. 4 (July–August 1922): 121.

⁹⁴³Potiron to Mocquereau, [May 1922?], *F-SO*.

the *Revue*'s readers that Potiron was one of their own. And probably for the same reason, Desrocquettes claimed Potiron as a convert to Mocquereauvian rhythm.⁹⁴⁴ It is unlikely that Potiron could have been appointed as a teacher at the pro-Solesmes Parisian Institut grégorien (to which we shall turn below) had he not converted to Mocquereau's ideas.

One of the first public explanations of the Desrocquettes-Potiron harmonic method took place in New York at a chant summer school hosted by the American benefactor and children's pedagogue Justine Bayard Ward (1879–1975). Under the aegis of her Pius X Institute of Liturgical Music, Ward and her staff tutored children in the fundamentals of music theory using a kind of Mocquereauvian method *ad usum Delphini* devised by Ward herself. She had previously hosted Mocquereau and Gajard in 1920 when both monks had provided classes to adult participants,⁹⁴⁵ though the reason for Gajard's presence was also to serve as a kind of chaperone to Mocquereau who could not manage alone on trips abroad on account of ailing health. In 1922, that duty fell to Desrocquettes, who was also asked to provide a class on chant accompaniment. Although Mocquereau briefly described the trip in the *Revue grégorienne*, he did not describe Desrocquettes's class in much detail, other than to confirm that the 'three harmonic *tonalités*' of *Do*, *Fa* and *Si♭* were among the topics discussed.⁹⁴⁶ That statement evidently piqued the curiosity of the *Revue*'s readers, and Desrocquettes was called upon to describe them in writing.

That 'modal equivalence' should have been applied to harmony in the first place is not surprising, particularly when we take into account the belief that chant analysis had the potential to reveal an authentic and venerable method of accompaniment (see pp. 153 and 154 above). Bas arguably succeeded in codifying a Solesmian method whereby Mocquereauvian rhythm determined the placement of chords; and the Desrocquettes-Potiron collaboration promised to extend the method to determine what notes should be used in such chords. Desrocquettes's three *tonalités* therefore offered the

⁹⁴⁴Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, 'Cours d'accompagnement de l'Institut Grégorien', *Revue grégorienne* 9, no. 4 (July–August 1924): 155.

⁹⁴⁵Patrick Hala, 'Le voyage New-Yorkais de Dom Mocquereau au congrès international de chant grégorien (1^{er}–3 Juin 1920)', *Études grégoriennes* 46 (2019): 104–105.

⁹⁴⁶André Mocquereau, 'États-Unis d'Amérique – Les cours de chant grégorien à l'Institut Pie X de musique liturgique (Collège du Sacré-Cœur, New-York-City, Summer Scholl [sic] 1922)', *Revue grégorienne* 7, no. 6 (November–December 1922): 237.

tantalising possibility of composing accompaniments that conformed not only to Mocquereauvian rhythm but also to a theory of *tonalité* supposedly derived from the chant itself. Thereby, the Solesmian accompaniments could reflect the chant in every possible way, as Desrocquettes noted:

L'accompagnement doit être une traduction, une transposition, une projection, aussi objective, aussi fidèle et aussi simple que possible de la pure mélodie, dans l'ordre harmonique. ⁹⁴⁷	<i>The accompaniment must be a transcription, transposition, and projection, made as objectively, faithfully and simply as possible of the pure melody, in the harmonic order.</i>
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Should the chant occupy the *Fa tonalité*, the chords could be derived from the same; and should the chant 'modulate' to the *Si♭ tonalité*, so could the harmony (pp. 171, 174).

But how could these *tonalités* be distinguished from one another? Niedermeyer's framework prohibiting notes foreign to the modal scale evidently inspired Desrocquettes and Potiron to prohibit notes foreign to a given *tonalité*. For example, only those chords made up of notes in the *Fa tonalité* were to be used to accompany that *tonalité*. A tautological maxim governed Desrocquettes's practice, however, when he insisted that the accompaniment should be tonal before it could be modal ('l'accompagnement grégorien, avant d'être modal, devra être *tonal*').⁹⁴⁸ It might explain why, to arrive at chords permissible in each *tonalité*, Desrocquettes arranged 5/3 chords above each note of ascending C major, F major and B♭ major scales in a method not dissimilar to the *règle d'octave*. Ex. 181 shows the chords Desrocquettes believed applicable for the *Fa tonalité*,⁹⁴⁹ ex. 182 those for the *Do tonalité*, and ex. 183 those for the *Si♭ tonalité*.⁹⁵⁰ Chords annotated with 'a', 'b', and 'c' required special treatment because they were supposedly capable of 'modulating' from one *tonalité* to another. As a safeguard, they were to be arranged as chord inversions in 6/3 position, or avoided altogether. Chords annotated by asterisks contained 'E'♭ and were therefore inadmissible.

The chords and their mutual relationships have been plotted in table B.8. Those

⁹⁴⁷Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, 'L'accompagnement de la mélodie grégorienne', *Revue grégorienne* 8, no. 5 (September–October 1923): 170.

⁹⁴⁸*Ibid.* 9, no. 6 (November–December 1924): 225; Also discussed in Leßmann, 'L'anachronisme', 368.

⁹⁴⁹Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, 'L'accompagnement de la mélodie grégorienne', *Revue grégorienne* 9, no. 4 (July–August 1924): 130.

⁹⁵⁰*Ibid.* no. 6 (November–December 1924), pp. 221–3.

indicated • were said to be ‘chords of repose’, and were permitted without the harmoniser’s needing to observe any special rules. Chords marked by other glyphs were said to be ‘chords of movement’. Those indicated × required careful management since they contained ‘modulating notes’, as observed in ex. 180. Likewise, diminished chords, marked ◦, were only to be used in 6/3 position. Those indicated ◊ were supposedly capable of ‘modulating’ too, because they reportedly suggested the harmony proper to certain cadences characteristic of a different *tonalité*.

The mechanism by which such ‘modulations’ were meant to take place was not explicated in any detail, though several inferences can be made. By comparing table B.8 to ex. 180, the bracketed cadences in the latter suggest that Desrocquettes believed, for instance, that A minor 5/3 chords were characteristic of protus cadences in the *Do tonalité*. Should these have been used in the course of an accompaniment in the *Fa tonalité*, they would erroneously suggest that the accompaniment had modulated to the *Do tonalité*.

The logic behind ‘modal equivalence’ does not stand up to critical examination, particularly when we consider that E minor chords were ruled out by Desrocquettes on account of their supposedly being equivalent to A minor chords. But E minor chords only occurred in the *Do tonalité*, thereby making any reservations Desrocquettes voiced about the potential for ‘modulation’ inexplicable. Moreover, D minor chords were supposedly permitted as readily in the *Do tonalité* as they were in the *Fa*, even though the characteristic protus cadence should have limited their use to the latter. When Potiron took up the matter of ‘modal equivalence’ for himself, he was more keen to explain away illogicalities in the system as quirks instead of tackling them for what they were—contradictions.⁹⁵¹

5.2.3 Systematising the three tonalités

Potiron’s *volte-face* stood him in good favour with the Solesmian authorities, who approved of his appointment in 1923 at the Institut Grégorien in Paris.⁹⁵² He taught modality and

⁹⁵¹Potiron, *Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant*, 116.

⁹⁵²François Brun, ‘Un Institut grégorien à Paris’, *Revue grégorienne* 8, no. 6 (November–December 1923): 194.

accompaniment and inculcated the theory of ‘modal equivalence’ into a new generation of Catholic organists. At the same time, he began codifying the theory himself, publishing on the three *tonalités* in the Orléans-based **L’Orgue et les Organistes*, tackling the issues of chord placement and modal harmony in the July, August and September issues.⁹⁵³ Following his first year at the Institut, Potiron collated his thoughts on accompaniment in a manual of his own. It is hardly surprising to note that Desrocquettes placed a gushing advertisement for it in the *Revue grégorienne*, saying it would be available from October 1924. Desrocquettes also quoted from a panegyric letter of approval by Vierne,⁹⁵⁴ whose assessment of Potiron’s manual was printed among its front matter:

Le traité d’accompagnement du chant grégorien de M. Potiron présente un intérêt tout particulier: c’est la première fois qu’un musicien professionnel traite la question et du premier coup il le fait magistralement. Les chapitres traitant de la rythmique, de la modalité et de l’harmonisation applicable à cette modalité sont à la fois d’un homme tout à fait versé dans la matière spéciale du chant grégorien et d’un artiste pour qui la musique n’a pas de secrets. Nous ne pouvons moins attendre du savant maître de chapelle du Sacré-Cœur de Montmartre après l’audition de la belle messe à deux orgues et chœur donnée le jour de Pâques et dont il est l’auteur. Les organistes soucieux de logique auront là un ouvrage capital et dont la documentation serrée les fera utilement réfléchir.⁹⁵⁵

*Mr Potiron’s treatise on the accompaniment of plainsong is of quite peculiar interest; it is the first time that a professional musician deals with the subject and he has done it in masterly fashion. The chapters dealing with rhythm, with modality, and with harmonisation suitable to this modality are the work of a man who is not only a specialist in plainchant but also an artist for whom music has no secrets. We could hardly expect anything less from the able maître de chapelle of the Basilica of the Sacred Heart, Montmartre, after having heard his beautiful Mass for two organs and choir, performed on Easter Sunday. Organists who aim at consistency will have before them a first-rate work and one whose closely packed material will encourage them to think to good purpose.*⁹⁵⁶

Bonnet also supplied approving words, as did Mocquereau, who overcame an initial reluctance to approve of the manual:

⁹⁵³Henri Potiron, *La théorie harmonique des trois groupes modaux et l’accord final des troisième et quatrième mode[s]*, Monographies grégoriennes 6 (Paris, Tournai & Rome: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1926), p. 5 n. 1.

⁹⁵⁴Desrocquettes, ‘Cours d’accompagnement de l’Institut Grégorien’, pp. 154, 156.

⁹⁵⁵Henri Potiron, *Cours d’accompagnement du chant grégorien*, 1st ed. (Paris: Hérelle, 1925), p. ix.

⁹⁵⁶Adapted from Potiron, *Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant*, p. vii.

Je m'étais bien promis de ne plus donner de lettre d'approbation aux auteurs des Méthodes d'accompagnement de Chant grégorien, et voici que, malgré cet engagement, je sors de ma réserve et cède à vos affectueuses sollicitations. C'est que, tout bien considéré, votre cas est très spécial, et je regarde comme un devoir de reconnaissance de vous être agréable.⁹⁵⁷

*I had firmly resolved never again to write letters of recommendation for authors of methods on plainchant accompaniment, and behold, in spite of my resolution, here I am, abandoning reserve and giving way to your affectionate solicitation. If I do so, it is because, every thing considered, yours is a very special case, and my gratitude compels me to yield to your request.*⁹⁵⁸

One surmises that Mocquereau's reluctance stemmed from the ignominy of having had two previous harmonisers—Delpech and Bas—speak out against his rhythmic theories. But Mocquereau's approval was probably also a requirement for any theory of accompaniment to be deemed official. Mocquereau's report—that the accompaniments produced by Potiron's manual were equally as 'soft and discreet' ('les accompagnements doux et discrets') as those Desrocquettes played each day at Solesmes—was therefore probably as positive a testimonial as Potiron could have expected to receive.⁹⁵⁹

Potiron's manual instituted two primary amendments to Desrocquettes's theory. It acknowledged the conflict of definitions between musicians and monastic chant explorers when it came to 'tonalité' and 'modulation', terms Potiron rejected in favour of 'groupe' and 'changement de groupe' respectively.⁹⁶⁰ It also adopted new terminology to describe the groups: out went the *tonalités* of *Do*, *Fa* and *Si♭* and in their place came the Roman numerals I, II and III. While they were ordinarily represented as such, on some occasions Potiron preferred Arabic numerals instead, both cardinal and ordinal identifiers being used in text. Potiron was not the last theorist to consider new terminology to describe the three *tonalités*, and for the avoidance of doubt the terms coined by various other authors have been collated in table B.9.

Potiron's groups not only distanced the theory of 'modal equivalence' from major-minor nomenclature but also solved a separate problem, namely how to refer to each *tonalité* when the chant was transposed. As we have seen, the epithets *Do*, *Fa* and *Si♭* were imagined in

⁹⁵⁷Mocquereau to Potiron, 2 July 1924, published in Potiron, *Cours d'accompagnement*, xiii.

⁹⁵⁸Adapted from Potiron, *Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant*, vi.

⁹⁵⁹Potiron, *Cours d'accompagnement*, 1st ed., p. xiii.

⁹⁶⁰Potiron, 1st ed., p. 73 n. 1.

conjunction with the untransposed chant as Desrocquettes had encountered it in preparing the *Antiphonale*. But those epithets did not suit transposed accompaniments. In some cases, Desrocquettes used *Do*, *Fa* and *Si*♭ when the chant was transposed, doubtless confusing his readers; and in other cases, Desrocquettes transposed the epithets to suit the transposition of the accompaniment, with analyses of chants up a tone referring to the *Re tonalité*, and so forth. It was a confusing state of affairs indeed, to which Potiron's numerals brought some much needed clarity. Group I was always just that, no matter the transposition. But Desrocquettes neglected to adopt Potiron's terms a year after their appearance, mixing them with his own fixed solfège system in descriptions of the 'groupe modal de *re*'.⁹⁶¹

5.2.4 Pedagogy at the Parisian Institut grégorien

It was not long after the appearance of Potiron's accompaniment manual, *Cours d'accompagnement du chant grégorien*, that certain complaints arose regarding the lack of music examples. One can hardly fault the complainants, since the dense technical matter (to which Vierne had made an oblique reference) made itself almost impervious to self-study. Potiron accordingly revised the manual in an expanded edition that was published in 1927.⁹⁶² It was reportedly translated into Dutch by one Vuillings de Hoelen (though no such copy was viewed by the present author),⁹⁶³ and into English by one Ruth C. Gabain, who spent some time at Quarr consulting Desrocquettes on how best to translate its terminology.⁹⁶⁴ One reviewer contended that it was the first book to deal with the accompaniment of Latin plainchant in the English language, since the Anglican scholarship which had appeared up to that point had largely been confined to the accompaniment of vernacular plainsong.⁹⁶⁵

Before the second edition went on sale, Potiron instigated two further measures to engage his readers. The first was a correspondence course whereby readers of the *Revue*

⁹⁶¹Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, 'L'examen de fin d'année des cours d'accompagnement de l'Institut grégorien', *Revue grégorienne* 11, no. 4 (July–August 1926): 144.

⁹⁶²Potiron, *Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant*, 112.

⁹⁶³Potiron to Gajard, 10 April 1928, *F-SO*.

⁹⁶⁴Desrocquettes to Gajard, undated card in the Desrocquettes archives, *F-SO*.

⁹⁶⁵S. C. L., 'Review of The Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 23, no. 91 (1934): 534.

grégorienne could send their accompaniments for correction by return.⁹⁶⁶ Notices advertising the course soon disappeared, however, the idea presumably having been for some reason scrapped. Since the notices made no mention of fees, it could be that the venture was simply not worth Potiron's while, since he had many other demands on his time, including his teaching at the Institut grégorien and his playing at Sacré-Cœur.

The second was to collaborate with Desrocquettes on a practical supplement to his theoretical manual, an avenue previously followed by Lhoumeau in 1892 (see pp. 132 and 133 above). The Potiron-Desrocquettes publication was to contain twenty-nine harmonisations along with an assortment of commentaries describing the method. *Vingt-neuf pièces grégoriennes* was prepared for Desclée in 1925, but for whatever reason it did not appear as one collated publication until Hérelle published it in 1929. In the meantime, some of its accompaniments and corresponding 'analyses détaillées' appeared piecemeal as part of the *Revue grégorienne* in the so-called 'Bulletin de vulgarisation grégorienne'. As far as their *mise-en-page* was concerned, the chant and accompaniment were parsed into Potiron's modal groups, as indicated by the Roman numerals placed beneath. In some cases the accompaniment and related analysis were both attributed to Desrocquettes,⁹⁶⁷ but in others the accompaniments were attributed to both him and Potiron jointly.⁹⁶⁸ As for the Hérelle publication, its *mise-en-page* followed the precedent set by Solesmes's *Livre d'Orgue* whereby the chant was set in quadratic notation above a transcription of the chant into modern notation and the accompanying parts.

Significant printing errors made their way into the Hérelle publication, which detracted from its pedagogical potential. In some cases, horizontal *episemata* were omitted from the transcription; in others, the pitches in the transcription did not match those in the quadratic notation, as one sharp-eyed reviewer pointed out.⁹⁶⁹ What that reviewer did not

⁹⁶⁶Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, 'Cours d'accompagnement par correspondance', *Revue grégorienne* 10, no. 3 (May–June 1925): 120.

⁹⁶⁷Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, 'Accompagnement de l'Agnus Dei de la Messe III', *Revue grégorienne* 10, no. 6 (November–December 1925): p. 224 n. 1, p. 227.

⁹⁶⁸Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes and Henri Potiron, 'Harmonisation de l'Introït *Gaudeamus*', *Revue grégorienne* 12, nos. 4–5 (July–October 1927): 182.

⁹⁶⁹G. G., 'Review of *Vingt-neuf pièces grégoriennes harmonisées avec commentaires rythmiques, modaux et harmoniques*', in collab. with Henri Potiron and Jean Hébert Desrocquettes, *The Musical Times* 71, no. 1045 (1930): 227.

point out, however, was the plethora of inconsistencies in the designation of Potiron's modal groups. In one case, an annotation that should have indicated a change of group was omitted entirely, meaning that a fundamental facet of the accompaniment referred to in the analysis was not indicated in the score. The error was corrected in Desrocquettes's personal copy of the *Vingt-neuf pièces* consulted by the present author at Quarr Abbey (ex. 184), but even Desrocquettes himself seemed unsure as to where exactly group I took effect.⁹⁷⁰ Two locations were proposed in pencil: mid-way through the second system, evidently on account of $\hat{4}\natural$ in the chant; and at the end of the first system, though there is no clear rationale for this suggestion.

The complaints about the lack of music examples in Potiron's manual hardly concerned students enrolled at the Institut grégorien who no doubt benefited from live demonstrations. Students in Potiron's accompaniment class were recommended to parse the chant into its constituent groups prior to harmonising it, and Potiron later demonstrated how the Alleluia for Ascension Sunday could be parsed in that way.⁹⁷¹ Given that ex. 185 is an untransposed deuterus chant, we take 'E' as being equivalent to $\hat{1}$. We may note how the characteristic semitone of group II, $\hat{1} \rightarrow \hat{2}$, occurs some three to four notes into the chant. From there, Potiron evidently worked backwards in the conviction that the same group must have been in effect from the outset. Arguably, that method was rather a dubious one, but it did not seem to trouble organists such as Vierne and Bonnet, assuming they delved deeply enough into Potiron's *Cours* to encounter it for themselves. The change to group III at $\hat{4} \rightarrow \hat{5}\flat$ was quite consistent with a change of group being effected by that group's characteristic semitone. And the change back to group II in the next system was doubtless owing to a characteristic deuterus cadence on $\hat{1}$, this being consistent with the tetrachord of finals in the middle row of pitches shown in ex. 180, as discussed above.

Among the first cohort of students to encounter Potiron's method at the Institut was the Canadian religious Placide Gagnon (1880–1950). The chief proponent of chant accompaniment in the Canadian Catholic Church had been the organist of Quebec

⁹⁷⁰Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes and Henri Potiron, *Vingt-neuf pièces grégoriennes harmonisées avec commentaires rythmiques modaux et harmoniques* (Paris: Hérelle, 1929), part I p. 34, part II pp. 67–73.

⁹⁷¹Potiron, *Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant*, 111.

cathedral Ernest Gagnon, who had placed the chant on top of a homorhythmic four-part keyboard texture which admitted certain quantities of sharpening. One book of accompaniments by Ernest stated that organists must follow exactly what the notation sets out, for Canadian organists were reportedly notorious for detracting from liturgical piety by using their own populist harmonisations.⁹⁷² When the diocese of Quebec adopted Solesmes's rhythmical editions in 1915,⁹⁷³ however, demand quickly grew for Solesmian accompaniments to match them, and Ernest's homorhythmic style fell out of fashion. Placide had first encountered the Desrocquettes-Potiron method at the 1922 Summer School in New York, when he attended Desrocquettes's demonstration, whereafter he was granted leave to undertake further study with Potiron in Paris. Following one year at the Institut grégorien, Placide returned to Canada to compose accompaniments of his own, as we shall see.⁹⁷⁴

Potiron set the Alleluia for Ascension Sunday as the end-of-year examination in Placide's year. One of the best solutions was published in the *Revue grégorienne* some months later, and is here reproduced in ex. 186. Particularly with respect to cadences, this harmonisation is conspicuously lacking in deuterus characteristics: the harmoniser was apparently more intent on following the chords applicable to Potiron's groups than on indulging in $\hat{2} \ 6/3 \rightarrow \hat{1} \ 5/3$ progressions. Certain corners of the harmonisation are unabashedly dissonant too, particularly where the harmoniser introduced passing notes and delayed the resolutions of suspensions. Dissonances in the alto part at the end of the first system remain unresolved, and are redolent of the more relaxed approach to dissonance that Springer and his cohort had been popularising a decade earlier. Desrocquettes supplied an analysis of the student's work, evaluating the chord marked by (a) as pushing at the boundary of acceptable dissonance. He also complained that $\hat{5}\flat$ —indicative of group III—was used too frequently when harmonising group II.⁹⁷⁵

⁹⁷²Ernest Gagnon, *Accompagnement d'orgue Des Chants Liturgiques En Usage Dans La Province Ecclésiastique de Québec* (Montréal: A. J. Boucher, [c.1903]), unpaginated 'Préface', p. 142 and *passim*.

⁹⁷³E. N., 'La restauration du chant grégorien au diocèse de Québec (Canada)', *Revue grégorienne* 12, nos. 2–3 (March–June 1927): 105–106.

⁹⁷⁴Gagnon to Gajard, 23 January 1931, *F-SO*.

⁹⁷⁵Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, 'L'examen de fin d'année des cours d'accompagnement de l'Institut grégorien', *Revue grégorienne* 11, no. 4 (July–August 1925): 137.

The Canadian composer Eugène Lapierre (1900–1970) won first prize in the next year's examination with an accompaniment that was also printed in the *Revue grégorienne*. Lapierre resided in Paris from 1924 to 1928 to study composition with Vincent d'Indy and organ with Marcel Dupré (1886–1971). That he should also have enrolled at the Institut grégorien speaks to its prestige in Catholic church-music circles. Desroquettes also commented on Lapierre's accompaniment to say that although pitches not belonging to group II were used to accompany that group, their use above a pedal note made them admissible.⁹⁷⁶

Desroquettes inadvertently fell foul of his own criticism, for in 1924 he had used pitches in group III to harmonise group II.⁹⁷⁷ Perhaps, owing to their being passing notes, he might have deemed them admissible. But surely the same cannot be said of 'C'♯ in the harmonisations of group II in ex. 187. Indeed, Desroquettes described the harmonisation as being very daring ('bien osé'), and justified the appearance of 'C'♯ by that sonority's having simply remained present in his ear from an earlier phrase ('m'est resté dans l'oreille').⁹⁷⁸ It is an example of Desroquettes's inconsistent, *laissez-faire* attitude to his application of 'modal equivalence' in the accompaniment. His status as a monk of Solesmes possibly explains why such inconsistencies did not give rise to much doubt in his method, at least initially.

The Desroquettes-Potiron theory came under threat when Auguste Le Guennant (1881–1972) was appointed as a teacher at the Institut grégorien in 1925.⁹⁷⁹ Rather than voice any opinions contrary to Mocquereauvian rhythm or to the Desroquettes-Potiron theory of harmonisation, however, Le Guennant simply chose to apply his own method. By 1927, Desroquettes was concerned that Le Guennant's stance threatened the standing not only of Potiron but also of Solesmes itself.⁹⁸⁰ Reiterating the concern two years later, Potiron nonetheless concluded that Le Guennant's non-adherence to Solesmes was borne

⁹⁷⁶Desroquettes, 'L'examen de fin d'année des cours d'accompagnement de l'Institut grégorien', p. 142, n. 1 and p. 144.

⁹⁷⁷Jean-Hébert Desroquettes, 'L'Introït 'Resurrexi' : Accompagnement', *Revue grégorienne* 9, no. 2 (March–April 1924): 71.

⁹⁷⁸Desroquettes, 'Accompagnement de l'Agnus Dei de la Messe III', pp. 225, 227.

⁹⁷⁹«*Institut catholique de Paris: Livre du centenaire 1875–1975*, vol. 1 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1975), 297.

⁹⁸⁰Desroquettes to Mocquereau, 23 May 1927, *F-SO*.

not of malicious intent but of a lack of curiosity.⁹⁸¹ Le Guennant was later credited with tutoring the French composer Maurice Duruflé (1902–86) in certain particulars of Solesmian rhythm which he went on to apply in his 1947 *Requiem* op. 9.⁹⁸² While it is beyond the scope of the present study to evaluate Duruflé's understanding of Solesmian rhythm, perhaps Le Guennant had tutored him in a theory of rhythm which had become out of date, hence the scorn from Solesmes itself.

In 1910, Le Guennant had produced a book of accompaniments which he claimed were based on Solesmes's rhythmical editions in modern notation.⁹⁸³ It was an edition of easy accompaniments intended for parish organists, an evolving sub-genre which will be discussed here by way of a brief aside. Le Guennant arranged his accompaniments in three parts, two accompanying the chant which was placed on top. Further notable characteristics include tied notes, annotated fingerings and a transposition scheme that retained the pitch 'A' as the dominant of all modes. Other organists shared Le Guennant's desire for simple accompaniments, one such being a certain correspondant in the Toulouse-based journal *La Musique sacrée* who remarked that it was common for parish accompaniments to be improvised. Peter Wagner's accompaniments, the correspondent opined, were ill suited as examples of best practice because the disposition of parts was too difficult for a parish organist to improvise on their own.⁹⁸⁴

Louis Jacquemin, a teacher at the Petit Seminaire de Saint Charles de Chauny at Aisne produced a set of easy accompaniments for the office that were largely in three parts.⁹⁸⁵ Others similarly designated for parish use were published in 1937 by an anonymous composer who reportedly received authorisation from Desclée's Tournai branch to reproduce the Solesmian rhythmic signs.⁹⁸⁶ It indicates that Solesmes had not relaxed its control over the manner in which its type was available to purchase, a thorny issue for

⁹⁸¹Potiron to Gajard, 23 May 1929, *F-SO*.

⁹⁸²James Frazier, *Maurice Duruflé: The Man and His Music* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 126.

⁹⁸³Le Guennant, *Vade mecum paroissial de l'accompagnateur grégorien*, p. b.

⁹⁸⁴J. T., 'A propos de l'accompagnement du plain-chant', *La Musique sacrée* 10, no. 12 (December 1911): 47.

⁹⁸⁵Louis Jacquemin, *Accompagnements nouveaux et très faciles du chant des offices: Temps de l'Avent*, vol. 1 (Chauny: Séminaire Saint-Charles, 1914), 14; Reproduced in Parisot, *L'accompagnement modal*, 145.

⁹⁸⁶L'Organiste Pratique, *Kyriale paroissial: accompagnement très facile des messes usuelles à l'usage des paroisses, des écoles, des séminaires et des communautés* (Saint-Laurent-sur-Sèvre: J. L. Biton, 1937), 3.

many publishers as we have seen (p. 188). Carlo Rossini (1890–1975), the Italian-born priest and choirmaster of Pittsburgh’s Saint Paul’s Cathedral, bore simplicity in mind when he arranged the text of the propers to be recited to tones. For those, he provided a rudimentary accompaniment in a book whose preface acknowledged that church choirs were generally made up of volunteer singers who rehearsed once a week. A simplified formula was therefore a requirement for the text of the Proper to be sung at High Mass. Some melismatic chants such as alleluias were included too, but these required a separate accompaniment (ex. 188). They, however, were decidedly the exception rather than the rule in a publication that was geared to making matters as simple as possible for choir and organist alike.⁹⁸⁷ A similar sort of publication was produced around the same time by the reverends Andrew Green (1865–1950) and Herman Joseph Koch (1892–1984), who also included a primer on the pronunciation of Church Latin and a calendar of feast days.⁹⁸⁸

5.3 Modern modality

5.3.1 *André Caplet and his influence on Solesmes*

While Le Guennant was deemed a threat to Mocquereauvian rhythm by Solesmes, another threat was in the form of dissenting voices from within the Benedictine circle itself. The monk Jules Jeannin argued that the Desrocquettes-Potiron theory was not modal, but tonal.⁹⁸⁹ His argument came to the attention of Desrocquettes, who signalled that Potiron would dispose of any concerns in his revised accompaniment book.⁹⁹⁰ The preface to that book downplayed Jeannin’s argument by noting how Desrocquettes’s major-minor terminology had little bearing on the theory as a whole.⁹⁹¹

Desrocquettes’s interest in major-minor harmony was probably given fillip following several meetings with well known composers. Gustav Holst (1874–1934) stayed at Quarr

⁹⁸⁷Carlo Rossini, *‘Proper’ of the Mass for the Entire Ecclesiastical Year Set to Gregorian Psalm-Tones with Organ Accompaniment*, 13th ed. (New Jersey: J. Fischer & Bro., 1957), unpaginated front matter, p. 56.

⁹⁸⁸Andrew Green and Herman J[oseph] Koch, *The Complete Proper of the Mass Set to Gregorian Themes and Psalm Tones for Sundays and Feasts of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd ed. (Boston: McLaughlin & Reilly Co., 1956), 16–17; Green predeceased the appearance of the revised edition by approximately six years.

⁹⁸⁹Jules Jeannin, *Sur l’importance de la tierce dans l’accompagnement grégorien* (Paris: Hérelle, 1926), 11–12.

⁹⁹⁰Desrocquettes to Mocquereau, [1926?], *F-SO*.

⁹⁹¹Potiron, *Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant*, pp. xi, xii n. 1.

from 12 to 17 August 1920, following the inaugural performance of *The Hymn of Jesus*. A copy of the score was reportedly inscribed to Desrocquettes,⁹⁹² but cannot be located at Quarr today.⁹⁹³ According to the composer's preface:

As the free rhythm of plainsong cannot be expressed in modern notation, the Trombone and English Horn players are to study the manner in which this melody is sung by experienced singers.⁹⁹⁴

There is little doubt that Holst was inspired by the Solesmes method as regards singing, for quasi-aleatoric figures in the orchestral writing set a freely chanted 'Vexilla regis' in relief (ex. 189). That is followed by a 7/5/4/2 chord in the string parts that accompany tenors and baritones (ex. 190), liberating them from strict rhythm. Intriguingly, the chord just mentioned is of just the kind Desrocquettes was then introducing into his accompaniments, but the direction of influence (if any was specifically exerted in this respect) remains to be determined. Whatever the case may be, the same sonority has outlived Holst, having been incorporated into an improvisation by Olivier Latry (b.1962) on 'Salve Regina' that includes snippets of accompanied chant (quoted in ex. 191).⁹⁹⁵

Memories of Desrocquettes's accompaniment at the time of Holst's arrival led some of the monks in later years to align his harmony with French Impressionists. Claude Debussy (1862–1918) and his orchestrator André Caplet (1878–1925) both play parts in the following account from the 1980s:

Solesmes a connu aussi cette vogue de l'accompagnement orne, surchargé. Jusqu'à la guerre de 1914, le Père Desrocquettes accompagnait le grégorien ainsi, avec des harmonies debussystes (Debussy est venue plusieurs fois à Solesmes) ou d'André Caplet, etc...⁹⁹⁶

Solesmes also experienced this vogue of ornate, overloaded accompaniment. Until WWI, Fr Desrocquettes accompanied chant in this way with Debussian harmonies (Debussy came to Solesmes several times) or those of André Caplet, etc...

It was not to be the last time Debussian harmonies were to appear in the narrative on chant accompaniment, for they crop up again in the following recollection by Willi Apel of an encounter with a group of seminarians:

⁹⁹²GB-OLQ QAA-M-1408

⁹⁹³Fr Brian Kelly, Procurator of Quarr, to the present author, 20 May 2020.

⁹⁹⁴Gustav Holst, *The Hymn of Jesus* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1919), pp. 3, 8–9.

⁹⁹⁵Olivier Latry, *Salve Regina pour orgue* (Paris: Gérard Billaudot, 2010), 27.

⁹⁹⁶Pinguet, *Les écoles de la musique divine*, 399, seemingly quoting either Eugène Cardine or Jean Claire.

When I mentioned my interest in Gregorian chant, one of them said, his face radiant with delight, ‘Oh, Gregorian chant is so wonderful in our church; we have an organist who makes it sound like Debussy.’ I know that it does not always sound like that. In another church it might sound more like Vaughan Williams, and elsewhere like parallel organum. Invariably it will sound like ‘something’ other than what it really is and what it should be. Moreover, the very variety of possibilities inherent in this practice is bound to weaken the catholicity of one of the most precious possessions of the Catholic Church.⁹⁹⁷

Desrocquettes had indeed corresponded with Caplet and we shall turn to their exchange in due course, but first we must dispose of the myth that Debussy had ever visited Solesmes. It was first placed on the record by Becket Gibbs, whose account claimed that Debussy visited Solesmes around 1893 or 1894, when he had heard Solesmes chanting.⁹⁹⁸ Edward Lockspeiser’s painstaking researches in the Debussy archives yielded no evidence whatsoever that any such visit had ever taken place.⁹⁹⁹ He charitably suggested that the name ‘Debussy’ had been confused with a certain curé of Saint-Gervais by the name of ‘De Bussy’.¹⁰⁰⁰ While a more recent Francophone study has cast doubt on Lockspeiser’s suggestion, it has confirmed nonetheless that no record of Debussy’s having visited Solesmes is to be found in that monastery’s archives.¹⁰⁰¹ The myth continued to abound in the Anglophone literature until recently, due in no small part to scholars who report the original account without conveying any of the doubts surrounding it. Katherine Bergeron made one such report, for instance, which led Stephen Schloesser to suggest Debussy’s visit was more than the fiction it had probably always been.¹⁰⁰²

We may in contrast be certain that Desrocquettes met Caplet, who visited Solesmes in 1924 and maintained a brief correspondence with Desrocquettes prior to his death. Caplet was interested in understanding the rationale for placing chords on the ‘levé’, and on 20 July 1924 Desrocquettes arranged an introduction to Potiron so the matter could be

⁹⁹⁷ Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1958), p.xii.

