Laus Perennis

The Emergence of a Theology of Music with reference to Post-Vatican II Irish Catholicism

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Ph.D. 2000
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The Emergence of a Theology of Music
with reference to Post-Vatican II Irish Catholicism

by

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A dissertation submitted in satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. by research.

University of Limerick

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Submitted to the University of Limerick March, 2000.
For Geraldine

November 13th, 1969 - January 21st, 1999

‘in my defeat, who held belief’
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2. Journals, Articles, Newsletters, Papers, Proceedings
3. Music Publications
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List of Abbreviations

Motu Proprio of 1903 (Tra le sollecitudini) MP
Meditator Dei MD
Musicae Sacrae Disciplina MSD
Sacrosanctum Concilium SC
Lumen Gentium LG
Gaudium et Spes GS
Sacram Liturgiam SL
Musicam Sacram MS
Music in Catholic Worship MCW
Liturgical Music Today LMT
Universa Laus Document UL
Report of the Milwaukee Symposium RMS
The Snowbird Statement Document SD


Biblical references have been sourced from *The New Jerusalem Bible* (1990, London, Darton, Longman and Todd).
Acknowledgements

Deep thanks to the Irish World Music Centre, my academic home for the duration of this work and to my colleagues and friends here who have sustained me more than they can know: to Paula Dundon, Olive Brennan, Ellen Byrne, Catherine Foley, John Morgan O'Connell, Jane Edwards, Ferenc Szűcs, Lila Collamore, Jean Downey, Niall Keegan, Sandra Joyce, Phil Mullen, Mary Nunan.

To the community at Glenstal Abbey for a liturgical home; special thanks to Vincent Ryan OSB for his warm facilitation of my work in Glenstal library.

To Tom Whelan for his personal assistance and the Kimmage Mission Institute for access to library resources; Patrick Jones, Moira Bergin and the National Centre for Liturgy; David Power, Mary Alice O'Connor, Leo Nestor, Margaret Mary Kelleher and Mary Collins at the Catholic University of America; Marie McCarthy at the University of Maryland; Ronald Grimes at Wilfrid Laurier University; Pattie Punch at the University of Limerick library; St. Joseph's Church in Glenmire and Derry Hassett for his collection of music; Grace Semple and the Chaplaincy at University College, Galway, and to all those who contributed their time and expertise as field informants.

To the UL Foundation for making my research visit to the Catholic University of America possible; to the Salzburg Seminar for its invitation to participate in the Core Session on Arts, Religion and the Shaping of Culture.

To my mother and father for all they have given of themselves to our family.

To my four sisters, Trisha, Ger, Chrissie and Lizzie: my North and South, my East and West.

To my four dear friends, Collette O'Regan, Niamh O'Mahony, Don Forde and Kaja Jensen, my spirit brother and sisters.

To Albert Llussà i Torra, for all his help in typing the transcriptions of the field interviews and for his unmatched goodness in my life: Deu deixà en el món una ditada de joia.

To Micheál Ó Súilleabháin, my supervisor and my guide; for his companionship on much of this journey: 'In the presence of angels I sing to you' (Ps 138).
ABSTRACT

Laus Perennis

The Emergence of a Theology of Music

with reference to Post-Vatican II Irish Catholicism

This work proposes the sourcing of a theology of music with particular reference to liturgical music developments in the Irish Catholic church since the Second Vatican Council. In doing so, it is confronted by two primary challenges: the complex relationship between music and liturgy and the equally complex historical relationship of Catholicism with Ireland.

In order to address these challenges, the thesis adopts an interdisciplinary stance drawing on the disciplines of liturgical theology, philosophy and musicology, as well as more recent developments in anthropology, ethnomusicology, ritual studies, gender studies, performance studies and cultural studies.

Chapter One postulates a theoretical and methodological framework built through the layering of four perspectives. The foundational layer is formed with reference to hermeneutic philosophy and key hermeneutic concepts such as ‘rehabilitation of prejudice’, ‘fusion of horizons’ and ‘in front of the text’ frame the structure of the thesis. The second layer draws on interpretive anthropology and theories of culture, symbol, ritual and performance. The third examines the developing discipline of ritual studies and its contribution to the cross-cultural study of ritual. Finally, liturgical theology provides an emic perspective on Catholicism’s own attitudes towards its ritual expressions. The layering of these frames of reference provides the lens through which contemporary Irish Catholic liturgical music experience will be viewed.

Chapter Two examines the historical precursors of the experience under review. It does so with reference to the changing historical relationship of music and liturgy, as well as the changing liturgical music fortunes of Catholicism in Ireland. Its primary focus involves the period immediately preceding the Second Vatican Council often referred to as the Modern Liturgical Movement. An analysis of this period in Irish history is approached through a review of the Glenstal Liturgical Congresses from 1954 to 1974.

Chapter Three contains a review of the primary conciliar and post-conciliar documents related to the proposed liturgical reforms and their concomitant musical repercussions. It reviews the tensions surrounding both their formulation and reception, the growth of opposing camps representing ‘liturgy’ or ‘music’, and more recent attempts to heal this divide, even in the face of increased polarity.
While the first three chapters provide the theoretical, methodological, historical and textual foundations of the work, Chapters Four and Five engage directly with the experience of implementation in Ireland in the four decades since the Second Vatican Council. It approaches the representation of this experience through a collage of sources. Chapter Four provides a review and analysis of implementation as articulated in five Irish journals or newsletters: The Furrow, Doctrine and Life, Hosanna, Jubilus and New Liturgy. Chapter Five presents the field interviews carried out for this thesis representing the voices of a spectrum of musicians, composers, liturgists and theologians involved in liturgy and liturgical music in Ireland. It also presents a survey of compositions written in Ireland since the Council.

Chapters Six and Seven use both the foundational material of the first three chapters and the experiential material of Chapters Four and Five to propose a theological mandate for music in religious ritual expression. While this mandate is developed across a number of theoretical perspectives, it is grounded in the Irish experience.

Chapter Six suggests that five theoretical motifs emerge as dominant in contemporary discussions of music in ritual. The first concerns the relationship of religion and art, while the second involves the relationship of both these concepts to culture. Contemporary understandings of music as symbol and liturgy as ritual also provide new perspectives on the music / liturgy divide. Viewing both music and liturgy as embodied experience opens up the worlds of performance and gender studies. Finally, all these perspectives are housed within contemporary perceptions of the postmodern condition. The chapter concludes that listening to these emerging voices allows for the proposal of a five-fold theological mandate for music. This mandate suggests music as a potent carrier of radical inclusiveness, the church’s prophetic voice, the gift of creativity, the call to serve, and of the necessary expression of relational love.

Chapter Seven concludes this thesis with the proposition that the Irish experience of music and liturgy has both unique contributions to make to the development of this mandate as well as unique needs, based on its own historical and cultural journey. It suggests that the breadth of Catholic ritual and musical expression is best grounded in the particulars of cultural stories and cultural communities and that the ability to frame one’s own experience provides the strongest foundation for any truly catholic encounter.
‘The instinct of kings was always to slay the messenger, and they were right. A real messenger, a worthy one, is corrupted by the message he brings. And if he is noble he should accept that corruption.’

(Toni Morrison, *Tar Baby*)

‘O to make the most jubilant song!
Full of music - full of manhood, womanhood, infancy!
Full of common employments - full of grain and trees.

O for the voices of animals - O for the swiftness and balances of fishes!
O for the dropping of raindrops in a song!
O for the sunshine and motion of waves in a song!

O the joy of my spirit - it is uncaged - it darts like lightening!
It is not enough to have this globe or a certain time,
I will have thousands of globes and all time.’

(Walt Whitman, *A Song of Joys*)
Introduction

In his introduction to the Liturgy of the Hours in Volume Four of *The Church at Prayer*, A.G. Martimort notes ‘the spiritual ideal of ceaseless prayer that is set before us by the New Testament’ (p.157, Martimort, 1986).

This ideal was personified first in the prayer life of Jesus of Nazareth, particularly as it is related in the Lukan gospel (Luke 9:18; 9:28-29; 11:1; 18:1; 21:36; 22:40-46) and, later, in that of the early Christian communities. Constant prayer was combined with the need to be vigilant (Eph 6:18-19) and remain hopeful (Luke 18:1). Prayer nourished the struggling spirit so that it would remain awake to the moment of coming, and not lose heart in the waiting.

This intense, prayerful fervour, characteristic of the early church, captured the spiritual imagination of the later monastic movement. Through its contribution to the development of the Liturgy of the Hours, monasticism is largely responsible for the Christian, musical ritual, which would become its most explicit carrier of idealised, perpetual prayer. In its Irish manifestation, Columbanus is attributed with the creation of *laus perennis*, ‘a service of perpetual praise maintained by relays of successive choirs’ (p.27, O’Dwyer, 1995).

What is of interest here is the emergence of music or song as a carrier of the Christian community’s prayer ideal. That this should happen is neither obvious nor of self-evident value. That it did happen, and how it happened, particularly in the Irish context, is of foundational interest to the thesis developed in this work.

This thesis suggests that music, in the Christian context, is potentially a prime carrier of Christianity itself and of the Christian ideal of prayer, particularly in its manifestation as communal, ritual prayer. As such, any discussion concerning the role or function of music in this context is a theological one. While the contention is made within the Christian
context, this work argues the point from the perspective of Catholicism with particular reference to its development in Ireland.

This position presents a number of immediate difficulties. Firstly, there exists a long tradition of discussing liturgical music with little or no reference to its function as prayer. There is an equally long aesthetic tradition, which has sought the emancipation of art from context, and championed music for music’s sake alone. There is also the genuine tension which often exists between the demands of music and the demands of prayer and the complexity involved when one becomes the other.

The historical foundations examined in this work will trace the development of these tensions and the growing polarities of music and liturgy. It will illustrate the disparities, which grew up through the world of ideas surrounding art and religion and the virtual impasse created by their changing ideologies.

Its central contention, however, is that emerging disciplines and modes of discourse associated with the postmodern phenomena have provided us with ways of understanding both art and religion as powerful, sister, expressive agents. These provide new perspectives on music and liturgy and the potential reclamation of their power to both represent and identify.

A number of consistent perspectives characterise this work. Firstly, the approach is interdisciplinary. The disciplines involved include the more established ones of theology and historical musicology, as well as their concomitant methodologies, including philosophical idealism and an analysis of historical sources. In addition, the theoretical framework for this thesis is constructed with reference to a number of new and emerging disciplines, often associated with the postmodern striving to overcome the deterioration of belief in absolute phenomena, such as the absolutes of history or philosophy. Of greatest relevance to this work are the emerging disciplines of ritual studies, cultural
studies, interpretive anthropology, ethnomusicology, performance studies and gender studies.

Characteristically, the latter disciplines have resisted the traditional isolation of compartmentalised research and take their dependency on each other as a source of strength. In this way, this work does not approach ‘music’ as an isolated phenomenon. It resists the historical temptation of ‘objective’ analysis and attempts a treatment of music, which is always housed with reference to its liturgical / ritual context. In Chapter Five, for example, the survey of liturgical composition in Ireland since the Second Vatican Council does not attempt an objective, musical analysis with qualitative statements of its musical value according to abstract and imposed musical criteria. Instead, through a series of field interviews, it asks the composer to comment on his / her own music, as well as his / her musical and liturgical motivation. In addition, it examines the infrastructure, which has grown up around the music, and comments on its ‘success’ or ‘failure’ with reference to its use or lack of same in the ritual context. The purpose of this approach is not to undermine the value of musical analysis, but to suggest that the historical divide, which has grown between music and liturgy, has been exacerbated by just such an approach and by the inability of musicians to recognise the inevitability and impact of context.

If these new disciplines have emerged from an erosion of confidence in traditional world views, they have also rediscovered and reclaimed their vocabulary. The semantic fields of symbol, sign, icon, rite, ritual, culture, process, text, context, embodiment and performance provide deep fields of meaning around the concept of music. The simple act of referring to music as symbol or as embodied performance, for example, immediately contextualises the phenomena with reference to behaviour. If a single concept may be drawn upon to illustrate the contemporary shift of perspective from musicology to ethnomusicology, it is surely the shift in emphasis from music as sound to music as sound behaviour.
A second characteristic of this approach involves the suspicion of universals. More accurately, postmodern thought is suspicious of general statements grounded in theoretical abstractions, looking with greater confidence on general statements grounded in particular realities. Where postmodernism has not succumbed to the nihilism of infinitely regressive subjectivity, it has embraced a celebratory attitude to the diverse, the fragmented and the inconsistent. Its strong reliance on case studies, qualitative research and the cult of culture are all indicative of this perspective.

It is from this point of departure, that the work embraces an exploration of the liturgical music context of ‘Ireland’, with particular reference to its Post-Vatican II development. The agenda is in no way nationalistic or isolationist, but guided by the rehabilitation of the particular in its attempts to address the generalities of liturgical music and a theological experience of music as prayer. In this sense, the approach differs from publications such as Miriam Therese Winter’s Why Sing? Towards a Theology of Catholic Church Music (Winter, 1984). Based on her own doctoral research, it involves an analysis of Post-Vatican II musical trends, a survey of liturgical and musical documentation and an attempt to draw out the primary attitudes and trends which might inform an emerging theology. While the work has a strong North American bias in its materials and context, the approach does not recognise this particularity as potentially methodological.

