

ENCYCLICAL LETTER

**On the upkeep and cleanliness of Churches;
on the rationale of the Divine Offices and the Music of the Church,
on the occasion of the upcoming Holy Year.**

POPE BENEDICT XIV

VENERABLE BRETHREN,
GREETINGS AND APOSTOLIC BLESSING

The year, which follows this current year, as Your Fraternity has known and learned, is a Jubilee. And because, with the War fought and completely ended, by the supreme mercy of God, peace has been brokered amongst Princes who had warred, it is possible to hope in the Lord that gatherings of foreign nations, even those located far, in this dear City will be great. Indeed, We earnestly beseech God, and We desire that this be prayed even by others, that all who come together in this City, may obtain the spiritual fruits of the Holy Indulgences, and this that it may come to pass, for Our part, to which We shall diligently attend. We prefer as well that all Who come to Rome may not leave offended by our customs; but, rather, from these customs, which they would witness in this City and in other cities of Our dominion, through which it would be their fortune to make their itinerary, returning to their countries, they may bring back motivations and examples of virtues. That which concerns Rome has already been supplied from Our part, and even so shall be supplied more abundantly in the future: for those, however, which pertain to the diocese which is righteously and prudently governed by You, it is necessary for Us to make use of Your pastoral zeal and proven care: for if You will to conduct Your helping hand, as certainly We trust, by no means do We doubt that We shall obtain that which is in Our promises, but over and above, so that the ecclesiastical discipline arranged from those which might have been prescribed by Us, may remain whole and steadfast not only for the entire Holy Year but for many more years afterwards. For that which You see happen during holy pastoral visitations touches this very matter; for when Clergy and laymen await the arrival of the ecclesiastical Pastor, both before and after the Bishop arrives, they zealously exert themselves that those that are crooked be straightened, those that are sick be healed, those that are wicked be banished, so much so that the fruit of these would be preserved not only at the time of the visit, but for a long time afterwards.

1. But, in order for Us to attain the proposed goal, that which We entrust to You in the first place, is this: that churches be in the best state, neat, clean, and furnished with sacred ornaments; for anyone easily understands that, if foreigners making their pilgrimage through this Our ecclesiastical Domain see the churches of the cities and dioceses ruined, disfigured by filth and squalor, lacking sacred vestments or possessing tattered and soiled ones, and of a condition and state that be worthy that they be forbidden; they will return to their countries, certainly offended and rendered indignant by our customs. Here, howev-

er, We will it admonished that We speak not of the costliness and the magnificence of holy churches, nor of rich or costly ornaments; for it is not hidden from Us that it is not possible to be attained everywhere; but We desire decency and cleanliness, to reject which is not lawful for anybody, for they can be well pleasing and built even in poverty. Amongst other evils, with which the Church of God is afflicted, even the Venerable Cardinal [Robert] Bellarmine sorrowed for this, saying: *I fail to mention that elsewhere the sacred vessels and vestments, with which the Mysteries are celebrated, may be found vile and soiled, utterly unworthy that they be used for the tremendous Mysteries. But by chance, those who use these are poor. This indeed can be done: but if they are not valuable, let them be at least neat and clean.*¹ For this very reason, Our Predecessor of righteous memory, Benedict XIII, whose labours in favour of keeping and restoring ecclesiastical discipline, and of ensuring the splendour of churches, have been most known, used to cite as example the churches of the Capuchin Fathers, in which there is supreme poverty, and a commensurate cleanliness in everything will present itself to be marvelled at. [Jeremias] Drexel, in vol. 17 of his works, which were published in Munich, in the treatise that is entitled *Gazophylacium Christi*, part 2, ch. 2, p. 153, thus wrote: *First and foremost, that which is needed in churches, it is cleanliness. Not only should those which are necessary be present amongst sacred ornaments, but also that they be cleanmost as much as possible. And it is justly cast against them, who keep well adorned and maintained houses, but leave churches in squalor and filthiness. There are even those who keep the most furnished and most adorned houses: in their churches and chapels, everything is squalid: Altars barely naked at the front are covered with frontals tattered and filthy: in all the rest, there is confusion and squalor.*² The great Doctor of the Church, Jerome, in his letter to Demetrias not at all obscurely demonstrated himself too little bothered whether churches should be poor or rich. *Others may build churches, array the walls with mosaics of marble, boost the massiveness of columns, and gild their capitals unconscious to precious ornament; they may decorate doors with ivory and silver, and gilded altars with gems; I do not lay blame, I do not forbid; let everyone abound in their own judgment; and it is better to do this than to brood upon hoarded treasures.*³ To ensure the cleanliness of churches in the highest degree, he, however, openly declared when he buried Nepotian with supreme praises, for he was diligent and solicitous in keeping the neatness and cleanliness of churches and altars, as can be seen in the epitaph of the same Nepotian, which the Saint sent to Heliodorus. Said he: *He was, therefore, solicitous whether the altar was neat, whether the walls were without soot, whether the floors were swept, whether the doorkeeper was constantly at the door, that the drapes were always upon the doors, whether the sanctuary was clean, whether the vessels were glinting, and that pious care was disposed towards all ceremonies; whether small or great, he neglected no duty.*⁴ Indeed, sedulously and diligently it is to be heeded, lest it happen not without the greatest disgrace of ecclesiastical

¹ S. ROBERT BELLARMINE, *De gemitu columbae*, bk. 2, ch. 5.

² JEREMIAS DREXEL, *Gazophylacium Christi*, loc. cit. in the text.

³ S. JEROME, *Letter 130 to Demetrias*, *On virginity* 14: PL 30, col. 1119.

⁴ S. JEROME, *Letter 60 to Heliodorus*, *Epitaph of Nepotian* 12: PL 22, col. 596.

order, that which Cardinal Bellarmine narrates to have happened to himself. He said: *When some time ago during a journey I lodged with a noble and very wealthy Bishop, I saw the chamber splendid with silver vessels, and the table laden with all kinds of excellent fares; the napkins likewise and all the rest neat and exhaling a sweet odour. But the following day, when very early in the morning I had come down to the church adjoining the palace to say Mass, I found everything to the opposite, that is, vile, filthy, that I could barely dare in such place and with such ornaments to celebrate the Divine Mysteries.*⁵

2. The second goal to which We encourage Your care and solicitude is in order for the canonical Hours to be sung or recited according to the custom and manner of each church, as is becoming and pleasing, by those who ought to do so; for nothing is more inimical or pernicious to ecclesiastical discipline than to contemptuously and negligently undertake the divine Psalmody in the churches of God. Certainly, the obligation, with which Canons and others of metropolitan, cathedral and collegiate churches are bound to daily sing the canonical Hours, is not at all unknown to You: to which obligation he, who, with no attention of the mind, negligently and carelessly fulfils the duty of ecclesiastic Psalmody, does not satisfy at any rate. The Supreme Pontiff Innocent III, in the [Fourth] Lateran Council, with the report in the chapter *Dolentes* [which touches] *On the celebration of the Mass*, speaks of the same obligation in this manner: *Strictly commanding in virtue of obedience, that they celebrate diligently and devoutly as well, the nocturnal and, in like manner, the diurnal Divine Office, to as great an extent as God had given it to them.*⁶ In the gloss explaining the word *diligently*, these it adds: *So much as unto the office of the mouth, that is, without omission.*⁷ And upon the word *devoutly*, it notes such: *So much as unto the office of the heart.*⁸ Our Predecessor Clement V in the Council of Vienne, in his Constitution, which is found amongst the Clementine documents, and whose beginning is *Gravi* [*nimirum*], under the title *On the celebration of Masses*, speaks in the same manner: *that in cathedral, regular, collegiate churches, the Divine Office ought to be sung in the appropriate hours.*⁹ And the Council of Trent, ch. 12, sess. 24 *On Reformation*, discussing about the obligations of secular Canons, says: *Let all, indeed, be compelled to fulfil the Divine Offices by themselves, and not by substitutes, and to assist and minister to the Bishop who is celebrating, or the person having use of other pontificals; and to reverently, distinctly, and devoutly praise the Name of God with hymns and canticles in choir, established for the purposes of singing psalms.*¹⁰ And from here, it inevitably follows and is to be watched over diligently, that the chant is by no means hasty, or faster than what is appropriate, and that pauses be made in their places, and that the second half of the choir not begin the following versicle of the psalm before the first half of the choir might have finished the preceding versicle. *And let the first*

⁵ S. ROBERT BELLARMINE, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁶ FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL, can. 17.

⁷ Gloss on can. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ CLEMENT PP. V in the COUNCIL OF VIENNE, Ap. Const. *Gravi nimirum* (1311/2) near the end: *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (ed. Leipzig II 1881) 2, col. 1174

¹⁰ COUNCIL OF TRENT, can. 12.

half of the choir not begin the versicle of the psalm before the preceding halves of the psalm and the versicle are finished by the first half of the choir.¹¹ These are the words of the Council of Saumur in the year 1253. Finally, in order for chant to be accomplished by unison voices, and for the choir to be governed by experts in ecclesiastic chant (which is called plainchant or cantus firmus). Such chant is that upon which Our Predecessor Saint Gregory the Great very much endeavoured for the ordering and shaping of the rules of the musical art, according to what John the Deacon gives as witness in the saint's *Vita*, bk. 2, ch. 7.¹² But to add in this place more points, which pertain to the ecclesiastical teaching concerning the origin of ecclesiastic chant, the school of cantors and the precentor who presided it, would be difficult for Us; but having passed over those which seem less important, following the proposed goal, We return to that place from where We have somewhat digressed. This chant is that which stirs the souls of the faithful unto devotion and piety; and thereafter it is that which, if it be carried out rightly and decently in the churches of God, is more gladly heard by pious men; and to that other form of singing, which is called harmonised or polyphonic music, is manifested with merit. The Monks indeed learned this from secular Priests; and while this may be handled accurately and diligently by them, and used in sacred functions: it may be, on the other hand, neglected by some Clerics and carelessly carried out: this is the principal reason why the churches of the regulars, rather than those of the seculars, are more frequently attended by the Christian people; as Jacques Eveillon admonishes well in his treatise *On the right reason of singing psalms*, in ch. 9, art. 9, p. 99: *The tickling of all polyphonic harmonisations by all means becomes dirty in saintly ears in the presence of this harmony of plainchant and simple psalmody, had it been proper. And it comes to that point that, having today abandoned the collegiate and parish churches, the faithful people so willingly and eagerly gather in the churches of monks, who, having piety as their aid in worshipping God, reverently, moderately, and, as the Prince of Psalmists once said, wisely sing psalms, and, with supreme reverence, serve their Lord, as Lord and God. Which indeed ought to be a disgrace to principal and major churches, wherefrom Monks learned every art and rule of chanting and singing psalms.*¹³ And, for that reason, the Holy Council of Trent, which passed over nothing of those which could contribute to the reformation of the Clergy, in ch. 18, sess. 23 *On Reformation*, where it discusses, concerning

¹¹ COUNCIL OF SAUMUR, ch. 1: *Acta Conciliorum*, vol. 7, col. 442.