⁹⁹⁸ Julia d’Almendra, *Les Modes grégoriens dans l’œuvre de Claude Debussy*, 2nd ed. (Paris: G. Esnault, 1950), 181–87.

⁹⁹⁹ Edward Lockspeiser, ‘New Literature on Debussy’, *Music & Letters* 40, no. 2 (1959): 142.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Edward Lockspeiser, *Debussy: His Life and Mind (Volume 1 1862–1902)*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 171 n. 1.

¹⁰⁰¹ Patrick Hala, *Solesmes et les musiciens : Les années 20*, vol. 2 (Solesmes: Les Éditions de Solesmes, 2020), 10–19.

¹⁰⁰² Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, p. 168 n. 54; See, for instance, Stephen Schloesser, *Visions of Amen: The Early Life and Music of Olivier Messiaen* (Michigan & Cambridge, UK: Willian B. Eerdmans, 2014), 44 n. 53.

discussed in person. The arrangement likely suited Caplet because Potiron was also then resident in Paris.¹⁰⁰³ Two days after Desrocquettes's introduction, Potiron invited Caplet to Sacré-Cœur, providing a list of the service times when he would be presiding at the organ.¹⁰⁰⁴ It seems probable that Caplet intended to attend one of these services, for his autograph MS of *Les prières* (in a version transcribed for the organ) bears the very same service times that Potiron had conveyed by letter. Chant accompaniment was therefore not the only item to be discussed, and it seems that Caplet also sought Potiron's advice on organ registration. Some stop names written into the MS appear to be in Potiron's hand, this being suggested by certain similarities between the foot serifs in the letter 'P': those in 'Pos.' (for 'Positif') and 'p' for 'pianissimo' match the uppercase 'P' in Potiron's signature, to name two examples.¹⁰⁰⁵

Caplet continued corresponding with Desrocquettes on the matter of chant accompaniment and appears to have offered several harmonic suggestions, including one snippet applicable to a harmonisation of Credo VI Desrocquettes and Potiron had just published in the September–October 1924 issue of the *Revue grégorienne*. The original cadence at 'et homo factus est' was noted in the accompanying commentary to coincide with an alighting place in Mocquereau's 'grand rythme'—signalling it in the accompaniment therefore required a more elaborate harmonisation. Potiron also noted that the phrase's repetition provided further justification for a richer harmony at this point ('une harmonie plus chargée'), comprising more suspensions and a conjunct bass line.¹⁰⁰⁶

Their solution (quoted in ex. 192) was seemingly not rich enough for Caplet, however, for when Desrocquettes and Potiron came to publish the same creed in their 1929 accompanied Kyrial, they replaced the cadence in question with one of Caplet's. The superscript numeral in ex. 193 draws the player's attention to the following footnote:

¹⁰⁰³Desrocquettes to André Caplet, 20 July 1924, *F-Pn* NLA-269 (240); Reproduced in Hala, *Les années 20*, 104–105.

¹⁰⁰⁴Potiron to Caplet, 22 July 1924, *F-Pn* NLA-269 (662).

¹⁰⁰⁵See *F-Pn* MS-20106, p. 2 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁰⁶Joseph Gajard, Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes and Henri Potiron, 'Le Credo VI', *Revue grégorienne* 9, no. 5 (September–October 1925): pp. 189, 194.

Cette formule finale (depuis *ex Maria Virgine*, avec celles qu'elle a inspirées), nous la devons à André CAPLET, auteur regretté du *Miroir de Jésus*.¹⁰⁰⁷

We owe this cadential formula (from ex Maria Virgine, and others which it inspired) to André CAPLET, the late composer of Miroir de Jésus.

It therefore seems unlikely that Caplet was responsible for the set of consecutive fifths at 'Sancto', though his cadence struck Desrocquettes as being 'perfectly within the Gregorian atmosphere' ('parfaitement dans l'atmosphère grégorienne'), and led Desrocquettes to voice a wish to establish a more modern framework for modality that was capable of capturing the same sort of conjunct, dissonant harmonisation that Caplet had demonstrated:

J'aimerais terriblement faire des accompagnements, qui sans sortir des règles rythmiques et modales, oseraient tout dans le sens moderne de l'écriture.¹⁰⁰⁸

I would really like to make accompaniments which, without breaking rhythmic and modal rules, would brave everything in the modern sense of composition.

What exactly those rules amounted to is not clear. Desrocquettes provided Caplet with his back catalogue of articles on 'modal equivalence', adding the caveat that 'groupe' should replace any instance of 'tonalité', and 'changement de groupe' any instance of 'modulation'. In February 1925, Desrocquettes invited Caplet to contribute some articles of his own to the *Revue grégorienne*, but Caplet died only two months later.

5.3.2 *Desrocquettes's application of modern harmony*

Not long after Caplet's death, Desrocquettes began writing harmonisations of the psalm tones. He completed these sometime in 1926 and added a preface—dated 11 November—stating them to be aimed at young organists. It was probably for their benefit that Desrocquettes annotated certain cadences with the letters 'S' and 'D' to indicate how the alignment of certain chords changed depending on whether the word happened to be a spondee or a dactyl.¹⁰⁰⁹ Less than a month after writing his preface, Desrocquettes noted to Mocquereau that his style of accompaniment was reflective of

¹⁰⁰⁷Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes and Henri Potiron, *Accompagnement du Kyrieale Vatican* (Paris, Tournai, Rome: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1929), 86.

¹⁰⁰⁸Desrocquettes to Caplet, 9 February 1925, *F-Pn* NLA-269 (242) and digitised at *F-Pn* IFN-53033966.

¹⁰⁰⁹Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, *L'accompagnement des psaumes* (Paris, Tournai & Rome: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1928), pp. 3, 18 and *passim*.

1926 but that it was in the process of evolving.¹⁰¹⁰ The harmonisations did not see the light of day until 1928, when Desrocquettes recorded his signature and the date 5 September 1928 on a copy currently held at Quarr Abbey. Neither marginalia nor revisions were marked on either the preface or accompaniments,¹⁰¹¹ though this by no means implies that Desrocquettes had not departed from previously held principles.

Nevertheless, psalm tone harmonisations were published alongside a brief accompaniment manual in the form of a pamphlet, which outlined a thorough set of rules codifying how Mocquereauvian rhythm could be applied to the accompaniment. The ideas had first appeared as a series of articles in the *Revue grégorienne*, but when Desclée came to collate them Desrocquettes voiced his dismay at the thinness of the paper, requesting via Dom Le Floch that the publisher make amends.¹⁰¹² Those supplications apparently fell on deaf ears, however, for the leaves of the copy owned by the present author are wafer thin indeed. Desrocquettes proposed that chant rhythm not only dictated the placement of chords but also their vertical make-up, and recommended that dissonances and their resolutions could bring unity to neumes in particular.¹⁰¹³ By striking a dissonance on the first note of a neume and by delaying its resolution to the last note, Desrocquettes re-established the procedure which Lhoumeau had described over three decades earlier (see pp. 119 and 120 above).

Contrary to Bas's desire to reduce the frequency of chord changes, Desrocquettes's accompaniments generally contained a greater frequency in the belief that each *ictus* had to be marked by a change in at least one of the parts. Certain notes of those quoted in ex. 193 were pointed to demonstrate where certain *ictuses* fell, namely at the second syllable of 'Maria' and at the first and last syllables of 'etiam'. Lapierre adopted a similar pointing system in his own accompanied Kyrial, published in 1949 (ex. 194). In contrast to the Desrocquettes-Potiron Kyrial, however, Lapierre placed what he termed 'The Dot' beneath the notehead. Even though a cautionary note in his preface attempted to clarify that the

¹⁰¹⁰Desrocquettes to Mocquereau, 1 December 1926, *F-SO*.

¹⁰¹¹*GB-OLQ* QAA-Mu-59.

¹⁰¹²Desrocquettes to Le Floch, 4 February [1928], *F-SO*.

¹⁰¹³Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, *L'accompagnement rythmique d'après les principes de Solesmes*, Monographies grégoriennes 8 (Paris, Tournai & Rome: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1928), 5, 30–32.

player should not confuse such dots with staccato marks,¹⁰¹⁴ a sight-reader could just as well have mistaken some dots of addition for rhythmic pointing (as, for example, the dot in the alto part at ‘Dei’).

The connection between Desrocquettes’s harmonic approach and Mocquereau’s rhythm led Ward to encourage Desrocquettes to compose an accompanied Kyrial. She wished to anticipate its final publication by bringing out several masses in America first, but the process was not straightforward because Desrocquettes needed first to send his compositions to Potiron for correction. Thereafter, they needed to be recopied in preparation for engraving. The process, as Desrocquettes noted to Mocquereau, was going to take some time.¹⁰¹⁵ Hence it took until 1927 for Desrocquettes to send any of his accompanied masses to Ward. By 27 January he had sent off masses I–IX,¹⁰¹⁶ though he admitted a few days later that other engagements were slowing down his progress.

Among such engagements was Desrocquettes’s tutelage, in the fundamentals of chant harmonisation, of one of Ward’s lecturers.¹⁰¹⁷ During the Autumn of 1926, the Belgian musician Achille Pierre Bragers (1887–1955) had stayed at Quarr to study accompaniment with Desrocquettes, and had thereby diverted the latter’s attention from his own projects. Bragers had already accrued notable credentials, having graduated from the Royal Conservatory of Brussels in 1905 and from the Lemmens Institute (or the École Interdiocésaine de Musique Religieuse de Malines, as it was then known) in either 1907 or 1910, sources conflict.¹⁰¹⁸ Following his graduation from the latter, Bragers moved to America where he became the organist and choirmaster at the Cathedral of Covington, Kentucky, whence he joined the faculty of Ward’s Pius X School in 1922.¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁴Eugene Lapierre, *Simplified Modal Accompaniment to the Vatican Kyriale and the Requiem Mass* (Ohio: Gregorian Institute of America, 1946), unpaginated preface and p. 8.

¹⁰¹⁵Desrocquettes to Mocquereau, [1926?], *F-SO*.

¹⁰¹⁶Desrocquettes to Mocquereau, 27 January 1927, *F-SO*.

¹⁰¹⁷Desrocquettes to Mocquereau, 30 January 1927, *F-SO*.

¹⁰¹⁸One scholar contends that Bragers graduated from the Lemmens Institute in 1910, see Francis Brancalone, ‘The Golden Years of an American Catholic Institution: an Annotation Chronicle of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music from 1946 to its Transformation as the Music Department of Manhattanville College 1969–1970 (Part I of III: 1946–52)’, *Sacred Music* 146, no. 1 (Spring 2019): p. 19 n. 10 and Francis Brancalone, ‘Georgia Stevens, R.S.C.J., and the Institutionalization of Gregorian Chant at the Pius X School of Liturgical Music’, *Sacred Music* 139, no. 2 (2012): p. 19 n. 35; Whereas Bragers’s obituary in *The Caecilia* asserts that he graduated in 1907. See ‘Achille P. Bragers 1887–1955’, *Caecilia* 82, no. 5 (July–August 1955): 169.

¹⁰¹⁹‘Achille P. Bragers 1887–1955’, 169.

Desrocquettes tutored Bragers in an approach to chant harmony that was not the modal approach to which Bragers had long been accustomed; namely, that the accompaniments were now to be comprised of modern harmony.¹⁰²⁰ Ward's opinion of Bragers soured as a result, and by 1929 she complained that Bragers's use of dissonance 'gave a character which was too modern and non modal to the melodies', calling it 'torture for the ear'. She communicated her sentiments to Mocquereau, who (in contrast to the approbation discussed on pp. 243 and 244 above) soon distanced himself from Desrocquettes's harmonic practice.

Ward summed up her own thoughts on how best the harmony could be tackled. She proposed that accompaniment ought to use only those chords best fitting the mode: since little evidence exists to suppose Ward had any credentials as a harmoniser, her proposals must be taken to be those of a harmonic dilettante, even if they were not far removed from Niedermeyer's rules. Ward considered the French-Canadian organist Conrad Bernier (1904–88) to have written accompaniments in a 'serious, sincere, unpretentious' style which surely made them worthy of Solesmes's consideration.¹⁰²¹ Bernier had been the organist at the Église Saint-Sacrement in Quebec until 1923 when he had won the Prix d'Europe, a grant from the Quebec government allotting him the means to take organ lessons in Paris with Bonnet. Following his return to North America in 1927, Bernier took up a teaching post at the Catholic University of America, Washington.¹⁰²² While conceding that Solesmes would receive Bernier's 'experiments', Mocquereau warned that no accompaniment had yet satisfied him, a statement that contradicted his earlier approval of Potiron's accompaniment manual. The sought-after traits were 'gentleness and moderation'; but all Mocquereau could find was the 'cold, dry, mechanical repetition of the chant' by the organ. Ward held that, indeed, unaccompanied signing would be best of all, but admitted that some choirs required an organ's support. She hoped that a choir's reliance on the organ could be removed through

¹⁰²⁰Desrocquettes to Gajard, 16 October 1926, *F-SO*.

¹⁰²¹Ward to Mocquereau, 13 December 1928; Mocquereau to Ward 22 December 1928; Ward to Mocquereau, 2 March 1929; Excerpts reproduced in Pierre Combe, *Justine Ward and Solesmes* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1987), 81–2.

¹⁰²²*Mark Miller et al., *Encyclopédie de la musique au Canada*, 2nd ed. (Saint-Laurent, Québec: Fides, 1993), 287–8.

proper training, neglecting to acknowledge the possibility for the organ to dispense with the chant and to accompany in sustained chords instead.¹⁰²³

On 9 May 1929, shortly after the above Ward–Mocquereau exchange, the Victor Talking Machine Company recorded excerpts from the Mass Ordinary chanted by around thirty women of Ward’s Schola, whom Bragers accompanied on the organ. 8’ and 4’ stops may be discerned quite clearly from the recording of Credo I.¹⁰²⁴ In 1934, Bragers proposed 4’ stops for accompanying children’s voices,¹⁰²⁵ though presumably this was on account of pitch rather than timbre. For the Polish composer Feliks Rączkowski (1906–89), the use of 4’ stops hinged neither on timbre nor pitch, but rather on the number of sung voices being accompanied:

<p>Akompaniament ma stanowić tło. Dlatego też jeśli organista śpiewa sam, winien użyć do akompaniamentu najwyżej 1 lub 2 rejestrów, łagodnych fletowych (8’). Jeśli śpiewa chór lub wierni, można dołączyć flety 4’.¹⁰²⁶</p>	<p><i>The accompaniment constitutes the background. Therefore, if the organist sings alone, he should draw a maximum of one or two stops, soft flutes (8’), to accompany. If the choir or the congregation sings, 4’ flutes may be drawn.</i></p>
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It was common practice for Polish organists to accompany themselves, hence presumably the advocacy for soft 8’ flutes. It is noteworthy how several composers such as Rączkowski relied on Solesmian transcriptions similar to those we observed above (p. 204)—complete with ♩ = 138 tempo indication, among other traits—in accompaniments composed in the 1950s (ex. 195).

Bragers’s recording ought to bear witness to the dissonant style with which Ward took issue, but it is rather difficult to make out whether Bragers truly did follow a modern major-minor harmonic scheme.¹⁰²⁷ As for Bragers’s use of dissonance, it was certainly more tame in 1929 than in an accompaniment of his published in 1937: the differences

¹⁰²³Mocquereau to Ward, 26 March 1929; Ward to Mocquereau 16 April 1929. See Combe, *Justine Ward and Solesmes*, 82–3.

¹⁰²⁴‘Victor Matrix CVE-47995. Gregorian Chant / Pius X Choir’, Discography of American Historical Recordings, accessed 20 August 2020, https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800021836/CVE-47995-Gregorian_chant.

¹⁰²⁵Achille P[ierre] Bragers, *A Short Treatise on Gregorian Accompaniment According to the Principles of the Monks of Solesmes* (New York: Carl Fischer Inc., 1934), 55.

¹⁰²⁶Feliks Rączkowski, *Msze Gregoriańskie* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy, 1957), unpaginated ‘Uwagi Praktyczne’, p. 41.

¹⁰²⁷*Credo I (4), LU 64*, in collab. with Vincent C. Donovan et al., vol. 2, *Gregorian Chant Early Recordings (1928–1936)* (Parnassus, 2014).

become all the more clear when comparing the recording of Credo I (see footnote 1027) to ex. 196. The latter contains a good deal more conjunct motion than had previously been the case, along with more dissonance.¹⁰²⁸ Certain amendments made to Ward's method by other members of the faculty at the Pius X School led to her resignation from the board in 1931, and it was not until 1959 that the Boston musician Theodore Marier (1912–2001) managed to broker something of a rapprochement between Ward and the faculty.¹⁰²⁹ Following Ward's departure, Julia Sampson took over the choir and set in train a second round of recording in 1933, Bragers accompanying on the organ once again.¹⁰³⁰ Perhaps Brager's increased use of dissonance might be explained by the change in directorship, assuming of course that Sampson was more permissive than her predecessor in that regard. Bragers's publisher McLaughlin & Reilly Co. advertised his published accompaniments to the American market in a leaflet claiming them to be in the 'approved style' of Solesmes. The publisher also went to great pains to convince prospective buyers that it would not be necessary to 'unlearn' the accompaniments after a few years had elapsed.¹⁰³¹ Perhaps the tumultuous years around the turn of the century, when Solesmes's books were rendered out of date within a number of years, had made Americans wary of anything aligning itself too closely with Solesmes.

The English Benedictine monk Gregory Murray (1905–92) was anything but reticent when writing in support of Bragers's accompaniments, in November 1937. In an issue of **Music and Liturgy*, Murray opined that players who found themselves 'repelled by some of Dom Desrocquettes's quite justifiable discords' would find Bragers's accompaniments more agreeable. The review was picked up by the American magazine *The Caecilia*, which was adequately placed to drive sales of the book in the American market.¹⁰³²

¹⁰²⁸ Achille P[ierre] Bragers, *Accompaniment to the Vatican Kyriale* (Boston: McLaughlin & Reilly Co., 1937), 93.

¹⁰²⁹ Francis Brancaleone, 'Justine Ward and the Fostering of an American Solesmes Chant Tradition', *Sacred music* 136, no. 3 (September 2009): 17–22.

¹⁰³⁰ *Victor Matrix CS-74994. Gregorian Mass for the Dead / Achille P. Bragers ; Choir of the Pius X School ; Julia Sampson - Discography of American Historical Recordings', accessed 20 August 2021, https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800040288/CS-74994-Gregorian_Mass_for_the_Death.

¹⁰³¹ Advertisement 'Accompaniment to the Kyriale', *F-SO* in Desrocquettes–Cardine correspondence.

¹⁰³² 'British Critics Praise Bragers Kyriale Accompaniment Book', *The Caecilia* 64, no. 12 (December 1937): 479.

Socio-economic factors also contributed to the relative popularity of Bragers's accompaniments in North America during WWII in particular, when the Montreal-based newspaper *Le Devoir* acknowledged difficulties in acquiring European publications. Its reporter recommended Bragers's accompanied Kyrial in the absence of others and also because it contained an accompanied Requiem Mass—a macabre notice for macabre times.¹⁰³³ The challenges facing the importation of European accompaniment books extended to Solesmian chant books too, prompting American editors to put out pirated versions of the *Liber usualis* characterised by idiosyncrasies Desrocquettes explained away as stemming from local taste.¹⁰³⁴

The exile of Polish nationals to America created demand for a bespoke genre of popular masses based on Polish hymn tunes. Those by Jan Chojnacki are rather like contrafacts since they set various parts of the Mass Ordinary to a pastiche of Polish hymn tunes, including *Witaj Krynico dobra wszelakiego*, *Witaj Boże utajony*, *Pójdź do Jezusa do niebios bram*, *Kłaniam się Tobie* and *Serce Twe Jesu miłością goreje*. No pastiche was necessary for the creed, however, which was sung to Credo III. Choral forces indicated by the Roman numerals 'I' and 'II' were prompted to take up successive phrases in alternation, accompanied by a four-part texture of Chojnacki's devising.¹⁰³⁵

5.3.3 *The shock of the new: Novel methods in practice*

Jeannin and Ward were not the only figures to raise objections to Desrocquettes's method of accompaniment, for some critics concluded that his and Potiron's use of dissonance had patently gone too far.¹⁰³⁶ Desrocquettes acknowledged this criticism in the *Revue grégorienne*:

¹⁰³³G. Mercure, 'Les accompagnements grégoriens de maître Achille Bragers', *Le Devoir* 33, no. 93 (23 April 1942): 4.

¹⁰³⁴Desrocquettes to Cardine, 28 October 1946, *F-SO*.

¹⁰³⁵Jan Chojnacki, *A Hymn-Tune Mass for Congregational Use with Organ Accompaniment* (Ohio: Gregorian Institute of America, 1960), 2, 9–14.

¹⁰³⁶Leßmann, 'L'anachronisme', 373.

Pour certains, nos accompagnements sont à ce point de vue un vrai scandale. Dans beaucoup de milieux, on a avoué qu'on « aurait préféré moins de dissonances », ou bien qu'« on n'avait pas été habitué à entendre le grégorien accompagné avec tant de dissonances ». ¹⁰³⁷

For some, our accompaniments, from this perspective, are a real scandal. In many circles, it has been admitted that 'we would have preferred less dissonance', or even that 'we have not been used to hearing Gregorian chant being accompanied by so many dissonances'.

Potiron acknowledged the criticism too, admitting that he and Desrocquettes had probably changed chords too frequently. ¹⁰³⁸ In private, however, Potiron's relationship with Desrocquettes began to strain. The monk blamed the musician for not properly editing the complicated, dissonant accompaniments; to make them simple and consonant now would require a new edition. ¹⁰³⁹ Potiron learned of Desrocquettes's accusations and, while accepting his own role as corrector, argued that the turgidity had nothing to do with him. ¹⁰⁴⁰

Potiron struck out on his own in an accompanied Gradual that first appeared in 1933, dismissing Desrocquettes's request that the Sundays after Pentecost be reserved for him. Ostensibly, Desclée required the proofs without delay, ¹⁰⁴¹ and Potiron's preface attributed his sole authorship to the distance separating Paris and Quarr—geography was said to have made collaborating with Desrocquettes impossible. ¹⁰⁴² In truth, however, Potiron kept Desrocquettes out for musical reasons: not only were the monk's accompaniments too turgid for Potiron's taste, but his use of B♭ in the harmony when it had not appeared in the chant was not a modal fact to which Potiron was willing to subscribe:

Je ne peux plus supporter ses bémols ;
je veux des lignes simples et claires et il
est toujours touffu, et quand je lis un de
ses accompagnements je ne peux que le
refaire. ¹⁰⁴³

*I can no longer put up with his use of
B♭: I want simple and clear lines and his
are always dense, and when I read one
of his accompaniments I have to rewrite
it.*

¹⁰³⁷Jean-Hébert Desrocquettes, 'L'accompagnement grégorien et les dissonances', *Revue grégorienne* 16, no. 1 (January–February 1931): 20; See also footnote 1036.

¹⁰³⁸Henri Potiron, 'À propos de l'accompagnement grégorien', *Revue grégorienne* 15, no. 6 (November–December 1930): 220.

¹⁰³⁹Desrocquettes to Cardine, 16 August 1931 and 21 August 1932, *F-SO*.

¹⁰⁴⁰Potiron to Gajard, [24 December 1932?], *F-SO*.

¹⁰⁴¹Potiron to Gajard, [12 July 1933], *F-SO*.

¹⁰⁴²Henri Potiron, *Graduel paroissial contenant l'accompagnement du chant grégorien pour les messes des dimanches et principales fêtes*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Paris, Tournai, Rome & New York: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1933), unpaginated 'Avant-propos'.

¹⁰⁴³Potiron to Gajard, [18 March 1933], *F-SO*.

The last system quoted in ex. 184 bears witness to Desrocquettes's use of $\hat{4}\flat$ without its having first appeared in the chant. By 1933, Potiron admitted that his own views had become more puritanical ('je suis devenu plus rigoriste'),¹⁰⁴⁴ which led to a revised accompaniment in which $\hat{4}$ was largely absent (ex. 197). For Potiron, it was not solely a question of whether or not to include 'B' \flat in the accompaniment, for he had also arrived at a conclusion similar to Gevaert's by proscribing pitches in the accompaniment that had not appeared in the chant (see § 3.1.1). Potiron avoided the pitch 'E' when writing the harmonisation quoted in ex. 198 because that note is never sung.¹⁰⁴⁵

The approach stunned Cardine,¹⁰⁴⁶ who claimed that to avoid 'E' was to make the accompaniment's modality somewhat undetermined between tritus and tetrardus.¹⁰⁴⁷ On succeeding Mocquereau in 1930, Cardine began moving Solesmes away from the theory of 'free musical rhythm' in favour of Gregorian semiology, and those accompaniments that had been conceived according to the former were increasingly being considered out of date. The move provoked an ironic reaction from Desrocquettes:

Je trouve déplorable qu'à Solesmes on semble ainsi se faire un jeu d'adopter des opinions et solutions en l'air qui semblent faites pour choquer les idées courants et décourager les solutions pratiques.¹⁰⁴⁸

I find it deplorable that at Solesmes they seem to make a game of taking opinions and solutions out of thin air, which seem designed to shock present ideas and discourage practical solutions.

Desrocquettes's complaints fell on deaf ears, however, and in 1938 he was reassigned to a new Benedictine foundation in Las Condes, Chile.¹⁰⁴⁹ His influence on accompaniment was dampened by that assignment until 1948 when he was recalled to represent Solesmes at the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome.

¹⁰⁴⁴Henri Potiron, 'Le bémol dans l'accompagnement du chant grégorien', *Revue grégorienne* 18, no. 3 (May–June 1933): p. 109, n. 1.

¹⁰⁴⁵Potiron, *Graduel paroissial contenant l'accompagnement du chant grégorien pour les messes des dimanches et principales fêtes*, 1:18, 60–61.

¹⁰⁴⁶Desrocquettes to Cardine, 27 May 1933, *F-SO*.

¹⁰⁴⁷E[ugène] C[ardine], 'Review of Henri Potiron *Graduel Paroissial contenant l'accompagnement du chant grégorien pour les messes des dimanches et principales fêtes* – Première partie', *Revue grégorienne* 18, no. 6 (November–December 1933): 236.

¹⁰⁴⁸Desrocquettes to Cardine, 20 August 1933, *F-SO*.

¹⁰⁴⁹Enrique Domingo Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation (1472–1979)* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1981), 111.

Potiron eventually replaced the 1929 accompanied Kyrial with *Kyriale abrégé* in 1950, whose preface acknowledged the need for more simplicity ('le sens d'une plus grande simplicité').¹⁰⁵⁰ It was a second attempt for Potiron who aimed at a style different from Desrocquettes's:

Le Kyriale de 1929 était certainement beaucoup trop chargé ; l'ami Desrocquettes en a bien convenu ; il est devenu compliqué en se « perfectionnant », nerveux, sensible, artiste même, mais pas objectif.¹⁰⁵¹

The Kyrial of 1929 was certainly far too busy; our friend Desrocquettes was in complete agreement with that; he became complicated in 'perfecting himself', nervous, sensitive, artistic, even, but not objective.

For Potiron, the ideal harmonic path continued to be in the avoidance of notes not in the chant. The harmonisation quoted in ex. 199 forgoes E \flat for that very reason, though the procedure appears not to have been possible with some shorter chants, including that quoted in ex. 200 where the note 'E' occurs in the accompaniment without occurring elsewhere. Yet, even though Desrocquettes had indeed admitted fault with the earlier harmonisations, he seemed not to have appreciated Potiron's rationale, calling the resulting effect 'pure chinoiserie'.¹⁰⁵²

Beginning in the 1930s, Joseph Yasser (1893–1981) attempted to promote a method of quartal harmony in preference to the tertian type promulgated by Desrocquettes, Potiron, Springer and Emmanuel (among many others). The seed had been planted in 1932 with Yasser's theory of 'Infra-Diatonic Harmony',¹⁰⁵³ and by 1937 Yasser was applying it to the harmonisation of chant. He deemed quartal harmony preferable owing to an assumption that the chant repertory was based on the pentatonic scale, quoting several examples from the *Liber Usualis* to substantiate his point.¹⁰⁵⁴ Through a convoluted method, Yasser determined that the principal chords suitable for the harmonisation quoted in ex. 201 were the tonic dyad (comprising the pitches 'E' and 'A'), and the dominant

¹⁰⁵⁰Henri Potiron, *Kyriale abrégé contenant l'accompagnement du chant grégorien pour les chants les plus usuels de l'ordinaire de la messe* (Paris, Tournai, Rome & New York: Desclée & C^{ie}, 1950), 4.

¹⁰⁵¹Potiron to Gajard, 30 November 1851, *F-SO*.

¹⁰⁵²Desrocquettes to Henri Tissot, 31 March 1951, *F-SO*.

¹⁰⁵³*Joseph Yasser, *A Theory of Evolving Tonality* (New York: American Library of Musicology, 1932), see chapter eight.

¹⁰⁵⁴Joseph Yasser, 'Mediæval Quartal Harmony: A Plea for Restoration—Part I', *The Musical Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (1937): 174, 181–2.

dyad (comprising ‘D’ and ‘G’).¹⁰⁵⁵ The theory of quartal harmony languished for some two decades before Patricia Burgstahler took it up in a Master’s thesis (ex. 202), wherein no fewer than fifteen species of pentatonic scales were outlined.¹⁰⁵⁶ In spite of Burgstahler’s efforts, the system has once again returned to dormancy.

Whatever confidence Potiron might have had in his approach to harmony was certainly undermined by further developments in modality. Faced with novel approaches posited by Jean Langlais (1907–91), who reportedly built on the modes to create new ones,¹⁰⁵⁷ and Gaston Litaize (1909–91), who blazed his own trail, Potiron admitted that his own concept of modality was ‘plus sevère’ and was in danger of seeming childish (‘ma conception aurait l’air puérile’).¹⁰⁵⁸ Olivier Messiaen (1908–92), who expanded the modal horizons through his Modes of Limited Transposition, possessed a copy of a textbook Potiron wrote concerning accompaniment,¹⁰⁵⁹ but on its consultation by the present author, only the first chapter was observed to have been cut open—the others remained sealed.¹⁰⁶⁰

It is difficult to reconcile Francis Potier’s 1946 classification system for accompaniments with the wide range of approaches we have examined up to now. Potier categorised accompaniments depending on whether they occurred before or after the Gregorian restoration—a period he fixed in the years 1905–1908—and whether accompaniments followed Solesmes’s rhythmic or harmonic theories. Those categories divided into two subcategories each: prior to the Gregorian restoration there were said to be ‘note contre note’ (or so-called arrhythmic accompaniments), and those with so-called melodic notes (or rhythmical accompaniments); and following the restoration, there were reportedly rhythmical accompaniments that conformed with Solesmes’s rhythmical

¹⁰⁵⁵ Joseph Yasser, ‘Mediæval Quartal Harmony: A Plea for Restoration—Part III’, *The Musical Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1938): 359–60.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Patricia Burgstahler, ‘The Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant’ (University of Kansas, April 1959), 54, 66.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Janet Krellwitz, ‘The Use of Gregorian Chant in the Organ Works of Jean Langlais: Analysis and Recital’ (DEd, Columbia University, 1981), 78.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Potiron to Desroquettes, 1 August 1958, *GB-OLQ* QAA-C-188; The letter was miscatalogued as being from the Quarr Abbey abbot Dom Germain Cozien.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Henri Potiron, *Leçons pratiques d’accompagnement du chant grégorien*, 2nd ed. (Paris & Tournai: Desclée, 1952).

¹⁰⁶⁰ *F-Pn* VM FONDS 30 MES-4 (23).

principles and others that did not. Some were also codified as being in conformity or otherwise with Solesmes's modal principles.

Notwithstanding the various theories of chant rhythm Solesmes had adopted since the 1880s, Potier's bibliography is arguably biased towards French and Belgian sources while those from other linguistic traditions are decidedly under-represented. Not only did Potier oversimplify the domain substantially by not accounting for the influence of Cecilianism on the use of cadential sharpening, but certain value judgements inveigled their way into his descriptions of certain methods, undermining his impartiality; these include a mention of a 'very defective' chant rhythm.¹⁰⁶¹ Moreover, the accompaniments Potier described as 'arrhythmic' might better be labelled 'homorhythmic', since the chord-against-note style and mensural schemes are not mutually exclusive. Nonetheless, Potier's history contains a useful catalogue of the available technical literature up to 1946 and has been much expanded by the present author in appendix C.

5.3.4 *Towards the sustained style*

Although Desroquettes's preference undeniably swayed towards dissonant harmony, other composers did not share his view. Placide Gagnon proposed three rules for accompaniment in 1938: first, that the harmonisation was to be consonant; second, that the part writing was to be clear and easy for an organist to play; and third, that chords were to be placed according to 'double rhythm'. The last was an idea Gagnon had picked up from one Père Lefebvre SJ and relayed to Gajard. 'Double rhythm' demarcated important notes in the 'petit rythme' by changes in the soprano and tenor parts and those in the 'grand rythme' by the alto and bass parts.¹⁰⁶² It was not a novel idea by the 1930s, for Mathias's graduated stages had long since set the precedent for codifying theories of part movement according to a rhythmic theory. Yet, the idea did not enthuse Gajard who was lukewarm about Gagnon's claim to outline binary and ternary groups not least because Solesmes was in the process of abandoning them.¹⁰⁶³

¹⁰⁶¹ Potier, *L'art de l'accompagnement du chant grégorien : Défense et illustration de l'harmonie grégorienne et Essai de bibliographie critique*, pp. 67, 92 §115.

¹⁰⁶² Placide Gagnon to Gajard, 8 September 1938, *F-SO*.

¹⁰⁶³ Gajard to Gagnon, 6 November 1938, *F-SO*.

While changing chords on the ‘levé’ was a noteworthy feature of Gagnon’s accompaniments of the 1940s,¹⁰⁶⁴ the example from 1944 quoted in ex. 203 places chords preferentially on the first notes of binary and ternary groups. One could hardly argue that the passage in question is consonant owing to the frequent intrusion of dissonances in the tenor part.¹⁰⁶⁵ Note that ‘C’ $\bar{\text{h}}$ was written in anticipation of the same note in the chant.