Finally, the philosophical underpinnings of this work are strongly hermeneutic. Hermeneutic philosophy has emerged as one of the philosophical approaches capable of interacting meaningfully with subjectivity, particularity and diversity. Based on an approach which is essentially interpretive, its primary quest involves the search for meaning based on moments of encounter.

The seven chapters of this work divide themselves into three sections, based on three foundational hermeneutic concepts: ‘rehabilitation of prejudice’, ‘fusion of horizons’, and ‘in front of the text’. Drawing primarily on the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur, these three phases represent the essential movements of genuine
hermeneutic encounter: a recognition of history and tradition or, more simply, the past we bring to our understanding of the present; the moment of encounter or the moment of present life; and the thrust to the future, or, the way in which one is propelled forward as a result of how one assimilates the present. A full exposition of these concepts is presented in Chapter One.

Gadamer’s ‘rehabilitation of prejudice’ denies the claims of objective encounter and calls for the recognition that all action is formed and shaped by past experience. ‘Prejudice’, in this sense, is the inevitable pre-judgement every human being brings to his / her assimilation of the world. Far from being a condition to decry, Gadamer recognises it as the strength of experience and the value of tradition. The hermeneutic key is not to deny this past, but not to be enslaved by it either. Prejudice provides a necessary foundation but one which must always remain open to subversion and change through the process of experience.

In this sense, this work would be of little value without including its own exposition of prejudice. The first three chapters present these necessary foundations, without which the moment of encounter (in this case, the encounter between music and liturgy in the context of Post-Vatican II Ireland) would appear artificially abstract and void of roots.

Chapter One presents the prejudice of methodology. There is little doubt that an approach more dependent on musical analysis, for example, would yield a significantly different thesis. Method and discipline are essential prejudices in any research and are at least as influential in argument as substance and circumstance. Chapter One groups its primary disciplines and methodologies into four areas of discussion: hermeneutics, interpretive anthropology, rituals studies and liturgical theology. These are presented as a series of interlocking circles, informing the attitude taken to the moment of encounter.

Chapters Two and Three admit the prejudice of historical canon and source analysis. Historical attitudes towards, and descriptions of, the development of the relationship
between liturgy and music are viewed not as ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’ versions of the past, but rather as sources capable of revealing the most widely accepted canon of understanding surrounding our attitudes towards liturgy and music. Chapter Two traces a number of these major historical trends and the changing historical perception of this relationship with reference to two primary trends. The first involves the development of the Modern Liturgical Movement, and its interest in both liturgical and biblical history. The development of this movement provides an insight into the foundational attitudes and prejudices informing contemporary tensions and innovations in both music and liturgy.

The second area examined involves the historical research, which has been spawned in association with the conceptual world of ‘Celtic spirituality’. Of particular interest is that research which deals with the perceived historical development of Irish spirituality and ritual.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide a comprehensive historical overview of the growth of liturgy and music throughout Christianity, or even in Ireland. Through its examination of the Modern Liturgical Movement and contemporary attitudes towards ‘celtic spirituality’, it does, however, attempt to provide the historical perspective of these two trends. This exposition reveals something of the prejudices and traditions which had emerged in Catholic Christianity and in Catholic Ireland prior to the period under review.

The final ‘prejudice’ addressed in Section One, Chapter Three, is the prejudice of source documentation. Chapter Three provides a selective review of a number of conciliar and post-conciliar documents related to music and liturgy. The documents may be said to provide the prejudice of theory and its intention of influencing change. The documents provided those directives and structures according to which change was to occur. The selective nature of this section refers to the prejudice afforded music and the Irish context. In terms of music, it refers primarily to those liturgy documents which addressed issues of musical concern. In terms of the Irish context, its post-conciliar considerations are biased towards English language documentation, which had the greatest impact on
Ireland, or, to a lesser extent, on documentation translated into English, such as the *Universa Laus* document, translated into English by Paul Inwood and published in 1992.

In summary, the 'prejudices' exposed in the first three chapters involve the prejudice of method, historical perspective and sources. A full recognition and understanding of these prejudices form both the strength of a research perspective and the necessary foundation for the primary point of encounter.

Section Two, the 'fusions of horizons', forms this moment of encounter. The 'fusion of horizons' is a concept borrowed from Gadamer, signifying the moment when experience meets experience, creating a new moment of experience out of the encounter. The essential fusion explored here is the moment of encounter between the Irish Catholic Church and the liturgical music reforms of the Second Vatican Council. This moment of encounter took a variety of forms and continues to happen in this fourth decade since the council. While the period under primary examination here involves the first thirty years (1963-1993), reference is also made to more immediate developments where relevant.

The exposition of this moment of encounter is full of the complexities of its recent occurrence, its ongoing occurrence and the various levels at which it is happening. The moment of encounter continues to be both official as well as non-official and subject to the full spectrum of sanction and individual interpretation. For this reason, the discussion has been approached as a tapestry, with a number of perspectives suggested as forming part of the kaleidoscope of reaction and change. These perspectives are presented in Chapters Four and Five.

Chapter Four presents a representative selection of written records concerning the process of dissemination and assimilation in Ireland. These records are taken from five Irish journals or newsletters. The *Furrow* and *Doctrine and Life* are two journals which enjoyed unbroken publication throughout the period in question and are still in publication at the time of this research. Both were also established prior to the Council
and provide information on the pre-conciliar church in Ireland. While not specialist journals in liturgy or music, their editorial perspectives were knowledgeable and supportive of the importance of liturgy, and provided a continuous if occasional insight into the changing role of liturgy and music during this period. *New Liturgy* has also remained a continuous publication since its formation in post-conciliar Ireland. As a newsletter, it provides a more pragmatic perspective on events, structures, and personalities which have emerged in the liturgical and musical world of Post-Vatican II Ireland. Finally *Hosanna* and *Jubilus*, while of less continuous publication, were specialist journals, devoted to the consideration of liturgical music in Ireland.

The perspectives revealed through the review of these documents provide a spectrum of ‘official’, personal, and counter-official opinion. Its importance lies in its existence as written documentation of these positions and the light it sheds on this aspect of encounter.

Chapter Four attempts a review of a different but complimentary set of records. These records are two-fold. They involve non-written, ‘spoken’ interviews from people involved in the period of reform, as well as non-verbal ‘musical’ records, in the form of musical compositions. The field interviews conducted during the period of this research were directed towards two primary groups of people. The first group was directly involved in the creation of musical and liturgical infrastructures in Ireland. The second group consisted of composers who wrote music for this new context. One immediately obvious characteristic of this section involves the amount of overlap between the two categories. The second is my own reluctance to provide detailed commentary surrounding the interviews. With the exception of guiding biographical detail, the interviews are presented in significant detail with little paraphrasing. Similarly, the ‘discussion’ surrounding musical composition is not a discussion led by the interviewer, but by the interviewee, particularly when he / she is the composer. The spectrum of participation and observation is one which must be addressed in all aspects of field research and my decision to remove my own voice as much as possible from these interviews is not to propose a lack of involvement in the process, but a belief that an exploration of the
attitudes and motivations behind this period of growth is best served by a presentation of the interviews with as little ‘interpretation’ as possible. In other words, the approach here is not evaluative or analytical (unless the interviewee offers an evaluation or analysis) and is in some ways a reaction to what is perceived as excess commentary on liturgical music as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ in quality. Instead, it emphasises the importance of understanding why certain music was allowed to develop and why some music was accepted or not accepted during the period under discussion. It is suggested that an understanding of this context and motivation will bring us closer to the heart of the matter, which, in this case, involves a suggested attitude towards, or theology of music as ritual prayer. The attempted perspective is one of resonance rather than criticism, though critique of present practice may be implicit in the suggested consent of future directions. It involves an assimilation of attitudes and actions expressed in written documentation, oral interviews and musical composition and the use of an accumulated resonance of empathy to suggest a direction forward through theology.

It is this forward thrust which forms the final section of the work. Section Three (Chapters Six and Seven) refers to the motion ‘in front of the text’. In the hermeneutic enterprise, the importance of encounter does not reside primarily in itself but in its outcome. It suggests that all encounter propels us forward, ‘in front of the text’ to whatever has emerged or been shaped through the experience. Chapters Six and Seven attempt to articulate some of what is suggested as the potential in front of the encounter between music and liturgy.

This potential is developed from two perspectives. Chapter Six examines what it considers to be the most significant developments in ways of looking at liturgy and music as integrated aspects of a single phenomena. It identifies five primary categories. The first involves changing attitudes to both art and religion and new conceptual models which cultivate their shared characteristics rather than their disparities or expressive competitiveness. The second category explores the impact of culture on theology and the elevation of the expressive aspects of religion as primary agents of culture. The third
notes the reclamation of the conceptual worlds of ritual and symbol and the ways in which these have also been involved in reclaiming performance and the liturgical event as primary theological considerations. These are also linked with the fourth category of gender. The reclamation of performance has led to a concomitant re-evaluation of the performer or the embodied ritual agent. In turning the emphasis from the word to the action, from the cerebral to the embodied, it is inevitable that a discussion of music will also become a discussion of the musician. While it may be conceivable to discuss ‘music’ as a disembodied phenomena, it is more difficult to discuss musical behaviour, or ritual behaviour without reference to the agents of behaviour. Besides its primary remit of redressing gender constructs, gender studies has also been one of the key contributors to developing models of embodied behaviour.

Finally, the theoretical foundations of this suggested theological approach cannot be contextualised without reference to the major shift in theoretical models and methodologies brought about by the postmodern consciousness. This is addressed as the fifth and final category.

The purpose of this examination is to provide a theoretical foundation upon which the suggested theology of this work may be proposed. The proposed theology suggests that an understanding of liturgical music depends on an understanding of its ritual context. It further suggests that this understanding is best approached through participation in the ritual and deep, experiential knowledge of the development, form and purpose of Christian ritual. If this understanding is superficial, artlessly dogmatic or ritually ignorant, it will produce music inadequate to the depth of expression called for in ritual, doctrinally correct but ritually unsound, or aesthetically pleasing but ritually uninvolved. Each of these eventualities has happened and continues to happen in Post-Vatican II liturgy.

This work suggests that the pragmatic, musical realities of expertise and creative potential exist to create an adequate ritual music. What is lacking is theological conviction in its
value and power, as well as an articulated theology of music, capable of deeply informing the ritual event.

Chapter Six concludes by suggesting a five-fold mandate for the theological understanding of music as ritual. This mandate consists of a series of convictions which would inform both the action and belief of Christian ritual and, therefore, of Christian ritual music.

Firstly, Christian ritual has been traditionally referred to as 'liturgy'. The etymological connection between 'liturgy' and 'service', which is developed in this chapter, holds a key to the primary conviction that Christian liturgy exists as a service to the Christian community. This aspect of service forms the fundamental link between the life awareness of the ritual moment and the life-experience preceding and following the event. In other words, liturgy exists to service life. In this way, Christian ritual must be open to all those who wish access to this service. The mandate of service is, therefore, the mandate of hospitality. If music is a primary carrier of cultural attitudes, then it behoves music to carry the culture of service and the culture of hospitality. Christian ritual music must be non-elitist and welcoming of all valid liturgical expression. This is not the simple call for 'active participation' at any cost, such as has dogged the implementation process of musical reform since the council, but a genuine call to address diverse musical and cultural communities in ritual expression.

Christian ritual, as 'service' is called, not just to empower the community, but to claim a special role in empowering the dispossessed, the unvoiced and the unhoused. It admits to a prejudice of championship; championship of the poor, the weak and the disenfranchised. To do so musically is a powerful statement of ritual and life repossessing.

Two additional aspects of this mandate are also closely linked. A theology of music must recognise the ability of music to be creative and reflective of the creative, as well as being
a voice of prophecy in the world. The creative potential of music is perhaps one of the most impoverished aspects of contemporary reform, where creativity is trapped in the vice of liturgical ‘correctness’ (however limited the understanding of this position) and inadequate resources to support its growth. Unless the creative impulse is fostered in the church’s rituals, it is incapable of giving full expression to the creative force and magnitude of its God. Furthermore, it is incapable of one of the primary attributes of creative expression, the attribute of prophecy; the ability to look further and deeper, because of access to the imagination and the impossible, than any other human resource. A church incapable of imagining and creating has lost one of the primary access points to prayer.

Finally, this theological mandate ends with the conviction housed in the conceptual title of this work, *laus perennis.* Perpetual praise does not exist for its own sake but for the sake of keeping creation in constant relationship with the creator. This relationship is not arbitrary but rooted in love and the overwhelming need of love to be expressed. This is the heart of the Christian enterprise and places anything capable of this expression of relational love at the very epicentre of its existence. Drawing on the monastic imagination, which developed sung prayer as its primary means of expressing this tremendous and mystifying relationship, this chapter ends with the suggestion that music maintains the potential to once again house this call at the heart of Christianity, towards the expression of infinite, relational love.

Chapter Six, therefore, draws down the five mandates or convictions at the heart of the musical and ritual enterprise. Chapter Seven completes this work by suggesting ways in which the Irish experience can both contribute particular strengths to this journey, as well as answer to its own particular needs, based on its historical, cultural and musical context. Again, the conviction that any theory must be grounded in the reality of particular circumstance is reiterated. The chapter examines the contemporary manifestations of Catholicism and Catholic liturgy in Ireland, contemporary theological and musical developments, as well as the impact of its ritual history. It concludes with the suggestion
that this reflection has two potential impacts. One involves the continued development of
liturgy and liturgical music in Irish Catholicism. The second involves the potential of any
particular community to provide a model for the greater community of the Christian
ideal, conceptually conceived as the Body of Christ.