The correct quotation reads: *and let the second half of the choir not begin the versicle of the psalm before **the preceding versicle of the psalm is finished** by the first half of the choir.*

¹² JOHN THE DEACON, *De vita Gregorii Magni*, *loc. cit.* in the text: PL 75, coll. 90–91: *Amongst the other peoples of Europe, the Germans or the Franks were remarkably able learn and relearn the sweetness of the [chant] form, but were not at all able to keep it incorrupt, both by the levity of the mind (for they mixed into Gregorian chant some of their own [songs]), and by natural roughness as well. If indeed the Alpine anatomy, shrilly resounding the body's own voice with thunders, does not properly reproduce the sweetness of the received [chant] form, [it was] because the barbarian roughness of the bibulous throat, while it strives to sound the chant with inflexions and repercussions, by some natural breaking, it emits stiff voices as wagons creaking together down a staircase, [then] in the same manner, it rather bothers the minds of the listeners, which it ought to soothe, in its exasperation and provocation.*

¹³ JACQUES EVEILLON, *De recta ratione psallendi*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

seminaries that are to be established, among others, with which it orders seminary students to be taught, now too reckons chant with these words: *And that they may be more conveniently instructed in ecclesiastical discipline, they shall always at once wear the tonsure and the clerical dress; they shall learn the discipline of grammar, of chant, of the Easter calculation of the Church, and of the other liberal arts.*¹⁴

3. The third goal, concerning which it is required of Us to admonish You, is that polyphonic music, which is now received by usage in churches, and which is usually accompanied by the harmony of the organ and of other instruments, thusly be established, in order for it to resound nothing profane, nothing mundane or theatrical. The whole Christian world indeed still does not accept the use of the organ and of other musical instruments; for, besides the Russians of the Greek Rite, who have neither organ nor other instruments of music in their churches, Father [Pierre] Lebrun bearing witness in vol. 2 of the *Explication de la Messe*, p. 215, Our Pontifical Choir, as is known to all, admits polyphonic—yet grave, seemly and devout—music, but it never admits the organ,¹⁵ which is even noticed by Father [Jean] Mabillon in his *Musaeum Italicum*, vol. 1, p. 47, § 17: *On Trinity Sunday, we were present in the Pontifical Chapel, as they call it, etc. No usage of organ music in the Holy Mysteries of this wise is admitted, but vocal music alone, and this one being grave with plainchant.*¹⁶ [Jean] Grancolas reports in the *Commentarius historicus in Breviarium Romanum*, ch. 17, that, even until now, in French territories, prominent churches, which do not employ the organ and polyphonic or harmonised music in the Sacred Mysteries, are found: *Nevertheless, up to this day, there are great churches in France that disregard the use of the organ and of polyphonic music.*¹⁷ The distinguished Church of Lyon, which indeed has always been opposed to novelties, having followed until this day the example of the Pontifical Choir, is resolved never to employ the organ: *It is certain, therefore, from these that have been said that musical instruments were accepted neither immediately from the outset nor in all places: For even now in Rome, in the Chapel of the Supreme Pontiff, the celebration of the Office is always done without instruments; and the Church of Lyon, which has no knowledge of novelties, has always repudiated the organ and has not accepted it even to this day.*¹⁸ These are the words of Cardinal [Giovanni] Bona in his treatise *On divine psalmody*, ch. 17, § 2, no. 5. The opinion, therefore, that they—who, from those climes where there is no usage of musical instruments, travel to Us and to Our cities, in whose churches they shall hear polyphonic music not different from those in theatres and other profane places—are to receive from Us, anyone can

¹⁴ COUNCIL OF TRENT, can. 18.

¹⁵ PIERRE LEBRUN, *Explication de la Messe*, diss. 6, art. 5, no. 5 second: *On ne souffre ni orgues ni autres instruments de musique dans les églises, parce qu'on croit qu'il convient aux hommes de la nouvelle loi de n'employer que leur voix naturelle pour célébrer les louanges de Dieu.*

TRANSLATION: *Neither organs nor other musical instruments are allowed in churches, because it is believed that it is fitting for men of the New Law to use nothing other than their natural voice to celebrate the praises of God.*

¹⁶ JEAN MABILLON, *Musaeum Italicum*, loc. cit. in the text.

¹⁷ JEAN GRANCOLAS, *Commentarius historicus in Breviarium Romanum*, loc. cit. in the text.

¹⁸ GIOVANNI Card. H. R. C. BONA, *De Divina Psalmodia*, loc. cit. in the text.

attain by himself with easy conjecture. Even foreigners will come, there is barely no doubt, from those regions in whose churches singing and musical instruments are used, as in like manner is usually done in some of Our places. But if these men be prudent and pious, they shall indeed sorrow over not finding, in the singing and in the sound of Our churches, that remedy that they hoped to be brought forth for curing the wrongdoing of their churches. And indeed, having neglected this controversy, in which some bicker amongst themselves, some of whom disapprove and criticise polyphonic music and the use of musical instruments in their churches; while some approve and praise them: there is certainly no one who would not desire some distinction between ecclesiastic chant and stageworthy crooning, and would not doom theatrical and profane songs to be not tolerated in churches.

4. We have said that there are found those who do not at all approve chant harmonised with musical instruments for use in churches. The first of these, in some way, can be said to be the abbot Aelred, contemporary and disciple of Saint Bernard, who in bk. 2 of his work, which is entitled *The mirror of charity*, ch. 23, vol. 23¹⁹ of the [*Maxima*] *Bibliotheca* [*Veterum*] *Patrum*, p. 118, thusly writes: *Whence, types and figures having already ceased, whence in the Church do so many organs, so many cymbals originate? For what, I pray, is that terrible heaving of bellows, rather expressing the din of thunder than the sweetness of the voice? For what is that shortening and weakening of the voice? This one adds a lower voice to the singing, that one intensifies the singing, another adds a higher voice to the singing, another breaks up and cuts off some notes in halves.*²⁰ We do not dare indeed to assert that the use of polyphonic singing with musical instruments had been present in no church in the time of Saint Thomas Aquinas; although by all means We affirm that those that have been known to and recognised by the Holy Doctor had by no means been present in churches; and, therefore, by no means does he seem to favour chant of this kind. For he deals in II, II, q. 91, art. 2 with that question whether chanting should be accepted in divine praises;²¹ he answers that these should be accepted;²² but when he set before for himself in the fourth place that *the Church does not make use of musical instruments, such as harps and psalteries, in the divine praises, lest she appear to*

¹⁹ See *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, vol. 13, p. 111.

²⁰ S. AELRED OF RIEVAULX, *Speculum caritatis*, *loc. cit.* in the text; cf. *PL* 195, col. 571.

²¹ S. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologica*, II, II, q. 91, art. 2, ob. 5: *Further, the praise of the heart is more important than the praise of the lips. But the praise of the heart is hindered by singing, both because the attention of the singers is distracted from the consideration of what they are singing, so long as they give all their attention to the chant, and because others are less able to understand the thing that are sung than if they were recited without chant. Therefore chants should not be employed in the divine praises.*

²² S. THOMAS AQUINAS, *op. cit.*, resp. to ob. 5: *The soul is distracted from that which is sung by a chant that is employed for the purpose of giving pleasure. But if the singer chant for the sake of devotion, he pays more attention to what he says, both because he lingers more thereon, and because, as Augustine remarks (Confess. x, 33), each affection of our spirit, according to its variety, has its own appropriate measure in the voice, and singing, by some hidden correspondence wherewith it is stirred. The same applies to the hearers, for even if some of them understand not what is sung, yet they understand why it is sung, namely, for God's glory: and this is enough to arouse their devotion.*

judaise:²³ when in *Psalm 32: Give praise to the Lord on the harp; sing to him with the psaltery, the instrument of ten strings*.²⁴ He responds: Such like musical instruments inspire [the soul] more towards pleasure rather than interiorly dispose [it] towards piety; therefore, in the Old Testament, they had been employed: *for the people were much more coarse and carnal, so that they had to be roused by such like instruments as also by earthly promises*:²⁵ He adds above all that instruments in the Old Testaments had been types and figures of other things, he says: *And because such like material instruments represented something else*.²⁶ Of the Supreme Pontiff Marcellus II, it is transmitted in writing, that he deliberated with himself to abolish music in churches and to restore ecclesiastic chant to plainchant, and it can be made to be understood to anyone from his *Vita*, which the recently-deceased beneficed Canon of Saint Peter's Basilica, Pietro Polidori, a man not unreckoned amongst the lettered, wrote.²⁷ In our time, We have seen Cardinal [Giuseppe Maria] Tommasi [di Lampedusa], a man distinguished with holiness of life and utmost learning in matters liturgical, in his titular Church of [Saint Sylvester and] Saint Martin in the Hills, on the feast of the saint in whose honour the church was dedicated, willing not that polyphonic music be had at Mass and during the Office of Vespers; but ordering so that plainchant be used by religious men in celebrating the Holy Mysteries.

5. We have said that there are others who approve the use of polyphonic music with instruments in the Divine Office. In the same century indeed, in which the abbot Aelred lived, John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres, also flourished, who, in bk. 1 of *Policraticus*, ch. 6, praises organ music or the harmony of voices and instruments: *Therefore, the holy Fathers, when they were spreading reverence in churches, reckoned not only the singing of men but also the modes of instruments to be applied in the instruction of morals and in the elevation of souls with the exultation of virtue unto the worship of the Lord*.²⁸ Saint Antoninus in

²³ S. THOMAS AQUINAS, *op. cit.*, objection 4.

²⁴ *Ps. 32, 2.*

²⁵ S. THOMAS AQUINAS, *op. cit.*, response to objection 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ PIETRO POLIDORI, *De vita, gestis et moribus Marcellus II*, Commentary 40, towards the end: *Despising the profane and petty techniques of singing, unmanlier songs, the theatrical staging of voices and musical instruments in churches, he had pondered upon forbidding these by special law, and restoring the use of sacred music. However, that he might not accomplish this, his demise proved to be untimely. And so by no means can we prove what Giovanni Battista Doni writes in his book De praestantia Musicae veteris: I know not if by the craft of the music of someone imposing upon Marcellus, that this was not commanded unto execution. It is evident that, in eliminating these wrongdoings, there had been no need of law, but of example. This soon made patent from the rules of the art in the Pontifical Chapel, all were to become correct in the other places. And constituting these matters, the most wise Pontiff, as the author himself indicates, was not able to see the declaration of the Council of Trent, for after his death, it was ordered by the Supreme Pontiff Pius IV, during the twenty-second session, in the decree On matters to be observed during the celebration of the Mass that all kinds of music, in which, whether by the organ or in the singing, anything lascivious or impure is mixed should be banished. This is not therefore why a learned man be sought after by merit and grieve, for Marcellus, deceived by that artifice, allowed the glory of such an achievement to be snatched away from his hands.*

²⁸ JOHN OF SALISBURY, *Policraticus*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

his *Summa* [*Theologica*], part 3, tit. 8, ch. 4, § 12, does not reject polyphonic music in the Divine Office: *Cantus firmus was indeed established in the Divine Office by holy Doctors, such as Gregory the Great, Ambrose, and others. But who invented descants in the Divine Office, I know not: it seems to be of service to the hankering of the ears and not to devotion; however, even a devout mind reaps fruit by listening to these.*²⁹ And a little later, he admits not only the organ but also other musical instruments in the Divine Office: *And that the pulsation of the organ and of other instruments for divine praise had the beginning of virtue from the prophet David.*³⁰ Pope Marcellus II indeed had determined to remove polyphonic music and musical instruments from churches; but Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, choirmaster of the Vatican Basilica composed for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass polyphonic pieces with such excellent art, that they moved souls towards piety and devotion. And so, these having been heard by the Supreme Pontiff, who was present at Mass, his will having changed, he reneged from what he had proposed to himself, just as Andrea Adami transmitted from ancient monuments in his *Osservazioni della Cappella Pontificia*, in the *Prefazio storico*, p. 11.³¹ In the Council of Trent, the matter concerning the elimination of music from church was in view; but when it was made known by the [Holy Roman] Emperor Ferdinand [I] through his legates that polyphonic music or figured chant pertains to the incentive for devotion and piety for the souls of the faithful; the decree, which had already been prepared, was determined to be modified, as is read in sess. 22, in the decree *On matters to be observed and avoided in the celebration of the Mass.*³² But in the same decree, *only those kinds of music, in which, whether by the organ or in the singing, anything lascivious or impure is mixed*, were banished from churches.³³ These are related by Grancolas in his celebrated *Commentarius*, p. 56,³⁴ and by Cardinal [Pietro Sforza] Pallavi-

²⁹ S. ANTONINUS OF FLORENCE, *Summa Theologica*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ ANDREA ADAMI, *Osservazioni della Cappella Pontificia*, *Prefazio storico*, same *loc. cit.* in the text: *Marcellus II, a man of finest taste, having been raised to the Supreme Pontificate, even though he governed the Church for only twenty-one days, applied all his efforts to reform many abuses, and particularly music, with the thought of removing it completely from ecclesiastical functions. When knowledge regarding this was obtained by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, choirmaster of Saint Peter's Basilica, and renowned in this discipline, he beseeched the Pontiff to suspend in such case whatever final resolution, until such time that he would make him hear a Mass composed by him according to the true ecclesiastical style. The Pontiff accorded him this grace, and in the solemnities of Easter Sunday, the aforementioned Mass, entitled Papae Marcelli, was sung by six voices, for which he was full of applause, and thus ecclesiastical music was restored. This Mass was given to the press [for publication], and was dedicated to his successor, Paul IV, by whom Palestrina was admitted to the Papal Choir as composer.*