The notion of ‘double accentuation’ was taken up by an array of Belgian composers in the orbit of the Lemmens Institute. Their understanding of it was quite different from Gagnon’s ‘double rhythm’, however, for it concerned chords struck either on accented syllables or on the first notes of groups, depending on how close one occurred to the other. Under the directorship of Jules Van Nuffel (1883–1953), those Belgian composers brought out an accompanied Gradual by dividing the task between them, the division of labour being entabulated in table B.10. In a preface, Van Nuffel provided a dizzying set of rules governing where chords were to be struck: in general, they depended on the type of neume, but the author anticipated a theoretical text that would describe the method in more detail owing to the sheer number of intricacies involved. That theoretical text was published by Flor Peeters in 1949, who also provided rubrics for a more legato style with little part movement. Minor chords were said to be preferable in chant accompaniments, for they were supposedly ‘in conformity with the modal and archaic character and general spirit of Plain Chant’. Major chords were to be arranged as first inversion chords alone,¹⁰⁶⁶ though the rubric was evidently unsuitable to the composer of the accompaniment quoted in ex. 204, whose tetrardus harmonisation did not shy away from using major chords in 5/3 position.¹⁰⁶⁷ Perhaps the same assumption led Eugène Lapierre to posit in 1949 that plagal cadences were indicative of a ‘religious cadence’, whereas perfect cadences were to be ruled out altogether.¹⁰⁶⁸

¹⁰⁶⁴Placide Gagnon, *Accompagnement des vêpres du temps pascal et des antiennes Regina Caeli, Salve Regina* ([Quebec?], [c.1940]); Placide Gagnon, *Messe des SS Martyrs Canadiens* ([Quebec?], [c.1940]).

¹⁰⁶⁵Placide Gagnon, *Accompagnement des chants de saluts* (Québec: Tremblay & Dion, 1944), pp. viii, 4–5.

¹⁰⁶⁶Peeters, *A Practical Method*, 13–14, 22.

¹⁰⁶⁷*Kyriale et Missa pro defunctis : Auctorum nomina in fine uniuscujusque missae inscribuntur*, 3rd ed., vol. 5, Nova organi harmonia ad graduale juxta editionem vaticanam a rectore una cum professoribus Mechliniensis Interdiocesanis Instituti Musicae Sacrae composita ac aptata (Mechelen: H. Dessain, [c.1942]), pp. xi*–xiv*, 42.

¹⁰⁶⁸Eugene Lapierre, *Gregorian Chant Accompaniment : A New and Simple Approach According to the Theory of the Basic Modal Intervals*, 1st ed. (Ohio: Gregorian Institute of America, 1949), pp. 12, 24.

It was seemingly to capture a certain numinous quality that the Australian priest Percy Jones (1914–92) used A major chords in the deuterus accompaniment in ex. 205. Certain cadences seemed to that composer to be more reminiscent of tetrardus ones:

In Credo I., the use of the chord of A major may sound strange to some, accustomed to other accompaniments. But to me, this Credo is in the VIII. mode, except for the final phrase, and consequently the final note of every other phrase is the tonic, and the tonic of the VIII. mode requires a major chord as its harmony. Moreover, this strong eighth mode cadence at the end of each sentence is a true reflex of the radiant certainty accompanying the proclaiming of the truths of the Faith.¹⁰⁶⁹

Perhaps that notion informed Jones's decision to terminate the 'Amen' on an F# minor chord (note the general use of 'C' #). From the way vertical *episemata* litter Jones's chant, the harmonisation appears to have been based on a Solesmian edition, but we can be confident that the idea of using 'C' # did not come from Desrocquettes and Potiron, whose 1929 harmonisation of the same creed adopts the same transposition but terminates on a D major chord instead.¹⁰⁷⁰

The trend to adopt a legato style arguably reached something of a peak in the 1940s when the Belgian organist Jean Van de Cauter (1906–79) and others used very few chord changes indeed throughout the course of an accompaniment. Ex. 206 illustrates a style in which no more than two accompanying parts made up chords that lasted for entire phrases.¹⁰⁷¹ It is doubtful that such a sustained style could have been possible without the developments by earlier theorists who permitted the chant to be treated as many dissonances over a select few bass notes. The chant is therefore not always consonant with the bass part; hence, presumably, the two slurred notes in the first phrase can be interpreted as an *appoggiatura*.

The reforms to the Catholic Church liturgy instigated by the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) also instituted reforms to Catholic Church music. The Council relaxed restrictions on the vernacular and permitted it to supplant Latin in the Roman Rite. Moreover, the regulation of instruments was made more permissive, such that any

¹⁰⁶⁹Percy Jones, ed., *The Hymnal of St. Pius X: A Collection of Masses and Hymns for the Use of Parishes and Schools in the Catholic Church* (Melbourne, Adelaide & Bendigo: Allan & Co. Pty. Ltd., 1952), pp. v, 15.

¹⁰⁷⁰Desrocquettes and Potiron, *Accompagnement du Kyrieale Vatican*, 76.

¹⁰⁷¹Jean Van de Cauter, *Organum pulsantis ad Missa pro Defunctis*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Lebrun, [c.1944]), 10; See also an early attempt at codifying such a sparse style in Gastoué, *Traité d'harmonisation*, 160.

instrument 'suitable for sacred use' was permitted to exercise its function with dignity for the edification of the faithful.¹⁰⁷² Some dioceses adopted vernacular settings of plainchant, presumably because their congregations already knew the melodies, but others abandoned chant altogether and took on new music. As the chant repertory began to fall out of use in parish churches, the once considerable demand for organ accompaniments dwindled.

¹⁰⁷²Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 383–4.

POSTSCRIPT

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Despite the far-reaching effects of Vatican II on church music, the practice of accompanying plainchant on the organ has not entirely died out. In fact, it remains today as much a living tradition as before the Catholic Church introduced its reforms. While some monastic foundations adapted their musicking to suit the vernacular,¹⁰⁷³ others—such as the Benedictines—have largely maintained a Latinate liturgy. The Solesmian organist Jean Claire (1920–2006), who had studied with Potiron before succeeding Gajard as Solesmes’s *maître de chœur*, reported having adopted the sustained style in his own accompanying:

Cet accompagnement correspond exactement à notre sensibilité actuelle : les accords sont tenus longuement, il n’y a un changement d’accord que lorsque cela est vraiment indispensable. ¹⁰⁷⁴	<i>This accompaniment matches exactly how we feel about it now: chords are held for a long time, and a change of chord only happens when it is really necessary.</i>
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While Claire preferred unaccompanied chant, the usefulness of accompaniment to support the monks justified its retention. During the 1980s at Solesmes, it was more likely to be an aspect of feast days (‘je n’accompagne que pour les grandes fêtes’); while on other days, Claire directed the Schola. It should be noted that accompaniments written by the religious Ferdinand Portier (1914–2009) and published during the 1980s at Solesmes are not necessarily representative of Claire’s practice, Portier not having been a monk of Solesmes. With that being said, however, the chord changes in the passage quoted in ex. 207 were evidently contrived to coincide with *ictuses*: note also the additive procedure

¹⁰⁷³Peter Julian Lynch, ‘Sing a New Song: The Forging of a New Monastic Musical Voice in Post-Vatican II Australia’ (PhD diss., University of Tasmania, 2019), 114–117.

¹⁰⁷⁴Pinguet, *Les écoles de la musique divine*, 345, 397, 400.

at ‘Kyrie’. Portier’s accompaniments are therefore not dissimilar to those published by Solesmian harmonisers at the beginning of the twentieth century (compare, for instance, to exx. 147 and 152).¹⁰⁷⁵

The notion lives on that accompaniments ought to align themselves with characteristics inherent in the chant, resurfacing in 1985 when Luciano Migliavacca (1919–2013) contributed his thoughts on the matter to the International congress at Subiaco. He proposed to limit the accompaniment to notes which had already appeared in the chant: we might take the Xes in the passage quoted in ex. 208 to mean that the appearance of notes in the accompaniment was premature, either because they had not yet appeared or because their use in the accompaniment coincided with their first occurrence in the chant. On the use of dissonance, Migliavacca made the following remark:

Quanto al tipo di accordi possibili, ogni consonanza e dissonanza può essere valida, purché scaturisca come logica conseguenza armonica della melodia. ¹⁰⁷⁶	<i>As for the type of possible chords, every consonance and dissonance can be valid, as long as it arises as a logical harmonic consequence of the melody.</i>
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A similar notion was voiced in 2000 when Federico Del Sordo (b.1961) derived a theory of accompaniment from writings by the semiotician Umberto Eco (1932–2016).¹⁰⁷⁷ Del Sordo suggested that chant is as divisible into segments as language is divisible into monemes. As in linguistics, accompaniments reportedly contained musical monemes, though they were considered without meaning until an organist could bring some meaning to them through harmony.¹⁰⁷⁸

Viewing the chant through the prism of the word (‘postrzeganie melodii przez pryzmat słowa’) informed the method by Mariusz Białowski (b.1971) of Ponań. Cadences were to be harmonised first by matching the scale degree on which they occurred with the relevant chord indicated by the Roman numerals quoted in ex. 209. The cadence on $\hat{4}\flat$ quoted in ex. 210 therefore required a chord to be built on the same pitch. The rationale for using

¹⁰⁷⁵Ferdinand Portier, *Liber cantualis comitante organo: Accompagnement du chant grégorien des pièces du Liber cantualis* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, [c.1981]), unpaginated ‘Avertissement’, p. 16.

¹⁰⁷⁶Luciano Migliavacca, ‘Armonizzazione modale del Canto Gregoriano’, in *Congresso Internazionale di Canto gregoriano : Subiaco, 24–28 Aprile 1985* (Subiaco: Tipografia Poliglotta, 1985), 133, 137.

¹⁰⁷⁷Umberto Eco, *La struttura assente. La ricerca semiotica e il metodo strutturale*, 4th ed. (Milan: Bompiani, 1968), 43.

¹⁰⁷⁸Del Sordo, ‘La monemica’, 53.

— $\hat{6}$ was not made clear, however. Chords were to be used as sparingly as possible and only to properly accompany the text. As a result, it was not simply a matter of harmonising a melody but of producing bespoke accompaniments for each verse if the text were different. Białowski made a semiological analysis of the chant in adiaستمatic notation to benefit from certain nuances that were reportedly lost by its representation in quadratic notation.¹⁰⁷⁹

Approaches to analysing accompaniments has left something to be desired in some instances, particularly where the analyst attempts to glean information from a contrapuntal accompaniment by using harmonic, major-minor methodologies. The analyst responsible for ex. 211 arguably missed the mark by considering *f'* at 'mea' and 'Galilaeam' as passing sevenths when they might better be understood as minor tenths above the bass part. And why were these chords also labelled '4/3'? There is little doubt that the analyst in question derived a false sense of security from the theory of chord inversion, which would take the tenor note *g* to be the root of the chord—the Roman numerals placed beneath the bass staff serve to corroborate that inference.¹⁰⁸⁰

Recent recordings from Notre Dame de Fontgombault bear witness to the sustained style that Claire had adopted, and which continues to be the preferred medium of accompaniment in certain monastic settings.¹⁰⁸¹ Quite apart from those settings, however, is the modern trend to appropriate chant for quasi-spiritual contexts. Some compact discs purporting to be meditation aids incorporate chanting with synthesiser accompaniment with long, sustained chords. The album by the recording engineer Dan Gibson entitled *Illumination: Peaceful Gregorian Chants* combines chanting by the Gregorian Schola of the Pittsburgh Latin Mass Community with an accompaniment arranged for synthesizer, strings and aleatoric bird song by the film composer Daniel May.¹⁰⁸² The demand for such recordings was recently proven strong once again with the 2020 Decca release of *Light for the World*, an album

¹⁰⁷⁹Mariusz Białowski, 'Analiza semiologiczno-modalna w świetle praktyki wykonawczej śpiewu i akompaniamentu gregoriańskiego', in *Wybrane zagadnienia akompaniamentu liturgicznego*, ed. Marty Kierskiej-Witczak, Psalate Synetos 1 (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2012), 20, 24–9.

¹⁰⁸⁰William Henry Atwood, 'The Influence of Plainchant on the Liturgical Music of Theodore Marier' (DMA, The Catholic University Of America, 2014), 144, 148.

¹⁰⁸¹*Introit Benedicta Sit*, in collab. with Monks of The Abbey of Notre Dame, Gregorian Chant: The Monks of the Abbey of Notre Dame (Fontgombault: Interra, 2001).

¹⁰⁸²*Introit*, in collab. with Dan Gibson and Daniel May, Dan Gibson's Solitudes – Illumination: Peaceful Gregorian Chants (Somerset Group Ltd., 2014).

of chanting with a similar accompaniment, which placed fifth in the UK charts.¹⁰⁸³ It was the brainchild of the music producer James Morgan, who recorded the Poor Clares of Arundel, Sussex UK.¹⁰⁸⁴ One reporter for *The Guardian* relayed the following from one of the recorded nuns, Sister Gabriel, who suggested that the CD was designed to meet a demand in the public at large for the ‘need to zone out and find a place of peace’.¹⁰⁸⁵

¹⁰⁸³‘Light for the World’, Official Charts, accessed 10 May 2021, <https://www.officialcharts.com/search/albums/light-for-the-world/>.

¹⁰⁸⁴*Pange Lingua*, in collab. with Poor Clares of Arundel and James Morgan, *Light for the World* (Decca, 2020).

¹⁰⁸⁵Joanna Moorhead, ‘Swing out, Sisters: The Nuns Singing through Lockdown’, *The Guardian*, 25 October 2020, accessed 10 May 2021, <http://www.theguardian.com/music/2020/oct/25/swing-out-sisters-the-nuns-singing-through-lockdown>.

CONCLUSION

Our findings on chant accompaniment have brought to light several aspects of its theory and practice. The motives behind the development and adoption of various theories had previously gone unnoticed, not least because of their being distributed in a disorganised cache of material written in twenty or so languages. Histories are therefore often limited to specific musical or linguistic traditions, whereas the theories discussed therein tell only part of the story. The influence of an oral tradition, though certainly exerted, had not previously been acknowledged, nor had the effect of Cecilianism and the chant restoration movement at Solesmes, which the present dissertation has discussed at some length. The historical accounts and archived correspondence presented here (much of it for the first time) bear witness to original and illuminating methodologies that contextualise the many newly evaluated printed accompaniment books and theoretical manuals.

Approaches to accompaniment which had been adopted prior to the nineteenth century have been shown to have been rather sporadic. The reforms instituted by eighteenth-century antiquarians of music history (who sought pious alternatives to popular genres, see pp. 15 and 16 above) succeeded in detaching the history of music from what had gone before. Although the methods of accompaniment subsequently recommended by Cecilian authorities were deemed authentically venerable for use in the church, our study of the available source material (§ 1.2) has revealed that theorists in the nineteenth century re-invented the wheel, ignorant of their methods' place as modern exponents of musical practice. This made such methods no more venerable than the popular genres they were trying to replace. Following the Cecilian movement's approval by the Vatican, accompaniments devised by Haberl and Hanisch became the de facto standard in Catholic churches and have been shown to have been disseminated around Europe, North America and also to South Africa.

Whereas Cecilian theorists retained sharpening at cadences, during the 1850s Niedermeyer led the charge in Francophone countries against admitting black-note pitches other than ‘B’ \flat . The notion that such diatonicism was a trait inherent in the chant became highly influential, and music historians scoured classical texts for evidence of a truly historical practice. Their well-nigh occult attitudes to chant rhythm were the substance of intense debates and led theorists to analyse the chant repertory for clues to a method of accompaniment they hoped was simply hidden under their noses. If one could be found, then chant and accompaniment could, in their view, satisfactorily be unified.

Some theorists also used accompaniments as a means of popularising their rhythmic theories. Gigout has been shown as particularly adept at writing accompaniments according to various different schemes (see §§ 3.2.2 and 3.2.4), ostensibly to demonstrate their practical value but in reality to prove the wide applicability of the diatonicism of Niedermeyer, with whom he shared a familial connection. Solesmes also benefitted from such propaganda, and we have seen how composers in the Benedictine circle contrived accompaniments to popularise its methodologies. In the age before recorded media, they made the repertory accessible to choir directors, organists and singers, who could pick up and use a Solesmian accompaniment book without any training in quadratic notation, or indeed in chant rhythm. To be sure, the same could also be said of Cecilian accompaniments, but the new notational path followed by Solesmes was widely hailed as the key to performances in free rhythm. So seductive was Solesmes’s typography, in fact, that theorists expended huge energies in devising new strategies to represent free rhythm in their accompaniments. Novel approaches to the notation of harmony sought to free accompaniments from the shackles of metre: the quadratic-harmonic and filled-and-void notational styles pioneered by Schmetz and Van Damme respectively (see §§ 3.1.4 and 3.1.5) were directly inspired by Solesmian notation and Pothier’s theory of free rhythm.

The application of free rhythm in the accompaniment soon transcended notation as some in the Benedictine circle determined that chords could be placed on important notes (such as the first notes of neumes) or at particular syllables. This gave rise to what we have

termed the ‘Lhoumeau effect’ (§ 3.2.1), whereby chords were placed on the unaccented syllables of words. The effect was exacerbated when Mocquereauvian rhythm introduced the controversial notion of the *ictus*, requiring chords to be placed on unaccented syllables more frequently than before. It elicited warnings from international authorities on music such as d’Indy and Widor who held that the syncopated effect was incompatible with chant (§ 4.1.8). Initially, Mocquereau turned a deaf ear and maintained his course, but eventually matters came to a head at Solesmes. The account (on p. 171 above) detailing Mocquereau’s offer to resign as Solesmes’s *maître de chœur* provides a new perspective on the tension at Solesmes, as the abbot was seemingly obliged to refuse the offer and to row in behind Mocquereau’s ideas. After all, any visible crack in the façade of Benedictine practice might have dissuaded the Vatican from shunning Regensburg and vouchsafing Solesmes’s chant editions—this political landscape no doubt influenced the abbot’s decision. Not only does Wagner’s account illustrate that there is more to the politics of plainchant at the *fin-de-siècle* than Katharine Ellis and others have acknowledged, but it also offers an explanation as to why the dubious progeny of the ‘Lhoumeau effect’ has never before been challenged. It continues to disfigure accompaniments today.

Few theorists have challenged Niedermeyer’s rule requiring the chant (which was believed to be just like any other melody) to be placed in the top part of the keyboard texture. Emmanuel was one of the sole figures who took into account the intended voice type (see § 5.1.2). Other theorists paid little attention to the accompaniment of mens’ voices in their range: they are, in numerous cases, accompanied at the octave above. Whereas Niedermeyer’s rules enjoyed widespread popularity, the diatonic theory which they espoused did not go far enough for some theorists. Gevaert parsed individual chants to determine which of three hexachords the chant traversed, and limited his harmony to the notes of a given hexachord (§ 3.1.1). The idea was resurrected seemingly independently by Desrocquettes and Potiron in the 1920s (§§ 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), who codified a complex theory of chant harmony based on the belief that such hexachords limited the notes available for chord construction. Potiron made the system even more stringent in the 1930s by omitting ‘B’ \flat and ‘B’ \natural when they were liable to conflict with

instances of those notes in the chant. In the 1950s, he made the system stricter still by forbidding the use of notes in the accompaniment that did not appear in the melody. Reducing the notes available to an accompanist stands in stark contrast to the practice of some German theorists at the beginning of the twentieth century, who chose to admit all the notes of the chromatic scale because, they believed, it permitted them to reflect the conjunct nature of the chant in an equally conjunct—though highly chromatic—accompaniment (§ 5.1.1). Both cohorts evidently existed at opposite ends of the harmonic spectrum, though the preference for less active accompaniments was not a novel phenomenon. It arose as the *Gruppenbegleitung* style (see p. 10 above) and again during the 1860s when it was decided to interpolate 6/3 chords between 5/3 chords (see p. 92 above).

In the present study, no attempt has been made of functional analysis of chant harmonisations; if such analysis is possible, then we await an appropriate methodology for that purpose.¹⁰⁸⁶ Nor was a consideration of the Anglican practice of accompanied plainsong within the scope of the present study, yet the exile of the Benedictine community to England put Anglican musicians into closer contact with the theory and practice we have discussed throughout this dissertation. The accompaniment manuals written by Francis Burgess and John Henry Arnold clearly owe a debt to Solesmian practice in their placement of chords and choice of harmonies (see pp. 205 and 206 above and Arnold's entry on p. 474 below), which may in the future be evaluated further. By all accounts, the fertilisation of Anglican methodologies corroborates the interpretation that chant accompaniment played host to adaptable methods, and the recent arrangements of chant accompaniment for synthesiser suggest it to be capable of withstanding further developments in the future.

¹⁰⁸⁶At a late stage in the preparation of this dissertation the author became aware of the following analytical study: Ruka Shironishi, 'Plainchant Accompaniment and Modal Harmony in Nineteenth-Century France' (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2021), but the writer's use of a restrictive range of sources has led to certain conclusions with which the present author begs to disagree.

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THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF PLAINCHANT IN FRANCE,
BELGIUM AND CERTAIN OTHER CATHOLIC REGIONS: A
CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE
FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE SECOND
VATICAN COUNCIL

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

Cillian Long

2022

Complete in Two Volumes

Volume II

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APPENDIX A
MUSIC EXAMPLES

A.1 Chapter one

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system is labeled 'Tono I.' and consists of two staves: 'Canto Fermo' (vocal line) and 'Organo' (organ accompaniment). The vocal line begins with a 'P' (piano) dynamic, followed by 'M' (mezzo-forte) and 'C' (crescendo). The organ part includes figured bass notation: 6, 4, 3, 5, 5, 2, 4, #. The second system is labeled 'Ton. VI.' and also consists of two staves: 'C.F.' (Canto Fermo) and 'Organo'. The vocal line in this system starts with 'P', then 'M', and ends with 'C'. The organ part includes a figured bass notation '5'.

Example 1: Alfieri, Reputedly antiquated psalm-tone basses

5 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 . 6 5 6 7 6 5 6 5 6
 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3

Primeiro Choro.
Chriffe.

6 6 6 5
 5 6 5 4 6 5 5 5 5 5 4 6 3
 3 3 3 2 3 3 3 *3 3 3 2 3 ~

Example 2: Antônio, Considerable inner part movement, 1761

Lux or - - ta - est su - per nos, - qui - a - ho - di - e -
Secundi toni.
 na - tus est - Sal - va - tor mun - di, al - le - lu - ia.

Example 3: Knecht, Harmonisation in the second mode, 1798

gu - - - ber - - - ne - - - tur, quos o-peris tu-i vi-ca-ri-os e - - i - dem

Example 4: Neubig, 'arpeggio Begleitung', 1844

Graduale pag. LVI.

Sanctus.
Largo.

Sau - - - ctus, sau - - - ctus, sau - - - ctus Do-mi-nus De - - - us

Example 5: Jarmusiewicz, Ornamented accompaniment, 1834

Ky - ri - e e - - - - - le - i - son.

Example 6: Gorączkiewicz, Neapolitan and diminished harmonies, 1847

glo - ri - am Tu - am, Do - mi - ne

Example 7: Gorączkiewicz, French sixth harmony, 1847

VIII.

geni-tum. Et ex Patre natum an-te omni-a saecu-la.

Example 8: Stehlin, Tetrardus modulation to C major, 1842

Nro. 37. Die Harmonie des Hexachords.

Example 9: Stehlin, Experimental derivation of harmony from hexachords, 1852

Li-be-ra me, Do - - - - mi-ne, de mor-te ae-ter - - - - na

Example 10: Homeyer, Harmony conflicting with chant, 1846

Auf die Marienfeste.

Cadenz.

1. *A...ve ma.ris stel...la,*
 2. *Sit laus De...o pa...tri,*

1. *Dei ma...ter al...ma, a...que semper virgo*
 2. *summo Chri...sto de...cus, Spi...ri...tu...i sancto*

fe...lix coe.li por...ta.
tribus hono...rus

Zwischenspiel.

A...men.

Example 11: Schwarz, *Ibid.*, 1846

Post Elevationem. Solo. Pi-e Je-su Do-mi-ne, Chor. do-na e-is re-qui-em.

Mod. II. *Introductio.*

Example 12: Schneider, Protus cadence using A minor → D minor harmony, 1866

Introitus.

re-sur-re-xi, et ad-huc te-cum sum,

Al-le-lu-ja, po-su-i-sti su-per

Example 13: Ett, Chordal texture with bare octaves, 1834

a/4. *T. e/ B. Unis.*

Sopr.
 Alto
 Ten.
 Basso.

Miserere nostri Do-mi-ne: mise-re-re nostri: Fiat misericordia tu-a Do-mine, super nos.

a/4.

Sopr.
 Alto
 Ten.
 Basso.

quem ad-modum spe-ra-vimus in te. In te Do-mi-ne, spe-ra-vi.

Example 14: Benz, Unison and SATB passages, 1850

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son. Chri - ste e, e - lei - son.

6 6 4# 4#

Example 15: Mettenleiter, Chordal texture, 1854

Example 16: Bruckner, Minor-mode harmonisation of 'Veni creator'

Vi - di a - - quam e - gre - di - en - tem de tem - plo a la - te - re

dex - - tro, al - le - lu - - ja, et o - - mnes ad quos perve - nit a - qua

Example 17: Witt, Antiquated ideal of accompaniment, 1872

The image shows a musical score for the Kyrie eleison. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The melody is written in the treble clef and is characterized by a series of rapid, slurred eighth notes, creating a 'passing notes' effect. The lyrics 'Ky ri - e, e - lei - - son.' are written above the treble staff, with horizontal lines indicating the syllable placement. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Example 18: Witt, 'Passing notes' system, 1872

Introitus.
Modus I.

Dó - mi-nus

se - - cus ma - re Ga-li-læ - æ vi - - - dit

Example 19: Hanisch, Dissonant upper auxiliary, 1883

Graduale.
Modus 8.

Di - le - xí - - - sti ju - stí - - - ti - am,

Example 20: Schildknecht, Prelude, harmonised intonation and larger noteheads, 1892

Die 3. Februarii. S. Blasii Episc. et Mart.

II. Man.: Geigenpr. 8'.

Introitus.

I. Man.: Hohfl. 8', Dolce 8', Gamba 8'.

I. Man.

Ped.

Gau - de - á - - - mus

Example 21: Quadflieg, Contrapuntal prelude and harmonised intonation, 1894

Die 5. Julii. S. Antonii Mariæ Zaccaria, Conf.

Introitus.
Modus IV.

Ser - mo me - us,

et præ - di - cá - ti - o me - a non in per - su - a - si - bí - li - bus hu - má - næ sa - pi -

Example 22: Quadflieg, Introit for the feast of St Anthony Maria Zaccaria, 1900

27*. *Sacris solemnis I.* Direct. chori 1874.

1. Sa - cris so - lémni - is jun - cta

The image shows a musical score for a tenor part. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 4/4. The melody is written in the treble clef, and the accompaniment is in the bass clef. The lyrics are written below the treble staff. The first line of lyrics is "1. Sa - cris so - lémni - is jun - cta". The notes are: Sa (quarter), - cris (quarter), so (quarter), - lémni (quarter), - is (quarter), jun (quarter), - cta (quarter). There are some annotations below the notes: "d" under "so", "s" under "is", and "d" under "cta".

Example 23: Piel, Tenor part annotated with abbreviated *dexter* and *sinister*, 1878

Sopranen.
 Chor.
 Ad - sper - ges me, Dó - - - mi - ne, hys - só - po, et mun - dá - bor: la - vá - - bis me,
 Wäsche mich, o Herr, mit Was, und ich werde rein; wäsche mich,

Ped.

Example 24: Piel, Intonation in quadratic notation, 1888

Qui pro-pter nos ho-mi-nes, et pro-pter no-stram sa-lu-tem des-cen-dit de coe-lis. Et in car-na-tus est

I. & II. ritard. Soli. I. & II. Più lento.

de Spi-ri-tu san-cto ex Ma-ri-a Vir-gi-ne, et ho-mo fa-ctus est. Cru-ci-fi-xus e-ti-am pro no-bis:

rit. I. & II. Grave. r l

Example 25: Wanger, Trappist accompaniment for South Africa, 1894

Repet.

A - - sper - - ges me.

r s a r a

Example 26: Habert, Annotated 'Asperges me', c.1885

Mul-ta bo-na ó - pe-ra * ó - pe-rá-tus sum vo-bis: pro-pter quod o - pus vul - tis me oc - ci - de - re.

Example 27: Jirásek, Czech accompaniment, 1899

A.2 Chapter two

GAMME DE RE MINEUR. (Musique)

Doigtier
Montante . Descendante .

Doigtien doublant l'8e

GAMME DE RE MINEUR. (Plain chant)

Doigtier
Montante . Descendante .

Doigtien doublant l'8e

Example 28: Bruneau, Duplicated music example, 1856

Example 29: Danjou, 'Choral' accompaniment, 1920s

Ky - ri - e, E - - - - - le - i - son.

Example 30: Benoist, Chant in bottom part, 1855

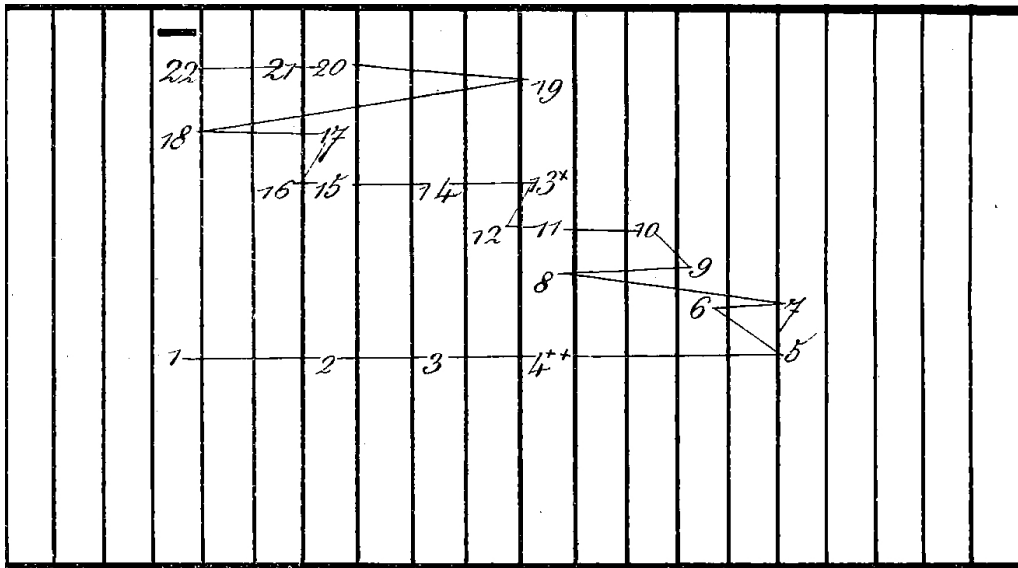
Ky - ri - e, E - - - - - le - i - son.

Example 31: Benoist, chant in top, 1855

Example 32: Miné, 'Faux Bourdon à la Pédale', 1845

Lau-da, Si-on, sal-va-to-rem, lau-da du-cem et pas-to-rem, in hymnis et can-ti-cis.
[sic]

Example 33: Miné, Accompaniment in filled notation, 1845



Example 34: 'Orgue-Cabias' notation, 1834



Example 35: My transcription of ex. 34 (from *Messe royale* by Dumont)

INDICATEUR DU CLAVIER							
DO	RÉ	MI	FA	SOL	LA	SI ^b	DO

HARMONISATEUR C. G.							
Notes de basse. (main gauche)		Accompagnement. (main droite)				Notes de chant.	
MI		MI	SOL	3		SI	
SOL		RÉ	SOL	2		SI	
SOL		RÉ	SOL	2		SI ^b	
SI ^b		RÉ	FA	1		SI ^b	
RÉ	(e)	RÉ	FA	3		LA	
FA		DO	FA	2		LA	
LA		DO	MI	1		LA	
DO		DO	MI	3		SOL	
SOL	(d)	SI	RÉ	1		SOL	
RÉ		LA	RÉ	2		FA	
FA		LA	DO	1		FA	
LA		LA	DO	3		MI	
DO		SOL	DO	2		MI	
MI	(c)	SOL [#]	SI	1		MI	
SOL	(b)	SOL	SI	3		RÉ	
SI ^b	(a)	FA	SI ^b	2		RÉ	
RÉ		FA	LA	1		RÉ	
FA		FA	LA	3		DO	
LA		MI	LA	2		DO	
DO		MI	SOL	1		DO	

Example 36: C.G., Table of chords, 1884

Exemple en Musique ordinaire.



Comparez!

(1)

Exemple du système TROIS D'UN.



The image shows two musical examples. The first, 'Exemple en Musique ordinaire', consists of two staves: a treble staff with a key signature of one flat and a 2/4 time signature, and a bass staff. The second, 'Exemple du système TROIS D'UN', consists of a single staff with five lines labeled M, D, L, F, and R from top to bottom. The notes on this staff correspond to the notes in the first example.

Example 37: Dedun, The 'three-in-one' system, 1889

3^{me} MODE. **TANTUM ERGO**

Example 38: Duvois, Numerical chords, 1844

Example 39: My realisation of ex. 38

1 = *As.* $\overset{1}{6} \overset{2}{1} \overset{3}{2} \overset{4}{3} \overset{5}{2} \overset{6}{1} \overset{7}{7} \overset{8}{6} \mid \overset{9}{1} \overset{10}{6} \overset{11}{5} \overset{12}{6} \overset{13}{5} \overset{14}{6} \overset{15}{1} \overset{16}{2}$

Kyrie. Ky - ri-e, e - lei-

Mod. IX. & X. *f.*

Example 40: Mayer, Numerical scale steps, 1867

5 6 5 3 5 6 3 6 1 5 5 6 × 3 5 6 5 6 1 5 5

Example 41: Rousseau, Transcribed bass line from annotated 'Veni creator', 1889

FT SF Q *f* ST FSTF SF TF QTQ / FTQ F
 Ky - - rie e - - le_i_son 3fois

Example 42: Auzet, Annotated 'Kyrie' from *Missa de Angelis*, 1891

This block contains two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) with chords and bass notes. The second system also consists of two staves, continuing the accompaniment. The notation is in a simple, blocky style, typical of early 20th-century piano accompaniment.