Two final points of clarification will conclude these introductory remarks. Firstly, this
work is not conceived with an ecumenical perspective, in the Christian sense of the
expression. This is the case for a number of reasons. Firstly, in its emphasis on
particularity, it recognises the particular fabric and peculiarity of the Catholic enterprise,
no more so than in its Irish manifestations. Again, this recognition is not isolationist but
recognises that the ‘Christian’ experience is not a homogeneous one and that a
recognition of difference is not a call for segregation but a celebration of diversity.

Secondly, the perspective of ritual studies has catapulted the call for dialogue beyond the
Christian limitations of ecumenism to include dialogue with all ritual religious
expressions. In this sense, the work is more accurately positioned within the world of
Inter-Faith dialogue than Christian ecumenical dialogue.

Finally, the particular history of Irish Christianity is a history of splintered and conflict -
driven relationship. It is ironic that the joint document of the Catholic Bishops’
Conferences of England & Wales, Ireland and Scotland, One Bread, One Body, should be
a document which re-enforces the separate liturgical lives of the Christian Eucharist in its
various Catholic, Reformed and Eastern manifestations. While the ecumenical agenda is
avowedly central to the contemporary Irish church, signs of its realisation are not always
encouraging. The reluctance of the archbishop of Dublin, for example, to accept an
invitation from Dean McCarthy to facilitate the regular celebration of the Roman Catholic
Mass in St. Patrick’s Cathedral (see the Irish Times, December 24th, 1999) is indicative of
the possibility that the Irish Catholic Church may be more in need of continued
ecumenical healing than it is in a strong position to contribute to it.
Finally, this work makes frequent reference to the concepts of ‘liturgical music’ and (Christian) ‘ritual music’. While the two terms are relatively close in meaning, they are not used interchangeably. The choice of terminology has a number of considerations in mind. Firstly, the concept of (Christian) ‘ritual music’ is used in the sense developed in the *Universa Laus* document, Art. 1.3 (Duchesneau and Veuthey, trans. Inwood, 1992). As this is a relatively recent development, historical references which pre-date this usage usually refer to the terminology of the time which was most frequently ‘liturgical music’. The choice of terminology is, however, also dependent on the point being emphasised. If the concept of service, for example, forms an important aspect of the reference, the term chosen will be ‘liturgical music’. If the reference is more anthropological or cross-cultural, ‘ritual music’ will be employed. The approach of this work is not to eliminate one term or the other but to develop dual terminology to support nuances of meaning.

In his 1994 publication, *Dreamtime*, John Moriarty reflects on the impact of Christianity, with particular reference to the Good Friday event. In his reflection entitled ‘Passover’ he notes that the Jesus-experience of Good Friday caused the Western consciousness to be re-housed; to move from metaphysics to metanoesis; to move beyond the mind. The new house, into which ‘European philosophy’ moved, was the house of ‘a new song’ (p.141, Moriarty, 1994).

The continued resistance to this move is perhaps more obvious than its occurrence. Leaving the house of the mind to enter the house of the song is an ongoing process, assisted by new understandings of the mind, its limitations and its strengths as well as the rediscovery of song and the deep value of its singing. If the theology of the last millennium has been the theology of the mind, it is possible that the theology of the next will be the theology of the song.
Part One

The Rehabilitation of Prejudice

Chapter One: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

Introduction
It is within the shadow of its namesake, Hermes, messenger and herald of the gods, that the critical eye of hermeneutics has put question to the assumption that the messenger is innocent of involvement with the message. Just as the spoken or sung is intimately related to the speaker or singer, so too is the written, to the writer. To articulate is to interpret.

The interpretive process is at the heart of this research endeavour. Of primary importance is a consideration of the relationship between the researcher and the field of inquiry. What paradigm is drawn upon and how does the nature and identity of this relationship affect the research? Which criteria inform the framework within which this relationship may be explored?

For a practicing Roman Catholic researching liturgical music reform in Ireland since the Second Vatican Council, these are not only theoretical considerations, but central to the question of establishing a paradigm out of which to speak to this field of inquiry and a methodology capable of this implementation. Is it possible to achieve a scholarly perspective from a position of practicing faith? Is objectivity, distancing, lack of prejudice, and critical insight possible or desirable?

The following chapter builds a multi-faceted, layered paradigm of critical investigation, capable, it suggests, of absorbing and exploiting a faith position as an aspect of the interpretive process. This model consists of four primary perspectives. In the first instance, the philosophical underpinnings of the hermeneutic tradition will be suggested an informing a meaning-centred, interpretive approach. This will look, with particular reference, to the contributions of Heidegger, Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur. This philosophical position points a convenient interpretive methodological approach.
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The field of hermeneutic philosophical endeavour has concerned itself, largely, with the exploration of text and narrative interpretation. While many disciplines have looked to hermeneutics for a philosophical context, interpretive anthropology has pushed the linguistic and cognitive preoccupation to include interpretation of the non-discursive and the performative. Three theories from interpretive anthropology will be explored, as will the importance of their contribution to the theory and method of this research: an interpretive theory of culture, symbol and performance. These will draw primarily on the respective contributions of Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner and Edward Schiefflin. It will be suggested that while much performance and practice theory has challenged the emphasis placed on meaning in ritual (a meaning which was, primarily, of textual derivation), this does not present a central challenge to the hermeneutic structure; it simply locates meaning and interpretation in the performance itself and not in a cultural or symbolic ‘interpretation’.

Hermeneutic philosophy and interpretive anthropology provide philosophical and interpretive underpinnings. Both suggest that music does not exist in isolation, and that any attempt to understand or interpret it must be cognisant of context.

Two such contexts are, therefore, suggested as further layers in this framework. Firstly, the context of ritual as a cross-cultural phenomena, within which music may act, will be explored with reference to the insights of ritual studies, and particular reference to the work of Ronald Grimes.

Finally, it is recognised the Roman Catholic liturgy provides the particular ritual context of this endeavour. The context of liturgical theology will provide this final frame of reference. The work of Louis-Marie Chauvet, particularly as it relates to ritual and symbol, will form a central aspect of this ‘layer’.
The theoretical framework, within which this research will proceed, is, therefore, created through the layered amalgamation of four, interlocking perspectives: hermeneutic philosophy, interpretive anthropology, ritual studies and liturgical theology.

It is worth noting at the outset that none of these four perspectives emerge directly from musical considerations; nor are they derived from theoretical or analytical models associated with historical musicology. Each, however, has contributed decisively to musical discourse through, for example, musical hermeneutics, ethnomusicology, and the reflections of ritual studies and liturgical theology on the musical aspect of ritual and / or liturgy (though, as shall be suggested, these disciplines remain largely dominated by textual interpretation).

This observation also yields to a central characteristic of the research perspective: at no time is music seen as an entity or artifact, independent of its liturgical context. If, at times, this context seems to gain dominance over musical considerations, it is because such considerations exist within, and are expressly at the service of, this same context. This in no way eliminates the tensions created by the not always harmonious relationship between the two, but it does, at least, position the perspective of the argument.

Each of these four suggested frameworks also offers a variety of methodological tools. The research will draw from this methodological spectrum, making use of historical documents, textual interpretation, audio and visual data, qualitative interviews, participant observation, sampling and selecting, and critical creativity.

In doing so, it will attempt the creation of a theory and methodology capable of addressing the particular challenges presented by both the relationship of the researcher to the researched and by the nature of the content itself. It is, therefore, within a layered paradigm, addressing both form and matter, that this research will present.
The Hermeneutic Perspective

Interpretation and understanding are at the heart of the hermeneutic enterprise. In disciplines as wide-ranging as philosophy, literary criticism, art criticism, natural and social sciences, jurisprudence, psychoanalysis, feminist theory, anthropology and theology, the question of interpretation has formed the critical point of departure in questions of truth and meaning. In The Hermeneutic Tradition: From Ast to Ricoeur, editors Gayle L. Ormiston and Alan D. Schrift suggest that it is both the erosion and the pursuit of 'truth', which drives the hermeneutic endeavour:

If there are only interpretations ... of interpretations, then the systematic pursuit of 'truth' – 'truth' as the object of inquiry – or the search for axiological, epistemological and metaphysical foundations, will never be brought to completion. Is this not a central consequence of the hermeneutic circle, or, at the very least, of the chain of discourses and interpretations which identify and determine the 'hermeneutic circle. (p.3, Ormiston and Schrift, 1990)

In their treatment of the origins of contemporary hermeneutics, Ormiston and Schrift suggest that the modern development of the term 'hermeneutic' may be attributed to Friedrich D. E. Schleiermacher and Wilhelm Dilthey. Schleiermacher is noted for the first attempt to generate a general methodology for hermeneutics, following in the footsteps of writers such as Friedrich Ast, who saw their task as the development of specific interpretive methods, depending on the text to be interpreted. Scripture, for example, was seen to require a biblical hermeneutic, while literary texts required a philological one. Schleiermacher drew on Ast’s work in philology to develop the concept of the hermeneutic circle. By looking to the phenomenon of understanding itself, Schleiermacher sought to articulate general, interpretive techniques, which would operate effectively across all interpretive endeavours. The shared roots of biblical exegesis and hermeneutic interpretation are significant in the adaptation of a hermeneutic approach to explore issues of liturgy and music and a suggested emerging theology of music. Like Schleiermacher, Dilthey saw hermeneutics as the development of a methodology, capable of providing interpretive tools for all recorded expression. He also concurred with Schleiermacher in the view that the primary form of such expression was language.
Dilthey, however, wished to push the borders of the discipline to include a wider epistemology, capable of providing a philosophical framework for all the human sciences (Geisteswissenschaften), comparable with the perceived foundation provided the natural sciences (Naturwissenschaften) by the scientific method. For Dilthey, the central aspect of this methodology, capable of addressing the dilemma of historical knowledge; of the possibility of the acquisition of knowledge from subjective creation, was the process of understanding. Just as the natural sciences looked to explanation for its methodology, so too could the human sciences develop a methodology of understanding, based on textual interpretation.

The fundamental contribution of Martin Heidegger to this development was to shift the emphasis from an examination of human or natural sciences, to an examination of the understanding and interpretation of being itself. In his work on Gadamer’s Truth and Method, Joel C. Weinsheimer notes that, ‘All understanding is self-understanding – this is Heidegger’s version of the hermeneutic circle’ (p.166, Weinsheimer, 1985). Heidegger suggests that understanding is a primordial condition of being (Dasein) and that interpretation was ultimately ontological rather than epistemological. While Heidegger himself ceased to refer to his work as hermeneutical after the publication of Being and Time, his repositioning of hermeneutics onto the ontological stage provided a crucial point of departure for his student, Hans-Georg Gadamer.

In her compelling study of Gadamer’s treatment of tradition and understanding, Georgia Warnke suggests that Gadamer’s work forms the foundation of current thought concerning the limits of the philosophical quest:

In recent years, there has been a spate of philosophical books on the limits of various philosophical approaches ... from deconstructionist studies of the self-deception involved in claims to textual understanding, to historicist accounts of scientific research, the emphasis has been on our limits of our knowledge of texts, nature, ourselves and the world ... Gadamer’s work might be said to serve as the basis for the current focus on limits ... culminating in his magnum opus, Truth and Method, his concern has been to overcome the positivistic hubris of assuming
that we can develop an ‘objective’ knowledge of the phenomena with which we are concerned. (p.1, Warnke, 1987)

Gadamer’s suggestion concerning the fallacy of objectivity is closely related to his concept of alienation. Two examples of alienation – aesthetic and historical – are presented in his essay on ‘The Universality of the Hermeneutical Problem’ published in 1976. Gadamer suggests that the development of aesthetic taste depends on holding one’s self at a distance from a more immediate artistic experience; that aesthetic consciousness is a secondary development, created at a remove from a relationship with art which is much more immediate and intimate. He suggests that, ‘when we judge a work of art on the basis of its aesthetic quality, something that is really much more intimately familiar to us is lost’ (p.148, Ormiston and Schrift, 1990).

In the same way, the objectification of history, the ‘...holding ourselves at a critical distance from witnesses to past life’ (p.148, Ormiston and Schrift, 1990), which denies the personal and political play of historicity, likewise alienates us from our connection with the past and its connection with the present.

Gadamer uses his study of aesthetics and history to suggest that this same process occurs in the natural sciences. Drawing on the example of statistics, he suggests that:

...what is established by statistics seems to be a language of facts, but which questions these facts answer and which facts would begin to speak if other questions were asked, are hermeneutical questions. (p. 153, Ormiston and Schrift, 1990)

Finally, Gadamer suggests that all these examples of alienation through the false application of a created objectivity, must lead us to question the very existence of an independent object:
... the formulation ‘I and thou’ already betrays an enormous alienation. There is nothing like an ‘I and thou’ at all – there is neither the I nor the thou as isolated, substantial realities ... I may say ‘thou’ and I may refer to myself over and against a thou, but a common understanding [Verständigung] always precedes these situations. (p.150, Ormiston and Schrift, 1990)

Overcoming this alienation and false objectivity is at the heart of Gadamer’s ‘fusion of horizons’. For Gadamer, this fusion is the admission that there can be no meaning apart from understanding; that meaning only occurs when a text has been integrated through the process of understanding and interaction. This fusion does not imply an absolute identification of a text with its interpretation; it does, however, suggest that understanding of this text can only be achieved through the process of interpretation. In this way, understanding must involve participation. Gadamer draws on the example of drama to illustrate his point. Noting that a drama must be realised in order to exist, he also notes that each realisation will differ from the other, and that each representation will have a different effect on different people viewing or participating in the drama. The drama can, therefore, not be said to have an objective existence, but only that existence provided by representation, interpretation and understanding. The fusion of horizons refers to this same mediation of meaning.