³² See *loc. cit.* in the text: *Let them also banish from churches all those kinds of music, in which, whether by the organ, or in the singing, anything lascivious or impure is mixed; as also all secular actions; vain and therefore profane conversations, all walking about, noise, and clamour, so that the house of God may be seen to be, and may be called, truly a house of prayer.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ JEAN GRANCOLAS, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* in the text: *That which concerns music, it was the counsel of the Council of Trent to completely abolish it. When the decree had been drawn up, and sent to the [Holy Roman] Emperor Ferdinand [I], with that reverence that was fitting, addressing the Fathers with the counsel, he responded that though music could be damaged in some places it would nevertheless come forth in numberless other places; that, wherefore, he does not reckon him-*

cino in the *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, bk. 22, ch. 5, no. 14.³⁵ Certainly, ecclesiastic writers of great name, follow this same declaration with a willing mind. The Venerable Cardinal Bellarmine, in vol. 4 of the *Controversies*, bk. 1 *On good works in particular*, at the end of ch. 17, teaches that the use of the organ is to be retained, but other musical instruments is not to be easily admitted: *From which it results that as the organ is to be retained in churches in favour of the feeble, so other instruments is not to be easily introduced.*³⁶ Cardinal [Tommaso di Vio] Gaetani insists on the same path in his *Summa* on the word *organ*, where such is had: *Although the use of the organ in the Church is new, as a sign of which the Roman Church until now does not employ in the presence of the Pontiff, it is nevertheless lawful for the faithful imperfect as yet carnal.*³⁷ The Venerable Cardinal [Caesar] Baronius thusly for *Year 60 of Christ* writes: *Verily, that which after many centuries had been received by use, that organ instruments, fashioned from unequal pipes joined together, were used in the Church, anyone would by no means be able to reject it.*³⁸ Cardinal Bona, *On divine psalmody*, ch. 17, discussing about the organ, which is pulsated in churches, says: *Their moderate use should nevertheless not be condemned, etc. The harmony of the organ gladdens the gloomy minds of men and thrusts them unto the delight of the heavenly city, urges the reluctant, refreshes the diligent, summons the just unto love, sinners unto repentance.*³⁹ [Francisco] Suárez, in vol. 2 of his *Opus de Religione*, bk. 4 *On the canonical Hours*, ch. 8, no. 5, regards to be encompassed by the name *organ* not only the musical instrument that is usually called in the vernacular today as organ, but also other harmonic instruments (which had already been noted by Saint Isidore in bk. 2 of his *Origins*, ch. 20: *Organ is the general name for all musical vessels*⁴⁰); and so, he concludes that, the organ having been accepted in churches, other musical instruments as well should be admitted.⁴¹ And [Franz] de le Boë in vol. 3 of his works on II, II, q. 91, art. 2 of Saint Thom-

self that it should be completely abolished, but rather reformed. Having received the letter from Ferdinand, the Council Fathers commended his counsel and caused the decree to become without effect. Here, Saint Charles [Borromeo], for his part, took pains with magnificent and exquisite apparatus for it to be carried out, so that he may avert the peoples from profane games and singing, and to lead them to divine things; and added as well at the end exhortations and salutary admonitions unto piety.

³⁵ PIETRO SFORZA Card. H. R. C. PALLAVICINO, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, *loc. cit.* in the text: *It then went on to note various things in other chapters, almost all of which were either in conformity with the mind of the Council, or were already moderate before according to what you will see a little later below.*

Thus, in the third chapter, where too soft music was forbidden in churches, it desired that figured chant should not be excluded; proving it to be often an incentive to devotion.

³⁶ S. ROBERT BELLARMINE, *Disputationes de controversiis*, ch. 17, no. 18.

³⁷ TOMMASO DI VIO Card. H. R. C. GAETANI, *Summula Caeitani*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

³⁸ CAESAR Card. H. R. C. BARONIUS, *Petri annus 16 — Christi 60*, n. 37: *Annales Ecclesiastici*, (ed. Baronius 1593), vol. 1, p. 613.

³⁹ FRANCISCO SUÁREZ, *Opus de Religione*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

⁴⁰ S. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymologies*, bk. 3, ch. 21, no. 2: *PL* 34, col. 166.

⁴¹ See *loc. cit.* in the text: *And although the word organ be commonly already accepted in favour of the special instrument thus called in common speech, the word in itself is nevertheless a general one, as becomes clear from Jerome, in his Letter 28 to Dardanus; and from Isidore in bk. 3 of his Origins, chs. 19, 20, and 21. And it does not sufficiently become clear whether the ancient use of the organ in the Church ought to be even accepted in general terms, or for such instrument*

as, does not reject polyphonic music or figured chant from churches, saying: *And so, great care of ecclesiastic chant—both the one that is called plain or Gregorian chant, which is properly ecclesiastic; and the one that was introduced afterwards in the Church, and is called figured or polyphonic chant—is to be observed.*⁴² And a little later: *nevertheless, that which after many centuries had been received in use, as musical instruments were used in ecclesiastic Offices; in no way whatsoever should be rejected.*⁴³ [Antoine] Bellotte, in his book *Ritus Ecclesiae Laudunensis*, p. 209, under no. 8, after he had amply and copiously spoken about musical instruments, which are sometimes employed in the Divine Office, and after he had demonstrated these by no means to have been useful in churches long ago, entertains no other cause for this old practice and contrary custom besides necessity, by which at that time Christians were constrained, so that as far as can possibly be done, they might refrain from the profane rites of the Gentiles, which made use of musical instruments in theatres, in banquets, in sacrifices. *Hence, it is not at all to be altered by the vice of musical instruments, for only in later years did the Church make use of singers of polyphony and of musical instruments, but because such like musical instruments had been customarily used by the Gentiles in repulsive and filthy practices, without doubt, in theatres, banquets, and sacrifices.*⁴⁴ [Pietro Anello] Persico, in his treatise *On the Divine and Ecclesiastic Office*, concerning dubium 5, no. 7, thus speaks about figured chant in churches: *I say a second time, even though in polyphonic or figured chant many abuses can creep up, as happens in all other ecclesiastical ceremonies; and that, nevertheless, by itself, if done justly, religiously, and with decent moderation, it is lawful, and not forbidden by whatever law.*⁴⁵ And concerning dubium 6, no. 3, he maintains *that the universal use of the organ and of other instruments in the Divine Office is praiseworthy in its favour, and useful in raising the souls of the imperfect towards the contemplation of God.*⁴⁶ And indeed the use of polyphonic or figured chant and of musical instruments in Masses, during Vespers, and in other ecclesiastical functions has proceeded a long way thus far, that it had reached unto the realm of Paraguay. And so since those new faithful of the Americas possess the finest natural and innate disposition towards polyphonic

only in particular, as is nevertheless understood in one way or another; from the particular kind, we include all musical instruments that in themselves are not opposed to ecclesiastic decency and utility. That indeed they ought not be forbidden by the Church, except the usage, of which it becomes clear from the Council of Trent, in sess. 21, ch. On matters to be observed in the celebration of the Mass, where it says that the Holy Synod forbids from churches all kinds of music, in which, whether by the organ or in the singing, anything lascivious or impure is mixed; therefore, it does not forbid decent music, and, if you think about it, even those performed with the organ. In entirely the same way the Council of Sens and the Council of Cologne speak: by the name organ, however, is simply understood either the musical instrument by itself, or, certainly the same reason is present from all these, [all instruments] in which decency and gravity can be found; therefore, other musical instruments, so long as no indecency be found in their use, were approved together with the organ; or it is sufficiently certain that they are not found reprobated by a positive law, when elsewhere by themselves they be not evil, as we have shown.

⁴² FRANZ DE LE BOË, *Commentarii historici*, loc. cit. in the text.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ ANTOINE BELLOTTE, *Ritus Ecclesiae Laudunensis*, Loc. cit. in the text.

⁴⁵ PIETRO ANELLO PERSICO, *Tractatus de Divino et Ecclesiastico Officio*, loc. cit. in the text.

⁴⁶ PIETRO ANELLO PERSICO, *op. cit.*, loc. cit. in the text.

singing and towards pulsating instruments of the organ, and easily learn by heart those that pertain to the musical art; thereafter, having seized the opportunity, the missionaries, in accommodating the propensity of their souls, made use of pious and devout singing in leading them to the Christian faith; to such an extent that in the present, hardly any difference, neither as far as singing is concerned, nor as far as sound is concerned, comes between the Masses and Vespers of our realms and theirs, according to those which the abbot [Ludovico Antonio] Muratori reports from veracious accounts in his *Description of the missions of Paraguay*, ch. 12.⁴⁷

6. Finally, We have said that there is no one who does not detest theatrical singing in churches, and who does not seek any distinction between the sacred chant of the Church and the profane singing of the stage. Famous is the place of Saint Jerome⁴⁸ related in the canon *Cantantes* of Distinction 92, *Singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord*.⁴⁹ *Let young men hear these: let those whose duty in Church is singing psalms hear these. Singing to God is not by voice but by heart; and gullet and throat are not to be anointed with sweet remedy unto the custom of tragedians, that in the Church theatrical tones and canticles be heard.*⁵⁰ Which authority, they, who exceedingly boldly wished that all kinds of singing be removed from churches, abused; but Saint Thomas, responding in

⁴⁷ LUDOVICO ANTONIO MURATORI, *Il cristianesimo felice*, loc. cit. in the text: *Another invention of great importance for nourishing and increasing the devotion of the new faithful of the Americas, and for drawing as well the heathens to the True Religion, and to join others in the already founded reduced settlements, is worthy of being recorded here. It consists of music, of which those industrious missionaries well often have sufficient knowledge, and some still perfectly know it. The natural inclination, which these peoples harbour towards harmony, is incredible; which some of the resourceful ministers of God had not sparingly taken advantage of at the very beginning. Since setting themselves to singing in those coasts the praises of Christian doctrine or other sacred hymns, those barbarians would come out of their dwellings and, as though dazed and enchanted, would follow them; and when the missionary had seen a good number of them assembled, he would begin to preach to them the beauty and the usefulness of the Faith of Jesus Christ, thus opening the possibility of establishing some reduced settlements. In addition to the abovementioned inclination, one can find in them an admirable aptitude for vocal music and for musical instruments, namely, for learning all that concerns song and sound. They have good voices, the waters of the Paraná River and the Uruguay River contributing to make them such and even more harmonious than in other places, since we still notice that the voices of quite a lot of inhabitants in the mountains are more melodious, because they drink no water unless it is safe and pure. Therefore, wise missionaries usually select with particular care those children, who from the earliest years are known to be endowed with a clear and brilliant-toned soprano voice, and instructing them, they indeed transform them into expert musicians and thus knowledgeable in notation and timing that their sacromusical pieces are pleasing and refreshing no less than are their European counterparts. In this way, a choir of musicians, trained and harmonious in simple cantus firmus and in figured chant, is established in each of the reduced settlements. What is most admirable is that there is perhaps no musical instrument in Europe that has not been introduced amongst those good natives, and played by them, such as the organ, the guitar, the harp, the spinet, the lute, the violin, the cello, the trombone, the cornetto, the oboe, and the like. And such instruments are not only played in so polished a manner, but are also made nowadays for the most part by their hands. More than one person who, in passing through those parts, had come to hear those well-concerted musical pieces, confessed his astonishment, claiming to have found them not inferior to those of Spain.*

⁴⁸ S. JEROME, *Commentaries on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, bk. 3, ch. 5 : PL 26, col. 528.

⁴⁹ *Eph.* 5, 19.