Example 43: My realisation of ex. 42

A single staff of music with a treble clef. The notes are: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. Above the staff, arcs connect the notes: G-A, A-B, B-C, C-B, B-A, A-G, G-F, F-E, E-D, D-C. Fingerings are indicated: 1^{er} for G, 6 for A, 1^{er} for B, 5 for C, 1^{er} for B, 6 for A, 6 for G, and 1^{er} for F. Below the staff, the lyrics are: Vic-ti-mae Pascha-li lau-des Im-mo-lent Chris-ti-a-ni.

Example 44: Hanon, Arcs display interpretation of melodic formulæ, 1860

A piano accompaniment for the melody in Example 44. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a series of chords: G4-A4, A4-B4, B4-C5, B4-A4, A4-G4, G4-F4, F4-E4, E4-D4, D4-C4. The bass staff contains a series of chords: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The chords are played in a steady, rhythmic pattern.

Example 45: My realisation of ex. 44

DOMINANTE LA.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Main droite.	6														6									
Main gauche.	2 ^{de}	4 ^{te}	1 ^{re}	2 ^{de}	3 ^{ème}	2 ^{de}	3 ^{ème}	2 ^{de}	1 ^{re}	2 ^{de}	3 ^{ème}	2 ^{de}	1 ^{re}	3 ^{ème}	1 ^{re}	6 ^{te}	2 ^{de}	1 ^{re}	2 ^{de}	1 ^{re}	3 ^{ème}	2 ^{de}	1 ^{re}	1 ^{re}
Main droite.	5 la	5 si	4 do#	3 re	4 mi	4 fa	4 sol#	5 sol	5 la	5 la	4 si	4 do#	5 re	4 do#	5 si	5 la	4 sol#	4 sol	5 mi	4 fa#	4 fa#	4 re	5 do#	5 mi
Main gauche.	2 fa#	1 re	4 mi	4 fa#	4 la	4 la	4 do#	4 si	4 do#	4 do#	4 mi	4 mi	4 la	5 re	4 fa#	5 si	4 do#	3 mi	4 sol#	4 do#	4 fa#	4 si	4 si	4 do#
Main gauche.	2 fa#	1 re	4 do#	3 si	4 la	4 re	3 do#	2 mi	4 la	3 fa#	4 mi	4 la	5 re	4 fa#	5 si	4 do#	3 mi	4 sol#	4 do#	4 fa#	4 si	4 si	4 do#	5 mi

Example 46: Allard, Set of chords for the third mode, 1880

3^{ème} Mode.

3. 3. 4. 3. 2. 5. 5. 6. 9. 9. 10. 15. 10. 9. 7. 6. 9. 17. 20. 19. 5. 6. 9. 7. 6. 5. 20. 5.

20. 7. 19. 19. 23. 20. 21. 15. 12. 5. 4. 3. 2. 20. 17. 20. 19. 20. 7. 19. 5. 4. 3. 2. 3. 3. 4. 3. 2. 3. 3.

Example 47: Allard, Numerals indicate chords in ex. 46, 1880

As - pér - ges me, Dó - mi - ne, hys - só - po et mun - dá - bor; la - vá -

VII^e M.
une quarte
plus bas

bis me et su - per ni - vem de - al - bá - bor.

sans allération
al - bá - bor,

Example 48: Brune, Annotations transcribed, 1903

Hymne
des
Dimanches.

Lú - cis Cre - á - tor óptime, Lú - cem di - é - rum pró - fe -

rens, Primór - di - is lú - cis nó - vae Mún - di pá - rans o - ri - gi - nem.

Example 49: Aumon and Biret, Annotations transcribed, 1926

Ex: 116.

The musical score consists of three staves of music. The first staff is annotated with: 'commencement du morceau en UT.', 'modulation en SOL majeur.', 'retour en UT majeur.', and 'modulation en FA majeur.'. The second staff is annotated with: 'retour en DO majeur.', 'modulation en LA mineur.', 'retour en DO majeur.', and 'modulation en SOL majeur sans que le fa# indique, SOL est note finale.'. The third staff is annotated with: 'modulation en LA mineur.', 'modulation en RE mineur.', 'modulation en FA majeur.', and 'retour et finale en DO majeur.'.

Example 50: Battmann, Modulation towards phrase-end, 1855

et di - vina instu - ti - o - ne for - mali au - de - mus di - cere.

The musical score shows two staves of music. The upper staff features a stretched breve (a long horizontal line) followed by a cadence with a sharp sign (#) above the final note. The lower staff contains a single note with a sharp sign (#) above it, indicating a sharped cadence.

Example 51: Gevaert, Stretched breve and sharped cadence, 1856

Di-xit Dominus Domino meo

CONCLUSION UNIQUE.
sede a dex-tris me-ae

V^a TON.

Example 52: Janssen, Fifth psalm tone, 1845

lei — son. Chris — te e — lei — son.

Ky — ri — e e — lei — son.

The image shows two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on a bass clef staff. The first system features the lyrics 'lei — son. Chris — te e — lei — son.' with a melodic line in the voice and a supporting accompaniment. The second system features the lyrics 'Ky — ri — e e — lei — son.' with a similar melodic and accompaniment structure. The music is written in a style characteristic of 19th-century liturgical music.

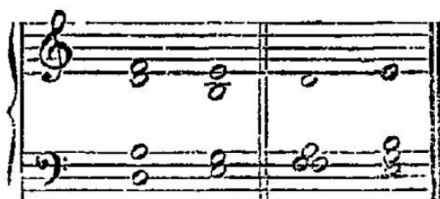
Example 53: Duval, Rinck-inspired interlude, 1845

INTROÏTUS.
TONUS VI.

Re --- qui --- em --- ac ---

--- nam do --- na e --- is

Example 54: Hageman, Chromatic harmony in Janssen's style, 1859



Example 55: Niedermeyer, Diatonic deuterus cadence, 1859

A musical score for a sharped deuterus cadence. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is on a single staff with a C-clef and contains two measures of music. The lyrics are "qui con-ver-tun-tur ad i-psum". The piano accompaniment consists of two staves, treble and bass clef. The treble staff has a G-clef and contains two measures of music. The bass staff has a C-clef and contains two measures of music. The piano accompaniment is a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The piece ends with a double bar line.

Example 56: Schmitt, Sharped deuterus cadence, 1864

3.^r
RESPONSORIO.

Do - mi-ne qu-an - do ve - ne-ris

ju - di - ca - re ter - ram u - bi me

Example 57: Ovejero, Chordal style, 1876

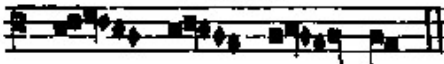


Example 58: Boulanger, Example of *Lento* accompaniment, 1860



Example 59: Nisard, Example of *Vif* accompaniment, 1860

7^e mode.



Example 60: Chant example provided by Nisard, 1860



Au lieu de :



Example 61: Nisard, ex. 60 in sustained and chordal styles, 1860

Introit du Jour de Pâques (Parisien, Du 1.)

Plain-chant

Chri - - - - - lüs re - sur - re - - - - - xü a mor - - - - - tü - is

Traduction

Chri - - - - - lüs re - - sur - re - - - - - xü a mor - - - - - tü - is

Orgue.

Example 62: Populus, Example from the Paris congress, 1860

CHANT.

Pan-ge lun-guam glo-ri-o - si Cor - po-ris mys-te -

1^{re} manière.

2^{me} manière.

3^{me} manière.

- ri - um San-gui-nis-que pre-ti - o - si, Quem in mun-di pre-ti - um

Fru-ctus ven-tris ge-ne-ro-si Rex ef - fu - dit gen - ti - um.

Example 63: Populus, Comparative bass lines, 1863

A.3 Chapter three

TE DEUM.

INTONATIO. CHORUS I.

Te De-um lau-dá - mus : te Dó-mi-num con-fi-té-mur.

Ch. II.

Te æ-tér-num Pa-trem, omnis ter-ra ve-ne-rá-tur.

The image shows a musical score for 'TE DEUM.' It consists of two main sections. The first section is labeled 'INTONATIO.' and 'CHORUS I.' It features a single-line intonation line with square notes and a diamond-shaped note, followed by a vocal line with lyrics 'Te De-um lau-dá - mus : te Dó-mi-num con-fi-té-mur.' and a piano accompaniment with hexachordal chords. The second section is labeled 'Ch. II.' and features a similar intonation line, a vocal line with lyrics 'Te æ-tér-num Pa-trem, omnis ter-ra ve-ne-rá-tur.', and a piano accompaniment with hexachordal chords.

Example 64: Gevaert, Hexachordal accompaniment, 1871

1. ge - ne - ro - si Rex ef - fu - dit gen - ti - um.
 3. du - o - denæ se - dat su - is ma - ni - bus.
 5. sup - ple - men - tum sensu - um de - fe - du - i.

Chœur

2. No - bis da - tus, no - bis
 4. Ver - bum ca - ro, pa - nem
 6. Ge - ni - to - ri, Ge - ni -

Orgue ad libitum

Example 65: Van Damme, Modulating interlude, c.1870s

Musical score for Example 66, showing a Sharped cadence. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of three staves: a single treble staff and a grand staff (treble and bass). The melody in the treble staff features a sharp sign over the final note. The piano accompaniment in the grand staff includes chords and moving lines in both hands.

Example 66: Lemmens, Sharped cadence, 1884

Musical score for Example 67, showing a Diatonic cadence. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of three staves: a single treble staff and a grand staff (treble and bass). The melody in the treble staff includes a *rit.* marking above the final notes. The piano accompaniment in the grand staff includes chords and moving lines in both hands.

Example 67: Lemmens, Diatonic cadence, 1884

Handwritten musical score for Example 68. The first system consists of two staves with mensural notation. The lyrics "Pater et Filio" are written below the first staff, and "et Spiritu Sancto, sicut etc" are written below the second staff. The second system also consists of two staves with mensural notation. The lyrics "in gloria deo Patri" are written below the first staff, and "Amen" is written below the second staff. The notation includes various note values and rests characteristic of mensural notation.

Example 68: Lemmens to Pothier, Mensurated accompaniment, 21 December 1879

Printed musical score for Example 69. The score is for piano accompaniment, showing the right and left hands. The lyrics "Re - quiem æ - - ter - - nam do - na e - is" are written above the right-hand staff. The right-hand staff contains melodic lines with triplets and slurs, and is marked with "(1)" and "(2)". The left-hand staff contains a bass line with slurs. Performance instructions "Man." and "Ped. non oblig." are written below the left and right staves respectively.

Example 69: Van Damme, 'Kyrie' from *Missa pro defunctis*, 1881

Os-tén- de. A-ver-ti- sti.

Jo- seph.

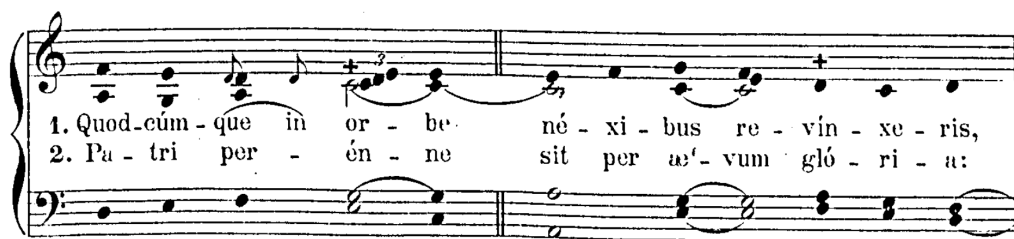
The image shows a musical score with two systems. The first system consists of a vocal line at the top and a piano accompaniment below. The vocal line uses filled-and-void notation, where notes are represented by squares with either a solid black center (filled) or a white center (void). The piano accompaniment is written in standard notation with treble and bass clefs. The second system also features a vocal line with filled-and-void notation and a piano accompaniment in standard notation. The lyrics 'Os-tén-de. A-ver-ti-sti.' are aligned with the first system, and 'Jo-seph.' is aligned with the second system.

Example 70: Van Damme, Early instance of filled-and-void notation



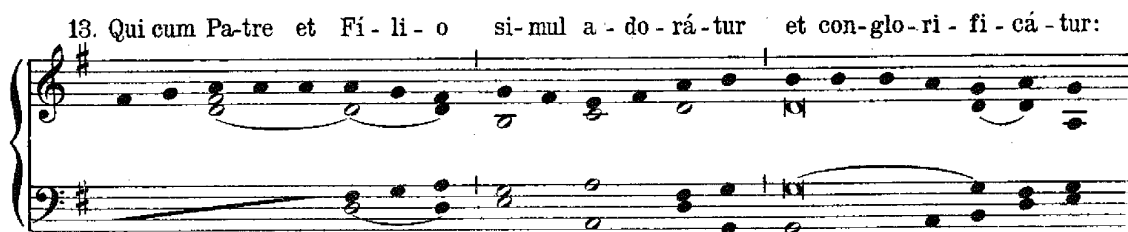
Dés - us Pá - ter omní - potens. Dó - mi - ne, Fí - li u - ni - gé - ni - te, Jé - su Chrí - ste.

Example 71: Van Damme, *Ordinarium Missæ* with filled-and-void notation, 1884



1. Quod - cùm - que in or - be. né - xi - bus re - vîn - xe - ris,
2. Pa - tri per - én - ne sit per æ - vum gló - ri - a:

Example 72: Van Damme, Cross showing metrical accent, 1885



13. Qui cum Pa - tre et Fí - li - o si - mul a - do - rá - tur et con - glo - ri - fi - cá - tur:

Example 73: Near-horizontal oblique, c.1907

Tu so - lus Dó - mi - nus. Tu so - lus Al - tís - si - mus, Je - su Chri - ste.

Cum san - eto Spí - ri tu, in gló - ri - a De - i Pa - - tris. A - - - - men.

Man. Ped.

Example 74: Piel and Schmetz, Extract from *Ordinarium missæ*, c.1886

De-o grá-ti-as, Al-le-lú-ja, Alle-lú-ja. De-

o grá-ti-as.

566 6

Example 75: Schmetz-Piel, Harmonic quadratic notation, 1884

[sic]

6 # 5 6 6 6

Example 76: Realisation of ex. 75

Chri-ste e-lé- i-son. iij.

Example 77: Pothier, 'Christe' from *In Festis Solemnibus I*, 1883

Chri - ste

Example 78: Schmetz, Applying *Liber gradualis* neumes, 1885

(1)

na - - - re Je - ru - sa - lem

qui - a glo - ri - a Do - - -

- mi - ni su - per te or - ta est

(1)

Récit. *tr* G.O.

Ped.....

Voir à la page 54 l'explication des (1) dans le Graduel de l'Epiphanie

Example 79: Lhoumeau, Instrumental accompaniment, 1884

Qui sé-des ad déx-teram Pátris, mi-se-ré-re nó-bis.

Example 80: Lhoumeau, Chords changing on *theses*, 1892

On devra harmoniser,

Example 81: Lhoumeau, Bass notes changing on final neumatic note, 1893

1 2 3 4

in á-tri - a oppróbri - um vi - dit dis - p é r d i t í l - los

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line consists of four phrases, each marked with a number (1, 2, 3, 4) and a slur. The lyrics are: "in á-tri - a oppróbri - um vi - dit dis - p é r d i t í l - los". The piano accompaniment is written in two staves (treble and bass clef) and provides harmonic support for the vocal line.

Example 82: Lhoumeau, Feminine endings, 1892

etc.

r. p. etc.

etc.

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line consists of three phrases, each marked with a slur and ending with "etc.". The piano accompaniment is written in two staves (treble and bass clef) and provides harmonic support for the vocal line. The first phrase of the piano accompaniment is marked with "r. p." (ritardando piano).

Example 83: Lhoumeau, Melismatic accompaniment, 1892

Salve, Regina,

ma-ter mi-se-ri-cor-diae, vi-ta,

Example 84: Clément, Awkward voice leading, 1894

Largo

Pu - er na - tus est no - bis. et Fi - li - us da - tus est no - bis

9 Cu - jus im - pe - ri - um *p* su - per hu - mer - um ei -

13 jus et vo - ca - bi - tur no - men ei - jus,

17 mag - ni con - si - li an - ge - lus

The image displays a musical score for a vocal and piano piece. It is divided into four systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked 'Largo'. The first system (measures 1-8) is in 2/4 time and features a vocal line with lyrics 'Pu - er na - tus est no - bis. et Fi - li - us da - tus est no - bis' and a piano accompaniment starting with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second system (measures 9-12) changes to 3/8 time and includes the lyrics 'Cu - jus im - pe - ri - um su - per hu - mer - um ei -'. The piano accompaniment in this system has a forte (*f*) dynamic at the beginning and a piano (*p*) dynamic later. The third system (measures 13-16) changes to 6/8 time and has the lyrics 'jus et vo - ca - bi - tur no - men ei - jus,'. The fourth system (measures 17-20) returns to 2/4 time with the lyrics 'mag - ni con - si - li an - ge - lus'. The piano accompaniment in the final system includes a fermata over the last measure.

Example 85: Gigout, Sustained harmonisation according to Teppé's rhythm, 1889

Largo

Pu - er na - tus est no - bis. et Fi - li - us da - tus

est no - bis. Cu - jus im - pe - ri - um *p* su - per hu -

mer - um ei - jus et vo - ca - bi -

tur no - men ei - jus, mag - ni con -

si - li an - ge - lus

Example 86: Gigout, Instrumental harmonisation according to Teppe's rhythm, 1889

Glo-ri-a pa-tri, et fi-li-o,

Glo-ri-a pa-tri, et fi-li-o,

Example 87: Gigout, Unaccompanied notes, 1892

O-quam gran-de ti-bi pa-ter De-po-si-tum cre-di-dit.

Example 88: Gigout, Chord-against-note style, 1892

piu lento

Plau-de cre-a-tu-ra pe-ri-é-runt, vin-cu-la du-ra.

Example 89: Gigout, 'Più lento' style, 1892

Mens in - lén-ta ad Chris - tum e - liam

Mens in - lén-ta ad Chris - tum e - li am

Example 90: Boëllmann, Similar approach to ex. 89 but for rests, 1892

V. p. p. 121. - t. 5. Accomp^t de Ch. Gounod

au de Si-on, quee di-em re-co-lis, Qua Mar-ti-nus, com-par a-pis-to-lis,

Orgue.

Example 91: Gounod, Chord-against-note style, 1892

V. p. p. 40. Accomp^t de Ch. Widor.

æ-lä-re pu-er-pe-ra læ-to pu-er-pè-ri-o,

Orgue.

Example 92: Widor, Chord-against-note style, 1892

N. Coe - li - cus or - do sa - gram re - ve - re - tur vir - gi - ni - ta - tem.

Example 93: Tinel, Obliques and accompaniment in two or three parts, 1892

Qui cru - ci - fi - xus e - rat De - us, ec - ce per o - mni - a re - gnat, Dumque Crea - to - ri

Example 94: Busschaert, Rests as blank space, 1892

e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e, qui pa - ti Na - tum mundi pro - cri - mi - ne,
e - le - i - son. Ky - ri - e, qui pa - ti Na - tum mundi pro - cri - mi - ne,

Example 95: Brault, Neumes not played by the organ, 1892

an - ge - lus con - si - li - i Na - tus est de Vir - gi - ne : Sol - de stel - la.

Example 96: Gevaert, Mensural transcription with fermata-clad barlines, 1892

na - runt Cor - de a - per - to

Example 97: Byström, Mensural accompaniment barred in 6/8, 1892

es, Virgo Ma- ri- a: * Cu-

Example 98: *Processionale monasticum*, 'Benedicta et venerabilis', 1888

es, Vir-go Ma ri-

ped.

Example 99: Lhoumeau, Accompaniment of ex. 98, 1892

Récit. Gambe
et jeux doux
de 8 p.

Grand-orgue.
jeux de 8.
Claviers accouplés.
Pédale 8 et 16.

Récit.

poco cresc. G. O.

Réc. mf

G. O. p &c.

Rec

Rec

Exemple 100: Lhoumeau, Alleluia *Justus germinabit*, 1893

II.

Récit.
Hautbois et
Bourdon de 8.

I.

Grand-Orgue
Jeux doux de 8.

Pédalier
8 et 16.

&c.

Example 101: Lhoumeau, Alleluia *Fac nos innocuam*, 1893

Handwritten musical score for piano, clarinet, and bassoon. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system has two staves. The second system has two staves. The third system has three staves: the top staff is for Clarinette, the middle staff is for Basson, and the bottom staff is for Basson. The Clarinette part is marked *ff* and *Faids*. The Basson part is marked *ff* and *Faids*. The piano part is marked *ff* and *Faids*. The score ends with a double bar line.

Example 102: Guilmant, *F-Pn* MS 6979, f. 1v

The image shows a handwritten musical score on three systems of staves. The top system features a double bass line with a *Gamba* label above it. The middle system includes staves for Oboe, Bassoon, and Fagot (Bassoon), with a *G^o Flöte* label above the Oboe staff and a *f* dynamic marking. The bottom system is a grand staff for piano, with a *rall:* marking above the right-hand part. The score is written in a historical style with various note values and rests.

Example 103: Guilmant, *F-Pn* MS 6979, f. 2r

quem quæri - mus ad - ju - to - rem, ni - si - te Do - mi - ne?

Example 104: Guilmant, 'Media vita', 1891

CHORAL

Example 105: Tournemire, 'Choral alleluatique No 2' from *L'orgue mystique*, 1927-32

A.4 Chapter four

Minuetto.

The image shows two staves of musical notation for a Minuetto in 3/4 time. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is written with various punctuation marks above it: an asterisk (*) above the first measure, a semicolon (;) after the first phrase, another asterisk (*) above the second phrase, and a plus sign (+) above the final measure. The piece ends with a double bar line and the word "Fin.". The second staff continues the melody with similar punctuation marks and ends with a double bar line and the instruction "Da Capo".

Example 106: Mattheson, Minuet parsed using punctuation, 1739

Ton hyperiastien (mode locrien).

Te er - go quaes-u-mus, tu - is fa-mu-lis sub - ve - ni, quos pre - ti - o - so

Ton lydien (mode mixolydien).

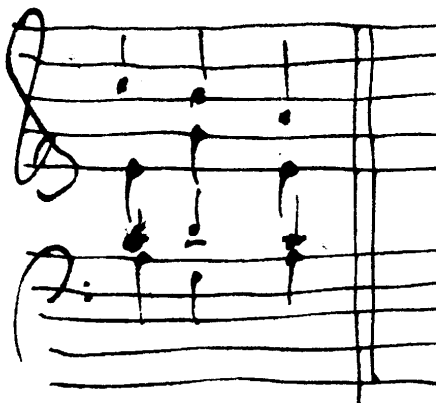
sangui - ne re - de - mi - sti. Ae - ter - na fac cum san - ctis tu - is

in glo - ri - a nu - me - ra - ri. Salvum fac populum tuum Do - mi - ne etc.

Example 107: Gevaert, Dotted annotations, 1875

The image shows a single staff of musical notation in 6/8 time. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes. Small dots are placed above various notes to indicate metrical accents, showing the rhythmic structure of the piece.

Example 108: Marcetteau, Dots showing metrical accents, 1909



Example 109: Wagner, Niedermeyan cadence, 1895



Example 110: Wagner, Flatted V-I cadence, 1895

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

As- pér- ges me Dó- mi- ne

Example 111: Mocquereau, Pointing *arsic* and *thetic ictuses*, 1897

(M.M.) $\frac{1}{4} = 132$

Ant. 7.

A - spér - ges me, Dó - mi - ne, hyssó - po et mun -

- dá - bor: la - vá - bis me, et su - per ni - vem

de - alba - bor. Mi - se - ré - re mé - i Dé - us,

rall.

Example 112: Mocquereau-Delpech, Pointed 'Asperges me', 1898

4.
in E

(M.M. $\frac{1}{4}$ = 138)

Sán- ctus, Sán- ctus, Sán- ctus

Example 113: *Pressus* attracting primary *arsic ictus*, 1898

gló-ri- am tú- am Dómi- ne Dé- us, Rex cé- le- stis, Dé- us Pá- ter om-

Example 114: *Mora vocis* attracting primary *arsic ictus*, 1898

Graduel bénédictin p (112) Accomp. de Dom Legeay O.S.B. Solesmes

The image shows a musical score for a Benedictine Gradual. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Al - le - lu - ia' and 'al - le - lu - ia'. The middle staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'al - le - lu - ia'. The bottom staff is an organ accompaniment, labeled 'Orgue.' with an asterisk. The organ part features a complex, rhythmic pattern of chords and single notes. The notation is in a historical style, using beamed notation for the organ part.

Example 115: Legeay, Beamed notation, 1892

óm - - nis tér ra:

Example 116: Lepage, *Livre d'Orgue* notation, 1900

(M.M. { = 132)

Ký - ri - e e -

Example 117: Delpech, 5/3 chords built on $\hat{6}$ in the deuterus, 1898

The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece. It consists of a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on three staves. The piano part features a sequence of chords that follow the vocal line's phrasing. The chords are placed in a way that they follow the vocal line's phrasing, illustrating the concept of 'chord placement follows pointing'.

Example 118: Mocquereau–La Tombelle, Chord placement follows pointing, 1898

The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece. It consists of a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The piano part includes markings such as "6.0.", "riten.", and "senza Ped.". The lyrics are: "Hæc di- es, quam fé- cit". The tempo marking is "(M.M. ♩ = 152)".

Example 119: Mocquereau–Guilmant, Independence from primary *arsic ictus*, 1898

rit.

1 Ec-ce re-nas-cén-tis test-á-tur grá-ti-a mún-di
 2 Nam-que tri-um-phán-ti post trís-ti-a tár-ta-ra Chris-to
 3 Qui gé-nus hu-má-num cér-nens mer-sis-se pro-fún-do
 4 Trís-ti-a ces-sé-runt in-fér-næ vín-cu-la lé-gis,
 5 Sol-ve ca-te-ná-tas in-fér-ni cár-ce-ris um-bras,
 6 Ful-gén-tes a-ni-mas vés-tis quo-que cán-dí-da si-gnat,

Example 120: Mocquereau–Bordes, Each verse pointed, 1898

(MM. ♩ = 144)

1. Jé-su Re-dém-ptor ómni-um, Quem lú-cis ante o-rí-gi-nem
 3. Me mén-to, ré-rum Oóndi-tor, Nos-tri quod ó-lím cór-po-ris,
 5. Hunc ástra, tél-lus, æ-quo-ra, Hunc óm-ne quod cælo su-best.
 7. Jé-su, tí-bi-sit gló-ri-a, Qui nã-tus es de Vír-gi-ne.

Example 121: Mocquereau–Guilmant, Chant pointed instead of text, 1898

(M.M. ♩ = 138)

Di-es í-ræ, di-es il-la, sólvæt sæ-clum in favíl-la

Example 122: Mocquereau-Delpech, Chords change on unaccented syllables, 1900

Chrí-stum Dó-mi-ni.

Chrí-stum Dó-mi-ni.

Example 123: Gaborit analysing Bas, 1903

Dó- mi- num

Example 124: Bas, Supposedly syncopated chord placement, 1903

Dó- mi- num

Example 125: Laloy, Alternative transcription, 1903

(M.M. ♩ = 138). Δ

4.

Sán- ctus, * Sán- ctus, Sán-

Example 126: Solesmes, New method of pointing *ictuses*, 1904

Sal-ve ma-ter mi-se-ri-cór-di-ae, Ma-ter De-i, et ma-ter vé-ni-ae, Ma-ter spe-i, et

The first system of the musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The music is written in a style typical of early 20th-century liturgical music. The lyrics are placed below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across notes. The first system ends with a double bar line.

ma-ter gra-ti-ae, Ma-ter ple-na sanctae lae-ti-ti-ae, O Ma-ri-a!

The second system of the musical score also consists of two staves in the same clefs and key signature as the first system. It continues the melody and accompaniment. The lyrics are placed below the staves. The system concludes with a double bar line and the instruction 'Rip. Salve mater.' written to the right of the staves.

Rip. Salve mater.

Example 127: Bas, Chord placement on weak syllables, 1903

Chri - stum Dó - mi - ni:

Example 128: Bas, Incorporating Gaborit's correction, c.1904

Ti - mé - te Dó - mi - num

Example 129: Bas, Incorporating Laloy's correction, c.1904

stellam e - jus in O - - ri - én - te ,

Example 130: Bas, Extract from 'In Epiphania Domini'

óf - - fe - - rent: re-ges Á - - ra - - bum

The musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in a high register, featuring a melodic line with various note values and rests. The lower staff is a piano accompaniment, characterized by a complex rhythmic pattern with many rests in the bass line, particularly in the first half of the phrase.

Example 131: Bas, Rests in the accompaniment, 1904

De- i. De- i. De- i.

ou ou

The musical score shows three variations of the phrase 'De- i. ou'. Each variation consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The first variation shows a full piano accompaniment with a clear ictus. The second variation shows a similar accompaniment but with a different treatment of the ictus. The third variation shows a simplified piano accompaniment with a different treatment of the ictus.

Example 132: Bas, Determining treatment of the *ictus*, c.1905

The image displays a musical score for a piano, consisting of nine numbered measures. Each measure is presented in a two-staff format, with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The notation is as follows:

- Measure 1:** Treble staff has a quarter note G4 with an accent (^), followed by a quarter note A4 with an accent (^). Bass staff has a half note G3 with an accent (^).
- Measure 2:** Treble staff has a quarter note A4 with an accent (^), followed by a quarter note B4 with an accent (^). Bass staff has a half note A3 with an accent (^).
- Measure 3:** Treble staff has a quarter note B4 with an accent (^), followed by a quarter note C5 with an accent (^). Bass staff has a half note B3 with an accent (^).
- Measure 4:** Treble staff has a quarter note C5 with an accent (^), followed by a quarter note D5 with an accent (^). Bass staff has a half note C4 with an accent (^).
- Measure 5:** Treble staff has a quarter note D5 with an accent (^), followed by a quarter note E5 with an accent (^). Bass staff has a half note D4 with an accent (^).
- Measure 6:** Treble staff has a quarter note E5 with an accent (^), followed by a quarter note F5 with an accent (^). Bass staff has a half note E4 with an accent (^).
- Measure 7:** Treble staff has a quarter note F5 with an accent (^), followed by a quarter note G5 with an accent (^). Bass staff has a half note F4 with an accent (^).
- Measure 8:** Treble staff has a quarter note G5 with an accent (^), followed by a quarter note A5 with an accent (^). Bass staff has a half note G4 with an accent (^).
- Measure 9:** Treble staff has a quarter note A5 with an accent (^), followed by a quarter note B5 with an accent (^). Bass staff has a half note A4 with an accent (^).

Example 133: Mathias, Graduated stages of part movement, 1903

Gratias agimus ti-bi propter mag-nam glo - ri-am tu - am

Example 134: Mathias, Application of graduated stages

App. Ret. Br. App. B. B. App. App. Ret.

Aúdi, be - ni - gne conditor.

Example 135: Chassang, Dissonances marking *ictus*, 1904

am tu só- lus sán-ctus. Tu só- lus Dó- mi- nus.

Tu só- lus Al- tís- simus, Jé- su Chrí- ste. Cum Sán-

c-to Spí- ri- tu in gló- ri- a Dé- i Pá- tris.

A- men.

Example 136: Mocquereau, Pointed 'Gloria', 1904 (G2 clefs omitted)

The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece in G major. The score is written on two systems of staves. The first system contains the vocal line and piano accompaniment for the first three measures. The second system contains the vocal line and piano accompaniment for the next three measures. The lyrics are: "Tu so-lus Dó-mi-nus. Tu so-lus Al-tís-si-mus, Je-su Chri-ste. Cum San-cto Spí-ri-tu, in gló-ri-a De-i Pa-tris. A-men." The piano accompaniment consists of a simple harmonic accompaniment in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#).

Tu so-lus Dó-mi-nus. Tu so-lus Al-tís-si-mus, Je-su Chri-ste. Cum San-cto Spí-ri-

tu, in gló-ri-a De-i Pa-tris. A-men.

Example 137: Mathias, Transcription similar to ex. 136, 1905

Ký - - ri - e, e - lé - i - son.



Example 138: Wagner, Flitting between two, three and four parts, 1905

tu - um, non a - vér - tas fá - ci - em ★



Example 139: Desmet-Dupuydt, Filled-and-void notation, 1910s

lá - vá - - bis - me, et - - su - per ni - vem de al - bá - bor.

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "lá - vá - - bis - me, et - - su - per ni - vem de al - bá - bor." Above the vocal line, there is a wavy line indicating a specific performance technique, and an upward-pointing caret symbol (^) above the note "ni". The piano accompaniment is written on two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one sharp. It features a "rit." marking in the bass staff.

Example 140: Horn, *Quilisma* and caret symbols, 1932

Ký - - ri - e o - - ló - i -

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The lyrics are "Ký - - ri - e o - - ló - i -". Above the vocal line, there are double sharps (##) above the notes "Ký" and "o", and double flats (bb) below the notes "ri" and "ló". The piano accompaniment is written on two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of two sharps. It features double sharps (##) and double flats (bb) in the bass staff.

Example 141: Bass, Double signatures, 1904

ste e - lé - i - son. Chri - ste e - lé - i - son. Ký - ri - e

Example 142: Mathias, Double signatures, 1906

in gló - ri - a De - i Pa - tris. A - - - A - - - men.

Example 143: Nekes, Deuterus cadences with sharps

The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef, with a common time signature (C). The lyrics are: "Ký - ri - e e - lé - i - son. Chri - ste e - lé - i - son. Chri - - ste". The bottom two staves are a piano accompaniment in treble and bass clefs. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The piano part features a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. A "rall." marking is present in the piano part towards the end of the phrase. The score is divided into three measures by bar lines.

Example 144: Johanns, Cadential sharpening, 1909

5.