Gadamer suggests that a full expression of this position involves the rehabilitation of both prejudice and tradition. Gadamer places the responsibility for the negative attitude towards these concepts, squarely in the lap of the Enlightenment, suggesting that the Enlightenment equated prejudice and tradition with a refusal to engage with reason, or, if indeed engaged, the use of reason in a unmethodical way. Thus, reason and method were lined up against prejudice and tradition.

Gadamer’s process of reclamation begins with the reminder that prejudice (Vorurteil) is, essentially, the inevitable pre-judgement we bring to every encounter. This prejudice may be confirmed, challenged or refuted, but to simply deny its existence or suggest that this pre-judgement is always incorrect and negative, is both foolish and inaccurate:
‘to assume that all prejudices are illegitimate and misleading as the Enlightenment does is, in Gadamer’s view, simply a ‘prejudice against prejudice’ (p.76, Warnke, 1987).

Far from actually closing the mind to experience and interpretation, Gadamer suggests that prejudice is exactly that which allows us an openness to the world and ‘...constitute(s) the initial directedness of our whole ability to experience’ (p.152, Ormiston and Schrift, 1990). Pre-judgement, formed before consciousness and articulation occur, provides the historical and cultural context within which experience can situate itself and with or against which it can act.

In the same way, Gadamer suggests all experience is located in history and, therefore, within tradition. This same historical reality which provides our prejudice, provides a tradition within which experience locates itself. By locating reason itself within the context of prejudice and tradition, Weinsheimer suggests that Gadamer positions reason also within the interpretive process:

Reason is not absolute and infinite. It is not its own master. Rather reason is historical: and it cannot wholly free itself from prejudice, tradition and the concrete conditions in which it operates because it cannot escape its history. (p.169, Weinsheimer, 1985)

Gadamer’s radical rehabilitation of prejudice and tradition is not without its critics. The primary arguments raised against this view are that prejudice simply lapses into a glorification of subjectivity and the adherence to tradition, into conservatism. A brief examination of two philosophical debates between Gadamer and Emilio Betti concerning subjectivity, and Gadamer and Jürgen Habermas on tradition and the critique of ideology, will illustrate both these concerns, as well as Gadamer’s refutation.

Betti, an Italian jurist and legal historian, objected to Gadamer’s dismissal of objectivity. The constant insertion of the subject into the hermeneutical circle, he suggested, led to an
inevitable subjectivism. Such relativism weakened the ability of hermeneutics to delineate between correct and incorrect interpretations.

Gadamer's reply to Betti's accusations is twofold. Firstly, he noted, as he did consistently throughout his life, that his aim was not the creation of a new methodology or a prescriptive approach to hermeneutics. Rather, his work was in the realm of 'philosophical hermeneutics' and therefore descriptive by nature, drawing on approach rather than method. His primary aim was not to create a universal method for the exploration of understanding but, rather to explore the condition within which understanding occurs.

To the charge of subjectivism, Gadamer refers once more to the false dicotomy this dualistic approach creates between the subject and the object. Rather than viewing subject and answer as two autonomous entities, Gadamer suggests that they are relational and dialogic, as in the relationship between a question and answer, both of which unfold within the context of history and time.

The charge of dogmatism leveled by Habermas concerns what Habermas viewed as Gadamer's slavish adherence to tradition. Habermas' emphasis on the critical function of interpretation suggests that Gadamer's view failed to recognise that tradition was open to indoctrination and the powers of control and domination and should, therefore, not be viewed as authoritative or normative. This same suspicion of ideology also noted that language itself could be used as a tool of domination and therefore rejected Gadamer's suggestion that language provided a universal medium of understanding and interpretation.

Gadamer consistently refused the charge of a passive attitude towards or acceptance of tradition. While he suggested that we must always be open to tradition, in order to understand it, this does not necessarily commute to an unconditional acceptance of its unfolding. Indeed, the very kernel of hermeneutic thought, rejecting as it does
objectification and alienation, could only consider such a static acceptance of tradition as
smacking of this same objectivism. Gadamer concludes that Habermas's position, which
suggests that '...authority is always authoritarian and that emancipation will come
through critical reflection appear dogmatic' (p.22, Orminston and Schrift, 1990). In his
essay, 'Reply to my Critics', published in 1971 as part of a volume entitled Hermeneutics
and the Critique of Ideology, Gadamer concluded the discussion by noting that:

Reflection which employs a philosophical hermeneutic would generally be critical
in that it uncovers the naïve objectivism within which historical sciences, taking
their bearings from the self-understanding of the natural sciences, are trapped.
(p.276, Orminston and Schrift, 1990)

Warnke concludes her study by suggesting that a simplistic interpretation of Gadamer's
position as a rejection of reason, on the one hand, or an acceptance of the norms of
tradition on the other would be to misinterpret the stance. Gadamer's contribution
involves, not the rejection of reason, but the recognition that reason is embedded in
cultural, linguistic and historical processes of interpretation and understanding. Gadamer
positions understanding firmly within the process of dialogue, not as an either / or, but as
a fusion of text and interpretation. Understanding Gadamer involves walking the middle
road. It involves a recognition that we are conditioned and prejudiced and that we bring
this inheritance, along with our ability to critique it, to every experience. Indeed, it is the
radical recognition of this inheritance which may provide a position of strength from
which to engage this critique.

One of the most radical claims of Gadamer's hermeneutic philosophy involves his
concept of truth. For Gadamer, the dialogue process, the fusion of horizons, is the process
of interpretation and understanding within which truth-claims may be made. The
possibility of locating truth within the interpretive process of texts or text analogues was
a central tenet of Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutic.
Truth claims are not generated from an absolute position but from a two-fold process of engagement with the text. The first involves a position of humility concerning the adequacy of our prejudice. This position involves a willingness to engage with the hermeneutic circle of anticipation, projected meaning and revision:

... one has to assume that a text has something to teach one and is a better authority on the subject — matter at issue than oneself ... a relative independence from the effects of one's own initial prejudice is possible only under the assumption that the text has the authority to challenge the prejudice. (p.86-87, Warnke, 1987)

The second involves another of Gadamer's central tenets; the belief that all understandings is primarily a process of consensus. Gadamer's statement that hermeneutics ultimately involves the art of agreement contains his most radical view on the potential of a fusion of horizons to invoke the truth which emerges from consensus. The closest human understanding may come to truth is through the process of interpretive interaction, cognisant of its origins, aware of its context, and willing to broaden the horizons of both.

Gadamer's exposition of this position consistently rejected the development or articulation of a formal methodology. Suspicious of what he viewed as the overemphasis on methodology by his hermeneutic predecessors, Gadamer also suggested that the process of understanding must always, to a certain extent, deny the rigid claims of method. In Truth and Method he notes that:

The hermeneutic phenomenon is basically not a problem of method at all. It is not concerned with a method of understanding, by means of which texts are subjected to the scientific investigation like all other objects of experience ... It is concerned to seek that experience of truth that transcends the sphere of the control of scientific method wherever it is to be found and to inquire into its legitimacy. (pp.198-99, Ormiston and Schrift, 1990)
Gadamer notes further that it is not method, ultimately, which produces scholarship. Perfect application of methodology, he reminds, can yield nothing by way of knowledge. The decisive function of the scholar, he suggests, is not method but imagination (Phantasie). Imagination serves the hermeneutic function by positing the questionable, the critical, the possible.

Weinsheimer notes that Gadamer views this lack of method as not only a recognition of the inconsistencies of understanding but an opportunity to recognise the many other ways in which interpretation is achieved:

There is ultimately no method of understanding, no formulizable system of universal rules which if rigorously applied could prevent misunderstanding, guarantee objectivity, or obviate the ad hoc guesses, premonitions, and projections of meaning that continue to mark the historicity of understanding. Nor is this merely a deficiency. (p.164, Weinsheimer, 1985)

No philosopher has contributed more to pushing the boundaries of Gadamer’s hermeneutic thought than Paul Ricoeur. In his study on Christian Hermeneutics, James Fodor notes that Ricoeur’s intellectual exploration has spanned the territories of phenomenology, existentialism, psychoanalysis, structuralism, anthropology, theology, hermeneutics, linguistics, political, social, and literary theory (Fodor, 1995).

One of Ricoeur’s primary contribution to this exploration involved an attempt to address the debate concerning hermeneutics, on the one hand, and a critique of ideology on the other. Ricoeur suggested that, from the outset, the alternative of a hermeneutical or a critical consciousness must itself be challenged, rejected as an alternative and remodeled, itself according to a certain fusion of horizons.

While Ricoeur admits that hermeneutics has always expressed the desire to engage with critical inquiry, he also suggests that it has, to an extent, reneged on this desire by
rejecting alienation and distanciation. In *Hermeneutics and the Critique of Ideology* (1973), Ricoeur posits a rephrasing of the hermeneutic point of departure:

Would it not be appropriate to shift the initial locus of the hermeneutical question, to reformulate the question in such a way that a certain dialectic between the experience of belonging and alienating distanciation becomes the mainspring, the key to the inner life of hermeneutics? (p.323-324, Ormiston, Schrift, 1990)

Ricoeur suggests that this distanciation may be achieved through, for example, the process of writing. The fixation of a text, through writing, also allows for a level of autonomy of the text from the writer. In other words, Ricoeur recognises the intimacy of the writer, the reader, and the written, on which Gadamer insists, but he also recognises a certain distanciation of the text from both the writer and the reader.

Of central importance to both Gadamer and Ricoeur is not that which is hidden within the text, sought by early hermeneutic methods, but rather, that which Gadamer refers to as the matter of the text, and which Ricoeur describes as the world unfolding in front of the text, the world given potential through the process of interpretation. This constant unfolding mitigates against any given reality, and renders the text open-ended and available to critique.

In this sense, Ricoeur suggests that subjectivity has no place:

To understand is not to project oneself into the text but to expose oneself to it: it is to receive a self enlarged by the appropriation of the proposed worlds into which interpretation unfolds (p.327, Ormiston and Schrift, 1990)

Ricoeur concludes his defense by suggesting that critique is, itself, also a tradition: ‘I would even say that it plunges into the most impressive tradition, that of liberating acts, of the Exodus and the Resurrection’ (p.332, Ormiston and Schrift, 1990).
Both Gadamer and Ricoeur have concerned themselves with the application of hermeneutic principles to religion and theology. In a series of essays entitled *The Relevance of the Beautiful and Other Essays*, Gadamer addresses the religious experience in the essay ‘Aesthetic and Religious Experience’. Consistent with his general hermeneutical approach, Gadamer locates his position within the framework of language: ‘Like all other kinds of experience, aesthetic and religious experience seeks expression in language’ (p.140, Gadamer, 1985). He notes that this is particularly true of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, taking a holy book, granted canonical authority, as its prime source. It is this investment of scripture with divine authority which, Gadamer, suggests, separates it from purely aesthetic expression. The authority in the aesthetic text may be seen to derive from the act of writing, while the authority in the religious text derives from revelation.

Gadamer uses this same position to develop what he suggests is a religious theory of symbol and sign. While symbol, he suggests, is given precedence in the theory of art and in aesthetic expression, his goal is to reclaim the theological value of sign, not in the semiotic sense of a signifier, but in the theological sense of the revealed. Scripture, while highly symbolic, becomes revealed text only when its truth is revealed as a sign to a believer. Gadamer suggests that it is the understanding of text and art as sign, which has allowed Christianity to integrate the aesthetic arts into its worship practices:

> Without introducing the concept of sign, we cannot properly describe the real difference between poetic and religious speech as it has taken shape in the course of Christian history. (p.152, Gadamer, 1985)

The Christian integration of the arts involved a principle of art serving faith, of the symbolic serving the sign, and of the aesthetic, the religious expression. In the same way, Gadamer notes that:

> …the art of music played a significant role in Christian ritual – as a part of the liturgy itself, as an expression and affirmation of the congregation, whether in the sung mass and its increasingly elaborate development, or in the more heartfelt
form of the rather ponderous congregational chorales of the Protestant service. (p.152-153, Gadamer, 1985)

Gadamer’s description, which notes Christianity’s acceptance of the symbolic or the aesthetic only in so far as it ‘speaks to me as a sign rather than a symbolic form of recognition’ (p.153, Gadamer, 1985), provides an important point of departure for any attempt at formulating a theology of the arts in liturgy.