⁵⁰ GRATIAN, dist. 92, can. 1 : *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (ed. Leipzig II 1879) 1, col. 317.

the aforementioned place to these, which he sets before himself in the second place from the words of the holy Doctor then asserted: *To the second*, he says, *it is to be said that Jerome does not absolutely condemn singing, but reproveth those who sing theatrically in church.*⁵¹ Saint Nicetius, in the book *On the good of psalmody*, in ch. 3, in vol. 1 of the *Spicilegium* [of Dom Luc d'Achery], describes the singing that is to be used in churches with these words: *Likewise, sound or melody consistent with Holy Religion is to be sung; not that which proclaims tragic difficulties, but that which demonstrates true Christianity to you, not that which emits some theatrical odour, but which causes repentance of sinners.*⁵² Fathers gathered in the [Provincial] Council of Toledo in 1566, in sess. 3, ch. 11, in vol. 10 of [Jean] Hardouin's *Conciliorum Collectio*, after they have spoken about the quality of singing to be used in churches, conclude this way: *Care should be taken as well lest the sound of this music, reproducing classical metres of love and war, imitate something theatrical in singing praises to God.*⁵³ There is no shortage of many learned writers who acridly reprehend the patient toleration of stage-worthy sounds and singing in churches, and pray that abuses of this wise be banished from churches. Let [Giovanni Battista] Casali be read in *De veteribus sacris christianorum ritibus*, ch. [54];⁵⁴ and Father Ludovico Antonio Muratori

⁵¹ S. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologica*, II, II, q. 91, art. 2, on ob. 2.

⁵² S. NICETIUS OF TRIER, *De bono psalmodiae*, loc. cit. in the text; cf. PL 68, col. 374.

⁵³ COUNCIL OF TOLEDO, loc. cit. in the text: *Conciliorum Collectio*, vol. 10, p. 1164; see *Colección de cánones de la Iglesia española*, vol. 5, p. 251.

⁵⁴ GIOVANNI BATTISTA CASALI, *De veteribus sacris christianorum ritibus*, loc. cit. in the text (which in the *Bullary* indicates the chapter number as 34; more accurately, it is 44): *Hither is why Saint Jerome is incensed in the Epistle to the Ephesians (pondering this very place) by some young men, who, in order to produce a sweeter sound, softened their throats with artificial means, with these words: Let young men hear these: let those whose duty in Church is singing psalms hear these. Singing to God is not by voice but by heart; and gullet and throat are not to be anointed with sweet remedy unto the custom of tragedians, that in the Church theatrical tones and canticles be heard; but in fear and in deed, in the knowledge of the Scriptures, etc., and a little later: Let the servant of Christ sing this way; that not the voice of the one singing but the words that are being read be pleasing; that the evil spirit, that was in Saul, may be expelled from them who are similarly possessed by it, and may not be guided into them who fashion a theatre of peoples out of the house of God. These he said. If this most holy man did not support young men who were in the habit of anointing their throats with sweet remedies: might he support them who, in order to soothe the ears of men and more dearly dispose their own voices, having neglected divine and human law, suffer themselves to be castrated, as can. 22 of the Apostolic Canons, and law 1 of the codex De eunuchis, and laws 1 and 6 of the Disputatio ad Legem Corneliam de sicariis forbid? Might he support them who insofar as singing is concerned do not drive away the evil spirit, that they may seem to thrust it with diligence into their own listeners? For whither do these modulations born in a brothel, and already now unabashedly creeping upon yet boldly bursting into sacred spaces, frolicking in the manner of bacchanal revellers, tend; except, that those who may hear, may become distracted?*

Corruptions of this wise the gravemost censor Jerome assuredly might not support; instead, he, as any other person in whom there be a heart, might exclaim that it is of great interest to the Christian Republic to have these [corruptions] utterly removed, and to restore the method of singing to its pristine form; Cicero indeed says in bk. 2 of On the laws: For I agree with Plato that nothing more readily influences tender and susceptible minds than the varied melodies of singing, whose power of raising both good and evil passions is almost beyond expression; for music can excite the depressed, and depress the excited, and augment our energies, or contract them. And the same Cicero, attests that the customs of many cities, customs which have fallen into softness,

in his *dissertation on matters liturgical*, ch. 22, at the end (in vol. 1 of the *Liturgia Romana Vetus*).⁵⁵ And finally, that we may end Our discourse concerning this

have been altered by singing, and depraved by this sweetness and corruption, with these words: [If] it had been of interest to many cities in Greece to keep the ancient mode of voices, whose manners, having fallen into softness, were equally changed with singing, why may not this very same be of interest to Christian cities? If indeed from the first moments even the harp was forbidden in the musical practice of the Church, as from [Commentary II of] Augustine on Psalm 32 which agrees with Commentary I, and as reports Cardinal [Cesar] Baronius in [Christi] annus 60 [of the Annales Ecclesiastici], in the place where [Henri] de Sponde [assigns the note] no. 16.

God caused that, having expelled theatrical music, soft and effeminate cantors—who, as Gregory the Great says in bk. 4 of the Registrum Epistolarum, Letter 44: disturb God with their manners, when they entertain the people with their voices—from sacred ministry; concerning the good restoration of musical rhythm, such law is finally at one time sanctioned, as we know to have been sanctioned by the Supreme Pontiff John [XXII], as in the extravagans [Docta] sanctorum Patrum, concerning the life and the decency of the Clergy. God caused that those grave and manly modes, by which Saint Augustine once was himself moved to tears [according to what he] narrates in bk. 9 of the Confessions, ch. 6, as though by right of postliminium may return to his own homeland. How I wept [said that holy man] in Thy hymns and canticles, fiercely moved by the voices of Thy sweetly sounding Church. Those voices streamed into mine ears, and Thy truth flowed clearly in mine heart, and out of it was enkindled thenceforth the affection of devotion, and tears overflowed, and it was well unto me with these. If only God would instil such thought in Catholic princes; not only the humiliation of the Church, not only the corruption of morals, but also the alteration of laws and even of the Empire, to which new and soft singing usually assuredly result (if we believe in Plato, with regards to his commentary on bk. 4 of [Aristotle's] Politics), will be opposed; that, on the contrary, the reasonable and moderate singing of diverse sounds, framed together by harmonious variety, signifies the unity of a well-ordered city, says Amalarius [of Metz] in bk. 3 of De ecclesiasticis officiis. And these concerning singing and music.

⁵⁵ LUDOVICO ANTONIO MURATORI, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, loc. cit. in the text: *Since many centuries now, men most commended of piety and disciplined judgment, have complained and, above all in our times, sorrow over the fact that that soft and effeminate music—which even pagan philosophers themselves might have had judged worthy of elimination from the assembly of the people, as an inexorable corruptress of minds and manners—had crept into the house of God, and especially into the most august sacrifice of the Mass itself. I leave to others the discussion if this music ought to be supported in theatres; but since [this music] was brought over from the theatres into the gravest Mysteries of the Holy Church, nobody, who would attentively ponder on the matter, and keep the established mind of the Church, would praise or wish to tolerate this kind of music. To what extent would one continue not to exclaim that that which does not inspire or nourish devotion in the divine Mysteries, and estranges the mind from it (which is graver), is worthy of disapproval? I now appeal to experience. Where such din of voices and instruments, and so ingenious, not to say immoderate, modulation resounds in churches, there the whole intention of ears and minds is snatched away; all things are ordered towards pleasure, and nothing draws towards devotion. It is then time for gathering thoughts and raising hearts unto the Lord. Who does not see that the mind is alienated and hindered through these from the contemplation of heavenly things? But nevertheless, we, in our supreme thoughtlessness, marvel at these, applaud these; and, thereupon, feasts and holy Offices seem to us to have been celebrated more solemnly thither, whither many spectacles are employed, wherefrom unique pleasure may be presented to eyes and ears. Neither do we perceive that we do not seek after God in these, and that we do not unite ourselves with Him through the obedience of our mind and the affection of our heart, but only the voluptuousness of our senses. For you may wonder that these vices are not only of our times, but were born and deplored even in the fourth century itself of the Christian era. Let the servant of Christ [these are the words of Jerome] sing this way; that not the voice of the one singing but the words that are being read be pleasing; that the evil spirit, that was in Saul, may be expelled from them who are similarly possessed by it, and may not be guided into them who fashion a theatre of peoples out of the house of God. But Saint Augustine says: Yet when it happens to me to be more moved by the singing than by what is sung, I confess myself to have sinned criminally, and then I would*

matter, that is, concerning the abuse of theatrical singing in churches, which by itself is for a long time manifest that there is no more need for words or proofs; it will suffice to indicate that all of them who were cited by Us above, as [authors] who favoured the use of figured chant or polyphonic music and musical instrument in churches, undisguisedly acknowledge and demonstrate themselves to have made with the same mind and counsel whatsoever they have written, that by no means these may be understood to be about the singing and sound proper to stage and theatre, which these and others in like manner condemn and abhor; but about the singing and sound, which is becoming of churches, and which excites peoples unto devotion: something which anyone may learn because by a[n in-depth] reading of them.

7. But this having been posited, that the use of polyphonic music or figured chant and musical instruments in ecclesiastical Offices be received, and only the abuse be reprobated; which [Joseph] Bingham, though an heterodox author, also considers in vol. 6 of the *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. 14, § 16,⁵⁶ it follows that it diligently be enquired, which of the two be the righteous and upright use, and which is the abuse. But that We may execute and correctly accomplish that which has been proposed, We would need of expertise in the musical art, in which some of Our holy and distinguished Predecessors have been gifted, Gregory the Great, Leo II and Leo IX, and Victor III. However, as neither time nor occasion to learn this art by heart is afforded Us, we shall be content solely with indicating some, which we have gathered from the constitutions of Our Predecessors, and writings of pious and learned men. But for Us to proceed in order, first we shall leave word about those which are to be sung in churches; then about the method and reason with which chant must be practiced; and finally, about musical instruments proper to churches, with which chant must be sung in sacred edifices.

8. Guillaume Durand, who lived when Nicholas III governed the Apostolic See, openly reprobated the use of strains called motets in the vernacular, which was in vogue during his time, in his treatise *De modo generalis concilii celebrandi*, ch. 19: *It appears very honourable that the undevout and disorderly singing of*

rather not have heard the singer. *Thus, Isidore of Pelusium condemns women for they would sing hymns in churches leading to dissoluteness and an opportunity for sin. If indeed they are misusing the sweetness of singing for exciting and stimulating the passions, they consider it better suited than nothing else to theatrical singing. I will not add others carried into such intemperance; neither is it pleasing to brood over these matters for a long time, when I am convinced myself that my music will not have sufficient force to subdue the gratifying music of our times, and to have severer practices induced in the Divine Offices.*

⁵⁶ JOSEPH BINGHAM, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, loc. cit. in the text: *This plainly implies that the artificial and melodious way of singing, with variety of notes for greater sweetness, was used and allowed, as well as plain song, in the Italic Churches; and they mistake St. Austin, who think he speaks in commendation of the one, to the derogation of the other; for he professes to admire both ways for their usefulness, and particularly the more melodious way, for this, Ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat, 'That weaker minds may be raised to affections of piety, by delight and entertainment of their ears'; and, whilst it kept within due bounds, there is nothing plainer than that it had the general approbation of pious men throughout the Church.*

The Latin edition referenced in the original was translated by JOHANN HEINRICH GRISCHOW.

*motets and the likes should not be done in the Church.*⁵⁷ Afterwards, the Pontiff John XXII, Our Predecessor, promulgated his Decretal, which begins with *Docta sanctorum*, and is found amongst the *extravagantes communes*; in it, he reveals himself loathe towards the singing of motets in the vernacular tongue, saying: *They trample [ecclesiastical canticles] sometimes with motets in the vernacular.*⁵⁸ When therefore Theologians had undertaken the consideration of the singing of this wise of strains or motets in churches; from amongst their number, [Pierre] La Palud in *In quartum Sententiarum*, distinction 15, q. 5, art. 2, considered the singing of motets as equivalent to stageworthy singing, upbraiding those who employ them, saying: *those who sing motets on feasts, for chant ought not be like tragedy.*⁵⁹ Suárez seems to favour motets in vol. 2 of *De Religione*, bk. 4 on the canonical Hours, ch. 13, no. 16, even though they might have been written in the vernacular tongue, as long as they be grave and devout.⁶⁰ But to promote what he affirms, he asserts the practice and use of some churches, which though governed by knowledgeable Prelates, motets or polyphonic pieces are nevertheless not rejected in them. He adds, moreover, that, because from the first ages of the Church, one of the faithful sang in church pious and devout hymns that he had composed, the use of motets in a certain manner is considered approved from this ancient custom as well. But stating this, which might be thrown [in argument] to him, beforehand—that ecclesiastic psalmody is thought to be interrupted by polyphonic pieces of this wise, which are called motets—thusly he responds: *And this interruption, or pause, which is then made between parts of another Hour, is not reprehensible, because morally it is as though it is continued in devotion, which is understood to be excited by that piece: and that piece can be inserted as though a preparation for the ensuing parts, or a solemn and befitting conclusion of the preceding ones, and an ornament of the entire Hour.*⁶¹ In the year 1657, the Supreme Pontiff Alexander VII released the Constitution whose beginning is *Piae sollicitudinis*, also numbered 36 among the other Constitutions of the same Pontiff. But in this, he commands that in the very duration within which the Divine Offices are celebrated, and within which time the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist is exposed in churches for the public veneration of the faithful, no other pieces or lyrics be

⁵⁷ GUILLAUME DURAND, *De modo generalis concilii celebrandi*, loc. cit. in the text.