Y-ri- e * e- lé- i-son. *ij.* Chri-
ste e- lé- i-son. *ij.* Ký-ri- e

Example 145: Solesmes, Updated chant to match Vatican Edition, 1905

(M.M.) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{♩} \\ \text{♩} \end{array} \right. = 138$

Ký - ri - e e -

Example 146: Delpech, Chord placement matches pointing, 1898

Ký-ri - e * e - -

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The lyrics are "Ký-ri - e * e - -". The piano accompaniment is written on two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of two sharps. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. There are several accidentals, including flats (b) and a sharp (*). The piano part provides a harmonic and rhythmic foundation for the vocal line.

Example 147: Bas, Revised accompaniment, 1906

(M.M. ♩ = 138.) XV-XVI. s.

5.
(fa-do)

Ký- ri- e * e-

lé- i-son. *ij.* Chrí-ste e-

The image shows a musical score for a Kyrie eleison. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a 7/8 time signature, and a tempo marking of (M.M. ♩ = 138.). The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat). The lyrics 'Ký- ri- e * e-' are written below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody with the lyrics 'lé- i-son. *ij.* Chrí-ste e-'. Vertical lines, known as episemata, are placed above the notes 'e' and 'e-' in both staves, indicating specific rhythmic or melodic points. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals.

Example 148: Solemses, Pointing with vertical *episemata*, 1924

(M.M. ♩ = 138)

V. *Ký - ri - e - - e - - lé - i - son. *ij.**

Example 149: Manzetti, Reportedly following Bas, 1906

non mó - ri - tur.

Example 150: Mathias, Secondary accidental pertains to chant part alone, 1936

Example 151: Wiltberger, Sharped deuterus cadence, c.1910

V. (M.M. ♩ = 138) III.

Ký-ri - e * e - - lé-i-son.

Chri - ste e - - lé-i-son.

The image shows two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The first system is labeled 'V.' and '(M.M. ♩ = 138)'. The lyrics 'Ký-ri - e * e - - lé-i-son.' are written below the treble staff. The second system has the lyrics 'Chri - ste e - - lé-i-son.' below the treble staff. Both systems end with a double bar line and the Roman numeral 'III.' in the right margin.

Example 152: Vranken, Seemingly following Solesmian transcription, 1910

(M.M. ♩ = 138) Ky - ri - - e *

V.

e - - - - - lé - i - son. ij. Chri - ste

The image shows a musical score for a violin part. The first system is labeled 'V.' and includes the tempo marking '(M.M. ♩ = 138)'. The lyrics 'Ky - ri - - e' are written above the staff, with an asterisk at the end. The music consists of a melodic line with chromatic alterations and a bass line with sustained notes. The second system continues the melodic line with a repeat sign and concludes with a fermata. The lyrics 'e - - - - - lé - i - son. ij. Chri - ste' are written above the staff.

Example 153: Benedictiones de Besalú Girona, *Ibid.*

al - le - lú - - ia: psál - li - te Re - gi nos - tro psál - li - te,

Example 154: Sablayrolles, Number of parts determined by structure, 1912

Cantus. **Intonatio.** **Chorus.**
A - spér - ges me,* Dó - mi - ne, hys - só - po, et mun - dá - bor:

Org. (Org. ad libitum.) **Org.**
Man. **Ped.**

Example 155: Foerster, Rhythmed transcription, c.1910

Example 156: Kimovec, Premrl showing supposed consecutives, 1908

b)
Com-
munio.
IV.

Vi - di - mus⁹) stél-lam é - jus in O - ri - én-te, et vé-

Example 157: Kimovec, Chant notes harmonised as dissonances, 1909

ce - le - brán - tes sub ho - nó - re San - ctó - rum óm - ni - um: de

Example 158: Kimovec, Anticipating 'B' ♯, 1909

nó - stri, et be - ne - dí - cat nó - bis: il - lú - mi - net vultum sú - um súper nos,

Ped. Ped.

Example 159: Kimovec, Imitative bass part, 1909

A.5 Chapter five

The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics "Ky- ri- e" and "e- lé- i- son." The bottom two staves are piano accompaniment, with the right hand in the upper staff and the left hand in the lower staff. The music is in a common time signature and features a melodic line with various ornaments and a rhythmic accompaniment.

Example 160: Springer, Accompaniment based on rhythmic analysis, 1908

Al - - le - - lú - - ja. * *ij.*

VIII.

The image shows a musical score for piano, labeled 'VIII.' on the left. The score consists of two staves, a treble clef on top and a bass clef on the bottom. The melody is written in the treble clef and includes lyrics: 'Al - - le - - lú - - ja. * *ij.*'. The melody features a half-diminished chord (F7(b9)) in the final measure. The bass line provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines. The score is marked with various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

Example 161: Springer, Use of half-diminished chord, 1910

The image displays a musical score for piano accompaniment, consisting of two staves (treble and bass clefs) joined by a brace on the left. The music is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat major or D minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The melody in the treble clef is characterized by a chromatic line, with notes moving stepwise up and down. The bass clef part provides a harmonic accompaniment, often using chords and moving lines that complement the melody. The lyrics "De - o gra - ti - as." are written below the notes in the treble clef. The score is a single system of music.

Example 162: Renner, Chromatic accompanying parts, 1914

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fa - cto - rem coe - li et ter - rae vi - si - bi - li - um



om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li - um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum



Chri - stum Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum.

Example 163: Griesbacher, *Chromatic Credo* accompaniment, 1912

Ve - ni Cre - a - tor Spi - ri - tus, Men - tes tu - o - rum

vi - si - ta. Im - ple su - per-na gra-ti - a: quae

tu cre - a - sti pec - to - ra

Example 164: Griesbacher's ideal method of accompaniment, 1912

- - - - - mi - nus

The image displays a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written on a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics "mi - nus" are positioned above the staff, with a series of dashes above the first syllable. The piano accompaniment consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, with a brace on the left. The music is in a minor key and features a complex, rhythmic accompaniment with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The vocal line is a melodic line with a trill-like flourish at the end of the phrase.

Example 165: Molitor, 'Concertant'-type accompaniment, 1913

(*)

Vi - ri Ga - li - loe - - - i,

ORGUE

a Tempo

Quid ad - mi - ra - - - mi - - - ni

ad - pi - ci - en - tes in cae - lum al - le - lu - ia

Example 166: De Ranse, 'Concertant'-type accompaniment, c.1909

Et incarná-tus est de Spí-ri- tu Sáncto ex Ma-rí- a Vírgi- ne: Et hómo fác- tus est.

pp. (ad lib.)

Example 167: Wismeyer, Accompaniment above pitch of chant, 1933

Ky - ri - e e - - lé - i - son

p (pp)

Example 168: Peeters, *Ibid.*, 1949

E - xau di Do - mi - ne jus - ti - ti - am me - am:

in ten - de de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem me - am.

Example 169: Emmanuel, Accompaniment for children's voices, 1913

KYRIE

1^{re} Kyrie a 2 voix
Andante

ENFANTS *mf* Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son e - le -

HOMMES *mf* Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son

ORGUE *mf*

3^e Kyrie *mf*
Ky - ri - e

Ucisson *mf* Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son

CHOEUR *mf* Ky - ri -

Example 170: Perruchot, Interlineal accompaniment, 1910

P.
A.
P.
A.

Ký- ri- e
e- lé- i-son.

Example 171: Bas, Indicating 'protase' and 'apodose', 1911

7. Ký-ri- e e-lé- i-son.

Example 172: Bas, More sustained accompaniment, 1911

omnes gentes sér - vi - ent e - - -

The image shows a four-system musical score for piano accompaniment. The first system includes the lyrics 'omnes gentes sér - vi - ent e - - -' above the treble clef staff. The score is written in a minor key with a 4/4 time signature. The first system features a vocal line in the treble clef and a piano accompaniment in the bass clef. The second system begins with a '-i' above the treble clef and a 'p' (piano) dynamic marking below the bass clef. The third system includes 'mf' (mezzo-forte) and 'crescendo' markings. The fourth system continues the piano accompaniment with a 'f' (forte) dynamic marking. The score consists of two staves per system, with various musical notations including notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Example 173: Bas, Accompaniment segues into postlude, c.1915

- do fé - cit il - lum Dó - mi - nus

Example 174: Zerr, Additive conjunct motion, 1937

Cantores. Qui se - des ad dé - xteram Pa - tris, mi - se - ré - re no - bis. *Chorus.* Quó - ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus.

Cantores. Tu so - lus Dó - mi - nus. *Chorus.* Tu so - lus Al - tís - si - mus, Je - su Chri - - ste.

Man.

Example 175: Bas, Higher quantity of parts at cadences, 1921

5.

Cantores. Ky-ri - e - - - * *Chorus.* e - - - -lé-i-son. *Cantores.* Ky-ri - e - - -

Chorus. e - - - -lé-i-son. Ky-ri - e - - - -lé-i-son.

Ped. Man. Ped.

Example 176: Bas, Suspension persists through rest, 1921

est de Spi-ri-tu Sancto ex Ma-ri-a Vir-gi-ne: Et ho-mo fa - ctus est. *Cantores.* Cru-ci - fi - xus é - ti -

Man. Ped. *Chorus.* Man.

Example 177: Bas, Delayed resolution of dissonance, 1921

Cantores. *Chorus.*
 A - gnus De - i, * qui tol - lis peccá - ta mun - di: mi - se - ré - re no - bis.

Man. Ped.

Example 178: Bas, Agnus VIII as published, 1921

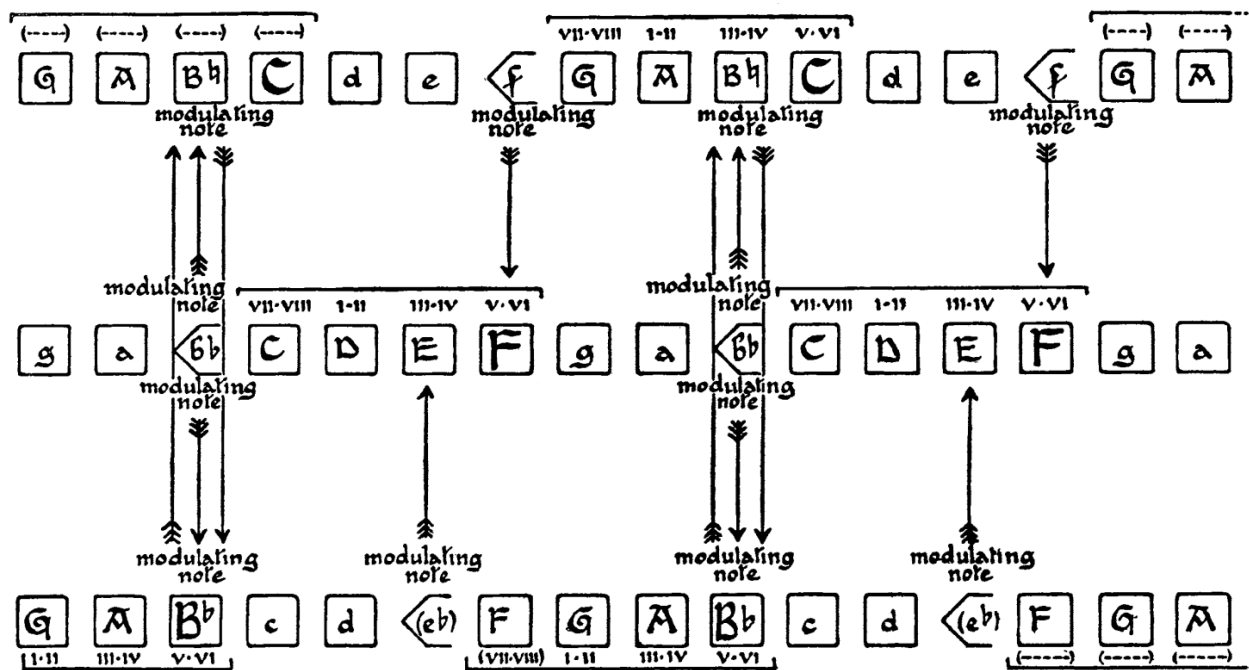
Chantres. *Chœur.*

A - gnus De - i, qui tol - lis peccá - ta mun - di,

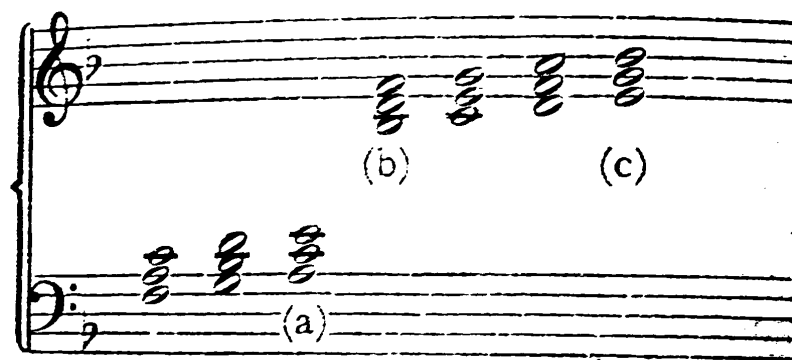
Man. Ped.

Example 179: Bas, Agnus VIII accompanied in the desired style, 1923

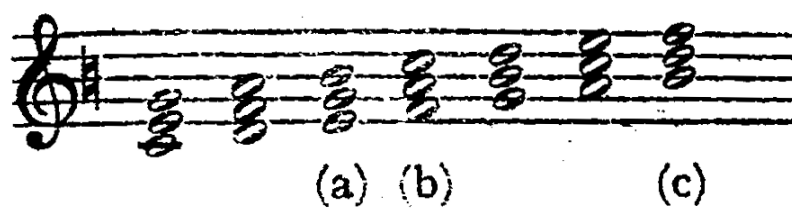
A TABLE OF THE THREE PLAINSONG TONALITIES



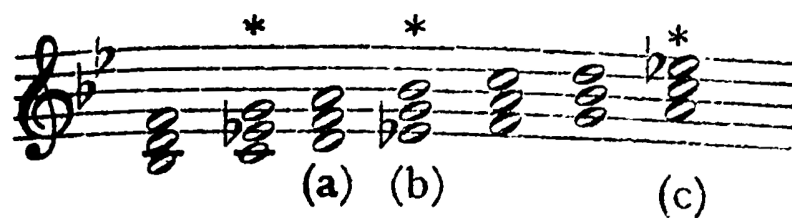
Example 180: Desroquettes-Potiron, Three plainsong tonalities, 1924, 1927, 1933



Example 181: Desroquettes, Proposing chords for *Fa tonalité*, 1924



Example 182: Desroquettes, Those for the *Do*, 1924



Example 183: Desroquettes, Those for the *Sib tonalité*, 1924

5

Cir . cum . de . dé . runt me * gé . mi . tus

mór . tis, do . ló . res in . fér . ni cir .

. cum . . . de . . . dé . . . runt me:

(1) (2) (3) (4)

(5) (6) (7) (8)

(9) (10) (11) (12)

II III IIII

Example 184: Desroquettes, Adding of groups in pencil, 1929

Two staves of Gregorian chant notation. The first staff contains two phrases: the first phrase is labeled 'II' and the second phrase is labeled 'III'. The second staff contains a single phrase labeled 'II'.

Example 185: Potiron, Ascensiontide Alleluia parsed into modal groups, 1927/1933

Two systems of Gregorian chant notation. The first system is for the '1^{er} alleluia de l'Ascension IV^e mode.' and includes the lyrics 'Al- le- lú- ia.' with a fermata over 'lú-'. The second system is for the 'V. Ascéndit De- us in ju- bi- la-' and includes a fermata over 'De-' and a marking '(a)' under the final phrase. Both systems show a vocal line and a lute accompaniment line. Modal group labels 'II', 'III', and 'II' are placed below the first system.

Example 186: Anonymous example from final exam at the Institut grégorien, 1925

ta mun- di: mi- se- ré- re no- bis.

II

Agnus De- i, * qui tol- lis pec- cá-

I

Example 187: Desroquettes, Harmonising group II with pitches in group I, 1925

VIII. [See Note on Page 2.]

GRADUALS AND ALLELUIAS

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| THE MOST HOLY NAME OF MARY (Sept. 12) | | | |
| 1. Be - ne - dí - cta et venerábilis es, Virgo Ma - | rí - a, | quae sine tactu pudóris, in - | |
| 2. Virgo Dei Génitrix, quem | or - bis, | venta es Mater | Sal - va - tó - ris. |
| 3. *) totus non capit | | in tua se cláuit viscera, . . . | ho - mo. |
| A-4. Post partum, Virgo invioláta perman - | sf - sti: | Allelúia, | al - le - lú - ia. |
| B-4. Post par-tum. Virgo invioláta perman - | sf - sti: | Allelúia, | al - le - lú - ia. |
| | | Dei Génitrix, intercede pro nobis, | de pro - no - bis. |
| | | Dei Génitrix intercé - - - | (Allelúia*) |
| THE SEVEN SORROWS OF THE B. V. M. (Sept. 15) | | | |
| 1. Do - lo - ró - sa et lacrimábilis, Virgo Ma - | rí - a, | stans juxta crucem Dómini | |
| 2. Virgo Dei Génitrix, quem | or - bis, | Jesu Fílii tui | Re-dem - ptó - ris. |
| 3. *) totus non capit | | hoc crucis fert supplicium, | fa - ctus ho - mo. |
| 4. Stabat sancta María, caeli | Dó-mi-na, | Áuctor vitae | al - le - lú - ia. |
| Regína et mundi | | Allelúia, | |
| | | juxta crucem Dómini nostri | do - lo - ró - sa. |
| | | Jesu Christi | |
| <i>(The Sequence "Stabat Mater" with Allelúia at the end, follows immediately; see page 75)</i> | | | |
| <i>— On Friday after Passion Sunday the Allelúia (V. 3) is omitted, and the following Verse is added to V. 4.</i> | | | |
| 5. O vos omnes, qui transitís per | vi - am, | atténdite et vidéte si est dol - | do - lor me - us. |
| <i>See "Stabat Mater" without Allelúia at the end, on page 75)</i> | | | |
| THE B. V. M. OF THE HOLY ROSARY (First Sunday in October.) | | | |
| 1. Pro - pter ve - ritátem et mansuetúdinem et ju - | sti - ti - am: | et dedúcet te mirábiliter dex - | te - ra tu - a. |
| 2. Audi filia, et vide, et inclina áurem | tu - am, | quia concupívit rex spé - | ci - em tu - am. |
| 3. *) Solémnitas gloriósaе Virginis | | Allelúia, | al - le - lú - ia. |
| A-4. Solémnitas gloriósaе Virginis | | | |
| Maríae ex sémine | A-bra-hae, | ortae de tribu Juda, clara ex | al - le - lú - ia. |
| B-4. So - lé - mni - tas gloriósaе Virginis Maríae | A-bra-hae, | stirpe David, | al - le - lú - ia. |
| ex sémine | | oria de tribu Juda, clara ex | Da - vid. *) |
| ANNUNCIATION OF THE B. V. M. (March 25) | | | |
| 1. Dif - fú - sa est grátia in lábiis | tu - is; | propterea benedíxit te Deus | in ae - tér - num. |
| 2. Propter veritátem, et man - | stí - ti - am: | et dedúcet te mirábiliter dex - | te - ra tu - a. |
| suetúdinem, et ju - | tu - am: | quia concupívit Rex spé - | ci - em tu - am. |
| Tr. 3. Au - di fi - lia, et vide, et inclina aurem | tu - am: | | |
| 4. Vultum tuum deprecabúntur | ple - bis; | fíliae regum in ho - - - | nó - re tu - o. |
| omnes dívites | e - am: | próximaе ejus affe - - - | ren - tur ti - bi. |
| 5. Adducéntur Regi vírgines post | 6 - ne; | adducéntur in | templum Re - gis. |
| 6. Afferéntur in laetitia et exsultati - | 6 - ne; | Allelúia, | al - le - lú - ia. |
| <i>(In Paschal Time omit Grad. and Tract. and sing as follows: 1. *)</i> | | | |
| 2. A - ve, Ma - ria grátia plena, Dóminus . . . | te - cum, | benedícta tu in muliéribus . . | al - le - lú - ia. |
| 3. Virga Jesse | stó - ru - it, | Virgo Deum et ho - - - | mi - nem gé - nu - it: |
| 4. Pacem Deus | red - di - dit, | in se reconcilians ima summis | al - le - lú - ia. |
| OUR LADY OF MT. CARMEL (July 16); Vs. 1-2 3 from The Most Holy Name of Mary, here above. | | | |
| 4. Per te nobis est vita pérdita | da - ta, | que de caelo suscepisti prolem | Sal - va - tó - rem. *) |
| ST. ANNE (July 26) | | | |
| 1. Di - le - xi - sti justitiam, et odisti iniqui - | tá - tem: *) | propterea unxit te Deus, | o lae - tí - ti - ae. |
| 2. *) | | Deus tuus, óle - - - | al - le - lú - ia. |
| A-3. Diffúsa est grátia in lábiis | tu - is: | Allelúia, | al - le - lú - ia. |
| B-3. Dif - fú - sa est grátia in lábiis | tu - is: | propterea benedíxit te Deus | al - le - lú - ia. |
| | | in aetérnum, | in ae - tér - num. *) |
| | | propterea benedíxit te Deus . . | |

VIII. *Al - le - lú - ia*

Example 188: Rossini, Proper set to tone and accompaniment, 1957

Cym. *pp*

Celesta. *s* (Repeat this bar ad lib. until the chant is finished.)

Piano. *s* (Repeat this bar ad lib. until the chant is finished.)

Organ.

Note. The rhythm of the chant is to be quite independent of that of the orchestra.
(to be chanted freely)

Semi-Chor. S. *mf*
Vex-il - la re - gis pro - de - unt Ful - get Cru - cis mys - te - ri - um Quo car - ne car - nis Con - di - tor Sus - pen - sus est pa - ti - bu - lo.

A.

T. & B.

V. I. *s* (Repeat this bar ad lib. until the chant is finished.)

V. II. *s* (Repeat this bar ad lib. until the chant is finished.)

Vla. *s* (Repeat this bar ad lib. until the chant is finished.)

Example 189: Holst, Quasi-aleatoric orchestral accompaniment, c.1917

A few Tenors and high Baritones
in the distance. (to be chanted freely)

T. & B. Pan-ge lin-gua glo-ri - si - roe-li-um cer-tam-in-is et su-per crucis tro-phæum Dic tri-umphum no-bil-em

V. I. unis. *ppp*

V. II. *ppp*

Vla. *ppp*

V. C. *ppp*

C. B. *pp*

Example 190: Holst, Use of 7/5/4/2 chord, c.1917

O clé-mens: O pí- a: O dúl- cis Vir- go Ma-rí- a.

pp

Péd. Bourdons 32-16-8, Tirasse R

Example 191: Latry, *Ibid.*, 2010

Ex Ma-ri-a Vir-gi-ne, et homo fa-ctus est.

Example 192: Desroquettes-Potiron, Credo VI cadence, 1924

Et in-car-nátus est de Spí-ri-tu Sán-cto ex Ma-ri-a Vir-gi-ne: Et hó-mo
 fá-ctus est. (1) Cru-ci-fí-xus é-ti-am pro nó-bis: sub Pón-ti-o Pi-lá-to

Example 193: Desroquettes-Potiron-Caplet, Revised Credo VI cadence, 1925

AGNUS
Mode
4

A- gnus De- i, * qui tol- lis pec- cá- ta mun- di: mi-se- ré- re no- bis. *ij.*

Example 194: Lapierre, Pointing, 1946

M.M. ♩ = 138

Harm. F. RĄCZKOWSKI

Ky-ri—e e le-i son. 3x

Chri-ste e le-i-son. 3x

Example 195: Rączkowski, Following Solesmian transcription, 1954

Credo I.

93

4

Cré-do in ú-num Dé-um, Pá-trem o-mni-po-tén-tem, fa-etó-rem cœ-li et tér-ræ

vi-si-bí-li-um ó-mni-um, et in-vi-si-bí-li-um. Et in ú-num

Dó-mi-num, — Jé-sum Chrí-stum, Fí-li-um Dé-i u-ni-gé-ni-tum.

Et ex Pá-tre ná-tum án-te ó-mni-a sæ-cu-la. Dé-um de Dé-o,

lú-men de lú-mi-ne, — Dé-um vé-rum de Dé-o vé-ro. Gé-ni-tum,

non fá-ctum con-sub-stan-ti-á-lem Pá-tri, per quem ó-mni-a fá-cta sunt

M. & R. Co. 1000-

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Example 196: Bragers, Printed Credo I accompaniment, 1937

Cir - cum - de - dé - runt me * gé - mi - tus mór - tis, do - ló - res in - fér - ni cir - cum -

Introit
5

de - dé - runt me: et in tri - bu - la - ti - ó - ne mé - a in -

Example 197: Potiron, Absence of $\hat{4}$ from the accompaniment, 1933

Al - le - hú - ia. *

Alleluia
8

V. Crá - sti - na di - e de - lé - bi - tur in - i - qui - tas tér - ræ: et re - gná - bit su -

per nos * Sal - vá - tor mún - di.

D.G.

Example 198: Potiron, Avoidance of 'E' in the accompaniment, 1933

4.

A . gnus De . i , * qui tol . lis pec . cá . ta mun . di : mi . se . ré re no . bis. ^(2 fois)

A . gnus De . i , * qui tol . lis pec . cá . ta mun . di : do . na no bis pa . cem.

Example 199: Potiron, Avoidance of 'E'♭, 1950

8.

De . o grá . ti . as , al . le . lú . ia , al . le lú . ia .

Example 200: Potiron, Use of 'E' when not in the chant, 1950

♩: 152

Glo-ri - a in ex-cel-sis De - o

Example 201: Yasser, Quartal harmonisation, 1938

Sanctus-4

San-ctus San -ctus, San-ctus Do-mi- nus De-us Sa-ba-oth.

Example 202: Burgstahler, *Ibid.*, 1957

*O felici-um vi-rum * be-a-tum*

O Felicem

Jo-seph! cu-i da-tum est De-um, quem mul-ti

Example 203: Placide Gagnon, 'Double rhythm', 1944

Ky - ri - e

Example 204: *Nova organi harmonia* notational style, c.1942

Cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa - trem o-mni-po-tén-tem, fa - ctó-rem cae-li et ter - rae,

IV

Example 205: Jones, Use of 'C' # and presence of vertical *episemata*, 1952

ab au.di.ti.ó.ne má la *

Example 206: Van de Cauter, Simple style, c.1944

A.6 Postscript

Ky-ri- e- * e- lé-i-son.

Example 207: Portier, Additive method, 1981

A - sper - ges me, Do - mi - ne. A - sper - ges me, Do - mi - ne.

Example 208: Migliavacca, Restricted to notes present in chant, 1986

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|----|-----|--------|--------|----|-----|
| skala protus: | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| akordy poszczególnych stopni: | I | V | I | VII/IV | I(b)/V | II | V |

Example 209: Białowski, Protus scale degrees above chords, 2012

A - men di - co vo - bis, quid-quid o - ran - tes pè - ti - tis,

Example 210: Białowski, Protus harmonisation, 2012

7. Sur-ré-xit Chri-stus spes me - a: prae-cē-det su - os in Ga-li - laē - am.

i-----iv^{6/4}-----i-----iv^{4/3}-----i-----iv⁶-----III⁶-----iv-----VII-----iv^{4/3}-----i

7th as passing tone

7th as passing tone

8. Sci - mus Chri - stum sur - re - xis - se a mór - tu - is ve - re:

i-----i⁶-----iv-----i-----VII⁶-----i⁶-----VI

7th as suspension

Example 211: Atwood, Analysis of Marier, 2014

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table B.1: Selected accompaniments published by Pustet 1872–1901

| Date | Book | Part | Edn | Composer(s) | Ed. |
|--------|------------------|---|-------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1872 | <i>Graduale</i> | Ordinarium missæ | 1 | Franz Xaver Witt | |
| 1875 | <i>Graduale</i> | Proprium et commune sanctorum
festa pro aliquibus locis (Sectio I) | 1 | Joseph Hanisch | Franz Xaver Haberl |
| 1876 | <i>Graduale</i> | Ordinarium missæ | 2 | Witt | |
| * 1876 | <i>Graduale</i> | Proprium et commune sanctorum
festa pro aliquibus locis (Sectio II) | 1 | Hanisch | Haberl |
| 1877 | <i>Vesperale</i> | Sectio I | 1 | Hanisch | Haberl |
| 1878 | <i>Vesperale</i> | Sectio II | 1 | Hanisch | Haberl |
| 1881 | <i>Graduale</i> | Ordinarium missæ | 3 | Witt | |
| 1883 | <i>Graduale</i> | Proprium missarum de sanctis | 2 | Hanisch | Haberl |
| 1884 | <i>Graduale</i> | Commune sanctorum, Missæ pro aliquibus locis | 2 | Hanisch | Haberl |
| 1884 | <i>Graduale</i> | Proprium missarum de tempore, Toni versicolorum | 2 | Hanisch | Haberl |
| 1885 | <i>Graduale</i> | Ordinarium missæ | 4 | Witt | |
| * 1888 | <i>Graduale</i> | Ordinarium missæ | 1 | Hanisch | |
| 1890 | <i>Vesperale</i> | | 2 / 3 | Hanisch | Haberl |
| * 1891 | <i>Graduale</i> | Ordinarium missæ | 5 | Witt† | |
| 1892 | <i>Graduale</i> | Gradualia, versus, allelujatici, tractus et sequentiæ
ex propria de tempore | ★ | Joseph Schildknecht | Haberl |
| * 1893 | <i>Graduale</i> | Ordinarium missæ | 2 | Hanisch† | |
| 1894 | <i>Graduale</i> | Supplementum ad organum comitans quod
ad graduale romanum cura sacrorum rituum | ★ | Jacob Quadflieg | Haberl |
| * 1895 | <i>Graduale</i> | | 3 | Hanisch† / Quadflieg | Haberl |
| * 1896 | <i>Graduale</i> | Ordinarium missæ | 6 | Witt† | Quadflieg |
| 1900 | <i>Graduale</i> | Proprium missarum de tempore | 4 | Hanisch† / Quadflieg | Haberl |
| 1900 | <i>Graduale</i> | Proprium missarum de sanctis | 4 | Hanisch† / Quadflieg | Haberl |
| 1900 | <i>Graduale</i> | Commune sanctorum, Missæ votivæ | 4 | Hanisch† / Quadflieg | Haberl |
| * 1901 | <i>Graduale</i> | Ordinarium missæ | 7 | Witt† | Quadflieg |

† – deceased at time of publication; ★ – supplementary volumes.