In his exploration of Christian Hermeneutics and the work of Paul Ricoeur, James Fodor notes the consistent Socratic framework within which Ricoeur worked; one which insisted on a balance between critical skepticism, on the one hand, and doctrinal or dogmatic rigidity on the other. Pushing Gadamer’s fusion of horizons to their limit, he suggested that Christian hermeneutics involved a constant openness to dialogue with God; an openness, which mitigated against dogmatic adherence to tradition, but which also existed within the framework of that same Christian inheritance. The human expression of this divine dialogue is, of its essence, liturgical:

If the community of God’s people is to maintain itself in the truth (that is, escape the pressures of its own discourse to close in upon itself) it must surrender its speech to and thus derive the power of its language from that dialogue with the God of Abraham and Jesus. Truth, in short, has a certain liturgical dimension. (p.42, Fodor, 1995)

This same openness insisted upon a recognition of a plurality of expressive style and genre, as well as a plurality of legitimate voices, engaged in this dialogue:

The plurality of style and genre in Scripture models not only the rich plurality of God’s address, but the collaborative nature of the enterprise that speaking of God can and must be among God’s people … theologians need to resist the temptation to view their own mode of discourse as something to which other people’s speech must conform. (p 43, Fodor, 1995)
Ricoeur’s Christian hermeneutics also displays a pastoral character in his insistence on Gadamer’s notion of the matter of the text; not, that which is behind the text, but that which is in front of it and released by interaction with it. In his treatment of Ricoeur in *New Horizons in Hermeneutics*, Anthony C. Thiselton notes that,

> What is important for hermeneutics is how text impinges on readers: what processes they set in motion, and whether the processes are valid. (p.5, Thiselton, 1992)

Thiselton notes that both this pastoral dimension and the validity of a spectrum of voices and readers is at the heart of Christian hermeneutic application in, for example, liberation hermeneutics. Thiselton notes the metaphor of a tree, used by Leonardo and Clodovis Boff, to illustrate the spectrum of voices, called to engage, from the branches of the trees, representing professional theologians, to the trunk (priests and pastoral ministers), and to the roots hidden beneath the soil, which hold the whole tree in place and which represent the thousands living in faith and speaking through base communities.

Hermeneutic thought can be seen to address issues of method, the arts, Christianity and liturgy. What can these approaches, therefore, contribute to the nature and content of this research concerning the position of Liturgical Music in Ireland since the Second Vatican Council? This question will be addressed, first by looking to a hermeneutic approach to the form this research will espouse and, secondly, to the development of a hermeneutic attitude to the matter of inquiry.

Four pertinent points may be suggested regarding a hermeneutic approach to the research form adopted. Firstly, a hermeneutic approach disavows the necessity for an apologetic of involvement by disavowing the possibility of absolute objectivity. The researcher’s engagement with the researched material is taken not only as inevitable but as advantageous; advantageous in so far as a knowledge of tradition may be put to the service of the enterprise. In other words, the inevitable prejudice brought to bear on the subject matter by a researcher immersed by tradition in a Roman Catholic faith and
practice, may serve as a contextual point of departure from which the topic of inquiry may be addressed. This context may be affirmed, challenged or refuted by the research but is, nevertheless, intrinsic to it.

A hermeneutic approach also makes two additional demands on the researcher. Firstly, in the tradition of Gadamer and Ricoeur, it insists on that prejudice and tradition standing humbly in the face of the inquiry act, on the assumption that that act, if engaged with in the hermeneutic spirit, has something to teach and to offer. Secondly, it positions the object of research not in the discovery or uncovering of something hidden in the text or filed of inquiry, but rather of releasing the real ‘matter’ of the text, which is the process set in motion by the fusion of the researcher with the inquiry. As Chapter Six and Seven of this work suggest, the purpose of this research is not solely to expound on a historical occurrence but to contribute to the development of an ongoing theology and liturgy; to contribute, as it were, to that which is ‘in front of’ the field of inquiry and only apparent from the perspective of interaction and interpretation.

The second contribution of the hermeneutic approach involves the role of critique in any effort at scholarly inquiry. Ricueor’s insistence on the necessity of placing critique at the heart of the hermeneutic enterprise causes the hermeneutic question to not only concern itself with a thrust towards understanding, but to also engage with that which is misunderstood, not understood, or suspicious of an agreed consensus. This research will present a number of perspectives, many of which appear diametrically opposed; some of which will simply be fragmented from a normative tradition. A critical approach will insist on all positions being given voice and resist any attempt to fashion them into a coherent, unified speaking. If the contemporary world of liturgical music is a splintered one, then such an approach must allow voice to these various genres and styles.

The third point concerns method itself. Looking to Gadamer for an aspect of this research’s methodology might seem particularly ironic, given his criticism of the methodological pursuits of his hermeneutic predecessors, and his own insistence that the
hermeneutic question was not primarily a question of method. It is, however, precisely because of this that his thoughts may contribute to this enterprise. Given that the heart of the inquiry involves the musical expression of communal Christian prayer, the spectre of faith and faith expression immediately rears its head. What kind of methodology can encompass the unencompassable; can methodologise that which is beyond method? Precisely an attitude to method which locates imagination at the heart of the enterprise. Hermeneutic philosophy does not dispose of method, it simply insists that it must be at the service of a larger quest. A methodology which includes a hermeneutic attitude, therefore, includes the acceptance of what Fodor refers to as an element of the ‘out of control’ (p.43, Fodor, 1995). In this chapter’s exploration of ritual studies, it will note Grimes critique of definition and his attempt to formulate a ‘soft’ definition of ritual (Grimes, 1995). In the same way, a hermeneutic approach allows us to suggest a ‘soft’ approach to methodology.

Finally, concerning form, the inclusion of a hermeneutic approach includes a suspicion of an authoritative, objective voice, and insists upon the recognition of a pluriformity of voices. This attitude is pertinent to the exposition of material in Chapters Three, Four, and Five, which attempt to describe the articulation, dissemination and implementation of the liturgical music reforms of Vatican II in Ireland. These chapters present a collage of voices, from the conciliar documents themselves, to the articulation of the reform in a number of Irish journals, as well as the voices of musicians, liturgists, journalists, theologians and worshippers, in the form of interviews conducted for this research. These chapters attempt a descriptive account of the fusion of many voices, readers and perspectives with the text of reform and liturgical music change. No single voice is given authority over another.

This does not, however, suggest that an attitude of relativism be accepted as normative to this research. On the contrary, the radical truth-claim of hermeneutics suggests that it is precisely through this very openness to process that we come closest to true understanding and agreement. This process, therefore, behooves us to continue the search
beyond the text, beyond the collage, and to search out an articulation of this truth-claim, in this case drawing on an emergent theology of music and its manifestation in Ireland, such as Chapters Six and Seven will attempt.

Turning then to matter, it is possible to view a hermeneutic approach as conducive not only to the nature of this research, but also to its content. Three points of resonance may be suggested.

The hermeneutic search for truth and its articulation resonates strongly with Christianity’s search for faith and its articulation in liturgy. Secondly, Christian theology has always existed in the spectrum of tradition and criticism, on the one hand, looking to tradition while, on the other, engaging to various degrees at various historical moments with a critique of this tradition. In the same way, ritual practice expresses itself through both memory and moment; through deep memory of the past, and the ability to spontaneously subvert that tradition. The hermeneutic approach locates itself within this same tension. Finally, the Christian tradition is an eschatological one, driven by a belief that all life and life expression is at the service of the ultimate unity of the mystical body. The hermeneutic thrust towards consensus in understanding and truth may provide a framework within which the contribution of music to this destination may be explored.

While the hermeneutic approach may therefore be considered a contributing factor to the expression of this research inquiry, it is necessary to also mention the limits of its contribution and look to other areas to compliment this contribution.

It must be conceded that the primary thrust, vocabulary and interest of the hermeneutic approach described thus far is fundamentally linguistic. Both Gadamer and Ricoeur saw language as the primary vehicle of interpretation and understanding. Fodor notes that, while Ricoeur insisted on language as its point of departure, he did attempt to push hermeneutics beyond the consideration of only the written text.
Through a sophisticated analysis of the processes of textual inscription, transmission and reception – combined with his subtle dialectic of distanciation and appropriation – Ricoeur attempted to expand the category of text beyond the field of written work to the field of human action in its entirety. (p.119, Fodor, 1995)

Thiselton notes, however, that even postmodern hermeneutics, when engaging beyond the written text, engages primarily with the oral text, or the speech-act. While textual hermeneutics do not exclude music as a form of discourse, the question must be asked concerning the limits, which its own grammatology imposes on it. In other words, does the semantic field of text, word, narrative, speech, and the written, necessarily delimit the contribution such a discipline can make to the non-linguistic or the non-narrative? What frame of reference may we look to in order to express the pre-linguistic, the performative or the non-linguistic event? Can such a framework also allow for the incorporation of the researcher into the field of inquiry?

To answer these questions, this research methodology suggests the layering of three additional perspectives onto the hermeneutic approach: interpretive anthropology, with particularly reference to frames of cultural, symbolic and performance practice interpretation, as well as theories of symbol and rite from ritual studies and liturgical theology.

**Interpretive Anthropology**

While the hermeneutic approach continues to play a decisive role in contemporary scholarship, the linguistic premise of this approach has witnessed considerable erosion. The work of Ferdinand de Saussure, among others, laid the foundation for a radical reconsideration of language, one which was not only to impact strongly on linguistics, philosophy and literary theory, but most pertinently on anthropology and sociology.

Central to Saussure’s approach was the questioning of language as a non-partisan system, immune to political manipulation and agenda. The search for an original or ‘Ur’
language, coupled with its implicit agenda of a hierarchy of language based on a language’s closeness to this original form was, Saussure suggested, implicitly linked with nationalistic agendas of racial superiority.

Saussure’s most radical contribution to a contemporary approach to language, however, lies in his suggestion that words do not relate primarily to the world they seek to represent but rather to each other within the code of language itself. Meaning, therefore, must be sought, firstly, in an understanding of a sign (in this case, the word) within its relationship to its code of signification. Only within this context, can we begin to understand the relationship of the sign to that which it signifies. In Re-Reading Saussure: The Dynamics of Signs in Social Life, Paul J. Thibault notes that, for Saussure:

...the description of linguistic phenomena must include a statement about the relations that link the explanation to the context(s) in which the phenomena occur. Such theory rejects the assumption, that there are universal criteria and descriptive formalisms that necessarily apply to all language systems. Instead, it assumes that each system defines its own terms and the relations among them. (p.11, Thibault, 1997).

If hermeneutics may be seen as providing new approaches to an understanding and questioning of the object, Saussure’s exploration of language as a structural code was to impact strongly on disciplines searching for new ways to define and question the concept of the subject. The literary critic Ronald Barthes, for example, suggested that the structural code was so strong, that it was no longer possible to talk about the authoring of a text. Instead, one must recognise that the text ‘writes’ the author and that this perspective also ‘... asserts the reader’s freedom to do more than simply absorb a meaning prepackaged by the author, to participate himself or herself in the process of producing meaning from the text’ (Moriarty, 1991). As genre and tradition precede the writing of a text, the work of the author may be seen as simply further discourse on an already existing text. Barthe’s work also contributed to pushing the boundaries of text, beyond the signs of words, to include a full exploration of the science of signs, or semiotics.
The application of this movement beyond language, also involved the work of anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss. Just as Saussure attempted to critique hierarchical models of language, Levi-Strauss was beginning to challenge the inheritance of comparative anthropology, whereby cultural constructs were compared and judged according to Western cultural norms. Levi-Strauss suggested that not only language, but all of culture could also be viewed through the lens of a structural code of meaning. In an essay by Georges Mounin on ‘Levi Strauss’ use of Linguistics’, he notes that structuralism, not linguistics, was Lévi Strauss’ primary concern, with linguistics simply formulating a methodology from which he could borrow:

...linguistics has revealed to Lévi Strauss the fruitfulness of the notion of structure, a notion which ... he had perceived for a long time. He describes himself as an inadvertent structuralist perhaps since he was fifteen, because of his fondness for exotic collections, his passion for geology and music, and because of an intuition he had in 1940, while observing a puff of dandelion ... it is evident that since 1958, and even before, the success of structural linguistics served for him only as an influence, stimulus and justification, that is, as a supporting authority to secure his attempts of using the structural method in ethnology. (p.46, Rossi (ed.), 1974).

Instead of isolating cultural components from one culture for comparison with another, these cultural experiences, he suggested, were best understood with reference to the cultural code within which they existed themselves. Culture, like language, could be viewed as interactive within its own structural code.

While the postmodern era saw a growth in skepticism toward any overriding structure or ‘grand narrative’, the influence of Levi-Strauss on postmodern writers such as Pierre Bourdieu can be seen in continuing issues of subject / object interpretation and representation. These issues dominate the methodological questions of anthropology and the related discipline of ethnomusicology. Having pushed the boundaries beyond language and any universal approach to the subject or object, methodological approaches
in both anthropology and ethnomusicology now began to look again to hermeneutics for a framework with which to develop its voice and articulation.

Central to this search is the process of representation. How can any discipline approach a field of inquiry and adequately represent it? How does that research delineate between the field of inquiry and the inquirer? How can language-based representation dialogue with non-linguistic texts, such as music? As Philip V. Bohlman noted in his chapter on 'Representation and Cultural Critique in the History of Ethnomusicology', ‘[T]he constant search for new means of representation and new ways of shaping these to create a meaningful and effective text has been one of the most characteristic features of ethnomusicology’s history’ (p.139, Nettl; Bohlman, 1991).

In its search for answers to these questions, anthropology and ethnomusicology have looked to a spectrum of approaches including, functionalism, behaviourism, structuralism, Marxism, and interpretive or hermeneutic methodologies, as well as attempting to address postmodern critiques of all methodologies. It is to the interpretive school of ethnomusicology and its sociological and anthropological influences, that we now turn.

As with the previous exploration of a hermeneutical approach, this endeavour will be twofold. Firstly, the philosophical underpinnings of interpretive-anthropology will be explored followed by methodological approaches which have developed in face of the challenges presented by these perspectives.