⁵⁸ JOHN PP. XXII, Decretal Letter *Docta sanctorum* (1324/5) near the beginning: *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (ed. Leipzig II 1881) 2, coll. 1255–1257.

⁵⁹ PIERRE LA PALUD, *Scriptum in quartum Sententiarum*, loc. cit. in the text.

⁶⁰ FRANCISCO SUÁREZ, *Opus de Religione*, loc. cit. in the text: *For such singing can be unworthy in the Church in two ways, that is, either by reason of matter (because its subject is profane) or by reason of sound (because it is wanton or very worldly). And in the former way, mortal sin is almost always committed, because it is a great irreverence. But in the latter, it can be a venial sin, either by reason of minimum matter or out of good intention and inadvertency, as [Cardinal Tommaso di Vio] Gaetani said in 2, 2, q. 9, art. 1. Nevertheless, if those that are being sung outside the ecclesiastical Office, owing to its devotion and solemnity, be pious, and the singing be grave, and inspire unto devotion, there shall be no sin in mixing them into parts of the Office. The custom of many churches, which are governed and administered by devout and prudent and learned Prelates and men, proves this. And the reason is that: because this is not prohibited in some places, neither is it evil by itself, nor foreign to the custom of the primitive Church, when every faithful used to sing in church hymns of their own composition.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

sung, except those taken from the Roman Breviary or Missal; which is prescribed in proper or common offices, for the occurring feast of whichever day or the solemnity of a saint; or from Sacred Scripture or from the works of the holy Fathers; thusly nevertheless that beforehand they ought to be examined and approved first by the Sacred Congregation of Rites.⁶² It appears that from this pontifical Constitution, henceforth the singing of motets, which, employing the reason prescribed by the same Alexander Our Predecessor, were composed, and examined and approved by the Sacred Congregation, without doubt is considered to have been approved. The Venerable Servant of God Innocent XI by his Decree of 3 December 1678 confirmed the Constitution of Alexander.⁶³ Another doubt nevertheless having arisen with regards to the understanding and interpretation of the Constitution of Alexander and the Decree of Innocent XI, Innocent XII of happy memory, Our Predecessor, on 20 August 1692 promulgated another Decree,⁶⁴ which is number 76 in his *Bullary*: while in it, having thoroughly dispelled the widespread darkness of various interpretations, explaining and clarifying the entire matter, he forbade in detail the singing of whatever polyphony or motet; he allowed them only besides the chant of the Gloria and the Credo in the solemn celebrations of the Holy Mass, so that the Introit, Gradual, and Offertory may be thusly sung; but during Vespers, without the slightest change made as well, the Antiphons, which are sung at the beginning of whatever Psalm, and at its end. Moreover, he willed and commanded that musician cantors should entirely follow the law of the Choir, and absolutely agree with it, and as in what manner it is not lawful for the Choir to add anything to the Office or to the Mass, so he willed it not lawful as well to musicians; and insofar as he conceded this, that from the Office and the Mass, which is usually celebrated in the solemnity of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Body of the Lord, namely, from the hymns of Saint Thomas, or from the Antiphons and other related pieces in the Roman Breviary and Missal, another strain or motet may be taken or sung, with no change in the words, to excite the devotion of the faithful, while the sacred Host is elevated, or publicly exposed for veneration and adoration.

9. However, law having been placed upon ecclesiastical canticles or polyphonic pieces or motets, it cannot be negated that this had been carried out with no small determination to remove theatrical singing from churches, but it is necessary to acknowledge that this does not suffice for achieving the proposed objective. For it can be done, and it is exceedingly also done not without Our sorrowing, that the singing of the Gloria, the Credo, the Introit, the Gradual, the Offertory, and all the rest, which are duly and by custom, as said above,

⁶² ALEXANDER PP. VII, Apost. Const. *Piae sollicitudinis* (23 April 1657) 1: *Bullarium Romanum* (ed. Cherubini 1728), vol. 6, p. 55.

⁶³ INNOCENT PP. XII, (his Vicar General, GASPARE Card. H. R. C. CARPEGNA, subscribed) Declaration on Music (20 August 1692) near the beginning: *Bullarium Romanum* (ed. Cherubini 1728), vol. 7, p. 266: *His Holiness, Our Lord, having learned that, in churches, during events when there is music, the order then promulgated by Alexander VII of holy memory, with his Bull dated 13 April 1657, and renewed afterwards by Innocent XI of holy memory, on 3 September 1678, is indeed again abused [...]*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 266–267.

usually sung at Mass and Vespers, be accomplished in the theatrical fashion and with stageworthy vocal style. The great bishop Willem [Damaszoon] van der Lindt in his *Panoplia Evangelica*, in bk. 4, ch. 78, does not oppose polyphonic singing in churches; but disapproves frequent repetitions and commingling of voices, and proposes that that music, which be consentaneous to the matters that are being sung, be employed in churches. *Though it does not escape me that music with organ and musical instruments is rightfully considered by some worthy to be retained, for my part, I will most freely agree with them, if in the very place of this kind of music, which now occupies churches here and there, another be introduced that is both graver and more in harmony with these very matters, and if not, as it behoves, something closer to the pronunciation than to the singing, at the very least more suitable and more in accordance with the matters that are being sung.*⁶⁵ Drexel in his work *Rhetorica coelestis*, in bk. 1, ch. 5, opportunely exclaims thusly concerning Our topic: *I would say with your peace, O ye musicians, that in churches is now dominating a kind of singing that is new but deviating, abrupt, saltatory, and assuredly insufficiently religious, more in harmony with the theatre and with balls, than with the church. We seek after artistry, and we lose the pristine zeal of prayer and chant. We take counsel in curiosity, but in reality we neglect piety. For what is this novelty and frivolous method of singing, unless it is the harmony, in which cantors are become as actors, out of whom one now sings, then two, and then later all together sing, and speak together in tuned voices, and then again one triumphs alone with the rest to follow in a short while.*⁶⁶ A recent writer, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo [y Montenegro], General Master of the Order of Saint Benedict in Spain, in his *Teatro crítico universal*, discourse 14, buttressed by expertise and knowledge of musical notes, indicates the rationale with which the musical forms of churches can be restored to the same method and rationale, which in all things would be entirely dissimilar to the polyphonic singing of the theatres.⁶⁷ It shall be sufficient for Us, however,

⁶⁵ WILLEM DAMASZOOM VAN DER LINDT, *Panoplia Evangelica*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

⁶⁶ JEREMIAS DREXEL, *Rhetorica coelestis*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

⁶⁷ BENITO JERÓNIMO FEIJÓO Y MONTENEGRO, *Teatro crítico universal*, discourse 14, § III, nn. 7–9: *Oh, how much better had the Church been with that plainchant which was the only form that was known for many centuries, and in which became the greatest masters in the world the monks of Saint Benedict (including, in the first place, Saint Gregory the Great, and the renowned Guido d'Arezzo), until Jean de Murs, doctor of the Sorbonne, invented notes that denoted the different duration of each point! It is true that the simplicity of that form did not lack very powerful melodies that could move and sweetly suspend the listeners. The compositions of Guido d'Arezzo were found to be so pathetic that, summoned from his monastery in Arezzo by Pope Benedict VIII, he did not allow him to leave his presence until he had taught him to sing a verse from his antiphonary, as can be seen in [the Annales Ecclesiastici of] Cardinal [Caesar] Baronius in the year 1022. He was the one who invented the modern music system, or the diatonic scale, which is still used nowadays and is called the [scala Aretina], and together, the harmonious plurality of voices and variety of consonances; which, if it had been known by the ancients, as most probably is, any indication of this was already lost by everyone.*

Plainchant, executed with the necessary pause, has a great advantage for the use of the Church, and it is because, being incapable owing to its gravity to move the affections that arise in the theatre, it is most suitable to arouse those that are proper to the Church. Who, in the sonorous majesty of the hymn Vexilla Regis, in the festive gravity of the Pange, lingua, in the mournful tenderness of the Invitatory of [the Office of] the Dead, fails to feel moved either by veneration, or by devotion, or

having kept in mind the rules of the Sacred Councils and the declarations of approved authorships, to produce this admonition, that if the polyphonic singing of theatres is thusly established, that, in a certain way reported to Us, the people watching and listening is entertained indeed by the harmonious singing of the cantors, rejoices in the artistry of the musical art and is delighted by numerous musicians, derives pleasure from the melody and sweetness of voices; but in general does not rightly understand the words: then, it must be considered as something different from and entirely contrary to ecclesiastic chant, in which care is first taken so that the words be perfectly and plainly understood. For when polyphonic singing be received in churches to raise the minds of men to God, as Saint Isidore teaches in bk. 1 of *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ch. 5, *the psalter, for that reason, with the melody of sweet strains, is frequented by the Church, with which souls more easily incline towards repentance.*⁶⁸ It is certainly difficult to attain this if the words are not heard. In the Council of Cambrai in the year 1565, in tit. 6, ch. 4, vol. 10 of the *Conciliarum Collectio* of Hardouin, p. 582, thusly it is construed: *Now those that ought to be sung in Choir for instruction, are sung by the voice that they may be understood by the mind.*⁶⁹ And in the Council of Cologne, which was convoked in the year 1536, in ch. 12, under the title *De Officiis privatis*, such are read: *And this is already done not rightly in some churches, that due to the blending of cantors and organ instruments, those which are important be omitted or mutilated. Those of this type are the recitation the words of the Prophets and of the Apostles, which we call the Epistle, the Credo, the Preface, the [Hymn of] thanksgiving, and the Lord's Prayer. Wherefore let all these, as all the rest, be most distinctly and intelligibly sung.*⁷⁰ In the Council of Milan, however, first convoked in the year 1565, in par. 2, no. 51, in the afore-said *Conciliarum Collectio* of Hardouin, p. 687, such are read: *In the Divine Offices, or in churches in general, let neither profane canticles or sounds be employed; nor weak flexions, voices more oppressed in the throat than expressed by the mouth, or, in short, any lascivious method of singing in sacred canticles. Let chant and sound be grave, pious, and distinct, and suited for the divine praises in the house of God, that simultaneously the words as well may be understood, and those listening are excited unto piety.*⁷¹ In this matter, concerning which we are discussing, grave is the sermon of the Fathers who convened in the Council of Toledo in the year 1566, in sess. 3, ch. 2, in aforementioned *Conciliarum Colle-*

by pity? Every day, these chants are heard, and they always please; at the rate that modern compositions, in repeating themselves four or six times, annoy.

I am not at odds with figured chant or, as they commonly call it, organum chant with this. I know well beforehand that it has great advantages over plainchant; because it preserves its accent on the letter, something which is impossible in plainchant; and because the different duration of notes creates that pleasant effect to hearing akin to what the proportional inequality of colours causes to vision. Only the abuse that has been introduced into organum chant makes me want plainchant; in the same way that the palate eagerly craves for the less noble but healthy food, fleeing from the more delicate if it is corrupt.

⁶⁸ S. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

⁶⁹ COUNCIL OF CAMBRAI, *loc. cit.* in the text: *Conciliarum Collectio*, vol. 10, p. 582.

⁷⁰ FIRST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF COLOGNE, part II, ch. xii: *Conciliarum*, vol. 35, p. 30.