Table B.2: Inventory of Haberl-Hanisch 2nd ed., 1883–4

| Vol. | Part | Pagination |
|------|--|------------|
| 1 | Proprium missarum de sanctis | 1–132 |
| 2 | Commune sanctorum | [1–137] |
| 3 | Proprium missarum de tempore | 1–187 |
| | Missæ votivæ pro diversis rebus | 188–206 |
| | Supplementum ad Graduale Romanum | 207–221 |
| | Toni versiculorum, ‘Gloria Patri’ etc. | 1*–12* |
| | Missa votiva pro fidei propagatione | [207–210] |
| | Appendix | 1–23 |

Table B.3: Alphabetised inventory of Schildknecht's supplement, 1892

| Incipit | Pagination | Incipit | Pagination | Incipit | Pagination |
|----------------------------|------------|------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Gradualia | | Alleluja, Alleluja – Versus | | Alleluja – Versus | |
| Adjuvabit eam | [51] | Adducentur regi | [47] | Amavit eum Dominus | [32] [39] |
| Anima nostra, sicut passer | [20] | Adorabo ad templum sanctum | [67] | Angelus Domini descendit | [78] |
| Beata gens | [81] | Amavit eum Dominus | [34] | Benedicamus Patrem | [73] |
| Beatus vir, qui timet | [9] | Ave Maria | [101] | Benedicat vobis | [112] |
| Benedicta et venerabilis | [107] | Ave Rex noster | [96] | Bene fundata est | [69] |
| Benedictus es, Domine | [70] | Beatus vir, qui suffert | [38] | Hic est sacerdos | [7] [27] |
| Christus factus est | [90] | Beatus vir, qui timet | [41] | Justus germinabit | [36] [42] [44] |
| Clamaverunt justi | [22] | Benedictus es, Domine Deus | [71] | O quam pulchra est | [55] |
| Concupivit rex | [56] | Caro mea | [86] | Posuisti Domine | [14] |
| Constitues eos principes | [79] | Cognoverunt discipuli | [89] | Pretiosa in conspectu | [15–16] |
| Diffusa est | [62] | Confitebuntur cœli | [13] | Propter veritatem | [61–2] |
| Dilexisti iustitiam | [46] [60] | Corpora sanctorum | [17–18] | Specie tua | [50] |
| Domine, prævenisti eum | [43] | Dicite in gentibus | [94] | Tibi gloria, hosanna | [90] |
| Ecce sacerdos magnus | [26] | Dulce lignum | [91] | Veni sancte Spiritus | [84] |
| Gloria et honore | [6] | Emitte Spiritum tuum | [84] | | |
| Gloriosus Deus | [16] | Hæc est Virgo sapiens | [52] | Tractus | |
| Improperium exspectavit | [95] | Hic est sacerdos | [7] | Ab ortu solis | [87] |
| Inveni David | [2] | In conspectu Angelorum | [75] | Adoramus te | [92] |
| Justus cum ceciderit | [11] | Juravit Dominus | [29–31] | Audi filia | [55] |
| Justus ut palma | [36] | Justi epulentur | [21] | Beatus vir, qui timet | [7] [30] [34] |
| Laudate Dominum de cœlis | [74] | Mittat vobis | [110] | Benedicite Dominum | [76] |
| Locus iste | [66] | Nimis honorati sunt | [80] | Ecce sic benedicetur | [110] |
| Oculi omnium | [85] | Post partum Virgo | [108] | Emitte Spiritum tuum | [83] |
| Os justi meditabitur | [33] [40] | Posuisti Domine | [10] | Gaude Maria Virgo | [103] |
| Sacerdotes ejus induam | [28] | Qui sequitur me | [12] | Quia concupivit | [58] |
| Specie tua | [53] | Sancti tui, Domine, floreant | [15] | Qui confidunt | [67] |
| Speciosus forma | [102] | Specie tua | [61] [63–4] | Qui seminant | [18] [24] |
| Tollite portas | [100] | Te Martyrum candidatus | [24] | Te Deum Patrem | [71] |
| Uxor tua | [109] | Tu es sacerdos | [3–4] [26–7] | Vere languores nostros | [97] |
| | | Veni sancte Spiritus | [82] | | |
| | | Virga Jesse floruit | [105] | | |

Table B.4: Alphabetised inventory of Quadflieg's supplement, 1894

| Feast | Pagination |
|--|------------|
| Proprium de Tempore | |
| Feria III post Pascha | (1) |
| Feria IV post Pascha | (4) |
| Feria V post Pascha | (7) |
| Feria VI post Pascha | (10) |
| Sabbato in Albis | (14) |
| Feria III post Pentecosten | (17) |
| Feria IV Quatuor Temporum Pentecostes | (19) |
| Feria VI Quatuor Temporum Pentecostes | (22) |
| Sabbato Quatuor Temporum Pentecostes | (25) |
| Proprium de Sanctis | |
| Joannis a Capistrano, Confessoris [28 Martii] | (35) |
| Joannis Damasceni, Confessoris et Ecclesiae Doctoris [27 Martii] | (32) |
| Rosarii Beatæ Mariæ Virginis [Dominica I Octobris] | (38) |
| Septem Fundatorum Ordinis Servorum Beatæ Mariæ Virginis [11 Februarii] | (29) |
| Festa pro aliquibus locis | |
| Alexii, Confessoris [17 Julii] | (83) |
| Apparitionis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis Immaculatæ [11 Februarii] | (48) |
| Benedicti Josephi Labre, Confessoris [16 Aprilis] | (54) |
| Blasii, Episcopi et Martyris [3 Februarii] | (45) |
| Claræ a Cruce de Montefalco, Virginis [18 Augusti] | (85) |
| Familiæ s. Jesu, Mariæ et Jeseph [Dominica III post Epiphaniam] | (100) |
| Fugæ D. N. Jesu Christi in Aegyptum [17 Februarii] | (51) |
| Jacobi de Marchia, Confessoris [28 Novembris] | (93) |
| Irenæi, Episcopi et Martyris [4 Julii] | (72) |
| Latronis Boni [24 Aprilis] | (58) |
| Laurentii a Brundusio, Confessoris [7 Julii] | (78) |
| Lazari Resuscitati, Episcopi et Confessoris [17 Decembris] | (42) |
| Leonardi a Portu Mauritio, Confessoris [26 Novembris] | (90) |
| B. Mariæ Virg. sub titulo Auxilium Christianorum [24 Maji] | (69) |
| B. Mariæ Vir. de Bono Consilio [26 Aprilis] | (62) |
| B. Mariæ Virg. de Consolatione
[Dominica infra Oct. Assumpt. sive post festum S. Augustini] | (88) |
| Michælis de Sanctis, Confessoris [5 Julii] | (75) |
| Peregrini, Confessoris [13 Maji] | (66) |
| Pro fidei Propagatione [Missa votiva] | (96) |
| Triumpho S. Crucis [16 Julii] | (81) |

Table B.5: Inventory of Guilmant, *F-Pn* MS 6979

| Ff./Pp. | Mass | Part | Mode | Sig. | Harm. |
|-----------|------------------------------|------|----------------|------|-------|
| p. 9 | In anniv. Dedicat. Eccl. | In | 2 | ## | • |
| p. 9 | In anniv. Dedicat. Eccl. | Al | 8 | # | • |
| p. 10 | In anniv. Dedicat. Eccl. | Of | 6 | bbb | • |
| p. 10 | In anniv. Dedicat. Eccl. | Cm | 6 | bb | • |
| pp. 10–11 | Dom. 1 in Quad. | In | 8 | # | |
| pp. 11–12 | Dom. 1 in Quad. | Tc | 2 | ## | |
| p. 12 | Dom. 1 in Quad. | Of | 8 | # | |
| p. 12–13 | Dom. 1 in Quad. | Cm | 3 | # | |
| p. 13 | Dom. 2 in Quad. | In | 4 | bb | |
| p. 14 | Dom. 2 in Quad. | Tc | 2 | ## | |
| p. 15 | Dom. 2 in Quad. | Of | 10 (2) | # | |
| p. 15 | Dom. 2 in Quad. | Cm | 5 | # | |
| p. 16 | Dom. 3 in Quad. | In | 7 | b | |
| p. 16–17 | Dom. 3 in Quad. | Tc | 8 | # | |
| p. 18 | Dom. 3 in Quad. | Of | 6 | bb | |
| p. 18 | Dom. 3 in Quad. | Cm | 9 (1) | bbb | |
| p. 19 | Dom. 4 in Quad. | In | 5 | # | |
| p. 20 | Dom. 4 in Quad. | Tc | 8 | # | |
| p. 21 | Dom. 4 in Quad. | Of | 2 | ## | |
| p. 21 | Dom. 4 in Quad. | Cm | 4 | bb | |
| p. 22 | Dom. de Passione | In | 4 | bb | |
| pp. 22–3 | Dom. de Passione | Tc | 8 | # | |
| p. 24 | Dom. de Passione | Of | 1 | b | |
| p. 24 | Dom. de Passione | Cm | 8 | # | |
| p. 25 | Dom. in Palmia | In | 8 | # | |
| pp. 26–7 | Dom. in Palmia | Tc | 2 | ## | |
| p. 27 | Dom. in Palmia | Of | 8 | # | |
| p. 28 | Dom. in Palmia | Cm | 8 | # | |
| p. 28 | Feria in Cæna Domini | In | 12 (4) | bbb | |
| pp. 28–9 | Feria in Cæna Domini | Gr | 6 | # | |
| p. 29 | Feria in Cæna Domini | Of | 10 (2) | # | |
| p. 30 | Feria in Cæna Domini | Cm | 2 | ## | |
| pp. 30–31 | Dom. Resurrectionia | In | 4 | bb | |
| p. 31 | Dom. Resurrectionia | Gr | 10 (2) & 9 (1) | # | |
| p. 32 | Dom. Resurrectionia | | 7 | b | |
| pp. 32–33 | Dom. Resurrectionia | Sq | 1 | bb | |
| p. 33 | Dom. Resurrectionia | Of | 4 | bb | |
| p. 33 | Dom. Resurrectionia | Cm | 6 | bb | |
| p. 34 | Feria II post Pascha | In | 8 | # | |
| p. 35 | Feria II post Pascha | Of | 8 | # | |
| p. 35 | Feria II post Pascha | Cm | 6 | b | |
| p. 35 | Feria III post Pascha | In | 7 | b | |
| p. 36 | Feria III post Pascha | | 7 | b | |
| p. 36 | Feria III post Pascha | Of | 4 | bb | |
| p. 36 | Feria III post Pascha | Cm | 7 | b | |
| p. 37 | Dom. in Albis in Oct. Pasch. | In | 14 (6) | bbb | |
| p. 37 | Dom. in Albis in Oct. Pasch. | | 7 | b | |
| p. 38 | Dom. in Albis in Oct. Pasch. | Of | 8 | # | |
| p. 38 | Dom. in Albis in Oct. Pasch. | Cm | 14 (6) | bbb | |
| p. 39 | Dom. II post Pascha | In | 4 | bb | |
| p. 39 | Dom. II post Pascha | | 1 | bb | |
| p. 39 | Dom. II post Pascha | Of | 2 | ## | |
| p. 39 | Dom. II post Pascha | Cm | 2 | ## | |
| p. 40 | Dom. III post Pascha | In | 8 | # | |

Table B.5 continued from previous page

| Ff./Pp. | Mass | Part | Mode | Sig. | Harm. |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|------|--------|------|-------|
| pp. 40–41 | Dom. III post Pascha | | 4 | bb | |
| p. 41 | Dom. III post Pascha | Of | 4 | bb | |
| p. 41 | Dom. III post Pascha | Cm | 8 | # | |
| p. 42 | Dom. IV post Pascha | In | 14 (6) | bbb | |
| pp. 42–3 | Dom. IV post Pascha | | 9 (1) | bbb | |
| p. 43 | Dom. IV post Pascha | Of | 1 | bb | |
| p. 43 | Dom. IV post Pascha | Cm | 1 | # | |
| p. 44 | Dom. V post Pascha | In | 3 | # | • |
| p. 44–5 | Dom. V post Pascha | | 7 | b | • |
| p. 45 | Dom. V post Pascha | Of | 2 | ### | • |
| p. 45 | Dom. V post Pascha | Cm | 10 (2) | # | • |
| p. 46 | In Ascensione Domini | In | 7 | b | • |
| pp. 46–7 | In Ascensione Domini | | 8 | # | • |
| p. 47 | In Ascensione Domini | Of | 1 | bb | • |
| p. 47 | In Ascensione Domini | | | bb | • |
| p. 48 | Commune Confessori non Pontificis | | | bbb | • |
| p. 48–9 | Commune Confessori non Pontificis | | | bb | • |
| pp. 50–51 | [Blank] | | | | |
| p. 52 | In Fest. S. Andreae, Apos. | In | 2 | ### | • |
| pp. 52–3 | In Fest. S. Andreae, Apos. | | 9 (1) | bbb | • |
| p. 53 | In Fest. S. Andreae, Apos. | Of | 3 | # | • |
| p. 53 | In Fest. S. Andreae, Apos. | | | # | • |
| pp. 54–6 | [Blank] | | | | |
| ff. 4r–5r | [Blank] | | | | |
| f. 5v | Cum júbilo | Ky | | bb | • |
| ff. 5v–6r | Cum júbilo | Gl | | bbb | • |
| f. 6r | Cum júbilo | Of | | b | • |
| f. 6r | Cum júbilo | Al | | b | • |
| f. 6v | Orbis factor | Ky | | ### | • |
| ff. 6v–7r | Orbis factor | Gl | | b | • |
| f. 7r | Orbis factor | | | b | • |
| f. 7r | Orbis factor | | | b | • |
| f. 7v | Angelis | Ky | | b | • |
| ff. 7v–8r | Angelis | Gl | | b | • |
| f. 8r | Angelis | Sc | | ### | • |
| f. 8r | Angelis | Ag | | ### | • |
| ff. 8v–10r | [Blank] | | | | |
| f. 10v | | | | bb | • |
| f. 10v | | | | ### | • |
| ff. 11r–12v | [Blank] | | | | |
| f. 1r | | | | ### | • |
| ff. 1r–1v | | | | ### | • |
| f. 1v | | | | b | • |
| f. 1v | | | | ### | • |
| f. 2r | | | | ### | • |
| f. 2r | | Hy | | # | • |
| ff. 2v–3v | [Blank] | | | | |

Table B.6: Inventory of Lhoumeau, *Pièces de chant grégorien*

| Volume | Title | Approx. date |
|--------|---|--------------|
| 1 | Douze mélodies grégoriennes pour orgue ou harmonium | 1893 |
| 2 | Messe de <i>Requiem</i> | 1894 |
| 3 | Choix de Pièces variées pour les Saluts (série A) | 1894 |
| 4 | Choix de Pièces variées pour les Saluts (série B) | 1894 |
| 5 | Psalmodie et Chants ordinaires (série C) | 1895 |

Table B.7: Inventory of Giulio Bas, *Repertorio di melodie gregoriane...*

| Vol. | Issue(s) | Contents | Pp. |
|------|----------|--|-------|
| 1 | 1 | In Epiphania Domini | 1–5 |
| 1 | 2 | In Purificatione B. Mariæ Virginis | 6–11 |
| 1 | 3 | Dominica Resurrectionis | 12–17 |
| 1 | 4 | In Ascensione Domine | 18–22 |
| 1 | 5 | Dominica Pentecostes | 23–8 |
| 1 | 6 | In Solemnitate Corporis Christi | 29–34 |
| 1 | 7 | Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli | 35–9 |
| 1 | 8 | In Assumptione B. M. V. | 40–44 |
| 1 | 9 | In Nativitate B. M. V. | 45–49 |
| 1 | 10 | Festum omnium Sanctorum | 50–51 |
| 1 | 11 | Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. M. V. (Ad Missam) | 56–63 |
| 1 | 12 | In Nativitate Domini | 64–9 |
| 2 | 1–2 | S. Joseph Sponsi B. M. V. | 1–9 |
| 2 | 3 | Dominica in Albis | 10–14 |
| 2 | 4–5 | Missa de Angelis | 15–22 |
| 2 | 6 | In Festo Ss. Cordis Jesu | 23–8 |
| 2 | 7 | In Nativitate S. Joannis Baptistæ | 29–34 |
| 2 | 8 | In festo Ss. Rosarii B. M. V. | 35–40 |
| 2 | 9–11 | Missa pro Defunctis | 41–55 |
| 2 | 12 | In Nativitate Domini | 56–60 |
| 3 | 1 | Dominica ad Aspersionem Aquæ benedictæ | 1–4 |
| 3 | 1 | Modus respondendi in Missa | 4–6 |
| 3 | 2 | Missa Tempore paschali | 6–12 |
| 3 | 3 | In Festis Solemnibus I (Kyrie fons bonitatis) | 12–18 |
| 3 | 4 | In Festis Solemnibus II (Kyrie Deus sempiternæ) | 19–23 |
| 3 | 5 | In Festis Duplicibus I (Cunctipotens Genitor Deus) | 24–30 |
| 3 | 6 | In Festis Duplicibus III (Magne Deus) | 30–36 |
| 3 | 7 | In Missis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis | 37–43 |
| 3 | 8 | Dominicis per annum (Orbis factor) | 43–8 |
| 3 | 9 | In festis Semiduplicibus I (Rex Genitor) | 49–54 |
| 3 | 10 | Dominicis Adventus et Quadragesimæ | 55–58 |

Table B.7 continued from previous page

| Vol. | Issue(s) | Contents | Pp. |
|------|----------|---|-------|
| 3 | 11–12 | Credo I, II, IV | 58–72 |
| 4 | 1 | In Epiphania Domini (Ad Vesperas) | 1–6 |
| 4 | 2 | In Purificatione B. M. Virginis (A. V.) | 1–5 |
| 4 | 3 | In Dominica Resurrectionis (A. V.) | 5–10 |
| 4 | 4 | In Ascensione Domini (A. V.) | 10–14 |
| 4 | 5 | In Festo Pentecostes (A. V.) | 15–20 |
| 4 | 6 | In Festo Corporis Christi (A. V.) | 1–7 |
| 4 | 7 | Sanctorum Apostolorum Peti et Pauli (A. V.) | 7–11 |
| 4 | 8 | In Assumptione B. M. Virginis (A. V.) | 12–15 |
| 4 | 9 | In Nativitate B. M. Virginis (A. V.) | 16–21 |
| 4 | 10 | Festum Omnium Sanctorum (A. V.) | 1–5 |
| 4 | 11 | Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. M. Virginis (A. V.) | 6–10 |
| 4 | 12 | In Nativitate Domini (A. V.) | 10–15 |
| 5 | 1 | Commune Unius Martyris Pontificis ‘Statuit’ | 1–9 |
| 5 | 2 | <i>Ibid.</i> , ‘Sacerdotes Dei’ | 9–15 |
| 5 | 3 | Commune Unius Martyris non Pontificis ‘In virtute’ | 16–20 |
| 5 | 4 | <i>Ibid.</i> , ‘Laetabitur’ | 21–25 |
| 5 | 5 | Pro Martyribus Tempore Paschali – De Uno Martyre | 1–4 |
| 5 | 6 | <i>Ibid.</i> – De Pluribus Martyribus t.p. | 5–8 |
| 5 | 7 | Commune Plurimorum Martyrum ex.t.p. ‘Intret’ | 9–15 |
| 5 | 8 | <i>Ibid.</i> , ‘Sapientiam’ | 16–20 |
| 5 | 9 | <i>Ibid.</i> , ‘Salus autem’ | 1–6 |
| 5 | 10 | Commune Confessoris Pontificis ‘Statuit’ | 6–10 |
| 5 | 10 | <i>Ibid.</i> , ‘Sacerdotes tui’ | 11–16 |
| 5 | 11 | Commune Doctorum | 17–21 |
| 5 | 12 | Commune Confessoris non Pontificis ‘Os justi’ | 22–26 |
| 6 | | Psalmi in notis pro Vesperis et Officio in omnibus Dominicis et festis Duplicibus | 1–86 |
| 7 | 1 | Commune Apostolorum et Evangelistarum ex.t.p. (A. V.) | 1–6 |
| 7 | 2 | <i>Ibid.</i> , Unius et Plurimorum Martyrum t.p. (A. V.) | 6–10 |
| 7 | 3 | Commune Unius Martyris ex.t.p. (A. V.) | 10–14 |
| 7 | 4 | Commune plur. Martyrum ex.t.p. (A. V.) | 14–20 |
| 7 | 5 | Commune Confessoris Pontificis (A. V.) | 1–7 |

Table B.7 continued from previous page

| Vol. | Issue(s) | Contents | Pp. |
|---|----------|---|-------|
| 7 | 6 | Commune Confessoris non Pontificis (A. V.) | 7–12 |
| 7 | 7 | Commune Virginum (A. V.) | 12–16 |
| 7 | 8 | Commune Santæ Martyris tantum et nec Virginis nec Martyris (A. V.) | 1–6 |
| 7 | 9 | Commune Dedicationis Ecclesiæ (A. V.) | 6–11 |
| 7 | 10 | In Festis B. M. V. (A. V.) | 11–17 |
| 7 | 11–12 | Ad Completorium | 18–30 |
| Advertised but unseen by the present author | | | |
| 8 | 1 | In Vigilia Unius Apostoli | |
| 8 | 2 | Comune Unius Mart. Pontif. ‘Statuit’ | |
| 8 | 2 | <i>Ibid.</i> , ‘Sacerdotes’ | |
| 8 | 3 | Comm. Unius Mart. non Pontificis ‘In virtute tua’ | |
| 8 | 4–7 | ‘Laetabitur’; Pro Martyribus Tempore Paschali – De Uno Martyre | |
| 8 | 8–11 | ‘Sapientiam’; ‘Salus autem’; Comm. Conf. Pontif.; ‘Statuit’; ‘Sacerdotes tui’; Comm. Doctorum | |
| 8 | 12 | Comm. Conf. non Pontif.; ‘Os justi’ | |

Table B.8: Plot of chords permitted in Desroquettes's *tonalités*

| 5/3 chords | Major
Minor
Diminished | C | D | E | F | G | G | A | B | B \flat |
|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| | | <i>Do</i> | • | • | ◊ | × | • | | • | ◊ |
| <i>Tonalité</i> | <i>Fa</i> | • | • | ◊ | • | | • | ◊ | | × |
| | <i>Si\flat</i> | | ◊ | | • | | • | | | • |

Table B.9: Nomenclature describing three *tonalités*

| Descriptors | | | | | Pitches | | | | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------|----------|--------------|-----------|--------------------|---|
| Guido
Hexachords
<i>c.</i> 10 th <i>c.</i> | Desroquettes
<i>Tonalités</i>
1922 | Potiron
Groups
1925 | Bragers
Tonalties
1934 | Potiron
Hexachords
1938 | Supplementary | Hexachords | | | | Continuation notes | |
| | | | | | | Tetrachords | | | | | |
| durum | <i>Do</i> | I or 1 | <i>Do</i> or C | B \natural | F | G | A | B \natural | C | D | E |
| naturale | <i>Fa</i> | II or 2 | <i>Fa</i> or F | N | B \flat | C | D | E | F | G | A |
| molle | <i>Si\flat</i> | III or 3 | <i>Teu</i> or B \flat | B \flat | (E \flat) | F | G | A | B \flat | C | D |
| Modal cadences: | | | | | Tetrardus | Protus | Deuterus | Tritus | | | |

Table B.10: Inventory of *Nova organi harmonia...*

| Part | Title | Composer |
|------|--|--|
| | Introductio | Jules Van Nuffel |
| | <i>Proprium de tempore</i> | |
| 1 | ad Dominicas
ad Ferias | Jules Van Nuffel
Jules Vyverman |
| | <i>Proprium de tempore; a Pascha ad ultimam Dominicam post Pentecosten</i> | |
| 2 | ad Dominicas
ad Ferias
a Feria II post Pentecosten ad finem anni ecclesiastici | Jules Van Nuffel
Jules Vyverman
Marinus de Jong |
| | <i>Proprium Sanctorum</i> | |
| 3 | a 29 Novembris ad 31 Maii
a 1 Junii ad 26 Novembris | Henri Durieux
Gustaf Nees |
| 4 | Commune Sanctorum
Missæ votivæ
Missæ pro aliquibus locis | Flor Peeters
Edgar de Laet
Edgar de Laet |
| | <i>Kyriale and Missa pro defunctis</i> | |
| 5 | Introductio
Asperges me, etc; Missa I. Temp. Paschali
ad Missas II; III; IV; Credo I
ad Missas V; VI; VII; Credo II
ad Missas VII; IX; X; Credo III
ad Missas XI; XII; XIII; Credo IV
ad Missas XIV; XV; XVI; XVII; XVIII; Toni Præfationum
ad Cantus ad libitum
ad Missam 'Requiem' | Jules Van Nuffel
Jules Van Nuffel
Marinus de Jong
Henri Durieux
Flor Peeters
Gustaf Nees
Jules Vyverman
Edgar de Laet
Jules Van Nuffel |
| | <i>Missæ propriae diœcesium Belgii</i> | |
| 6 | a) Missæ propriae pro Diœcesi Mechliniensi
b) Missæ propriae pro aliis Diœcesibus Belgii | Flor Peeters
Jules Van Nuffel |
| | <i>Ad laudes vespertinas</i> | |
| 7 | Hymni a Dominici I Adventus usque ad Festum SS. Corporis Christi excl.
Hymni a Festo SS. Corporis Christi ad ultimam Dom. post Pentecosten
Commune Sanctorum
Proprium Sanctorum
Hymni de SS. Sacramento
Hymni de B. Maria Virgine
Benedictio Palmarum | Jules Van Nuffel
Marinus de Jong
Jules Vyverman
Henri Durieux
Flor Peeters
Gustaf Nees
Edgar de Laet |
| | <i>Vesperale</i> | |
| 8 | ad Vesperas de Dominicis et de Festis principalioribus
ad Vesperas de Communi Sanctorum | Jules Van Nuffel
Jules Vyverman |

APPENDIX C

HANDLIST OF ACCOMPANIMENT MANUALS

Francesco Severi. *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci nella maniera che si cantano in Roma*. Rome: Nicolò Borboni, 1615.

Adds a rudimentary figured bass part to psalm tones.

Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers. *Dissertation sur le chant grégorien*. Paris, 1683.

Describes the pitches of notable Parisian organs.

Dom Bédos de Celles. *L'art du facteur d'orgues*. Paris: L. F. Delatour, 1766.

Contains advice on registration for accompanying singers.

Justin Heinrich Knecht. *Vollständige Orgelschule für Anfänger und Geübtere*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1798.

See p. 13 above.

Georg Joseph Vogler. *Choral-System*. Copenhagen, 1800.

A discussion of four-part harmonisation of chant is followed by an appendix of some 412 demonstrative examples.

François Féti's. *Méthode élémentaire et abrégée d'harmonie et d'accompagnement*. Paris: Ph. Petit, 1824.

Although this does not recommend a method of chant accompaniment specifically, its recommendations on accompaniment in general were influential on French church musicians.

*Adolphe Miné. *Manuel simplifié de l'organiste, ou nouvelle méthode pour exécuter sur l'orgue tous les offices de l'année selon les rituels parisiens et romains sans qu'il soit nécessaire de connaître la musique*. Paris: Roret, c.1835.

Proposes a new notational system using the alphabet to simplify the task of accompaniment, though the system was criticised by d'Ortigue who called it some of the most stunning charlatanism he had ever seen ('le fruit du charlatanisme le plus étonnant qu'on ait jamais vu', *Dictionnaire* col. 91).

Adolphe Miné. *Méthode d'orgue*. Paris: A. Meissonnier, 1836.

Sets out a method of three-part chant harmonisation in two stages, the first being 'choral' and the second 'avec des prolongations'. It is similar to that technique described above (see p. 52).

*Théodore Nisard. *Manuel des organistes de la campagne*. Paris, 1840.

*Mazingue. *Harmonie du plain-chant*. Lille: Lefort, 1841.

Sebastien Stehlin. *Tonarten des Choralgesanges, nach alten Urkunden durch beigefügte Übersetzung in Fuguralnoten erklärt, und als eine Anleitung zum Selbstunterrichte nebst drei vollständigen Messen aus dem römischen Graduale zusammengestellt*. Vienna: Peter Rohrmann, 1842.

See p. 16 above.

Félix Danjou. *De l'état et de l'avenir du chant ecclésiastique en France*. Paris: Parent-Desbarres, 1843.

See p. 50 above.

François Féty. *Méthode élémentaire de plain-chant à l'usage des séminaires, des chantres et organistes*. 1st ed. Paris: Canaux, 1843; 2nd ed. Paris: Canaux, 1846.

§9 offers practical advice to organists about the *tonalité* of plainchant and the 'tons de l'orgue'.

Johann Nikolaus Neubig. *Der gregorianische Gesang bei dem Amte der heiligen Messe und andern kirchlichen Feierlichkeiten mit beigefügter Orgelbegleitung zunächst für die Diözese Limburg bearbeitet*. Wiesbaden: Ritter, 1844.

A volume of accompanied recitations in various textures. See p. 14 above.

Charles Duvois. *Méthode élémentaire d'accompagnement du plain-chant à l'usage des séminaires et collèges*. Paris: Leduc, 1844.

Provides a system of annotations placed above the chant that prompt the player to execute a particular chord.

N. Arnold Janssen. *Les vrais principes du chant grégorien*. Paris: P. J. Hanicq, 1845.

Discusses diatonicism and psalmody, and provides advice on the use of chant at Mass and during the Offices. Further advice is provided in the second appendix which is followed by a small number of music examples.

Alexandre Fessy. *Manuel d'orgue contenant les principes de l'accompagnement du plainchant, du mélange des jeux de l'orgue et de la rubrique de l'office suivi de morceaux de différents caractères*. Paris: E. Troupenas & C^{ie}, 1845.

A method of three-part psalm-tone harmonisation is followed by a more elaborate 'accompagnement composé de notes prolongées et suspendues', perhaps suggesting the influence of former organ teacher François Benoist. See p. 74 above.

Abbé Clergeau. *Mécanisme musical transpositeur pour orgue ou piano : ses effets sur l'orgue ou sur le piano, ses conséquences dans le monde musical*. Sens: Thomas-Malvin, 1845.

See p. 55 above.

Charles Child Spencer. *A Concise Explanation of the Church Modes*. 2nd ed. London: Novello & Co., 1846.

Among the first English texts tackling the accompaniment of chant which cites Germanic literature, bespeaking a Teutophone influence that might explain the author's description of the modulation method. Those descriptions are augmented by an appendix of music examples drawn from the German chorale literature. See p. 73 above.

C. P. Projean. *Méthode complète d'ophicléide pour l'accompagnement du plain-chant*. Lyon: J. B. Pélagaud et C^{ie}, 1846.

Although this is not a textbook on the organ accompaniment of chant, the author was ophicleidist at the Lyon church of Saint-François-de-Salles and therefore intended his manual to benefit such instrumentalists. It is graduated in difficulty, first presenting intervallic exercises before introducing samples of chant at various transposition levels.

Johann Baptist Benz. *Harmonia sacra: gregorianische Gesänge nach dem Bedürfnisse der Kirchen in der Speyerer Diözese zusammengestellt und theils für eine theils für vier Stimmen mit Orgelbegleitung bearbeitet*. 1st ed. 1st vol. Speyer: Eigenthum des Komponisten, 1850; 1st ed. 2nd vol. Speyer: Eigenthum des Komponisten, 1851; 2nd ed. Speyer: A. Bregenzer, 1864.

See p. 20 above.

Johannes Wellens. *Handleiding om het Gregoriaansch met gepaste harmonie te bezetten*. Cuijk: J. Van Lindert, 1851.

Provides advice to musicians of different aptitudes on how to tackle chant accompaniment, though the discussion often meanders from one metaphor to another. Although the author makes references to a set of plates to elucidate his musical ideas, this was not included in the copy consulted.

*Jean-Baptiste Labelle. *Répertoire de l'organiste, ou Recueil de chant grégorien à l'usage des églises du Canada*. Montréal: J. Lovell, 1851.

Léon Godard. *Traité élémentaire de l'harmonie appliquée au plain-chant*. Paris: Guyot, 1851.

§6 discusses five rules for chant harmonisation: consonant chords alone devised according to the mode of the chant, no perfect consonances in succession, as much contrary motion as possible, conclude a harmonisation with a perfect consonance, and only chords in 5/3 position to be used.

*Heinrich Oberhoffer. *Der gregorianische Choral. Anleitung, denselben richtig zu singen und mit der Orgel zu begleiten, nebst einer kurzen Geschichte seiner Entstehung*. Trier: Lintz, 1852.

Sebastien Stehlin. *Die Naturgesetze im Tonreiche und das europäisch abendländische Tonsystem vom VII Jahrhundert bis auf unsere Zeit : für Freunde der Kunst, die das Harmoniereich und das Tonsystem inden primitiven Grundgesetzen zu betrachten wünschen*. Innsbruck: Witting, 1852.

See p. 17 above.

Eugène Woestyn. *Le livre de la pianiste et du plain-chant*. Paris: Ploche, 1852.

See p. 53 above.

Adrien de La Fage. *De la reproduction des livres de plain-chant romain*. Paris: Blanchet, 1853.

Sets out the author's rationale for introducing the organ accompaniment of chant in French churches in 1829, to replace the serpent. But the author also records his newly established preference for unaccompanied chanting. See p. 48 and p. 75 above.

Hilarión Eslava. *Museo organico español*. Madrid: Imp de D. José C. de la Peña, 1853.

See p. 12 above.

Joseph Wackenthaler. *L'art d'accompagner le plain-chant romain : méthode claire et facile*. Paris: Fleury, 1854.

The harmonisation of eight plainchant modes are discussed separately, with example chant harmonisations being preceded by a prelude in the same mode. The chant is placed in the top part except in fauxbourdon examples when it is placed in the tenor part.

Félix Clément. *Méthode complète de plain-chant d'après les règles du chant grégorien et traditionnel, à l'usage des séminaires, des chantres, des écoles normales primaires et des maîtrises*. 1st ed. Paris: Hachette, 1854; 2nd ed. Paris: Hachette, 1872.

Takes issue with the use of the organ by certain organists whose playing reportedly does not espouse the requisite sacred values. As a result, the author proposes that some chants be left unaccompanied (pp. 355–6).

*Jakob Schmitt. *Méthode d'harmonie appliquée au plain-chant*. Paris: Lutrin de la jeunesse, 1854.

Jacques-Louis Battmann. *Cours d'harmonie théorique et pratique appliqué spécialement à l'étude de l'accompagnement du plain-chant*. Paris: Fleury, 1855.

Outlines the modulation method using the dominant seventh at cadences and chords in open and closed positions.

Louis Girod. *De la musique religieuse*. Namur: F.-J. Douxfils, 1855.

A discussion of accompaniment is entertained in the second section which strays rather dubiously into aesthetic and philosophical territories. In spite of the author's meanders, he considers the accompaniment should be subordinate to the melody if the text is to be clearly discerned (p. 147).

Georges Schmitt. *Nouveau manuel complet de l'organiste praticien*. Paris: Roret, 1855.

Chapter 9 compares the tradition of accompanying chant in France to customs in Germany and England, though the discussion remains largely general in nature and stops short of recommending one approach or another.

Adrien de La Fage. *Cours complet de plain-chant : Nouveau traité méthodique et raisonné du chant liturgique de l'Église latine, à l'usage de tous les diocèses*. Paris: Gaume et C^{ie}, 1856.

Advises against constructing accompaniments of chant using counterpoint. See p. 81 above.

*Joseph Franck. *L'art d'accompagner le plain-chant de huit manières différentes*. Paris: Repos, 1856.

A separately published appendix viewed by me details a ninth manner of accompaniment in which music examples are contrived to demonstrate Niedermeyer's principles.

Léon G. Dalmières. *Le Plain-chant accompagné, au moyen des notions les plus simples réduites à cinq formules harmoniques*. Saint-Étienne, 1856.

Uses the Socratic method to present opposing views of a debate on chant accompaniment. The five areas covered by the publication comprise harmony, chords, chord progressions, praxis of accompaniment, and the application of certain fomulæ. The copy consulted did not contain the plates, however, even though space had clearly been allotted to them during the editorial *mise-en-page*.

François-Auguste Gevaert. *Méthode pour l'enseignement du plain-chant et la manière de l'accompagner*. 6th ed. Gand et Liège: Gevaert, 1856.

Accompaniments are restricted to 5/3 and 6/3 chords and diatonic harmony, with sharpening commonplace at cadences. A brief appendix containing examples of certain harmonised chants anticipates a summative discussion on the construction of preludes in the modes. See p. 75 above.

Alexandre Bruneau. *Méthode simple et facile pour apprendre à accompagner le plain-chant avec l'orgue à clavier transpositeur écrite en musique et en plain-chant*. Bourges, 1856.

Music examples are duplicated in quadratic and modern notations adjacent to one another, the author suggesting that their notational dissimilarities represent ontological differences between musics ancient and modern.

Herman Hageman. *Verzameling van Gregoriaansche melodiën: in vierstemmig orgelaccompanement, enz*. Nijmegen: C. Pothast & Langendam en Comp., 1856.

See p. 79 above.

Georges Schmitt. *Méthode élémentaire d'harmonisation du plain-chant expressément composée pour les commençants sans maître*. Paris: Régnier-Canaux, 1857.

Outlines the modulation method with harmonised chants and dominant sevenths. The part-writing is annotated with fingerings for the benefit of less able players, while the chants themselves are categorised by mode and placed either in top or bottom parts of the keyboard texture.

J. B. Jaillet. *Méthode nouvelle pour apprendre facilement l'accompagnement du plain-chant*. Paris: Régnier-Canaux, 1857.

The author annotates scale steps above each note of the chant to inform the major-minor harmonic progressions in use. On some occasions, a repeated note is annotated with a different scale step where the harmony is to effect a modulation.

Louis Niedermeyer & Joseph D'Ortigue. *Traité théorique et pratique de l'accompagnement du plain-chant*. 1st ed. Paris: Repos, 1857; 2nd ed. Paris: Heugel, 1876.

A manual of far-reaching influence which is discussed at greater length above in § 2.3.3.