Interpretive anthropology developed along similar lines of hermeneutic argument, as those posited by her philosophical sister, both of which developed within a framework of closer convergence between philosophical and methodological approaches in the Social Sciences and Humanities. Both viewed all scientific statements or claims of objectivity, as inherently subjective. All representations were viewed as, necessarily, interpretive.
Within this realm of the interpretive, research was no longer viewed as an endeavour to create law or fixed, universal principles, but rather, a search for contextual meaning.

An exploration of this interpretive position in anthropology may be approached through three perspectives. Each of these perspectives will also provide an insight into the subject matter of this research endeavour. These include an interpretive approach to culture, symbol and performance practice.

One of the primary interpretive contexts to emerge in contemporary scholarship is the context of culture. In his text, *Worship: Culture and Theology*, David Power states that the, ‘fundamental modes of perceiving and experiencing reality are culturally specified’ (p.70, Power, 1990) and that any attempt to negotiate components of liturgical practice must take this context into account. In her essay entitled ‘Facing the Hard Issues’, from *Sung Liturgy: Toward 2000 AD*, the Benedictine liturgist, Mary Collins suggests that liturgical reform after the council should have evolved through two stages: the first, involving the restoration of the Roman rite and the second, its acculturation into local custom and meaning. In the case of the Second Vatican Council, she suggests that much current liturgical confusion is the result of this process ceasing to function, in most places, beyond the first phase (Funk (ed.), 1991). The preoccupation with revised rites and liturgical texts often led to a subsequent neglect of the necessary dialogue between the same revised liturgy and the cultural expression of a given community. This dialogue has been seen as particularly pertinent for the development of music in contemporary liturgy, as seen in article 119 of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Flannery, 1975).

The development of an interpretive voice in anthropology, based on the concept of culture has, therefore, provided contemporary liturgical music reform with a conceptual framework within which to initiate this dialogue.

*The Interpretation of Cultures* by Clifford Geertz provides a seminal contribution to the development of an interpretive theory of culture, in general, as well as a development of
this theory with particular reference to religious expression (Geertz, 1973). Central to Geertz’s understanding of culture is that culture is meaning-based, and that meaning is accessed, not as absolute, but through interpretation:

The concept of culture I espouse ... is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be, therefore, not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. (p.5, Geertz, 1973)

A theoretical understanding of this perspective, Geertz suggests, is best approached through the methodology it embraces: the methodology of ethnography. Ethnography, according to Geertz, is a methodology which seeks to locate access to understanding, through a layered search consisting of entrance into a community, establishing rapport, selecting informants and interviewees, transcription of texts, maintaining diaries and field notes as well as observing and participating in the rituals and activities of the selected community. This collage of perspectives, embracing a spectrum of subjective involvement and distanced analysis, facilitates the interpretive process by recognising its layered, complex and paradoxical nature. In describing this approach, Geertz adopts Gilbert Ryle’s concept of ‘thick description’: through embracing this approach, the ethnographer is faced with: ‘a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render’ (p.10, Geertz, 1973). This approach, therefore, in no way attempts to push the ethnographer or researcher to the fringes of the exploration, but recognises his / her involvement and analysis as a component of the thick description and its explanation. Indeed, he dismisses the subjective / objective divide as missing the essential question, which is not, he suggests, one of ontological status, but one of import: what is being done or getting said, and the understanding of its importance. Geertz’s notion of anthropology as the enlargement of the universe of human discourse, bears a striking similarity to
Gadamer’s notion of ever-expanding fusions of horizons, through the dialogic character of understanding.

It is also suspicious of structural approaches which lock culture into a coherent model of interrelated components but which operate at a remove from, ‘the informal logic of actual life’ (p.17, Geertz, 1973). Recognising that all anthropological endeavour involves layers of interpretation which, perforce, distance the interpreted from the event, Geertz sees the grounding of analysis within actual event as a crucial redress:

The important thing about the anthropologist’s findings is their complex specificness, their circumstantiality. It is with the kind of material produced by long-term, mainly (though not exclusively) qualitative, highly participative, and almost obsessively fine-comb field study in confined contexts, that the mega-concepts with which contemporary social science is afflicted ... can be given the sort of sensible actuality that makes it possible to think not only realistically and concretely about them, but, what is more important, creatively and imaginatively with them. (p.23, Geertz, 1973)

The danger of this, and of any interpretive approach, is that it simple becomes self-validating. Again, echoes of the subjective critique against Gadamer can be heard in this warning. Geertz notes the necessary tension which exists, on the one hand, in the need for interpretive approaches to resist the purely theoretical and remain close to the ground of experience and, on the other, the importance of developing a methodology which will not degenerate into arbitrary interpretation. Just as Gadamer suggests that such a balance can only be achieved by recognising the complex fusion and subjective dialogue of all understanding, so to does Geertz suggest that it is only by delving further and further into the multi-layers of thick description, that we can approach a semblance of interpretive understanding. In this way, he suggests that, ‘cultural analysis breaks up into a disconnected yet coherent series of bolder and bolder sorties. Studies do build on other studies, not in the sense that they take up where the others leave off, but in the sense that, better informed and better conceptualised, they plunge more deeply into the same things’ (p.25, Geertz, 1973). In this way, cultural interpretation involves both a recognition of a
complexity of voices, as well as the necessity to pursue this same complexity through the depth of renewed return.

Finally, Geertz suggests that an interpretive approach to cultural analysis involves a recognition that such as analysis is always, necessarily, incomplete. What is important, or even possible, is not the incontestable answer, but the development of the conversation. This model of dialogue and ‘refinement of debate’ (p.29, Geertz, 1973) positions cultural, interpretive anthropology within a hermeneutic attitude towards meaning and understanding.

Geertz’s application of this theory to religious expression, as it appears in Chapter Four of *The Interpretation of Cultures*, was presented earlier at the conference on ‘New Approaches in Social Anthropology’, in 1966, sponsored by the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth. In this work, Geertz attempts an expression of the cultural dimension of religious analysis. His now famous definition of culture as, ‘an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms, by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life’ (p.89, Geertz, 1973) is positioned as a point of departure for this essay. In this definition, cultural meaning is given embodiment in symbols and, it is within this framework that his second, well-quoted definition of religion is formulated, to include:

(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of faculty that (5) moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. (p.90, Geertz, 1973).

Both these definitions, either in themselves or in contested form, have shaped a crucial point of departure for culturally based interpretation of religion and religious ritual.
Geertz’s location of meaning within symbols or systems of symbols, and the explanation of same within the ritual process, forms strong accords with the work of Victor Turner, to which this research shall look for this second strand of interpretive anthropology. Geertz sees cultural patterns manifested in symbolic form. These symbol systems, in the religious context, are responsible for establishing distinctive dispositions within its participants, through a formulation of a general order of existence. Geertz explains these in terms of humankind’s need to address chaos, at the limits of its analytic capacity to explain or understand its human endurance and its moral limitation. Its symbolic systems attempt to make bearable and supportable, these limitations of human control. Its efficacy lies in its ability to command belief. It involves: ‘the imbuing of a certain, specific, complex of symbols ... with a persuasive authority, which, from an analytic point of view, is the essence of religious action, Which brings us, at length, to ritual.’ (p.112, Geertz, 1973).

Ritual provides the forum within which these symbolic systems enact their efficacy. The strength of the ritual, however, depends on its ability to transcend ritual time and remain efficacious:

The dispositions which religious rituals induce thus have their most important impact - from a human point of view - outside the boundaries of the ritual itself as they reflect back to color the individual’s conception of the established world of bare fact. (p.119, Geertz, 1973)

Geertz, therefore, views the anthropological study of religion as involving an analysis of the symbolic systems used to facilitate religious expression and their meaning within the community’s social and psychological order.

The importance of Geertz’s culturally based model for a study of liturgical music is two-fold. Firstly, as mentioned above, inculturation has been noted as one of the primary considerations – and primary neglects – of Post-Vatican II liturgical reform. Recognising the liturgical stasis of Tridentine liturgy, the Post-Vatican church committed itself to a
process of reform and relevance. Central to this process was the recognition that liturgy was not a static artifact, but an organic process, constantly shaped and mediated by the culture within which it found expression. In *The Roman Liturgy and Inculturation*, the Fourth Instruction for the Right Application of the Conciliar Constitution on the Liturgy, published by the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments in 1994, the need for the church to reach beyond itself, to both scholarship and the local community in the inculturation process is identified:

To prepare an inculturation of the liturgy, Episcopal Conferences should call upon people who are competent both in the liturgical tradition of the Roman rite and in the appreciation of local cultural values. Preliminary studies of an historical, anthropological, exegetical and theological character are necessary. But these need to be examined in the light of the pastoral experience of the local clergy, especially those born in the country. The advice of ‘wise people’ of the country, whose human wisdom is enriched by the light of the Gospel, would also be valuable. Liturgical inculturation should try to satisfy the needs of traditional culture, and at the same time take account of the needs of those affected by an urban and industrial culture. (Art.30, p.30, 1994)

The insight provided into cultural context by interpretive anthropology is, therefore, a primary consideration in contemporary liturgical reform.

Secondly, Geertz’s cultural model locates the source of cultural meaning in the symbolic systems of the community. The development of an interpretive anthropology of symbol has provided liturgical theology with a pertinent framework for its own exploration of symbolic components of liturgy including its musical expression. If the concept of culture has provided liturgy with a context within which to explore its contemporary expression, the concept of symbol has, in turn, provided an interpretive framework within which to explore the components of that liturgical practice.

If Geertz’s work may be said to be an exponent of cultural context, that of Victor Turner may be seen as central to the exploration of the complex of symbols through which this culture found expression. For Turner the primary context for symbolic expression was the
ritual one. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, published in 1969 is Turner’s seminal text on the exploration of symbols and their ritual context. Both the title and subtitle are revealing; the title, in its description of ritual as a process, not a product, and the sub-title, in both its recognition and refutation of structuralist cohesion.

Turner’s work, particularly with the Ndembu of northwestern Zambia, led to a development of an interpretive theory of symbol, closely linked to its ritual expression. For Turner, ritual is a forum within which a community constantly defines, re-defines and recreates its self-identity. This happens through both its expression of social and communal norms as well as the facilitation of regular challenges to this system. This provides:

...[a] fundamental dialectic between the social order (structure) and a period of social disorder and liminality (antistructure) that he termed *communitas*. Rituals, he argued, affirm the social order while facilitating disordered inversions of that order: through such inversions, the original order is simultaneously legitimated and modified. (p.40, Bell, 1997).

It is in his work concerning the period of liminality and *communitas*, the ‘betwixt and between’, that Turner’s work explores the power of symbols to communicate the ambiguous and paradoxical. This dramatic, ritualised expression, subverting the normal order, is a powerful and symbolic representation of the underlying subversion of all human order rendered by the instability of the human condition. In liminal phenomena:

... we are presented ... with ‘a moment in and out of time’, and in and out of secular social structure, which reveals, however fleetingly, some recognition (in symbol if not always in language) of a generalized social bond that has ceased to be and has simultaneously yet to be fragmented into a multiplicity of structural ties. (p.96, Turner, 1969).

Turner’s understanding of symbol was also one of process. Rejecting the more static approaches of structuralism he saw symbols as reflecting and originating in the dynamic
of social relationships. Symbols were not seen as having fixed meanings, but as fluid and multivalent. In unpacking these meanings, complex and ambiguous attitudes and understandings may become apparent. In her treatment of Turner’s symbolic theory, Catherine Bell notes that: ‘his hermeneutic approach to symbols as an ambiguous and suggestive language for communicating complex ideas and attitudes about social structure, led many to abandon some of the more rigid suppositions of functionalist-structuralist theory’ (p.42, Bell, 1997). Turner’s indebtedness to the hermeneutic tradition is also evidenced in the quest for meaning, which lies at the heart of his symbolic theory. In his essay ‘Dewey, Dilthey and Drama: An Essay in the Anthropology of Experience’, published in *An Anthropology of Experience*, Turner claimed that, ‘... all human act is impregnated with meaning’ (p. 33, 1986, Turner; Bruner), thus locating all endeavour within the hermeneutic tradition of interpretation.

The adaptation of the hermeneutic tradition in ethnomusicology may also be seen in the work of scholars such as Timothy Rice. In his publication *May It Fill Your Soul: Experiencing Bulgarian Music*, Rice notes that a symbolic interpretation recognises that one is thrown into a world of symbols, previous to any understanding or explanation, and that the hermeneutic enterprise is one of interacting with this world, in an attempt to assimilate, interpret and understand it. Rice sees concepts of the ‘other’ as redundant, and looks to experience for the framework within which, for example, one encounters music:

The intellectual foundations of the antinomy between objectivity (musicology) and subjectivity (musical experience) have been undercut by philosophical and phenomenological hermeneutics, as developed in a stream of thought from Martin Heidegger to Hans-Georg Gadamer to Paul Ricoeur. They have argued that there can be no objective position from which to view either nature or human affairs, because we are, before reason, born – or ‘thrown’ – into a world that gives us symbols through which we come to understand that world. (p.3, Rice, 1994)

Rice describes the experience of music as a hermeneutic arc of pre-understanding, explanation and interpretation or new understanding. He defends the acceptability and
even necessity for the ethnomusicologist to experience, appropriate, interpret and re-appropriate the music of his / her field of inquiry. Rice’s definition of experience as ‘the history of the individual’s encounter with the world of symbols’ (p.9, Rice, 1994), takes a hermeneutic stance similar to Turner’s anthropological view of experience.