⁷¹ FIRST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF MILAN, *loc. cit.* in the text: *Conciliarum Collectio*, vol. 10, p. 582.

ctio, p. 1164. They say: *When those that are to be sung in churches for the celebration of the praise of God, be in that way, by which the intelligence of the people, as much as possible, prevail to be instructed, and, by the religious moderation of piety and devotion, the minds of pious hearers can be excited unto the adoration of Divine Majesty and unto heavenly desires; let Bishops be warned, lest while they admit in choir polyphonic techniques confused by division of all types of voices, the words of the psalms and of others that are usually sung be obscured, and simultaneously, the sense be buried by disordered din. In this manner, finally, let them retain the so-called organ music, so that the words of those that are sung may be understood, and the souls of those listening may as well be influenced towards the divine praises more by the pronunciation than by the curious techniques.*⁷² From these, however, it is manifestly ascertained how meritoriously Bishop van der Lindt complained with these words, *in the place cited before: For now, musicians both do not excite with their singing the souls of hearers unto the cultivation of piety and heavenly desires; and distract, disincline away, and estrange from these. For I know when sometime I attended [the celebration of] divine praises, when even though I most attentively listened, if by chance they were singing at all, I could not understand even a word: all of the syllables were thus muddled by repetitions, confused by voices, rather obscured by unpolished clamours and artless bellowing, rather than by the singing.*⁷³ Thereafter, how pious has been the desire, and how prudent may be the exhortation, with which Drexel stirred musicians unto piety *in the place equally cited before: Let a little, I pray, of the pristine religiosity in sacred music be restored to life. Because if there is divine honour in the heart and in the duty, do this, O ye men, labour for this, that the words that are sung may simultaneously be understood as well. For what is for me the varied sound in church, what is the motley singing, if the core be wanting, if I be unable to understand the sense and the words, which are to be instilled in the singing?*⁷⁴ And finally, it is demonstrated that Cardinal Domenico Capranica, when he attended some function and the Divine Offices, which were celebrated with polyphonic music, nevertheless therefore that the words were not heard, asked by the Supreme Pontiff Nicholas V what seemed proper to him concerning those polyphonic pieces, not without reason responded with those that can be read in [the work of] [Giovanni Battista] Poggi, in the *Vita*⁷⁵ of the same Cardinal edited by [Étienne] Baluze, in bk. 3 of the *Miscellanea*, § 18, p. 289.⁷⁶ The great Father Augustine, in bk. 9 of

⁷² COUNCIL OF TOLEDO, *loc. cit.* in the text: *op. cit.*, p. 1164.

⁷³ WILLEM DAMASZOOM VAN DER LINDT, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁴ JEREMIAS DREXEL, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ Which GIOVANNI BATTISTA BRACCIOLINI actually wrote.

⁷⁶ GIOVANNI BATTISTA POGGIO, *Vita Dominic Capranici: Miscellanea*, bk. 3, § 18, p. 289: *In the rest, however, he lived up to now an irreproachable life, that he neither had laboured for many years in ill health, nor his life had ever been accused by the envious and the malevolent in any subject. For if integrity in all things is praiseworthy, it should nevertheless be seen with worthy admiration in those which are in command and in power. For many, whom we also see, though bound by poor fortune, had been irreproachable, chaste, and gracious, who, nevertheless, after they attained power over things, with the greatest licentiousness, became intolerable, avaricious, wanton, haughty, unaware that such dignities usually are those over which they preside, [thoughtless enough] to consider henceforth that all those dignities of a healthy mind are not always the rewards of virtues, but the benefits of fortune; when we could see each day being extolled, without*

the *Confessions*, ch. 6, himself attests of himself, that when he would hear the sweet singing of hymns in church, he usually was poured out in tears: *How I wept in Thy hymns and canticles, fiercely moved by the voices of Thy sweetly sounding Church. Those voices streamed into mine ears, and Thy truth flowed clearly in mine heart, and out of it was enkindled thenceforth the affection of devotion, and tears overflowed, and it was well unto me with these.*⁷⁷ But when such great pleasure, which he experienced in hearing ecclesiastic hymns, had fallen in him as into scrupulousness, and therefore by some severity of habits and fear of the displeasure of God, that chant, with which that sensible delight was created in him, he would judge to be deserving of disapproval: afterwards, having better weighed the matter, he changed his declaration, that his mind was not moved by that singing alone, but by the words joined to the singing, as he himself manifestly declares in bk. 10 of the *Confessions*, ch. 33.⁷⁸ Augustine therefore wept with most tender sense of devotion, when he heard in churches the singing of sacred things, excellently hearing and understanding the words, which were being borne forth with the singing: He would perhaps weep even at this time, if he would hear the polyphonic singing of some churches, not with the sense of devotion, but of sorrow, for he would perceive the singing, but he would not understand the words.

10. Thus far, concerning polyphonic music: It now follows that We should leave word about the sound of organ music and of other instruments, whose use, as We have said above, is admitted in some churches. And since indeed it is necessary to discuss this, for if in the slightest it is not becoming of singing to become theatrical, by all means of sound as well. Indeed, all doubt about this matter had long forsaken the Hebrews, whether singing in the Temple should of course be unlike the profane singing in theatres. For it is ascertained from Sacred Scriptures that singing and the sounds of musical instruments had been in

doctrine, without virtue, men who are coarse, stupid, never sober, whom we could not see as men in disguise except with supreme distaste. Nevertheless, he—amid such licentiousness in things, which may follow impunity in all things, wherefrom men also, usually and in general, become meaner—produced himself in all places as such that the opinion that that dignity needed [Cardinal] Domenico might not become less evident than the opinion that the honoured [Cardinal] Domenico needed that dignity, and the fact that his morals changed his fortune possessed every evidence [possible]. Neither indeed did he ever say in jest nor suffer to endure a falsehood, saying that nothing more ought to be unfamiliar to man. In speaking, however, he did not excuse even the [Supreme] Pontiff. While [the Pope] was once speaking in public: We have made of the council and will of Our Brethren: the Lord [Cardinal Domenico Capranica] rose; and having uncovered his head, affirmed that he had never heard anything about that matter. Nicholas [V] had built God immortal a sanctuary—how most beautiful in the papal [chapel] that is in the Vatican—when he filled it with many cantors, and hitherto interrogated [Cardinal] Domenico after Mass, as if he were about to speak about a most honorific matter, what seemed to him concerning that choir of singers, [Cardinal Domenico] responded that it seemed to him like a sack full of piglets, for he heard the din of squealers, but he understood nothing of it. To a certain person seeking a donation, for he had escaped from the hands of the Catalans [the Borgias], as though he was forced to beg for the same thing, and others were moved towards mercy, turned to those who were standing: What, therefore—he asked, speaking about Callixtus [III]—is required of us who are in their hands?

⁷⁷ S. AUGUSTINE, *Confessions*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

⁷⁸ S. AUGUSTINE, *Confessions*, *loc. cit.* in the text: *Yet when it happens to me to be more moved by the singing than by what is sung, I confess myself to have sinned criminally, and then I would rather not have heard the singer.*

use in the Temple, but not in theatres, as [Antoine Augustin] Calmet well draws attention to in his *dissertation on the music of the Hebrews*.⁷⁹ It is, however, needful for Us to prescribe the limits in the singing and sound of churches and theatres; and to define the distinction between the two, when at this time, figured chant or polyphonic music with the sound of instruments obtains a place in theatres as well as in churches. And since We have sufficiently left word concerning singing, it remains for Us to accomplish the same for sound as well. In order, however, for the discourse to progress in its own order and path, it shall be divided by Us: first concerning musical instruments, whose use in churches can be tolerated; then concerning the sound of those instruments, which usually accompanies the singing; and finally concerning sound separately from singing, that is, concerning the harmony of instruments.

11. And, indeed, that which concerns instruments, which can be permitted in churches, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, in the aforementioned discourse 14, § 11, no. 43, admits organ instruments and others, but wished that violins be removed: For when these are played by string, they produce truly harmonic sounds, but insofar as shrill, that they may excite in us puerile joy rather than grave veneration towards the sacred Mysteries and intention of souls.⁸⁰ [Michel] Bauldry, in the *Manuale sacrarum caeremoniarum*, part 1, ch. 8, n. 14, wished that singing in churches should only be accompanied by the pneumatic organ, trumpets, and other wind or pneumatic instruments: *And let no other musical instruments be pulsed with the organ, except trumpets, flutes or horns*.⁸¹ On the other hand,

⁷⁹ ANTOINE AUGUSTIN CALMET, *Dissertation sur la Musique des Anciens, et en particulier des Hébreux*, towards the end: *Discours et dissertations sur tous les livres de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 2, pp. 620–621: *I do not see in the Scriptures that the Hebrews had the use of music for the theatres, nor for stage plays. They were not acquainted with this sort of entertainment—it is recent even among the Greeks—but they had poetry and, consequently, music of all other sorts. The Scriptures contain hymns of victory, of curses, of thanksgiving, of wedding entrances, of regrets, of hymns of joy, of moral and didactic psalms, of models of prayers. The Canticle of Canticles is a kind of dramatic play, but it is not of a nature to be represented, nor are these psalms in which one notices a dialogue between God and the Psalmist or the Just. The Book of the Just Man, which is sometimes quoted in Josue and in Kings, appears to have a history in verse; of that sort of ancient poetry, of which there is some debris in the declarations of ancient philosophers. The Scriptures also speak of harvest songs and of drinking songs: They that drank wine made me their song, says the Psalmist. Woe unto you, who use the harp and the lyre and the drum and the flute in banquets, says Isaias, while you neglect the works of the Lord and consider not his wonders. And Amos: Woe unto you who sing to the sound of musical instruments. They think they have better wine in their cup, and perfume themselves with the most precious oils, without troubling themselves with Joseph's sorrow. These are the abuses which the wicked Israelites made of music; but this proves the great use in which it was amongst them. This still appears in several passages of Ecclesiasticus. See Eccli. 32, 5, 6, 7; 40, 20; and 49, 2.*

⁸⁰ BENITO JERÓNIMO FEIJÓO Y MONTENEGRO, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit* in the text: *I know and I confess that it is much easier for me not to reach out to Saint Thomas [Aquinas], not because the saint ceased to speak very well. But, in the end, the universal practice of the whole Church admits the use of instruments. The case is in their selection. And, for myself, I say that violins are improper in that sacred theatre. Their screeching, even though harmonious, is [still] screeching, and they stir so childish a liveliness in our spirits, very distant from that decorous attention that is owed to the majesty of the mysteries; especially in this time when those who compose for violins take every inch of care to produce so high compositions that the performer would have to maintain an arch with all his fingers.*

⁸¹ MICHEL BAULDRY, *Manuale sacrarum caeremoniarum*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

the Fathers of the First Provincial Council of Milan, under Saint Charles Borromeo, under the title *De musica et cantoribus*, reject wind instruments by name from churches: *Let place in church alone be reserved to the organ: let flutes, horns, and the rest of the musical instruments be excluded.*⁸² To expound the counsel of prudent men and illustrious masters of the musical arts has been committed to Our care; it is consentaneous with their declarations, that Your Fraternity, if in your churches the use of instruments has been introduced, permit no other musical instrument with the organ, except the violone, the violoncello, the bassoon, the violas, the violins: for these instruments serve to strengthen and sustain the voices of singers. But [Your Fraternity] shall forbid the timpani, the natural horns, the trumpets, the oboes, the flutes, the piccolos, the orchestral harps, the mandolins, and others of that sort, which produce theatrical music.