L. Bignon. *Méthode pratique d'accompagnement du plain-chant*. Paris: Blanchet, 1858.

The reader is seemingly supposed to absorb the method of accompaniment from a set of provided music examples, which incorporate cadential sharpening in the chord-against-note style.

Adrien de La Fage. *Routine pour accompagner le plain-chant, ou moyen prompt et facile d'harmoniser à première vue le plain-chant pris pour basse, sans avoir étudié l'harmonie et sans le secours d'un maître*. 1st ed. Paris: Régnier-Canaux, 1858; 2nd ed. Paris: Régnier-Canaux, 1860.

A set of the most common intervals in the chant repertory are harmonised by the author which, when deployed, are meant to equip the player to concatenate his or her own accompaniment of any chant melody.

Sebastien Stehlin. *Chorallehre nach den Grundgesetzen des mittelalterlichen Tonsystems*. Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1859.

A discussion of how to transcribe from quadratic notation into modern notation (see §13) segues into a method of accompaniment which advocates for use of the dominant seventh and diminished chords. One of the provided examples was intended for a women's choir which the author dutifully arranges such that the sung chant is at pitch in the organ accompaniment; another is intended a men's choir, and is arranged such that the chant is an octave below the pitch of the melody in the organ part (pp. 55–8).

Jules de Calonne. *Petit guide de l'accompagnateur du chant d'église*. Paris: Noirel et Dewingle, 1859.

A four-page pamphlet that contains music examples duplicated in quadratic and modern notations. The author stops short of providing examples of harmonised chant melodies, however, regulating his exposition of the rules of chord construction to two scales harmonised according to the rule of the octave, one major and one minor.

François Guichené. *Vade mecum de l'organiste, ou Guide du clavier transpositeur pour l'accompagnement de tout le chant sacré*. Paris: Repos, 1859.

Describes a mechanism by the use of which a user may automate the accompaniment of chant through following certain elementary rules. A single key press is said to produce a chord, so by playing one note after another in an approved sequence the player may create their own accompaniment without requiring any training in harmony. See p. 59 above.

Théodore Nisard. *Les vrais principes de l'accompagnement du plain-chant sur l'orgue d'après les maîtres du XV^e et du XVI^e siècle*. Paris: Repos, 1860.

The 'true principles' in question are little more than the rules of florid counterpoint which the author attempts to apply to the accompaniment of chant. In that, arguably, the author is successful, since the rules in question permit certain chant notes to function as dissonances. The approach engendered no small amount of curiosity, criticism and controversy among the author's peers since the *status quo* at the time of publication (at least in French and Belgian circles) was for each chant note to be harmonised consonantly. What cannot have been reassuring to some critics was the author's inclusion of cadential sharpening in the music examples: this, at a time when diatonic theories were becoming *à la mode*, could have been seen as a regressive step. Nonetheless, the principles proved highly influential in many quarters and inspired later musicians to reduce the number of chords in their own accompaniments. See p. 90 above.

Théodore Nisard. *L'accompagnement du plain-chant sur l'orgue enseigné en quelques lignes de musique et sans le secours d'aucune notion d'harmonie*. Paris: Repos, 1860.

Although this manual was envisaged as the practical complement to the author's *Les vrais principes*, its intended audience was more likely to have been less able musicians. The author describes a simplistic method that such musicians could use to arrive at their own accompaniment without needing to learn innumerable harmonic rules: ostensibly, the provided six and a half lines of chords with seventeen exceptions were all the harmonic resources a practitioner would require to discharge their responsibilities.

Charles-Louis Hanon. *Système nouveau pratique et populaire pour apprendre à accompagner tout plain-chant à première vue en six leçons sans savoir la musique et sans professeur*. 4th ed. Boulogne-sur-Mer, c.1860.

A novel system of annotations is set out using arcs above and below the chant to prompt the player to select chords from a numbered set. Those sets were devised by the author to suit supposedly common sequences of intervals that crop up in the chant repertory.

Stephen Morelot. *Éléments d'harmonie appliquée à l'accompagnement du plain-chant d'après les traditions des anciennes écoles*. Paris: Lethielleux, 1861.

The author resolves against the use of florid counterpoint to accompany chant and proposes that the chant be harmonised consonantly instead.

*Emile Amiot & Philippe Morin. *Méthode élémentaire de l'accompagnement du plain-chant sur l'orgue transpositeur*. 2nd ed. Dijon: Peutet-Pommes, 1861; 3rd ed. Paris: Humbert, 1862.

Joseph Alémany. *Méthode simple et facile pour apprendre soi-même à accompagner avec l'orgue le plain-chant et les cantiques*. Lyon: J. B. Pélagaud et C^{ie}, 1862.

Conflates the modes with major and minor scales, though it should be noted that the copy consulted lacked the plates of music examples.

Adolphe Populus. *Études sur l'orgue*. Paris: Benoit aîné, 1863.

Some findings from the Paris congress of 1860 are discussed, including a music example of three bass lines with greater disjunct motion. The most conjunct was said to be the ideal. See p. 91 above.

L. Petit. *L'orgue pratique : gammes harmoniques majeurs et mineurs pour les huit tons du plain-chant dominantes la et sol*. Abbeville: Vitoux, 1863.

This two-page pamphlet conflates the modes with major and minor scales, and places the chant in the bottom part whereas the upper parts are worked out according to the rule of the octave.

Charles Geispitz. *Méthode complète pour l'application facile et immédiate de l'harmonie au plain-chant*. Soissons: Hacard, 1863.

Music examples arranged in both *solfège* and regular notation are used to appeal to an amateur audience. Fourteen plainchant modes are discussed individually, but not all are given rubrics: the reader is instructed to base harmonisations in the thirteenth and fourteenth modes on the rules provided for the fifth and sixth respectively. Tables of chords are provided instead of full music examples.

*Jean-Baptiste Labat. *Etude sur l'harmonisation du chant des psaumes*. Montauban: V. Bertuot, 1864.

Franz Xaver Haberl. *Magister choralis*. 1st ed. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1864; 4th ed. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1877. Translated by Nicolas Donnelly; 9th ed. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1892. Translated by Nicolas Donnelly; 12th ed. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1900.

Chapter 40, entitled 'Upon Organ Accompaniment to Gregorian Chant', provides two sets of rules, general and specific, by which an accompaniment is to be constructed. The short, demonstrative music examples leave much to be desired since most do not contain inner parts. Although bass figures provide some indication of the required effect, the chordal textures they imply distance these examples from accompaniments by other Cecilian composers, such as Witt and Hanisch. Perhaps that might explain why quotations from books of accompaniments by those figures is provided in an attempt to 'illustrate' what Haberl had been describing, but they too must surely have been equally as impenetrable to the novice, who was seemingly expected to absorb their content without relevant guidance. The author reserves most of the discussion of organists and their manner of playing for Chapter 42, entitled 'For Organists', in which the relationship between the organ and the accompaniment is briefly discussed; however, the material broached by author is arguably more of a summary of ideas and he makes few recommendations for performance practice.

F. Moncoureau. *Méthode d'accompagnement du plain-chant*. Paris: Adrien Le Clerc, 1864.

Chants placed in either the bottom or top parts of the texture are harmonised according to the modulation method.

*F. Auger. *Méthode simple et facile pour accompagner en deux leçons le plain-chant*. Romorantin, 1864.

*Jean Baptiste Augustin Marie Joseph Déon. *Méthode simplifiée pour l'accompagnement traditionnel du plain-chant sur l'orgue-harmonichordéon suivie d'un appendice sur les fonctions des registres*. Paris, 1864.

*Edmond Duval. *Quelques considérations sur l'accompagnement diatonique du plain-chant par l'orgue*. Malines: H. Dessain, 1864.

*Alexandre Bruneau. *Nouvelle méthode simple et facile pour apprendre à accompagner le plain-chant sur tout orgue à clavier transpositeur*. Paris, 1865.

Likely to be a revision of that manual by Bruneau published in 1856.

Ludwig Schneider. *Gregorianische Choralgesänge für die Hauptfeste des Kirchenjahres*. Frankfurt am Main: G. Hamacher, 1866. Edited by Franz Joseph Mayer & Erwin Schneider.

Sets forth eleven rules for diatonic harmonisation similar to those principles propagated in Francophone circles by Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue, though differences between the two methods exist and are discussed above (p. 18).

Henry Poncet. *Harmonie du plain-chant ou Méthode d'accompagnement pour la musique sacrée*. Aix: Remondet-Aubin, 1868.

While the discussion generally concerns itself with the modulation method, the author also advises on maintaining variety in the accompaniment.

*Karl Emil von Schafhäütl. *Der echte gregorianische Choral in seiner Entwicklung bis zur Kirchenmusik unserer Zeit*. Munich, 1869.

*J. N. Cayatte. *Essay d'une introduction facile à l'accompagnement du plain-chant*. Billy-lès-Mangiennes, 1869.

Clément Burotto. *La restauration du plain-chant et de son accompagnement*. Paris: E. Gérard et C^{ie}, 1869.

The author notes that the pitches in the chant must surely suggest harmonising them in major and minor keys instead of resorting to modal harmonisations. See above on p. 72.

Charles Dupart. *Leçons pratiques et théoriques pour l'accompagnement du plain-chant sur l'orgue ou l'harmonium*. Lons-le-Saunier: Gauthier Frères, 1869.

Contains about 220 harmonised intervals or short snippets that the pupil was supposed to repeat up to twenty times each to learn how to accompany chant. Since the manual does not contain much actual pedagogy (aside from how fourteen modes were arrived at and a brief exposition of the rules of part movement) it cannot have held much practical value for the committed student.

Eugène Henry. *Méthode pour accompagner facilement et correctement le plain-chant, avec ou sans clavier transpositeur*. 1st ed. Rennes: Bonnel, 1869; 3rd ed. Rennes: Bonnel, 1878; 4th ed. Rennes: Bonnel, 1889.

Although the transposing keyboard is referenced in the title, the author makes little ado of it. The manual was nonetheless popular enough to sell out its first two editions and gained a readership beyond that initially anticipated by the author. He therefore reportedly recast the material to suit his new audience. The modes are conflated with major and minor scales and the modulation method serves as the basis of harmonisation. See p. 65 above.

Raymund Schlecht. *Geschichte der Kirchenmusik*. Regensburg: Verlag von Alfred Coppenrath, 1871.

Recommends the organ accompaniment of chant to cover up deficiencies in singing where they exist; and where they do not, the accompaniment is said to produce an overall better effect. A sustained style is to be preferred for longer chants where incessantly chordal accompaniments can cause fatigue; harmonisations should also be kept largely diatonic in nature (pp. 191–3).

*O. Naudet. *Méthode très-élémentaire d'harmonium pour l'accompagnement du plain-chant à l'usage des commençants*. Vivey, 1871.

François-Auguste Gevaert. *Vade-mecum de l'organiste contenant les chants les plus usuels de l'église catholique*. Gand et Liège: Gevaert, 1871. In collaboration with Pierre-Jean Van Damme.

See above in § 3.1.1.

*J. F. Meilhan. *L'accompagnement correct et caractéristique du plain-chant romain d'après l'édition publiée à Rennes chez Vatar*. Nantes, 1872.

*Léon Roques. *L'accompagnement du plain-chant mis à la portée de tout le monde*. Paris: Hachette, c.1872.

Félix Clément. *Méthode d'orgue, d'harmonie et d'accompagnement comprenant toutes les connaissances nécessaires pour devenir un habile organiste*. 1st ed. Paris: Hachette, 1873; 2nd ed. Paris: Hachette, 1894.

Seeks to rejuvenate the principles of the French Classical organ school and to oppose the diatonic principles of Niedermeyer. These, the author reckoned, were foreign to the Catholic liturgy since Niedermeyer was Protestant; but in spite of his theological purism, the author was evidently not so concerned with musical purism, for his part-writing exhibits certain prohibited intervals. See p. 120 above.

Heinrich Oberhoffer. *Die Schule des katholischen Organisten : Theoretisch-praktische Orgelschule*. 2nd ed. Trier: Lintz, 1874.

The discussion of accompaniment in §19 shows the author to be up-to-date with the latest developments in Germany, Belgium and France. An ideal system is then proposed with the following rules: the harmony is to be modal; 5/3 and 6/3 triads are to be used, though tetrads may be permitted over pedal notes or with an active bass part; while seventh chords are not outlawed, their use should be limited; syllabic accompaniments require a new chord or bass note for every one or two chant notes, while melismatic accompaniments require fewer chords lest the accompaniment should become stiff and cumbersome ('steif und schwerfällig'); and tonic and dominant triads of the mode should be made most prominent. Some further specialised rules are then provided, including the requirement to change bass notes if the chant repeats often, to use suspensions where possible, and to avoid consecutive octaves and fifths (pp. 83–4).

*Ch. Roulleaux-Dugage. *Petit traité pratique d'harmonisation du plain-chant*. Paris: Jules Heinz, 1875.

Ignacio Ovejero. *Escuela del organista y tratado de canto llano*. Madrid: Andrés Vidal, 1876.

The author adopts the chorale texture in his accompaniments. See the discussion above (p. 89).

*Léon Bernard. *La théorie et la pratique du chant grégorien : ouvrage suivi des Principes élémentaires d'accompagnement diatonique*. Tournai: Casterman, 1876.

Abbé Falaise. *Méthode théorique et pratique de plain-chant suivie des principes de la musique et de dix-sept gammes d'harmonie pour l'accompagnement pratique et raisonné du chant en général*. 2nd ed. Paris: Victor Sarlit, 1876.

The modes are conflated with major and minor scales, seventeen of which are pre-harmonised to benefit accompanists of chant.

*Charles Duluc. *L'accompagnement du plain-chant mis à la portée de tout le monde*. 2nd ed. Paris: Pérégally et Parvy, 1877.

*V. Ballu. *Un mot sur le plain-chant, sa tonalité, son rythme et son accompagnement*. Paris: Cartereau, 1878.

Antonin Lhoumeau. *De l'altération ou du demi-ton accidentel dans la tonalité du plain-chant*. Niort: L. Clouzot, 1879.

Proposes that sharpened pitches be admitted in accompaniments after a theory of tetrachordal substitution inherited from the writings of the music historian Stéphen Morelot. See p. 121 above.

*C. Hubert. *L'art d'accompagner la musique et le plain-chant sur l'harmonium, le grand orgue et le piano*. Toulon, 1879.

*Ernest Grosjean. *Théorie et pratique de l'accompagnement du plain-chant*. 4th ed. Verdun: Meuse, 1879.

Dudley Buck. *Illustrations with Choir Accompaniment with Hints in Registration*. New York: G. Schirmer, 1880; 2nd ed. New York: G. Schirmer, 1892.

Although the author's discussion, in Chapter Five, of 'Accompaniment of the Chant' deals primarily with Anglican chant, some remarks are offered as to the accompaniment of Gregorian chant. In particular, the author suggests that the Gregorian repertory requires 'no different treatment as to manner of accompaniment from the Anglican single or double chants', and the organist is permitted 'to show his skills in varied harmonization of the unison melody'. The author neglects to elaborate on his claim that Gregorian chant belongs to 'old Greek scales', and therefore requires a different harmonisation. Although the editions consulted were published in different years, each contained the same prose.

Louis Müller. *Petit traité d'harmonie ou leçons élémentaires et pratiques pour accompagner le plain-chant*. Paris: Colombier, 1880.

Music examples in minims are set adjacent to the same but in crotchets with the chant being placed in the bottom part of a four-part texture. Modulation according to a 'circle of tonalities' is said to constitute a viable theory of chant harmonisation.

*Joseph Matly. *Petit traité du plain-chant et de son accompagnement à l'usage des organistes*. Tréguier: Le Flem., 1880.

B. Allard. *Transposition et accompagnement du plain chant*. Paris: L. Leconte & C^{ie}, 1880.

Numbers annotated above quadratic chant prompt a player to choose the correspondingly numbered chord from pre-harmonised sets. Two such sets are provided for each mode with dominants on 'G' and 'A', thereby allowing a player to offer a choice of transpositions. See p. 70 above.

Michael Joannes Antonius Lans. *De katholieke organist: onderricht in de begeleiding an den Gregoriaanschen zang en in het kerkelijk orgelspel met een aantal speel oefeningen*. Leiden: J.W. van Leeuwen, 1881.

The third section is dedicated to the accompaniment of chant and follows a plan similar to Oberhoffer's.

*Alphonse Chabot. *Méthode d'harmonium facile et raisonnée pour accompagner tout cantique à première vue*. 1st ed. Paris, 1881.

J. B. Bischoff. *Méthode élémentaire d'orgue, d'harmonie et de plain-chant*. Rodez, 1881.

Attempts to distill Niedermeyer's principles into a more accessible format to suit those without much musical training. In four sections, the text is divided into lessons on the fundamentals of the harmonium, the organ, harmony in general and chant harmonisation in particular. The author includes examples of the last that are reminiscent of Niedermeyer's, but fingered for the benefit of students.

E. Radureau. *Harmonisation du plain-chant*. 3rd ed. Moulins: A. Ducroux & Gourjon Dulac, 1882.

Harmonising in key of F major is recommended for chants that contain B \flat , while harmonising in the key of C major is recommended for chants that do not.

F. M. Jubin. *Méthode d'harmonium sur un plan nouveau et traité d'harmonie appliqué à l'accompagnement du plain-chant et des cantiques*. Lyon: Albert, 1882.

A set of exercises does not require the students to play the chant in their accompaniments, but to use sustained chords based on the harmony implied by the chant instead. Curiously, the author's example accompaniments are in the homorhythmic, chord-against-note style where the chant is placed in the top part of the texture.

C. G.. *Accompagnement du plain-chant*. Paris: Victor Sarlit, 1884.

See p. 62 above.

Théodore Dubois. *Accompagnement pratique du plain-chant à la basse et à la partie supérieure à l'usage des personnes qui savent peu ou pas l'harmonie*. Paris: Parvy, 1884.

This didactic method conflates fourteen plainchant modes with major and minor scales in the interest of simplicity. See p. 65 above.

Antonin Lhoumeau. *De l'harmonisation des mélodies grégoriennes et du plain-chant en général*. Niort: Thibaut-Aimé, 1884.

The capabilities of the modern organ are embraced, with example accompaniments bearing witness to manual changes, passages where the pedal part flits in and out, and trills. The appearance of the chant is sometimes fleeting as its position in the texture changes. See p. 116 above.

Paul Schmetz. *Dom Pothier's Liber Gradualis (Tournayer Ausgabe), seine historische und praktische Bedeutung mit 7 Facsimiles einer vor dem Jahre 1379 geschriebenen Pergamenthandschrift*. Mainz: Franz Kirchheim, 1884.

§III attempts to apply Pothier's oratorical rhythm to a theory of chant harmonisation by adopting a five-line version of Desclée's quadratic notation, arranged in two staves, one bearing a treble clef and the chant melody and the other a bass clef and a rudimentary bass part. The latter is sometimes figured where chords other than 5/3 are required. In spite of the accompaniment following a chord-against-note style, the author evidently intended its rhythm to follow nuances deemed inherent in the chant part; these are imputed to the bass part by means of its neumatic layout matching that of the chant. See above on p. 113.

*Eugène Weiss. *Etude sur l'harmonisation du chant liturgique*. Paris: Soc. anon. des Publications périodiques, 1884.

Eugène Baré. *Nouvelle méthode simple et facile pour apprendre à accompagner le plain-chant avec le clavier transpositeur, contenant les principes élémentaires de la musique et du plain-chant, ainsi que des instructions sur le mécanisme et l'entretien des harmoniums*. Paris: Delay, c.1884.

The author acknowledges not only the transposing keyboard as a useful mechanism for accompanying chant but also the influence of Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue's diatonic method of chant harmony. See p. 56 above.

Paul Schmetz. *Die Harmonisierung des gregorianischen Choralgesanges : Ein Handbuch zur Erlernung der Choralbegleitung*. 1st ed. Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1885; 2nd ed. Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1894.

Seven rules of a chant harmonisation are contrived to apply Pothier's rhythmic principles to the placement of chords. See p. 115 above.

*Eugène Henry. *L'art d'accompagner le plain-chant à l'aigu par mouvement contraire*. 2nd ed. Châlons sur Marne: Barbat, 1885.

C. Warwick Jordan. *One Hundred and Fifty Harmonies for the Gregorian Tones With a Few Remarks as to their Accompaniment*. London: Novello, Ewer and Co, c.1885.

Recommends, among other techniques, the process of 'free accompaniment' where the organist plays elaborative, contrapuntal passages to accompany recitations. Otherwise, the psalm tones have been structured in such a way as to conform to the principles of Anglican chanting.

William Stevenson Hoyte. *Organ accompaniment of the choral service; practical suggestions to organists as to the selection and treatment of church music*. London: Novello & Co., c.1885. Edited by John Frederick Bridge.

Appendix B discusses Gregorian accompaniment and advises that the intonation be given by the left hand and pedals in octaves. The author argues that strident organ registrations should be used since chant is ordinarily sung in unison, up to Principal on the Great organ with full Swell, manuals coupled to a 16' and 8' pedal registration

Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens. *Du chant grégorien : sa mélodie, son rythme, son harmonisation*. Gand: Duclos, 1886.

This posthumously published manual recommends a procedure of sustained accompaniment where multiple chant notes are accompanied by a single chord. See above in § 3.1.3.

*John Wilberforce Doran & Edward Dale Galloway. *Intermodal Harmonies for the Gregorian Psalm Tones Preceded by an Explanatory Preface: Also, a Diatonic Harmony for the Responses at Mattins and Evensong According to the Sarum or Ancient English Use*. London: Novello, Ewer and Co, c.1886.

Arthur Rousseau. *Le petit harmoniste grégorien, nouvelle édition contenant les principes de musique, de plain-chant et d'harmonium, l'harmonisation naturelle et artificielle du chant grégorien, sa transposition et l'accompagnement des cantiques populaires*. Prignonieux-Laforce, 1886; 2nd ed. Bourdeille, 1889.

Provides annotations corresponding to a basic set of rules of chord construction. The appropriate chord is to be supplied by the player at a given annotation. See p. 69 above.

Frère Mélit-Joseph. *Cours intuitif d'harmonie et d'accompagnement divisé en quatre parties : L'étude des accords et de leurs enchaînements; La modulation et l'improvisation; L'accompagnement de la mélodie; L'harmonisation du plain-chant*. 1st ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1887; 3rd ed. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1908.

In part IV, on the accompaniment of chant, the author quotes Pierre-Jean Van Damme on the avoidance of dissonant chords (p. 124), and music examples are provided in the filled-and-void notational style (see above in § 3.1.4). Features common to Van Damme's notation are stems used when two parts share the same note; triplets indicated in some inner parts; parenthesized notes; and the lengths of accompanying notes rendered as void notes (which are perhaps also dotted) to match the number of filled notes being accompanied. The use of obliques to indicate rests is one notable departure from Van Damme's notation; moreover, the use of thick-set breves for recitations is also a noteworthy feature.

*Fritz Volbach. *Lehrbuch der Begleitung des gregorianischen Gesanges und des deutschen Chorals in den Kirchentönen nach den Grundsätzen des polyphonen Satzes*. Berlin: Heine, 1888.

Abbé Dedun. *Le Système 'trois d'un' (ou trois indications à l'aide d'un seul signe) pour accompagner facilement le plain-chant*. 2nd ed. Nancy: R. Vagner, 1889.

Sets out a novel notational system ostensibly to simplify accompaniments of plainchant; in reality, however, the density of information conveyed by the author's unfamiliar symbols cannot have provided many advantages over modern notation. For a more detailed description of the notation, see above (p. 68).

*Alexandre Bruneau. *Méthode pour harmonium en musique et plain-chant*. Paris: Canaux, 1889.

Auguste Teppe. *Premier problème grégorien : nature et fixation du rythme liturgique paroissial*. Châlons sur Marne: F. Thouille, 1889.

Described by the author's biographer as 'a bit abstract', the rhythmic theory outlined in this text is seemingly mensural in conception. To demonstrate its applicability to chant harmonisation, the author commissioned Eugène Gigout to compose two accompaniments in different styles on Teppe's proprietary transcription of the chant into modern notation. See p. 122 above. A second book dealing the 'second problème grégorien, or the process of harmonisation, was considered by the author to be otiose. See footnote 494. The author had also planned to publish a third book, but that did not come to light either.

*Pierre Denis. *Essais sur l'harmonisation du chant grégorien : suivis de plusieurs appendices*. Paris: R. Haton, 1890.

*Heinrich Böckeler. *Harmonielehre für Kirchen-Musik Aufgabenheft I Für 4 und 3 stimmigen Satz mit Grundakkorden*. Aachen: Verl. des Gregorius-Hauses, c.1890.

Edgar Tinel. *Le chant grégorien : théorie sommaire de son exécution*. Malines: H. Dessain, 1890.

Although chiefly a text on chant practice, it recommends that the organ accompaniment ought not to be too loud. See p. 107 above.

Eustoquio de Uriarte. *Tratado teórico-práctico de canto Gregoriano según la verdadera tradición*. Madrid: Imprenta De Don Luis Aguado, 1890.

Chapter 9, 'Del órgano y de los organistas', represents the introduction of Haberl's ideas on chant accompaniment to the Hispanosphere, though not without a word of caution since it was admitted that the line between sound doctrine and unsubstantiated claims was often blurred in Haberl's writings. See p. 42 above.

V. Auzet. *L'accompagnement artistique du plain-chant : méthode théorique et pratique*. Paris: E. L'Huillier et C^{ie}, 1891.

Annotatations prompt a player to apply a set of rules governing chord construction. See p. 69 above.

Jules de Calonne. *A. B. C. de l'harmonie appliquée au plain-chant*. Paris: E. Fromant, 1892.

In this five-page pamphlet wherein music examples are duplicated in quadratic and normal notations and set adjacent to one another, the author's brief descriptions of intervals, chords and the rule of the octave cannot have proven that enlightening to any student, particularly since not a single music example is provided to illustrate his methodology. The manual was nonetheless furnished with an attractive title, which would surely have beguiled hapless amateurs. See p. 63 above.

J. Brétécher. *Accompagnement du plain-chant et des cantiques populaires, grammaire musicale des principes et des règles élémentaires de l'harmonie*. 1st ed. Nantes: Imp. Bourgeois, c.1892; 5th ed. Nantes: Imp. Bourgeois, 1909.

Provides harmonised major and minor scales to be applied to the accompaniment of chant. Stylistically, the accompaniments contain largely 5/3 chords, and certain phrase endings are annotated in *solfège*, indicating the keys to which the harmony must modulate.

F. Emery-Desbrousses. *Études et biographes musicales suivies d'un aperçu sur les origines et l'harmonisation du plain-chant*. Paris: Fischbacher, 1892. Edited by Henry Eymieu.

Relays Niedermeyer's principles before relaying that both Charles-Marie Widor and Théodore Dubois both follow them (p. 160). See p. 143 above.

*A. Lourdault. *Notions d'harmonisation du plain-chant*. Hainaut, 1892.

Antonin Lhoumeau. *Rythme, exécution et accompagnement du chant grégorien*. Tournai: Desclée, 1892.

A textbook of far-reaching influence which is discussed above in § 3.2.1.

Louis Lepage. *Traité de l'accompagnement du plain-chant*. 1st ed. Rennes: Bossard-Bonnel, 1894; 2nd ed. Rennes: Bossard-Bonnel, 1900.

The second edition includes a supplementary volume on 'Notes Foreign to Chords'. The chain of events leading to that addition (as well as the circumstances leading to the use of a notational style for chant accompaniments pioneered at Solesmes) may be consulted above (p. 162).

J. B. Berrouiller. *L'Accompagnateur du plain chant formé rapidement au moyen de gammes formules et marches harmoniques, et Psalmodies harmonisées*. Paris: E. Gobert, 1895.

No descriptive prose is provided to explain how a set of harmonised scales in various modes relate to the accompaniment of plainchant. Instead, the author follows up these scales with harmonised tenors, mediations and terminations of psalm tones. Seemingly, the author purged any mention of transposition from his method, and added the following sentence to the title page: 'Transposition is removed from this method, which facilitates accompaniment on the organ' ('Cette méthode supprime la transposition du clavier et facilite l'accompagnement sur les orgues').

*George Max. *L'accompagnement du plain-chant*. c.1895.

François-Auguste Gevaert. *La mélopée antique dans l'Eglise latine*. Gand: A. Hoste, 1895.

Although chiefly a textbook on music in antiquity, Gevaert concludes that the accompaniment of chant is to be dismissed, save in cases where vocal support is required. See above in § 3.1.1.

Louis Lootens. *La théorie musicale du chant grégorien*. Paris: Thorin et fils, 1895.

Recommends that the harmony of a plainchant accompaniment should be modernised as follows: first, that consecutive fifths and octaves be made permissible; second, that the dissonance in a dominant seventh chord need not resolve; and third, that false relations be permitted. The chant repertory is said to be replete with modulations, a tenet the author relies upon to justify the many cadences in his example accompaniments. Harmonisations by figures in the Haberl circle are criticised for not maintaining a common modal dominant.

*E. Meindre. *Methode elementaire et complete pour l'accompagnement du plain-chant specialement destinée aux ecclesiastiques et aux eleves des seminaires et des maitrises*. Agen: Imprimerie de Prosper Noubel, 1895.

The Elements of plainsong; compiled from a series of lectures delivered before the members of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society. 1st ed. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1895. Edited by Henry Bremridge Briggs; 2nd ed. London: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1909. Edited by Henry Bremridge Briggs.

The article on accompaniment by Walter Howard Frere (1863–1938) is subtly edited in the second edition, though remains general in nature and does not contain a single harmonised music example. With that being said, each edition discusses the two opposing viewpoints held by ‘the extreme purist’, who denies the permissibility of accompaniment, and ‘the extreme vandal’, who capitalises on modern harmonic resources in his or her accompaniments.

Josef Schildknecht. *Orgelschule mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Orgelspiel beim Kath. Gottesdienste*. Regensburg: Verlag von Alfred Coppenrath, 1896.

Further editions appeared following the author’s death, whose editors updated the principles of accompaniment according to the latest developments in harmony, rhythm and texture. See p. 223 above.

Célestin Leroy. *Méthode pour accompagner le plain-chant et les cantiques*. Nantes: Lanoë-Maseau, 1897.

Following a set of harmonised scales, the author provides example accompaniments in different modes and annotates certain cadences with *sofège* scale steps, indicating modulations, and numerals, referring to a set of rules provided earlier in the textbook.

Léon Courtois. *Méthode pratique d'accompagnement du plain-chant précédée d'un cours élémentaire d'harmonie*. Namur: Wesmaël-Charlier, c.1897.

Considering the author was a past pupil of the Lemmens Institute, it is unsurprising to note his use of the filled-and-void notational style. Similarities are evident in the examples to the harmonic approach adopted by pedagogues at that school, and it follows that certain example accompaniments are reproduced from accompaniment books of Van Damme and Oscar De Puydt. Certain accompaniments by Antonin Lhoumeau are also included (p. 99, n. 1 & p. 141).

*Abbé Hardy. *Petite méthode d'accompagnement du plain-chant par l'harmonie consonante*. Ardennes, 1898.

Abbé Bourguignon. *Méthode élémentaire d'harmonie pour l'accompagnement du plain-chant et des cantiques*. 2nd ed. Paris: H. Oudin, 1899; 3rd ed. Paris: H. Oudin, 1907.

Provides a set of harmonised major and minor scales prior to discussing the accompaniment of chant itself. Notes common to successive chords are tied and cadential sharpening is prevalent. An appendix describes accompanying ‘with melodic notes’ (‘avec notes mélodiques’), or, in other words, a procedure by which certain notes of the chant may be justified as dissonances.

Dobroslav Orel. *Theoreticko-praktická rukověť chorálu římského pro bohoslovecké a učitelské ústavy pro kněží, ředitele kůru, varhaníky a přátele církevního zpěvu*. Hradci Králové: Politické družstvo tiskové, 1899.

The first textbook detailing a method of chant accompaniment intended for a Bohemian audience. Examples by the Czech composer František Jirásek are included. See p. 41 above.

*J. B. Piot. *L'accompagnement du plain-chant : méthode élémentaire, raisonnée et pratique*. 1st vol. Lyon: Vitte, 1900; 2nd vol. Lyon: Vitte, 1902.

Written by the chaplain at the basilica of Fourvière and former *maître de chapelle* at the minor seminary of Verrières, Loire.

Alfred Delaporte. *Manuel théorique et pratique indispensable pour apprendre seul l'harmonie, la transposition, le contrepoint, la fugue, l'orchestration et le plain-chant grégorien avec les différentes manières de l'accompagner*. Paris: Louis Gregh, 1901.

Provides harmonised scales and sets of modulations described as suitable for eight modes. Although these are harmonised in the chord-against-note style, the author acknowledges that such a style is unsuited to accompanying those chant melodies published by Joseph Pothier (p. 143). In an attempt to provide an appropriate style to accompany those chants, the author demonstrates a neumatic accompaniment whereby chords are made to coincide with the first notes of neumes—chords are also struck on notes preceding the first notes of neumes too. The author acknowledges the requirement to understand the tenets understanding Solesmian notation prior to devising an accompaniment based on them, so recommends Antoine Delpech's accompaniments in the *Livre d'Orgue* as further reading (p. 147, n. 1).

*Edouard Dubourg. *Méthode théorique et pratique d'accompagnement du plain-chant*. Evreux, 1901.

J. Dauphin. *Traité pratique et raisonné d'harmonie*. Arras: Procure de musique, 1901.

Provides rules for the application of consonant harmony, and in a section devoted to 'accompagnement avec notes mélodiques' provides advice concerning the use of dissonance. In the latter, Joseph Pothier's *Liber gradualis* and a dubious description of the *ictus* inspire a method of accompaniment that establishes so-called principal notes requiring changes of chord. In syllabic chants, such principal notes coincide with the accented syllable, the initial syllable of a word, and the final note of a phrase. In neumatic chants, such principal notes coincide with the first note of a neume, the junction between two subdivided neumes, double or triple notes (such as *bistropa* or *tristropa*, cadential notes, anacrusis, and isolated notes that correspond with an accented syllable. These rubrics are explicated by means of example accompaniments which the author has annotated with a confusing array of numerals and symbols, attempting to demonstrate when a given note has been set as the root, third or fifth of a chord. It is rather a confusing system, not least because the author relates those numerals to the root of the chord, whether it is sounding in the bass part or not; so, the chant note 'A' might be annotated with the numeral 5 to show it is the fifth of, say, a D minor 5/3 chord, even though the bass part might in fact be an 'F' (p. 100).