Rice’s interest in remodeling the concept ‘ethnomusicology’ is also indicative of a hermeneutic position. His concern involves a re-conceptualisation, which will align ethnomusicology and historical musicology, one which he believes is facilitated by a recognition of the influence of the humanities on the social sciences, through a hermeneutic fusion of both horizons. In Ethnomusicology he describes this remodeling as moving ‘...ethnomusicology closer to humanities and historical musicology (and might have the effect of moving historical musicology closer to ethnomusicology) but without giving up an essential concern for the social bases of musical life and experience or a general scholarly concern for generalization and comparison’ (p.476, Vol.31, No.3, Fall, 1987). Rice’s proposed model involves a study of the formative processes in music. Looking to Geertz’s The Interpretation of Cultures and his claim that symbolic systems are historically constructed, socially maintained and individually applied, Rice re-models this statement to suggest that the question of how we make music involves a similar exploration of how it is historically constructed, socially maintained and individually created or experienced.

This ‘re-modeled’ approach to ethnomusicology has clear roots in hermeneutic philosophy, as well as the interpretive anthropology of Geertz and Turner. Its inclusion of the creative energy and experience of the individual, however, suggests territory closer to the creative concerns of the humanities than the social and communal perspectives more typically associated with anthropology and the social sciences.

Not surprisingly, Rice suggests that this model is currently receiving most attention from that anthropological perspective which explores performative practice. In The Anthropology of Performance, Victor Turner notes that:
With the postmodern dislodgement of spatialized thinking and ideal models of cognitive and social structures from their position of exegetical preeminence, there is occurring a major move towards the study of processes, not as exemplifying compliance with or deviation from normative models both etic and emic, but as performances. (p.80, Turner, 1986)

Performance, then, is the final interpretive concept to which we now turn.

In *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, Catherine Bell notes the emergence in the 1970’s of two related paradigms: *praxis* or ‘practice’ and performance theory. Practice theory, a derivative of Marx’s usage of *praxis*, emphasised the productive and political dimensions of human activity. With performance theory, it shared a concern for the limitations of structural and semiotic approaches to account for change, action as action (and not cognition), and the embodiment of non-linguistic events. While less interested in specific kinds of action, such as ritual or drama, than performance theory, it looked to human practice as a forum for interpretive perspectives and challenged theories removed from demonstrable works.

The French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, in his ‘theory of practice’ suggested that all of history and, indeed, all social structures, exist only in so far as they are embodied and valued in human activity. Theorists must, therefore, focus on acts themselves, and not theoretical abstractions. Bourdieu borrows the sociological notion of *habitus*, to refer to human activity within its actual and immediate context.

While Bourdieu’s critique of the hermeneutic position is, ironically, posed in the form of an exposition on the limits of objectivism, his own theory of practice, suggesting a theory built on an ‘objective’ study of practice and not one distanciated through interpretation, walks a line very close to subjective interpretation, though one he is quick to disavow:

Objective analysis of practical apprehension of the familiar world is not a new form of sacrificial offering to the mysteries of subjectivity, but a means of
exploring the limits of all objective exploration. It teaches us that we shall escape from the ritual either/or choice between objectivism and subjectivism in which the social sciences have so far allowed themselves to be trapped only if we are prepared to inquire into the mode of production and functioning of the practical mastery which makes possible both an objectively intelligible practice and also an objectively enchanted experience of that practice. (p.4, Bourdieu, 1973)

In order to do this, Bourdieu suggests that the rehabilitation of time is of primary importance. Recognising that all practice exists within temporal frameworks, the idea of framing practice with a theoretical model, existing outside of time, is rendered inadequate. This point is particularly important for practices, such as music, of which one may suggest time as constitutive of its meaning.

Working at least with reference to Marxist theory, Bell suggests that Bourdieu’s view of ritual is essentially one of a ‘performative medium for the negotiation of power in relationships’ (p.79, Bell, 1997). His description of symbolic systems as capital which can be possessed, negotiated and traded upon, bears similar resonances.

But even while pushing against the perceived ‘theory of theory’ connected with, as Bourdieu suggests, the hermeneutic tendency to evolve along lines of theoretical constructs because of its preoccupation with meaning, Bourdieu’s exposition of doxa, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, itself provides an interesting example of both a theoretical paradigm, and one which, through its dialogic character (even if this dialogue is often unintentional), may itself be viewed as a fusion of horizons.

If Bourdieu’s theory of practice suggested that an over-emphasis on meaning as developed within hermeneutics and interpretive anthropology shifted the emphasis from the event to its interpretation, performance theory developed, in a similar way, to ‘summon’ the tendency to treat action like a text to be decoded. Performance metaphors and analogies allow them to focus, they say, on what ritual actually does, rather than on what it is supposed to mean’ (p.73, Bell, 1997). Meaning and interpretation were not viewed as redundant but were seen to reside in the performance event itself.
Performance theorists looked to rituals, festivals, drama and theatre as intense and stylised cultural expressions. Victor Turner's description of ritual as social drama recognised that what ritual does, expresses something of the cultural norms and tensions of the ritualising group.

Performance models also recognised that ritual participants are active contributors to the interpretation and re-interpretation of the value and meaning of the ritual expression, and not passive recipients of static symbol systems of meaning. Bell notes that performance theory also allowed more emphasis to be placed on, 'the nonintellectual dimensions of what ritual does, that is, the emotive, physical, and even sensual aspects of ritual participation' (p.73, Bell, 1997).

Much performance theory developed from a critical perspective, involving a perceived over-emphasis on theories of meaning, and symbolic meaning in ritual practice. In his article 'Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality', Edward Schiefflin notes that:

> Ever since anthropologists turned from viewing rituals in purely structural-functional terms and began looking to them as systems of symbols, a great deal of research has focused on how rituals work; what do ritual symbols mean, how are they communicated and how do they accomplish the social and psychological transformations that they do. (p.707, Schiefflin, American Ethnologist, 12/4, 1985).

Schiefflin does not critique the search for meaning, but rather the tendency to situate this meaning within a system of symbols which are then read as a cultural text. In this way, the emphasis remains on the perceived message communicated. Schiefflin suggests that the limitations in this approach involve its inability to give full weight to the non-discursive, performative aspects of ritual. Indeed, he suggests, it is the performative character of ritual which provides it with its particular and unique form of mediation,
differing precisely in this aspect from myth, story or narrative. Noting the work of Bloch, Schiefflin suggests that most theorists see symbolic meaning as residing in their propositional force. While querying Bloch’s over-emphasis on formal language patterns in ritual, he concludes that:

[B]loch’s fundamental contribution remains: the notion that the efficacy of symbols in ritual is to be sought, not so much in their semantic content or propositional character (the meaning-centred approach) as in the non-semantic, non-propositional aspects of performance and linguistic form that shape the content of ritual events and the relations among the participants. (p. 709, Schiefflin, 1985).

With reference to Kapferer, Schiefflin also notes that performance affects symbolic and cultural transformation, precisely, through the transformational quality of performance itself. Performance is, therefore, not an arbitrary carrier of symbolic meaning, but a unique mediator. Meaning, in this forum, is characterised as emergent and interactive, formulated in a performative, rather than a cognitive space.

In summary then, these three frames of interpretive reference; culture, symbol and performance practice, provide interlocking, yet distinctive perspectives on the field of inquiry: contemporary liturgical music reform in Ireland. While performance theory has moved to the side of a direct hermeneutic approach, it still posits a paradigm of meaning, albeit one located in performance itself. All three suggest an interpretive approach; one through a cultural framework, another through the unpacking of symbolic meaning and, finally, in performance, through a recognition that interpretation is emergent in the performance itself.

Each of these perspectives has a contribution to make to the development of a multifaceted methodological framework for this endeavour. As already noted, inculturation has been identified within Christian liturgical reform as a pertinent and necessary process for the assimilation of the revised rites. This has been noted with particular reference to the performative aspects of Christian liturgy, such as music and gesture. In its search for a
theology of liturgy, liturgists have also sought to redress and re-formulate an understanding of liturgical worship and the Christian sacraments through a symbolic framework. This position is exemplified in the work of Louis-Marie Chauvet and will be dealt with in more detail, later in this chapter. Finally, performance theory has provided a framework within which non-discursive aspects of liturgical worship, such as music and song may be re-valued as intrinsic to liturgical worship, and not on the periphery of cognitive and textual meaning. Each of these perspectives will be referred to in the review of contemporary developments in liturgical theology and attempts to articulate a theology of music, presented in Chapter Six, and in the suggested frames of liturgical music development for Ireland, presented in Chapter Seven.

Finally, a word must be said concerning the methodologies which have developed in tandem with these interpretive frameworks and the role these will play in this research.

A concern with developing methodological paradigms, capable of addressing the ambiguities of its field of inquiry, is a characteristic of both anthropology and ethnomusicology. Methodologies are constantly refined and revised, in an attempt to come closer to the pursuit of human and musical behaviour and their social, cultural meanings, in the face of subjective / objective concerns, a recognition of the indeterminate and random aspect of human behaviour, and the necessary ‘out of control’ admission of the pursuit.

This pursuit and reflection has resulted in the development of a number of research techniques, most of which are qualitative in nature. Jennifer Mason notes that qualitative research, ‘does not represent a unified set of techniques or philosophies, and indeed, has grown out of a wide range of intellectual and disciplinary traditions’ (p.3, Mason, 1996). Anthropology, sociology and linguistics have long traditions of qualitative research, while disciplines such as human geography and education have developed qualitative techniques, such as case study – based research. History has searched for qualitative techniques for dealing with the emerging study of oral histories, while younger
disciplines such as media and cultural studies, as well as inter-disciplinary areas, such as ritual or feminist studies, have also developed along qualitative lines.

Mason suggests that, reflecting the ‘loose’ characteristic of the disciplines it represents, qualitative research should also be defined loosely. This definition recognises that its philosophical foundations are broadly interpretivist, that it is based on methods of data collection and generation which are flexible and emphasise context, and on approaches to analysis and explanation, which involve an acceptance of complexity and contradiction.

Its hermeneutic perspective recognises that, ‘research cannot be neutral, or objective or detached, from the knowledge and evidence they are generating’ (p.6, Mason, 1996). This recognition also posits the necessity of a critical and reflective stance towards self.

One of the primary tools of the qualitative researcher is the interview: in anthropology and ethnomusicology, often referred to as the ethnographic interview. The primary content of Chapter Five is based on a series of interviews, carried out according to a qualitative model. In In The Field: An Introduction to Field Research, Burgess refers to such interviews as ‘conversations with a purpose’ (p.102, Burgess, 1984). The interview tends to be informal, semi-structured, often around a theme or topic; is often biographical and delivered as a narrative, with the interviewee viewed as a primary data source.

While interviews provide important interpretive data, they may also remove the data source from its context (such as an interview conducted with a liturgical musician outside of the liturgical context), offer personal interpretations (the liturgical musician interprets liturgical music according to his / her perspective and bias) and include a reflective remove (the liturgical musician is talking about liturgical music, not performing liturgical music, and is doing so ‘after the fact’ and not in ‘liturgical time’). For these reasons, the ethnographic interview is often supplemented with observations drawn, by the researcher, from actual events (observation of a liturgy), within which the observer may even
participate (attendance at a liturgy). This ethnographic method is referred to as participant observation.

Epistemologically, this position is valued for its ability to ‘reveal’ data. In other words, the researcher enters into an activity, in order to be present, and observe, the emergent data of the activity. Bruyn notes the uniqueness of this methodological enterprise, in its demand for both personal involvement and detachment:

What is especially distinctive about the method of participant observation is the manner by which the researcher gains knowledge. By taking the role of his subjects he re-creates in his own imagination and experience the thoughts and feelings which are in the minds of those he studies. (p.12, Bruyn, 1966)

From this perspective, the Christian baptised into the Roman Catholic tradition may be seen as having a unique research perspective on Roman Catholic liturgy:

...many devotees of observation would argue that the researcher can be a ‘knower’ in these circumstances, precisely because of shared experience, participation or a shared ‘standpoint’ with the researched ... they know what the experience of that social setting feels like ... and in that sense, they are epistemologically privileged. (p.61, Mason, 1996)

The backdrop of this research, therefore, presumes both a participation in the liturgical rites examined, a practicing knowledge and a critical stance of both observation and self-reflection.

Two other qualitative tools are drawn on in this research and deserve mention. As mentioned, data generation includes interviews and participant observation. It also draws on documents, visual and aural data. Documents include published and non-published texts, journals, newsletters and bulletins. Historical and textual analysis still accounts for the largest corpus of academic scholarship in this area. This research will reflect some of
that tradition through its reliance on such documentation for most of Chapters Two, Three and Four. Visual and aural data includes published and non-published notated liturgical composition as well as audio and video recordings of liturgical and non-liturgical religious music composition.

Finally, this research has employed the technique of sampling and selecting. This methodology is related to case study, but does not look to in-depth study of individual cases, but rather to a sampling of selected people, places, movements or events to represent a broader field of inquiry. This approach is often utilised when single case studies would seem to generate more internal than applicable data, and the purpose of the research is to generate data applicable to a broader field. In this research, an in-depth case study of liturgy in Glenstal Abbey, for example, might be deemed to say more about Glenstal Abbey than about liturgical music in Ireland. The selection of a sample of monastic liturgies, diocesan, parish-based initiatives, musical composers, liturgists, as well as liturgical and musical educational institutions, may generate data which allows for the emergence of a broader picture. Sampling units are based on criteria related to the temporal considerations of the study, the spatial / geographic limits imposed (in this case, Ireland), social / cultural considerations, as well as what Mason refers to as ‘common sense’ sampleable units; in other words, those which seem most likely to reveal relevant data.