12. But besides these, concerning the use of instruments, which can be permitted in ecclesiastic music, We shall produce no admonition, except that these should only be used to strengthen in a certain manner some force of the words to the chant, that their sense be more and more instilled in the minds of the listeners, and the minds of the faithful be moved unto the contemplation of spiritual things, and be stirred towards God and the love of divine things, and [Gregorio de] Valencia appropriately decides in vol. 3 [of his *Commentaria Theologica*] on the II, II [of the *Summa Theologica* of] Saint Thomas [Aquinas], disp. 6, q. 9, in the only point, where, discussing about the usefulness of music and musical instruments in churches, he says: *To stir the interior affection not only of one's self but also of others, especially of the multitudes, who sometimes thus far are feeble, that they may be roused unto the perception of spiritual things, not only by the singing of voices, but by organ and musical instruments as well.*⁸³ But if the instruments continuously⁸⁴ sound, and only sometimes, as nowadays is usually done, quiet down for a few moments, that they may offer a free space for the hearing of polyphonic modulations and pleated volleys of voices, commonly known as *trills*; [and if] in other respects, they overpower and overwhelm the voice of the cantors and the sound of the words, [then] the use of such instruments is in vain and useless, nay, forbidden and interdicted. The [Supreme] Pontiff John XXII, in the aforementioned *extravagans communis, Docta sanctorum*, enumerates amongst the abuses of music that which he expresses in these words: *They sunder the melodies with hockets*⁸⁵; that is, *with hiccups*: as, for instance, Charles du Fresne[, sieur du Cange] explains in his *Glossary*⁸⁶: he gave

⁸² FIRST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF MILAN, *loc. cit.* in the text: cf. *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (ed. Pagnonio 1843), vol. 1, p. 57.

⁸³ GREGORIO DE VALENCIA, *Commentaria Theologica*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

⁸⁴ Translated accordingly from the corrected Latin *continenter* from *continentur*.

⁸⁵ JOHN PP. XXII, *op. cit.*, near the beginning: *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (ed. Leipzig II 1881) 2, col. 1257.

⁸⁶ CHARLES DU FRESNE, SIEUR DU CANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (ed. Favre 1863), vol. 3, p. 231: HOQUETUS, Hiccup, in French *Hoquet*. Bull of John Pp. XXII, in the *extravagans [communis]* concerning the life and decency of Clerics, where concerning musicians of his time: *Nonnulli novae scholae discipuli ... melodias Hoquetis intersecant.*

* Hence, the say that *Hoquet* is the Pulse inflicted under the chin, the sound which a hiccup may produce. Letter sent in the year 1385, in Reg. 127 of the Chartophylacium Regium, ch. 12: *Icellui Perrinet fist un petit Hoquet de sa main au menton dudit Symon en lui levant hault son*

this name to those short vocal modulations commonly called *trills*.⁸⁷ The great Bishop van der Lindt, *in the place cited before*, inveighs against the abuse of overpowering the words of the cantors with the sound of instruments: *with the clangour of trumpets, the stridor of horns, and other varied din, lest it seem to be permitted to go by that the words of the canticle be obscured once for all, and the sense overwhelmed and covered*.⁸⁸ The pious and learned Cardinal Bona in the treatise *De Divina Psalmodia*, many times cited before, ch. 17, § 1, no. 5, regarding Our topic, appropriately says: *I [will only] cease, if first I will have attended to ecclesiastical cantors, lest they adopt unto the use of illicit voluptuousness that which the holy Fathers established for the purpose of piety. For such ought to be sound, so grave, so moderate, so as not to seize the whole mind unto its own delight, but so as to allot⁸⁹ a greater portion to the sense of those that are being sung and to the affection of piety*.⁹⁰

13. Finally, as far as orchestras are concerned, they can be tolerated in places where their use is already established, as long as they be grave, and they do not, with their complexity and length, cause weariness and squeamishness upon those who assist in choir or serve at the altar during Vespers or Mass. Suárez tackles orchestras of this wise in bk. 4, ch. 13, no. 17: *Wherefrom it is also understood that the practice of inserting the sound of organs without any chant, alone with the sweetness of the music of instruments, in the Divine Offices, so that sometimes it be present in the solemn Mass, or in between psalms in the canonical Hours, is not condemnable by itself; for then that sound is not part of the Office, and is made for the solemnity and reverence of that same Office, and to raise the minds of the faithful, that they may more easily rise unto and be disposed towards devotion*.⁹¹ But, even though, to this sound nothing may be sung with the voice, it behoves that this very sound should be grave and appropriate for encouragement of devotion. But in this place, it is not to be bypassed with silence that it is a grossly indecent, and by no means tolerable, affair that, in certain days of the year, sumptuous and resounding orchestral productions and polyphonic singings are celebrated in sacred places, which events are not at all in harmony with the sacred Mysteries, which the Church proposes to be com-

menton par un cop seulement. Icellui Jehan bailla audit son compaignon un Hoquet par le menton, in others, in the year 1394, from Reg. 147, ch. 12. *Hoqueter*, however, means to Shake, to quake, in French *Ebranler en secouant*. Letter sent in the year 1408, from Reg. 162, ch. 252: *Icelle jeune fille oy gens qui Hocquetoient à l'uis du jardin*. Others, in the year 1410, in Reg. 164, ch. 280: *Quand le suppliant ne trouvoit point l'huis ouvert, il faisoit tant en le Hoquetant et sourdant, que il ouvroit*.

⁸⁷ The Latin word *hoquetus*, which Pope John XXII uses, came from the French word *hoquet* that is generally understood as *hiccup*. However, the context in which *hoquetus* is found discourages the assumption of the meaning proposed from the French sense, but urges us to consider the time in which the decretal letter was promulgated. This done, the verb *interseco*, which describes the effect or the action of *hoquetus*, is understood as similar to the verbs *separo* and *divido*. Therefore, *hoquetus* refers to the that practice of splitting the melodic line between two unequal and distinct voices, alternately producing sound and silence, so that, when one sings, the other keeps quiet.

⁸⁸ WILLEM DAMASZON VAN DER LINDT, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

⁸⁹ Translated accordingly from the corrected Latin *relinquat* from *relinquant*.

⁹⁰ GIOVANNI Card. H. R. C. BONA, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

⁹¹ FRANCISCO SUÁREZ, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* in the text.

memorated by the faithful throughout this very season. The oft-praised General Master of the Order of Saint Benedict in Spain *in the aforesaid* discourse 14, § 9, moved by an ardent zeal, exclaims against airs and strains, alas!, exceedingly used in singing the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremias, which are prescribed by the Church on the days of Greater Week, in which now the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, then the scourging of the world due to sin, later the affliction of the Church militant in the persecutions, and finally the sorrow of our Redeemer in his passions are lamented.⁹² The Church of Lucca, when Our Predecessor, Saint Pius V, was sitting upon the Apostolic Throne, was being governed by Alessandro [Guidiccioni il vecchio], a most zealous shepherd of ecclesiastical discipline; who, when he had observed that the most exquisite singing of all kinds of voices and instruments were customarily done in churches on the days of Greater Week, not at all in harmony with the sorrow of the sacred functions that are celebrated on those days; but that people of both sexes most desirously gather in great multitudes to hear them; and that thence grave sins and scandals are committed; having promulgated an edict, forbad them from being performed during Holy Week and on the three succeeding days of Easter. But when some who are exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop pretended to regard themselves not at all encompassed by the episcopal law, the bishop deferred the case to the Supreme Pontiff Pius V, who, in his Brief given on 4 April 1571, having first decried the blindness of human minds and carnal men, who, not only on holy days, but rather on those days which were assigned especially by the Church for the celebration of the memory of the passion of Christ the Lord, having neglected piety and the purity of a sincere mind, delivered themselves up to be governed and impelled by the allurements of worldly pleasures and the voluptuousness of the senses, said: *For when it is to be avoided and shunned in all holy times, then [it is to be so] chiefly during that time, which was established and appointed by the same Church for the celebration of the memory of the Lord's passion, during which same time it is supremely befitting for all Christians, turned with all the mind unto the contemplation of such and only such*

⁹² BENITO JERÓNIMO FEIJÓO Y MONTENEGRO, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit* in the text, no. 33: *What has been said up until now about the musical disarray in churches does not only encompass [non-liturgical] songs in the vernacular tongue, but also psalms, Masses, Lamentations, and other parts of the Divine Office, because fashion has affected all. I have seen in published Lamentations those tempo alterations, denoted with their names, which are styled in [non-liturgical] songs. Hither one reads grave; thither, graceful; yonder, recitative. Why cannot it be entirely grave even in a Lamentation? And is it necessary that the petty tempo alterations of the stage be admitted into the representation of the most mournful mysteries? If there would be a need for weeping in heaven, Jeremias would cry again upon seeing the application of such music on his lamentations. Is it possible that, in those hallowed plaints, where every letter is a sob, where, according to different senses, are lamented now the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, then the scourging of the world due to sin, later the affliction of the Church militant in the persecutions, and finally the sorrow of our Redeemer in his passions, gracefuls and recitatives ought to be heard? Ought the tempos of banquets and serenades sound in the alphabet for penitents, as some writers call the Lamentations of Jeremias? How with much more reason would it be possible to exclaim here using Seneca's rebuke against Ovid, for in describing such a tragic subject as the flood of Deucalion, [Ovid] added some verse that was rather entertaining! It is not a sufficiently sober affair to frolic while the world is being engulfed. Nero's harp did not sound as badly when Rome was burning, as when the harmony of balls resounds while such gloomy martyrdoms are being imagined.*

kindness of Our Redeemer, to present themselves devoid of and free from all impurity of heart and sense.⁹³ After these, he relates an abuse, which had crept into the Church of Lucca; of choosing exquisite and excellent musicians throughout Holy Week, and of gathering instruments of all kind for celebrating solemn musical singing: *Recently, not without great sorrow in our soul, We have learned that, in this City, whose Episcopate you bear, a certain very detestable abuse had crept over—that of employing most exquisite musical shows of voices and instruments of all kind in churches throughout Holy Week—with all the youth of both sexes most desirously gathering in great multitudes to these shows rather than to listen to the Divine Offices, it was confirmed by experience that grave sins and not minor scandals are committed.*⁹⁴ Finally, he praises the edict of the Bishop and declares it adhering to the decrees of the Holy Council of Trent, that with this edict, even churches that affirm earnestly that they are exempt by ordinary authority, by apostolic privilege, or by some other right, are encompassed and bound.⁹⁵ In the Council of Rome, which was recently held in the year 1725, tit. 15, no. 6, many decrees are read concerning the use of polyphonic singing and instruments during Advent, during Sundays of Lent, and during the exequies of the dead; let this mention of them be enough.⁹⁶

14. We do not fail to remember that We have read that, when the Emperor Charlemagne had proposed with himself to restore the ecclesiastic chant, inelegantly and unskilfully practiced in the churches of France, to the rules of the art, he requested from Pope Adrian I that expert men in ecclesiastic music be sent from Rome to himself, by which men Roman chant was easily introduced into the realm of France, as anyone can learn by himself from Paul the Deacon, in bk. 2 of the *Vita*⁹⁷ of Saint Gregory [the Great], ch. 9;⁹⁸ and from Radulph⁹⁹ [van

⁹³ S. PIUS PP. V, Letter *Nihil aequae* (4 April 1571) near the beginning: cf. *Annales Ecclesiastici* (ed. Laderchi 1880), vol. 35, p. 284.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, near the middle.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, near the end.

⁹⁶ COUNCIL OF ROME, *loc. cit.* in the text, chapter 6: cf. *Concilium Romanum* (ed. Giannini 1725), p. 53: *But for that which concerns music in churches, besides the Extravagans [communis] Docta [sanctorum] concerning the life and decency of Clerics, We establish that the Edict of Alexander VIII of happy memory is to be renewed as well, as with this Our Decree We renew: and, moreover, We consider it forbidden, so that in Masses for the Dead, on the days of Advent and Lent, with feasts excepted as far as this matter is concerned, the organ not be pulsed, and no other musical instrument whatsoever be used: during which time, namely, on the Third Sunday of Advent, called Gaudete Sunday, and the Fourth Sunday of Lent, names Laetare Sunday, organs are allowed to be pulsed only in the conventual Mass. In the meantime, under the penalties inflicted in the aforecited Extravagans communis and Edict, let Bishops forbid Choirmasters, Organists, and Cantors, and any others from whatever forms of indecent music in church, lest they seem to please the ears of the faithful, rather than to stir devout affections in God.*

⁹⁷ Which JOHN THE DEACON actually wrote.