*Amintore Galli & J. Tomadini. *Del canto liturgico cristiano : sinopsi : con esempi e studi sull'accomp. dello stesso canto*. Milan: Ricordi, 1902.

Robert Collette. *L'harmonium diatonique : Nouvel instrument donnant au Plain-Chant l'accompagnement consonnant que réclame sa nature*. Liège: École professionnelle Saint-Jean-Berchma, c.1902.

Proposes a new keyboard layout consisting of the 'white-note' pitches 'C', 'D', 'E', 'F', 'G', 'A', and 'B', the 'black-note' pitch 'B'♭, and the red-note pitch 'D' flatted by a syntonic comma (pp. 17–18). The last was intended for use in chords including B♭.

*Hte Garonne Curé de Pin. *Manuel pratique de l'accompagnateur du plain-chant*. 1902.

Peter Piel. *Harmonie-Lehre : Unter besondere Berücksichtigung der Anforderungen für das kirchliche Orgelspiel zunächst für Lehrer-Seminare*. 8th ed. Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, c.1903.

The author's death in 1904 did not dissuade subsequent editors from assuming the mantle to update this harmony treatise, and to bring the ideas on chant accompaniment more up to date. The updates to the chapter on chant accompaniment were presumably by Paul Mandersheid, even though Piel's name is featured solely on the cover page. When Mandersheid's edition was translated into Italian by Eduardo Dagnani, the material was adapted for its intended audience to include example accompaniments by Giulio Bas and Peter Wagner. These, together with an up-to-date bibliography of Italian books, were no doubt intended to benefit Italian students, seminarians or amateurs. See p. 222 above.

Luigi Bottazzo & Oreste Ravanello. *L'organista di Chiesa*. Milan: Casa editrice Musica Sacra, 1903.

§3 provides harmonised modal scales followed by a set of pre-harmonised intervals, ostensibly to suit the accompaniment of any chant melody without recourse to any theoretical rules.

Emile Brune. *Nouvelle méthode élémentaire de l'accompagnement du plain-chant grégorien*. 3rd ed. Rixheim: F. Sutter, 1903; 4th ed. Paris: Bonne Presse, 1929; 5th ed. Paris, 1932.

See p. 71 above.

*Roberto Remondi. *Regole pratiche, chiare e facili per imparare ad accompagnare il canto gregoriano a prima vista, seguito dall'esposizione di un metodo semplicissimo per trasportare con facilità le melodie gregoriane a seconda delle necessità vocali del coro. (Testo italiano e francese)*. Turin: Marcello Capra, 1903.

Reviewed by Giulio Bas in *Rassegna gregoriana* vol. 3, cols 154–6 who noted that Remondi did not tailor his method to any one chant edition.

Pierre Chassang. *Manuel de l'Accompagnateur du Chant grégorien et des cantiques populaires*. Arras: Procure de musique, 1904.

See p. 192 above.

Stanbrook Abbey. *A Grammar of Plainsong in two Parts*. London: Burns and Oates, 1905.

Although little more than a page is dedicated to chapter eight on the subject of 'Accompaniment', it is among the first discussions of the practice in the English language to consider tonality, rhythm and style as they relate to the accompaniment of plainchant in the Catholic Church. The chapter enjoyed the tacit approbation of Heinrich Beverunge who corresponded with Stanbrook's nuns prior to publication. See p. 183 above.

*Amédée Gastoué. *Comment on peut s'inspirer des anciens pour l'accompagnement du chant romain*. 1905.

Franz Xaver Mathias. *Die Choralbegleitung*. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1905.

See above in § 4.2.5.

*William Gousseau. *Essai d'accompagnement du chant grégorien*. Paris: Alleton, c.1905.

Charles Künster. *Harmonisches System zur Begleitung der gregorianischen Chormelodien*. St. Ottilien: Missionsverlag, 1906.

The first half of this text attempts to describe the origin of harmony and how melodies can suggest one or another harmony. The second attempts to apply those findings to the accompaniment of chant, a chapter being dedicated to each of the modes: protus, deuterus, tritus and tetrardus modes. The author then discusses chord progressions cadences, concluding by delineating four criteria for appropriate chant harmony. It must apply to every piece in the repertory; it must follow established musical principles—presumably with respect to part movement, and so forth—and musical aesthetics ('den allgemeinen musikalischen Gesetzen und dem natürlichen musikalischen Gefühle'); it must conform to those rules provided by the author in the second half of the text; and it must be capable of both simple and more elaborate textures. Music examples are provided to exemplify the author's system of accompaniment, the chant in quadratic notation arranged above a four-part accompaniment where the transcribed chant is placed in the top part.

Dominicus Johner. *Neue Schule des gregorianischen Choralgesanges*. 1st ed. Regensburg, New York and Cincinnati: Pustet, 1906; 5th ed. Regensburg, New York and Cincinnati: Pustet, 1921; 3rd ed. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1925. Translated by Hermann Erpf & Max Ferrars; 6th ed. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1929.

Proposes a diatonic method of accompaniment permitting the seventh chord without requiring it to be prepared or resolved. See p. 224 above.

Max Springer. *Die kunst der Choralbegleitung : Theoretisch-praktische Anleitung zum richtigen Singen und Begleiten des gregorianischen Chorals*. Regensburg: Copenrath, 1907; New York: Fischer, 1908.

See above in § 5.1.1.

*Max Springer. *Die liturgische Choralgesang in Hochamt und Vesper, dessen harmonisierung und Erklärung*. Regensburg, 1907.

Alfred Madeley Richardson. *Modern organ accompaniment*. London: Longmans Green, 1907.

Advocates for accompaniments in the chord-against-note style, the chant being placed in bottom, middle and top parts of the texture. Modulation at cadences is described rather briefly, as is the 'beautiful effect' reportedly produced when only part of a chant is harmonised (pp. 179–82). The author reiterates Walter Howard Frere's view that the pedal division is to be used sparingly in the course of a chant accompaniment (p. 196).

*William Gousseau. *Résumé du cours d'accompagnement du plain-chant*. Paris: Alleton, 1907.

*Louis Raffy. *Ecole d'orgue : l'accompagnement du plain-chant*. Saint-Leu-la-Forêt: Procure de musique, 1908.

*Oreste Ravanello. *Sul ritmo e sull'accompagnamento del canto gregoriano, studi ed osservazioni*. Padua: Salmin, 1908.

F. Clement C. Egerton. *A handbook of church music : a practical guide for all those having the charge of schools and choirs, and others who desire to restore plainsong to its proper place in the services of the church*. London: R & T Washbourne Ltd, 1909.

Chapter IX recommends a 'simple accompaniment of the chant' but offers few tidbits of advice as to how that might be constructed, save for making the less-than-helpful assertion that 'a good accompanist of plainsong is born rather than made'.

John Stainer. *The Organ*. New York: G. Schirmer, 1909. Edited by Harker F. Flaxington.

Recommends a 'solid organ combination (of stops, most likely, though perhaps of texture too) for chant was ordinarily to be sung in unison. A knowledge of 'the ancient Ecclesiastical modes' is said to be essential (p. 82), and it is expected that the organist should deploy word-painting in their accompanists as a matter of course.

Fr[ère] Sébastien. *Accompagnement du chant grégorien*. Paris: Lethielleux, 1910.

See 71 above.

*Charles Danjou. *Organiste en un mois : Cent vingt morceaux liturgiques et cantiques, précédés de formules précises et d'indications pour apprendre à accompagner*. 1st ed. Paris: De Gigord, 1910; 2nd ed. Paris: De Gigord, 1915.

Amédée Gastoué. *Traité d'harmonisation du chant grégorien sur un plan nouveau*. Lyon: Janin, 1910.

In two parts, this manual discusses consonances, so-called 'notes mélodiques' (passing notes, échappées, anticipations, auxiliaries, appoggiaturas and pedals), and also recommends the use of consecutive fifths and octaves. It then delves into modality and counterpoint, making numerous citations from compositions by Charles Bordes, Émile Brune, Pierre Chassang, Antoine Delpech, William Gousseau, Alexandre Guilmant, Antonin Lhoumeau, Jean Parisot, and Peter Wagner, to say nothing of those examples specially composed by author himself.

*Abbé Thiverny. *Accompagnement du plain-chant, du chant grégorien et des cantiques*. 1911.

*Paul Manderscheid. *Der traditionelle Choral : sein Vortrag und seine Begleitung*. Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1911.

Edwin Evans. *The Modal Accompaniment of Plain Chant: A Practical Treatise*. London: William Reeves, 1911.

A textbook in two halves, the first, theoretical, considers questions such as the appropriate modality of an accompaniment, whether to sustain chords, and whether to use sharps; the second, practical, largely consists of various harmonisations which place the chant in the tenor register, the same as that of accompaniments in two parts. But that is not applied everywhere as a rule, because the chant is made to flit sometimes between outer and inner parts of the texture; a list of endnotes makes an attempt at an exegesis of the method.

Henry William Richards. *The Organ Accompaniment of the Church Services: A Practical Guide for the Student*. London: J. Williams, 1911.

The author writes in chapter 13 that ‘in the main, the harmonies used [to accompany plainsong] should be composed on the models of Tallis or Palestrina’. The practice of lining-out the intonation in octaves on the organ is described. One example accompaniment is noteworthy for setting a psalm tone in different places in the texture (pp. 110–112). The beamed notation discussed above (p. 86) is used for the notation of the example.

Peter Griesbacher. *Kirchenmusikalische Stilistik und Formenlehre*. Regensburg, 1912.

The author’s views on accompaniment may be consulted above in § 5.1.1.

*Abbé Duthu. *L’Ave Maria de l’harmonie ou l’art d’arriver à l’accompagnement du chant religieux*. Paris: Pinatel, 1912.

Henri Potiron. *Méthode d’harmonie appliquée à l’accompagnement du chant grégorien (d’après l’édition vaticane)*. Paris: Hérelle, 1912.

This stirred some controversy for railing against the theory of free rhythm promulgated by Solesmes, against which the author proposed a mensural theory of his own. Following the author’s acceptance of Solesmian theories some ten years hence, he moved to suppress this publication by superseding it with others that codified the application of Solesmian rhythm in the accompaniment. For a description of the controversy and Potiron’s eventual *volte-face*, see above in § 5.2.2.

François Brun. *Traité de l’accompagnement du chant grégorien*. 2nd ed. Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1912.

Attempts to summarise accompaniment of chant with three categories: those with the tune on top, those with sustained chords, and those in a so-called ‘accompagnement concertant’ style, a kind of more elaborate accompaniment that might have been inspired by solo performance. To illustrate his method of chant accompaniment, the author reproduces some music examples which had previously been published by the Schola Cantorum around 1898, together with examples composed more recently by other French composers. See § 5.1.2.

Ferdinand Gregor Molitor. *Die diatonisch-rythmische Harmonisation der gregorianischen Choralmelodien*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1913.

See p. 224 above.

*Fr. Achille. *L’enfant de chœur organiste en huit jours*. Paris: Mignard, 1913.

*Curé de Courgis. *Méthode Jeanne d’Arc pour le chant et l’harmonium*. 1913.

Maurice Emmanuel. *Traité de l’accompagnement modal des psaumes*. Lyon: Janin, 1913.

See p. 226 above.

*Théodore Dubois. *L’accompagnement du plain-chant mis à la portée de tous*. Paris: Au Ménestrel, 1914.

Jean Parisot. *L’accompagnement modal du chant grégorien*. Paris: Art catholique, 1914.

The first part describes such devices as passing notes, appoggiaturas, anticipations, anacrusis, pedal points, sustained chords, the so-called ‘accompagnement concertant’, and so forth; the second part provides music examples of perhaps a bar or two to demonstrate their use in practice.

Francis Burgess. *The Teaching and Accompaniment of Plainsong*. London: Novello & Co., 1914.

The author recommends ‘modal accompaniment by limiting the materials of our harmonies to the notes of the diatonic scale with the flat seventh as an additional note’ (p. 62), a practice absorbed seemingly unwittingly from Niedermeyer’s practice. While the author is certainly cognizant of developments on the continent (he reproduces accompaniments by Peter Wagner, Franz Xaver Mathias, Michael Horn, Max Springer, Franz Nekes and Leo Manzetti), his blasé explanations of their praxis betrays a certain lack of familiarity with the *modus operandi* of these composers. Speaking of the filled-and-void notation used by Horn, for instance, the author concludes that ‘apparently he dislikes the look of the quaver’; when in fact Horn had employed a different notation to make the distinction between sacred chant and secular harmony clear to the player. Horn’s view on that subject is discussed above (p. 114).

Jules Carillon. *L’Accompagnement du chant grégorien en cinq leçons*. Paris: Bonne Presse, 1916.

A pocket-sized manual containing ‘five lessons’ comprising discussions on perfect chords, successions of chords, choosing chords, where to place them, and transposition. Each is followed by sets of exercises and solutions.

*Karl Cohen. *Orgelbegleitung nebst Vor- u[nd] Nachspielen zu den Einheitsliedern der deutschen Diözesan-Gesangbücher*. Cologne: Bachem, 1916.

Ernest Grosjean. *Méthode pour l’accompagnement du chant grégorien*. Paris: Biton, 1917.

Blitzes through the rules of chord construction prior to discussing how to set ‘des notes étrangères aux accords’ as passing notes, auxiliaries, appoggiaturas, échappées, suspensions, and anticipations. Rules are then provided to set chords to neumes: disjunct neumes outline the chord required; but conjunct neumes require some notes to be consonant and others dissonant. Some fifteen pages of music examples follow, from which the reader is required to absorb the author’s principles by osmosis, because little further descriptive matter is provided to explicate their *modus operandi*.

Moritz Brosig. *Handbuch der Harmonielehre und Modulation*. Leipzig: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1918.

The author terminates most of his accompaniments on major chords, admitting sharps in the terminal chord when necessary. Cadential sharpening is also employed, as are seventh chords, and the tenor part is often made to match the chant in similar or contrary motion (pp. 211–233).

Giulio Bas. *Metodo per l’accompagnamento del canto gregoriano e per la composizione negli otto modi, con un’ appendice sulla risposta nella fuga*. Turin: Società Tipografico – Editrice Nazionale, 1920; Paris: Desclée, 1923.

Collects the author’s thoughts on accompaniment following two decades as unofficial composer of accompaniments for Solesmes. Of particular interest is the author’s proclivity for harmonising the antecedent of phrases differently (or not at all) compared with the consequent. See above in § 5.1.3.

*Abbé Coudray. *Méthode préparatoire à l’accompagnement du plain-chant grégorien*. Saint-Brieuc: Gaudu, 1921.

*Abbé Desmaris. *Méthode théorique et pratique pour l’accompagnement du plain-chant*. Autun, 1921.

*Octave Rossion. *Ecole d’accompagnement du chant grégorien*. Brussels: Ledent, 1923.

*Abbé Fazembat. *Le plain-chant et son accompagnement : Méthode à la portée des enfants eux-mêmes*. Bourdeaux, c.1924.

Henri Tissot. *Mélopées liturgiques et mélodies modernes: Comment on peut traiter leur harmonisation*. Besançon: Imprimerie Bossanne, 1924.

Annotates music examples in a confusing manner, those numerals to the left of notes indicating fingerings, and thos beneath the staff indicating bass notes in simple intervals beneath the chant note—horizontal lines indicate that bass notes should remain static. A process of imitation is described whereby one accompanying part is to imitate the intervals previously traced out by the chant (p. 24). Examples by Jean Parisot and Maurice Emmanuel are provided, but no mention is made of the earlier style of ‘Imitationen im Baß’, described above (see p. 9).

F. Boulfard. *Méthode d'accompagnement du chant grégorien*. Paris: Desclée, 1924.

Attempts to codify the process of accompaniment according to a theory of chant rhythm promulgated by Solesmes, which is not altogether surprising when considering that the author was a Benedictine oblate. That probably explains how the text came to be published by Desclée and also might explain why the Spanish Benedictine monk Maur Sablayrolles provided some introductory remarks. Predictably, numerous references are made in the body of the text to André Mocquereau's theory of the *ictus* and to Giulio Bas's thoughts on modal harmony.

George Oldroyd & Charles William Pearce. *The Accompaniment of Plainchant: A Practical Guide for Students*. London: J. Curwen & Sons Ltd, 1924.

The authors permit 5/3 chords (except the diminished triad B/D/F), 6/3 chords and 6/4 chords as long as the harmony remains diatonic, and describes the coincidence whereby the chant, in a resonant acoustic, creates seemingly creates clusters. The authors are cognizant of continental textbooks, including those by Amédée Gastoué, and also allot space to Richard Runciman Terry's ideas concerning accompaniment, to whom the text is also dedicated.

*Henri Potiron. 'L'accompagnement du chant grégorien: des rapports entre l'accent et la place des accords.' *Monographies grégoriennes*. Vol. 5. Paris-Tournai: Desclée, 1924.

Henri Potiron. *Cours d'accompagnement du chant grégorien*. 1st ed. Paris: Hérèlle, 1925; 2nd ed. Paris: Hérèlle, 1927; 2nd ed. Tournai: Desclée, 1933. Translated by Ruth C. Gabain.

The most notable difference between the first and second editions is the addition of more music examples. See §§ 5.2.3 and 5.2.4.

*Abbé P. Méroux. *Nouvelle méthode pratique, simple et complète pour apprendre rapidement à accompagner le plain-chant grégorien suivant les lois de l'harmonie de la tonalité et du rythme*. Paris-Tournai: Desclée, 1925.

Abbé Aumon & Abbé Biret. *Méthode facile et complète pour l'accompagnement du chant grégorien et des cantiques*. Vendée: Petit séminaire de Chavagnes-en-Paillers, 1926.

See p. 71 above.

Jules Jeannin. *Sur l'importance de la tierce dans l'accompagnement grégorien*. Paris: Hérèlle, 1926.

Reacts against the fashion omitting the third from accompaniments and the use of dyads, presenting some well chosen music examples and arguments by François-Auguste Gevaert, Maurice Emmanuel and Amédée Gastoué in an attempt to justify the retention of triads.

Jean Hébert Desrocquettes & Henri Potiron. 'La théorie harmonique des trois groupes modaux et l'accord final des troisième et quatrième mode[s].' *Monographies grégoriennes*. Vol. 6. Paris-Tournai: Desclée, 1926.

The three groups in question summarise what is rather a convoluted theory of chant harmony that is more fully explicated above (§ 5.2). While the cover page gives the title with the singular form of 'mode', the first page gives the plural.

*Frere du Sacré-Coeur d'Arthabaska. *Méthode facile et rapide pour accompagner le chant grégorien d'après les principes de Solesmes, suivie d'un appendice pour l'accompagnement des cantiques*. Tournai: Desclée, 1927.

John Henry Arnold. *Plainsong Accompaniment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927.

A sustained type of accompaniment reserving chord changes for specific notes owes much to developments in chant accompaniment on the continent which the author has apparently absorbed unwittingly. His use of inessential notes to reduce the number of chords and diatonic harmony owe much to French, Belgian and German theorists of the preceding four decades or so. But the author was not without renown himself, having written plainsong accompaniments for the hymnal *Songs of Praise*, and he would later go on to revise those accompaniments in the *English Hymnal* in 1933. His experimentation with accompanying the voices in their respective registers is a noteworthy departure from the textures of Alfred Madeley Richardson and Henry William Richards (p. 62). For further information, see John Harper, 'The English Hymnal: Liturgical and Musical Roots, and the Plainsong Hymnody', in *Strengthen for Service: 100 Years of the English Hymnal 1906–2006*, ed. Alan Luff (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2005).

*Y. Chuberre. *Petite voie agréable et facile de l'accompagnement du plain-chant*. 1928.

Jean Hébert Desrocquettes. 'L'accompagnement rythmique d'après les principes de Solesmes. *Monographies grégoriennes*. Vol. 8. Tournai: Société de Saint Jean l'Évangéliste, 1928.

Attempts to apply André Mocquereau's theory of free rhythm to the choice of harmony and placement of chords. The author's dubious authority on harmonic matters lead to some erratic judgements which are to be considered with no small amount of caution.

*Henri Potiron. 'La modalité grégorienne. *Monographies grégoriennes*. Vol. 9. Paris-Tournai: Desclée, 1928.

*B. Gatterdam. *Kleine Schule der Choralbegleitung*. Regensburg, 1929.

*Edmond Chabot. *Méthode d'accompagnement du chant grégorien d'après les principes rythmiques de l'École de Solesmes*. Marseilles: Publiroc, 1929.

Jean Hébert Desrocquettes & Henri Potiron. *Vingt-neuf pièces grégoriennes harmonisées, avec commentaires rythmiques, modaux et harmoniques*. Paris: Hérelle, 1929.

Discussed above in § 5.2.4.

*Hermann Halbig. *Kleine gregorianische Formenleere*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1930.

Leo Söhner. *Die Geschichte der Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals in Deutschland vornehmlich im 18. Jahrhundert*. Augsburg: Filser, 1931.

This doctoral dissertation, supervised by Peter Wagner, traces the history of the organ accompaniment of chant from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth.

*Désiré Pirio. *Harmonium et chant grégorien ou jeu de la simple note grégorienne, doigtée, transposée et rythmée*. Paris: Desclée, 1931.

*Henri Potiron. *Manuel pratique d'accompagnement des cantiques modernes et du chant grégorien selon les principes rythmiques et modaux de Solesmes*. Tournai: Desclée, 1932.

*Albert M. Vogt. *Orgelbegleitung zu den Gesängen im Gregorianischen Choral*. Abenheim: Joh. Finger, 1932.

Achille Pierre Bragers. *A Short Treatise on Gregorian Accompaniment According to the Principles of the Monks of Solesmes*. New York: Fischer, 1934.

The first part provides the first exposition of the Desrocquettes–Potiron modal groups in the English language, and supplements that exposition with advice on chord placement and style. The second discusses eight modes in turn and provides harmonic formulæ for cadences—the accompaniment of psalms is dealt with at the end. See above in § 5.3.2.

Leo Söhner. *Kurze Anleitung zur Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals*. Altötting: Coppentrath, c.1935.

Describes a method of rhythmical accompaniment that reserves either chord changes for notes of rhythmical importance demarcated by vertical *episemata*. Several example accompaniments illustrate the author's descriptions, their harmony remaining diatonic. The very same content appeared in an edition of Schildknecht's *Orgelschule* which the author was partly responsible for editing. See p. 223 above.

Leo Söhner. *Die Orgelbegleitung zum gregorianischen Gesang*. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1936.

Most likely a *Habilitationsschrift* that picks up threads left down by the author in his doctoral dissertation of 1931. The text summarises the chief developments from the nineteenth century to the 1920s, but in so taciturn a fashion as to leave out much of the detail.

*Charles Tournemire. *Précis d'exécution, de registration et d'improvisation à l'orgue*. Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1936.

Recollects Franck's organ class at the Paris Conservatoire, wherein the 'choral' idiom served as the basis of chant accompaniment, several music examples being provided. See p. 141 above.

Maurice Kaltnecker. *L'A B C du jeune accompagnateur*. Nancy: Société anonyme d'éditions, 1937.

Rather a brief pamphlet divided up into sections comprising perfect chords, harmonisation of scales placed in the top part, and thirty formulæ which the author believed were common in the chant repertory. The pamphlet contains barely any descriptive prose, the included discursive notes being relegated to fleeting asides and footnotes. In spite of that arguably most debilitating drawback, the manual's title would probably have made it seem appealing to the unlearned audience at which it was aimed (see p. 63 above).

Marcel Dupré. *Manuel d'accompagnement du plain-chant grégorien*. Paris: Leduc, 1937; Paris: Leduc, 1975. Translated by Josef Zimmermann.

Proposes a novel approach to harmonising an ascending scale by composing what are effectively three countersubjects in oblique and contrary motions. The author then divides up the scale into what he terms seven tetrachords and provides further harmonised countersubjects to match. From these, accompaniments of each modal scale are derived, each one being set in the top part of a four-part texture. The student is advised to learn each by heart (p. 16). Little else in terms of descriptive prose is provided, save on the matter of transposition, and so the student is left to absorb the practice from the included example accompaniments by themselves. It should be noted that the author uses the term 'phrygien' to describe the protus mode and 'dorien' to describe the deuterus which, while being perfectly in keeping with Maurice Emmanuel's conception of Greek scales, have the potential to confuse modern readers.

*Maria Frieda Loebenstein & Corbinian Gindele. *Der gregorianische Choral in Wesen und Ausführung*. Berlin: Das Innere Leben, 1938.

Henri Potiron. *Leçons pratiques d'accompagnement du chant grégorien*. 1st ed. Tournai: Desclée, 1938; 2nd ed. Paris-Tournai: Desclée, 1952.

The second edition was intended to complement the author's 1951 manual *Petit traité de contrepoint*, and contains an insert with 'Notes complémentaires' that include references to the author's recently published *Kyriale abrégé* (for more on those accompaniments, see above on page 264). The text is divided into two parts comprising the principles of accompaniment (harmony, rhythm and modality) and a practical examination of selections from the chant repertory by mode, followed by a brief note on accompanied psalmody. The practical discussions bear some resemblance to the *Vingt-neuf pièces grégoriennes* of 1929, particularly where sections of a chant melody are parsed to describe the underlying rationale for accompanying a given passage one way or another.

*Miguel Altisent. *El acompañamiento del Canto Gregoriano*. Barcelona, 1943.

Flor Peeters. *Méthode pratique pour l'accompagnement du Chant Grégorien*. Malines: H. Dessain, 1943; Malines: H. Dessain, 1949.

Codifies the method of accompaniment practiced by staff members of the Lemmens Institute during the 1940s in their preparation of the *Nova Organi Harmonia*. Using the distinctive filled-and-void notational style, the author describes using few changes of chords and harmony that sometimes commences *in media res* (see the first bar on p. 48). Although the harmony is diatonic, the author employs Roman numerals to describe chords as they relate to the final of a mode, and recommends minor chords in preference to major chords since the former are said to be 'in conformity with the modal and archaic character and general spirit of plainchant' (p. 22 §15). Should the use of major chords be unavoidable, then they are to be arranged as first-inversion chords. Both copies consulted are identical but for the later containing a translation of the text into English.

*Miguel Bernal Jiménez. *El acompañamiento del canto gregoriano*. Morelia: Escuela superior de música sagrada, 1944.

Francis Potier. *L'art de l'accompagnement du chant grégorien*. Tournai: Desclée, 1946.

Discusses the history of accompaniment based primarily on Francophone source material. The primacy of Solesmes's ideas is not questioned when classifying accompaniments by whether they fit Solesmes's rhythmical theories or not. The author may not be excused from making certain value judgements at the expense of some texts that reportedly contain 'very defective' chant rhythms which do not conform to Solesmes's principles (see p. 265 above). The annotated bibliography included as an appendix is nonetheless worth perusing.

*L. Hazard. *Précis d'accompagnement du plain-chant grégorien*. Nancy: Société anonyme d'éditions, 1947.

Gregory Murray. *The Accompaniment of Plainsong*. Society of St Gregory, 1947.

Among the first Anglophone texts to discuss the Desroquettes–Potiron modal groups: the fact that the author had recently translated a textbook by Potiron should not be overlooked. But in a most conspicuous *volte-face*, the author later became a vocal detractor of Solesmes's rhythmical theories when propagating a mensural theory of his own.

*Marcel Renoux. *Harmonie moderne et harmonie grégorienne : Traité complet d'harmonie, application à l'accompagnement du grégorien*. Besançon: Impr. Jacques et Demontrond, 1948.

Eugène Lapière. *Gregorian Chant Accompaniment*. 1st ed. Ohio: Gregorian Institute of America, 1949.

Discusses Greek scales, intervals, and chord construction, modes, inessential notes, appoggiaturas, 'retardations', passing notes, and pedal-point, accompanied psalmody, among other techniques. On the placement of chords in a phrase, the author maintains a strict adherence to André Mocquereau's rhythmic theory, and reproduces some example accompaniments superimposed with chironomic squiggles to explicate the rather bizarre chord changes in the 'Dies irae' (see above in § 4.1.8). Each chapter is followed by a set of questions, to encourage greater engagement with the material.

Henri Potiron. *Practical Instruction in Plainsong Accompaniment*. Tournai: Desclée, 1949. Translated by Gregory Murray.

Provides rules for the accompaniment of chant depending on whether the chant occupies one hexachord or whether it mutates to another. The author then divides up the repertory by mode to discuss common intervallic and cadential patterns and the harmony he believes best suits them.

Henri Potiron. *Petit traité de contrepoint et exercices d'écriture préparatoires à l'accompagnement du chant grégorien*. Tournai: Desclée, 1951.

Chapter five discusses chant accompaniment in terms of contrapuntal composition, conjunct motion being said to be most preferable (p. 92). While only a single chapter deals with the process of accompaniment, a footnote directs the reader to another text, *Leçons pratiques d'accompagnement du chant grégorien*, where it is promised that the application of theory to practice is discussed in more detail (p. 95 n. 1).

*Wojciech Ignacy Lewkowicz. *Harmonia gregoriańska czyli nauka akompaniamentu do melodii gregoriańskich*. Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 1959.

*Rembert Weakland. *Modal Accompaniment*. Latrobe, Pa.: Archabbey Press, 1959.

Celestino Eccher. *Accompagnamento gregoriano : armonia, ritmo, modalità, stile. Teoria ed esempi. Appendice : Gregoriano e polifonia*. Rome: Desclée, 1960.

Dedicates a chapter each to accompanying melismata, the desirable number of parts in an accompaniment, modal harmony, recitation, and so forth. André Mocquereau's procedure of grouping chant notes into groups of twos and threes is said to influence chord changes (p. 52), and cadential chords are determined by the melodic interval at a cadences, rather than strictly by the mode, the cadence 'F' → 'E' implying deuterus harmony, and so on. The accompaniment is therefore said to 'modulate' to different modes (pp. 76–7).

*M. Cecile. *Chant Accompaniment Simplified*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1960.

*Henri Potiron. *L'Accompagnement du chant grégorien suivant les types modaux*. Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1961.

*Mary Theoda Wieck. *A Theoretical Basis for Accompanying Gregorian Chant According to Medieval Principles*. 1963.

Michael Fleming. *The Accompaniment of Plainsong*. Croydon: RSCM, 1963.

Conveys brief comments on harmony, rhythm, texture and style, and the author's opinion that an accompaniment need not be constructed of too many chords (pp. 9, 11).

Heinz Wagener. *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1964.

Although this history purports to treat of the organ accompaniment of chant in the nineteenth century, its timeline relies chiefly on Germanic sources and ends around 1866. It was an odd choice indeed to terminate the history of chant accompaniment prior to the foundation of the *Cäcilienverein* when that movement, as we discussed above in § 1.2, influenced the practice of Catholic Church music to a great extent. Owing to the author presenting inventories of accompaniment manuals and lengthy music examples in the course of his narrative, his reviewer Rudolf Ewerhart thought the subject of chant accompaniment not very entertaining ('der nicht sehr kurzweiligen Materie'), which was said to be made tedious by the author's sometimes poor sentence construction.[†]

*Henri Berthet. *Méthode élémentaire d'accompagnement du chant grégorien (selon les principes rythmiques et modaux de Solesmes) et des cantiques, pour les séminaires, pour les paroisses*. 2nd ed. Saint-Étienne: Stéfa, 1964.

*Anselmo Suca. *Accompagnamento al canto gregoriano secondo il metodo di Solesmes*. Noci: La Scala, 1993.

*Józef Łaś. *Harmonizacja melodii modalnych*. Kraków: WAM, 2002. Edited by Stanisław Ziemiański.

[†]Rudolf Ewerhart, 'Review of *Die Begleitung Des Gregorianischen Chorals Im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. (Kölner Beiträge Zur Musikforschung XXXII)', in collab. with Heinz Wagener, *Die Musikforschung* 19, no. 4 (1966): 451–452.

A Benedictine Monk. *The Beginner's Book of Chant: A Simple Guide for Parishes, Schools and Communities*. Farnborough: Saint Michael's Abbey Press, 2003.

Several short excerpts of quadratic chant notation are provided with a rudimentary accompaniment notated in Roman numerals which are evidently and quite mistakenly assumed by the author(s) to make the intended accompaniment clear to the reader. The distinction between lower and uppercase numerals is not described, for instance, the former denoting minor chords and the latter major ones. These are then related to modern keys which are provided in square brackets adjacent to the music examples, such that 'i' stands for an F \sharp minor chord in one example and a D minor chord in another. Although most of the chords are tacitly in 5/3 position, a certain ambiguity arises when the player is prompted to construct 6/3 and seventh chords, since no descriptions of scale degrees, chord construction or part movement have been included to allow a player to decipher the intended harmony. It leaves the interpretation of the Roman numerals open to misinterpretation, a potentially disastrous misfortune when something akin to modern notation could just as easily have been employed. The neologism of chord symbols used as they relate to modern keys is not acknowledged in spite of the acceptance by the author(s) that 'modern harmony ruins the modality' (p. 59).

*Miroslav Martinjak. *Orguljska pratnja gregorijanskih napjeva*. Zagreb: Glas Koncila, 2005.

*Fausto Caporali. *L'accompagnamento del canto liturgico. Sussidio per l'improvvisazione organistica*. Padova: Edizioni Armelin Musica, 2010.

This author also published an article on César Franck's accompaniments. See Fausto Caporali, 'Un libro di accompagnamenti al canto gregoriano di Cèsar Franck e i prodromi della restaurazione gregoriana. Appunti e documenti per lo studio della formazione della musica liturgica come genere', *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra* 36, nos. 1–2 (2015): 251–333.

*Karlheinrich Hodes. *Der gregorianische Choral : eine Einführung*. 5th ed. Mainz: Ratgeber & Sachbuch, 2012.

No more than about a page is dedicated to accompaniment.

J. B. Hingre. *Méthode d'accompagnement du plain-chant*. 2nd ed. Mirecourt: Chassel, n.d.

Provides harmonised scales and certain intervals in the keys of C, G, F major and D and A minor that an accompanist was supposed to use to harmonise any chant melody. 'The greatest difficulty for newcomers,' writes the author, 'is to modulate properly'. (For more on the modulation method, see above in § 2.3.1.)