⁹⁸ JOHN THE DEACON, *De vita Gregorii Magni*, *loc. cit.* in the text: PL 75, col. 91: *And our patrician [Charlemagne], King as well of the Franks, displeased in Rome by the disparity between the Roman and Gallican chants, when the pertinacity of the Franks, based on some petty folksongs of [us Romans], might have reckoned [our] chant to be corrupt, and our own [fellow Romans], on the contrary, might have probably shown [them] the authentic Antiphonary, he was encouraged to ask: Which between a creek and a spring would usually keep the cleaner water? To those choosing the spring, prudently he added: And, therefore, it is necessary for us, who up until now have drunk the corrupt water of the creek, to run back to the principal headwaters of the perennial spring. He*

der Beken, canon] of Tongeren in *De canonum observantia*, prop. 12;¹⁰⁰ [and] from Saint Antoninus [of Florence] in the *Summa Historialis*, part 2, tit. 12, ch. 3.¹⁰¹ The monk of Angoulême,¹⁰² in the *Vita* of Charlemagne, ch. 8, adds that the cantors who came from Rome taught as well in France the art of pulsating organ music, which had become widespread while Pepin was reigning in the realm of France.¹⁰³ Therefore, when it be solemn and according to rule, that this

then, therefore, left two of his diligent clerics to the then Pope Adrian [I]; with these [clerics], having finally been instructed with sufficient finesse, he [Charlemagne] restored the metropolis of Metz to the sweetness of the pristine [chant] form, and, through Metz, corrected the whole of his France.

⁹⁹ Translated accordingly from the corrected Latin *Radulpho* from *Rodulpho*.

¹⁰⁰ RADULPH VAN DER BEKEN, CANON OF TONGEREN, *De canonum observantia*, *loc. cit.* in the text: *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, vol. 26, p. 299: *Wherefrom, Sigebert [of Gembloux] in the Chronicon, in the year 774, [Charlemagne] King, displeased by the disparity of ecclesiastical chant between the Romans and the Franks, and determining that it is more just to drink from the pure spring than from the muddled creek: sent two Clerics to Rome that they might learn the authentic chant from the Romans, and teach this to the Franks. And through these [Clerics], first the Church of Metz, and through her the whole of France, was recalled to the authority of the Roman chant. Also, in the year 790, [Charlemagne], completely focused on ecclesiastical decency, diligently corrected the discipline of reading and singing psalms. For, considering again that the Franks are deviating from the Romans, and, the Metensians, by levity of nature alone, are differing a little, through Cantors sent to him again from Rome by Pope Adrian [I], corrected the disparity in chant.*

¹⁰¹ S. ANTONINUS OF FLORENCE, *Summa Historialis*, *loc. cit.* in the text: *And as to the chant of the [Divine] Offices, John the Deacon, who is quoted above, says that when Charlemagne had come to Rome, he was displeased upon discovering the disparity between the Roman and Gallican chants. And when the pertinacity of the Franks, based on some petty folksongs of [us Romans], might have reckoned [our] chant to be corrupt, and our own [fellow Romans], on the contrary, might have probably shown [them] the authentic Antiphonary, he was encouraged to ask: Which between a creek and a spring would usually keep the cleaner water? To those choosing the spring, prudently he added: And, therefore, it is necessary for us, who up until now have drunk the corrupt water of the creek, to run back to the principal headwaters of the perennial spring. He then, therefore, left two of his diligent clerics to the then Pope Adrian [I]; with these [clerics], having finally been instructed with sufficient finesse, he [Charlemagne] restored the metropolis of Metz to the sweetness of the pristine [chant] form, and, through Metz, corrected the whole of his France. And when in the passage of time they again corrupted [the chant]; France was once again led back to the sweetness of the Roman chant by other clerics sent from Rome.*

¹⁰² Whom many authorities identify as ADÉMAR DE CHABANNES or ADÉMAR OF ANGOULÊME.

¹⁰³ MONK OF ANGOULÊME, *loc. cit.* in the text: cf. *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, vol. 2, p. 75: *And [Charlemagne] most pious King returned, and celebrated Easter in Rome with the Apostolic Lord. Behold, a quarrel arose during the festive days of Easter between the cantors of the Romans and of the Franks. The Franks said that they sang better and more beautifully than did the Romans. The Romans said that they most learnedly execute ecclesiastical chants as they have been taught by Pope Saint Gregory [the Great]. That the Franks sang corruptly, and, while destroying, mangled the sober chant. Which contention came before the presence of the Lord [Charlemagne] King. The Franks, on their part, owing to the security of the Lord [Charlemagne] King, greatly reproached the Roman cantors. The Romans, on the other hand, owing to the authority of great doctrine, affirmed that [the Franks] were stupid, provincial, and unlearned, like savage animals, and upheld the doctrine of Saint Gregory [the Great] over the provinciality [of the Franks]. And when the altercation would not cease from either party, the Lord [Charlemagne] most pious King said to his Cantors: Speak openly. Which is purer, and which is better? A living spring? Or its creeks flowing far away? Together everyone answered that the spring, as the head and source, was purer: and that how much farther its creeks might have flowed from the source, so much were they turbulent and corrupted with filth and dirt. And the Lord [Charlemagne] King said: Return to the spring of Saint Gregory [the Great], for you have manifestly corrupted ecclesiastical chant. Then the Lord [Charlemagne] King asked Pope Adrian [I] for cantors who might correct France with regards to*

City of Rome ought to lead by example before and be a paragon to all other cities with regards to the sacred rites and to all other ecclesiastical matters: moreover are added as well those which were related earlier by Us concerning Charlemagne, who summoned forth ecclesiastic chant from the City of Rome, as though from his own habitations, into his realm; which indeed more fiercely urge and stir Us, so that all abuses, which have crept into ecclesiastic chant, and which have been disapproved by Us, be absolutely abolished in all churches, as much as can possibly be done, but chiefly in all churches in the City of Rome. But in a certain way, We do not forget to command those that are necessary and opportune to Our Cardinal Vicar in Rome, thus, let Your Fraternity not forget to publish, if needed, edicts and laws which are consentaneous with these Our circular Letters, and, with these, to conveniently direct ecclesiastic chant to the rules prescribed and established in the same Letters, that finally an onset can be given to the reformation of the music of churches. For this very thing was supremely wished for and desired, now by many, a hundred years ago then by Giovanni Battista Doni, a Florentine patrician, in his treatise *De praestantia musicae veteris*, bk. 1, p. 49: *And, now, for that reason, the matter is now rendered, that nobody can be found, who may restrict by a severe law a certain effeminate and somewhat petty method of singing, which has already become prevalent in every direction; and not suppose that those pretended and prolonged and often disconnected melismata ought to be restored to a certain norm, or think that solemn days and sacred places are to have their celebration and assembly, unless all things clashingly resound with the singing that is weak and oftentimes of meagre beauty, and with the great commingling of voices and instruments.*¹⁰⁴

15. We have said that, if needed, for it has been opportunely ascertained by Us, in the ecclesiastical States, there are some cities wherein the music of the churches behoves to be reformed, and that in others, however, the necessity does not exist at all. Indeed, We fear, and vehemently We fear, lest in some cities, the churches and the holy altars be lacking in the appropriate cleanness and necessary neatness; lest in many cities, the choirs of cathedral and collegiate churches be stripped of plainchant well and excellently guided towards the rules of the art according to those which have been mentioned above by Us: in-

chant. And he gave him Theodore and Benedict, the most learned cantors of the Roman Church, who had been taught by Saint Gregory [the Great]: and he gave him the Antiphonaries of Saint Gregory [the Great], which he himself had notated in the Roman notation. The Lord [Charlemagne] King, on his part, returning to France, sent one [cantor] to the city of Metz, and the other to the city of Soissons: commanding Choirmasters from all the cities to bring their Antiphonaries to [the cantors] for correction, and to learn to chant from them. The Antiphonaries of the Franks were therefore corrected, which everyone had corrupted in their own judgment, adding and subtracting, and the cantors of France learned the Roman notation, which they now call the Frankish notation: except that the Franks had not been able to perfectly express with [their] natural barbarian voice the tremulas or the vinnolas, or the combinable or the dividable pitches in chant, breaking their voices in the throat rather than emitting them. But the superior authority in chant remained in the city of Metz. And as much as the Roman authority surpasses the Metensian in the art of chant, so much does the Metensian idiom surpasses [those of] the other choirs of the Franks. The abovementioned Roman cantors similarly taught the cantors of the Franks in the art of pulsating the organ.

¹⁰⁴ GIOVANNI BATTISTA DONI, *De praestantia musicae veteris*, loc. cit. in the text.

to which cases, if it be necessary in the church of [Your Fraternity], it is appropriate to direct every fibre of Your diligence and care; and would that in all the dioceses of Our entire States, priests would celebrate the Most Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with that comeliness that is befitting to it; and, moreover, would appear in public clad in clerical attire and with a comely appearance of the body, gait, modesty, and all other ecclesiastical dignity, concerning which matters We shall add nothing here, for We have copiously discussed these things in Our Notification xiv, § 4 and 6, bk. 2 of the Italian edition,¹⁰⁵ which is xxxiv in the Latin edition,¹⁰⁶ and in Notification iv, vol. 4, similarly of the Italian edition,¹⁰⁷ which is lxxi in the Latin edition,¹⁰⁸ to which We redirect those who are zealous for ecclesiastical discipline. Therefore, encouraging Your priestly zeal, We shall put an end to this writing, after We shall have intimated to You this one thing: that no other proof ought to be revealed to men [about the opinion] that churches are poorly and recklessly ruled and governed by bishops; than [the fact] that, if priests be observed, they, having wrongly employed or omitted ecclesiastical ceremonies, haphazardly and neglectfully roam about with unsightly attire or by no means proper to the priestly dignity. For these things register in the eyes of everyone, and are subjected to the judgment of residents and foreigners, and, most especially, offend them who come from those regions where priests are clad in befitting attire and Masses are celebrated with due devotion as well. Reckoning these with himself, and pondering these not without tears, thusly complained the pious and learned Cardinal Bellarmine. *There is another thing also worthy of plentiful tears, that due to the carelessness and impiety of some priests, the most holy Mysteries are so unbefittingly celebrated, that those who celebrate them may seem not to believe that the majesty of the Lord is [really] present. For thusly some celebrate the Mass, without spirit, without affection, without fear and trembling, with unbelievable haste, as though they could not see Christ the Lord with faith, or they could not believe that they themselves are seen by Him.*¹⁰⁹ And after these, with some interjections, he proceeds in this way: *I know that in the Church of God there are [still] many good and most devout priests present, who celebrate the divine Mysteries with a clean heart and with the neatmost ornaments; for them, thanks ought to be given to God by everyone; but, at the same time also, the not so few, who attest with exterior turpitude and filthiness to the impurity and filthiness of their souls, are to be bewailed with fountains of tears.*¹¹⁰ And, meanwhile, We, embracing Your Fraternity within the bowels of Christ, to

¹⁰⁵ PROSPERO LORENZO Card. H. R. C. LAMBERTINI (BENEDICT PP. XIV), Not. XIV *Il Sacro Concilio* (2 December 1734) § 4 : *Raccolta di alcune notificazioni* (ed. Pitteri 1740), vol. 2, pp. 88–93.

Also, *ibid.*, § 6 : *Op. cit.*, pp. 96–70.

¹⁰⁶ PROSPERO LORENZO Card. H. R. C. LAMBERTINI (BENEDICT PP. XIV), Not. XXXIV *Tridentina Synodus* (2 December 1734) § 4: *Institutiones Ecclesiasticae* (ed. Louvain 1762), vol. 1, pp. 397–406.

Also, *ibid.*, § 6 : *Op. cit.*, pp. 413–420.

¹⁰⁷ PROSPERO LORENZO Card. H. R. C. LAMBERTINI (BENEDICT PP. XIV), Not. IV *Benchè sia* (3 October 1737) : *Raccolta di alcune notificazioni* (ed. Pitteri 1740), vol. 4, pp. 38–39.

¹⁰⁸ PROSPERO LORENZO Card. H. R. C. LAMBERTINI (BENEDICT PP. XIV), Not. LXXI *Quamvis illud* (3 October 1737) : *Institutiones Ecclesiasticae* (ed. Louvain 1762), vol. 2, pp. 322–333.

¹⁰⁹ S. ROBERT BELLARMINI, *De gemitu columbae*, bk. 2, ch. 5.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

You and to the Flock committed to Your care, We very lovingly impart Our Apostolic Blessing.

Given in Rome at Saint Mary Major on the 19th day of February 1749, the ninth year of Our Pontificate.