In his work on sociological research methods, Norman K. Denzin recognises the importance of symbolic interpretation to qualitative research:

...the intent is to record the ongoing experience of those observed, through their symbolic world, and such a strategy implies a commitment, however conscious, to basic principles of symbolic interactionism. (p.183, Denzin, 1978)

This research views this recognition of symbolic interpretation as particularly relevant to any discussion of music. It also recognises the importance of a familiarity of the researcher with the musical symbol systems employed. Indeed, it may be suggested that a
lack of familiarity with music symbol systems on the part of liturgists has led to liturgically imposed musical norms which are in tension with these same systems. An example of this might include the somewhat dogmatic approach to music in liturgy which insists on music ‘standing’ for dogmatic truths, and not recognising the creative ambiguity of musical sound, which may be lost through such an approach.

The interpretive methods developed to support interpretive theory, particularly those of the qualitative interview, participant observation, examination of documents, aural and visual data, as well as sampling and selecting, provide primary frameworks for this research.

*Ritual Studies*

The inclusion of Ritual Studies as one context for this hermeneutic, interpretive approach is neither random, nor arbitrary. Indeed, Catherine Bell suggests that contemporary thought within this discipline is characterised by its interest in and pursuit of hermeneutic, interpretive and performative considerations.

In *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (1997), she suggests that three broad movements may be seen to form the meta-history of this young discipline. The first of these is rooted in the debate concerning the origins of religion, as located in either myth or ritual. 19th century comparative linguistic studies of mythology championed myth as the origin of ritual while linguists such as William Robertson Smith argued for ritual, suggesting that religion did not develop, primarily as explanatory, but as activity to strengthen and affirm community bonds. Smith’s approach, Bell suggests, spawned three primary schools of religious interpretation; the ‘myth and ritual school’, as represented by James Frazer, which suggested that myth was only comprehensible through an understanding of its accompanying ritual; the sociological approach, associated with Émile Durkheim and considerations of social cohesion; and the psychoanalytical approach of Sigmund Freud which looked to ritual as expression beyond conscious behaviour.
While the second and third approaches saw ritual as a sociological or psychological construct, the myth and ritual school was most interested in its relationship with religion and the phenomena of religion itself. With the development of a phenomenology of religion, the emphasis can be seen as shifting back towards myth. As phenomenology stressed the features common to all religious experience, it looked to the a-temporal and a-historical character of myth, rather than the specific, event-based nature of ritual. One of the primary exponents of this approach was Mircea Eliade. Bell notes that:

Eliade’s approach also tends to place ritual on a secondary level, reserving a primary place for myth by virtue of its closer relationship to the underlying structures of all religious experience. Perhaps myth, as a matter of beliefs, symbols and ideas, is deemed a manifestation of the sacred that is inherently closer to the cognitive patterns that define homo religiosus, while ritual, as action, is considered a secondary expression of these very beliefs, symbols and ideas. (p.11, Bell, 1997)

If this first phase of ritual interest expressed an interest in the origins and history of ritual and religion, the second, involved its role and function in society. This phase was dominated by the theoretical schools of functionalism and structuralism (here, the parallel with anthropological development may also be suggested). Bell notes the publication of Durkheim’s *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* in 1912 as the benchmark for the establishment of religion as a social phenomena or social ‘fact’. The function and social purpose of this ‘fact’, and its ritual expression was pursued, particularly by British anthropologists such as Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown. The functionalist approach of Radcliffe-Brown included a recognition that social structures formed a series of relationships within which people acted. Ritual was one such structure, which facilitated particular human and social needs. Later structural-functionalists, such as E.E. Evan Pritchard, expanded the function of structures such as ritual to include the concept of meaning, as derived from its symbolic expression. As mentioned above, the work of Victor Turner was to push the boundaries of enquiry beyond structure and function, by
placing symbolic meaning at the heart of the endeavour, marking the move into what Bell describes as the third phase of ritual studies:

Theorists who began to go beyond the framework of functional structuralism have been called symbolists, culturalists and, more, awkwardly, symbolic-culturalists. Culturalists interpret the symbols and symbolic action so important to ritual less in terms of their connection to the structures of social organization and more in terms of an independent system organized like a language for the primary purpose of communication. This has shifted interpretation from a focus on what social reality may be represented (and maintained) by a symbol to a focus on what the symbol means (communicates) within the context of the whole system of symbols in which it is embedded. (p.61, Bell, 1997)

The obvious parallel here between ritual studies and anthropology in its shift from function to interpretive meaning and to a hermeneutic approach, rather than a specifically socio-functional one, is not coincidental. Neither is the inclusion of both as frames of reference for this research. The coincidence reveals ritual as one of the primary foci of anthropological theory and practice. In his article on ‘Ritual’ for the forthcoming Guide to the Study of Religion (Cassell), Ronald Grimes suggests that one of the only ritual theorists to have gained widespread consensus in the field of ritual studies is Victor Turner; and that, in turn, Turner’s anthropological theories were almost entirely ritually-based. The connection between the two disciplines is therefore a pertinent part of their mutual development and understanding. To invoke one, in the context of this work, is to refer to the other.

In her meta-history of the development of ritual studies, Bell concludes her survey of interpretive traditions with the development of performance interpretation; the latest interpretive school to recognise that meaning does not reside only in the textual communication of ritual, but in its performative components, such as music, gesture and drama. One of the foremost exponents of this position and a primary scholar in the emerging discipline of ritual studies is Ronald Grimes.
Grime’s text, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, first published in 1982 and revised in 1995, served for many years as the primary text for the emerging discipline of ritual studies. Grimes provides his own meta-history for the discipline in his article ‘Ritual’, framing its various phases as ‘noticing’, ‘defending’ and ‘studying’. ‘Noticing’ ritual includes ancient accounts in, for example, travel literature, of public festivals, rites and ceremonies; accounts which still form a large part of the contemporary tourist trade.

The ‘defense’ of ritual, comes, not from the outside, as the ‘noticing’ does, but from internal purveyors of ritual traditions. These same ritual leaders or participants are often called upon to explain or interpret ritual; and will usually do so ‘from within’. This, Grimes suggests, is the process theology refers to as liturgical theology and anthropology, as indigenous exegesis.

The ‘objective’ study of ritual is a phenomena of the 19th and 20th centuries, when ethnographers began documenting rites and ‘explaining’ them from the scientific vantage point of the observer. Grimes suggests that the 1970’s saw a radical shift from this objective position to the validation of participant observation and the emergence of ritual studies as a field of study in its own right, still connected to its religious roots, but decidedly not limited to them.

In its initial development, ritual studies emerged primarily as a North American and European pursuit. While its anthropological sister may have been casting its ritual net to further climes, its religious and theological roots were, for the most part, Christian. In *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, Grimes suggests that this tradition, in which ritual was primarily understood from the perspective of ‘classical Christian liturgics’ (p.8, Grimes, 1995), a number of ritual misconceptions emerged.

Firstly, Grimes notes, as an example of ‘mature’ ritual, Christian liturgy responds to a specific set of texts, rubrics and articulated ritual norms. The long tradition of such normative liturgy can lead to the misconception that ritual proceeds from such norms,
rather than that ritual interacts with, informs, may proceed or even contradict such norms. Current debates on the normative texts of the revised rites of Vatican II may also be seen as an example where debate on norms is not always cognisant of their relationship with practice. Text-based prescriptions may also fail to recognise the random character of ritual which, while inclusive of normative repetition, is also characterised by its spontaneity and existence in the moment.

Grimes also notes the failure of normative approaches to incorporate a critical approach; one which can diagnose 'ritual pathology' and recognise a rite as impoverished, weak, or sick. Again, an example may be drawn from current liturgical reform which may recognise that something is not 'working', but locates the problem only in the actualising of the normative text, and not in the text itself.

A third critique rendered, and one which Grimes suggests much ritual scholarship has inherited and accommodates is a Christian concept of liturgy which acts from the top down; from the intellect to the soul. Little or no attention is paid to the relationship of ritual to the body, or, indeed, to the ecosystem within which it survives. This, he suggests, has also lead to an idolisation of the 'higher' senses; particularly of speech and vision. Such an approach has often tended to emphasis the pragmatic over the 'useless' (non-cognitive) aspects of ritual, the active over the passive and the serious over the ludic. Finally, he concludes that 'liturgics has often confused Christian uniqueness (which ritologically considered, is Christian 'style') with exclusivism' (p.10, Grimes, 1995).

While contemporary liturgical theology has made long strides beyond Grimes' description of 'classic' description, as shall be seen in the subsequent review of the work of Louis-Marie Chauvet, his critique, nevertheless, forms a significant point of redress for his own development of a theory of ritual which is rooted, biologically in the body, cosmologically in the ecosystem, and determined to emphasis and reclaim the dramatic, performative character of ritual from purely textual orientations. In doing so, Grimes
espouses a hermeneutic approach, but one radically sympathetic to performative considerations:

One of the most sadly neglected roots of scholarly method is bodily attitude. Hermeneutics speaks of the interpreter’s viewpoint, but does so only metaphorically. (p.17, Grimes, 1995).

Influenced by Turner’s concept of social dramas, Grimes suggests defining parameters for methodological approaches to ritual studies which include a recognition of the importance of gestural and performative dimensions in researchers themselves, bodily training as part of the scholarly enterprise to further the development of all the senses in observation, and a critical approach which appreciates imaginative embodiment as part of analysis. Grimes concludes by suggesting that critical analysis in ritual may be better served by dramatic or ‘make-believe’ re-enactments of ritual than by an interaction limited to ethnographic research. In terms of methodology, therefore, less may be more. Grimes notes the theologian Tom Driver, who suggests that any interpretive framework imposes categories on ritual (a position close to Bourdieu’s theory of practice). While Grimes does not seek to eliminate method entirely, he does suggest that it should be influenced by considerations emanating from the ritual’s own method and drama. With reference to Geertz’s concept of thick description, Grimes calls this preoccupation with ritual details from an ethnographic as well as a dramatic perspective, ‘full description’ (P.38, Grimes, 1995).

While Grimes is reluctant to supply fixed or ‘hard’ definitions of ritual, he does suggest six ritual ‘sensibilities’, one of which is ‘liturgy’. In this category, Grimes provides an interesting (if not strictly Christian) rehabilitation of the term, to mean ritual with a religious preoccupation:

I do not restrict the term liturgy to Christian rites. Rather, it refers to any ritual action with an ultimate frame of reference and the doing of which is understood to be of cosmic necessity. (p.51, Grimes, 1995).
Unlike other ritual sensibilities, such as sensibilities described as decorum or ceremony, which Grimes suggests may be declarative and exclamatory, liturgy is defined by its interrogative nature. Until magic, liturgy does not harness power, but waits upon it. Passivity or ‘acting towards inaction runs through liturgical acts as diverse as the Christian Eucharist, Sufi dance, Taoist alchemy, Zen meditation, and Jewish synagogue worship (p.51, Grimes, 1995). Liturgy is also characterised as a vehicle never capable of achieving its final destiny, a destiny which is always beyond its grasp, but to which it continuously aspires in a gesture of receptivity.

Using Geertz’s categories of a ‘model for’ to suggest ‘hard’ definitions of ritual and ‘model of’ to represent ‘soft’ definitions, Grimes offers a defense of a ‘soft’ approach as the only one capable of incorporating the emergent, nascent quality of ritual, that which Grimes refers to as ‘ritualizing’. Traditional, ‘hard’ definitions, which emphasis the conventional, repetitious, stylised and formulaic aspects of ritual, often fail to recognise that ritual is always in process, always being born, re-created and re-defined.

In *Ritual Criticism* (1990) and an article entitled ‘Emerging Ritual’, published in the *Proceedings of the North American Academy of Religion, 1990*, Grimes presents four concepts which may be viewed as the heart of his ‘soft’ definition.

‘Rite’, in *Ritual Criticism*, is described as behaviour clearly differentiated or set apart from ‘ordinary’ behavior, actualised in a specific time and place and usually viewed as ‘normative’ and ‘essential’ to an understanding of the relationship between one’s self, the world and the divine.

‘Ritual’ is the generic term, of which rite may be seen as a specific instance. It is:
...a convergence of several kinds [of actions] we normally think of as distinct. It is an ‘impure’ genre. Like opera, which includes other genres, for example, singing and drama and sometimes even dancing, ritual may include all these and more. (p.192, Grimes, 1990)

Grimes notes two further distinctions: ‘ritualizing’ is the term he uses in ‘Emerging Ritual’ to demarcate the cultivation or creation of ritual, which he also refers to as nascent. Finally, ‘ritualization’ refers to ritual which is not culturally defined, but recognises the ritual ‘patterns’ of everyday life such as eating, sleeping, house-cleaning or smoking a cigarette.

The field of ritual studies and the particular contribution of Grimes is significant to this research for several reasons. Firstly, ritual studies provides a common meeting ground for anthropology and theology, disciplines which pursue knowledge of human behaviour and its relationship with the Divine. One might suggest that religious studies also provides this juncture, but ritual studies is unique in that its primary context is the ritual space and the ritual action which happens within this space. It is primarily an event-based discipline. Ritual studies is uniquely dependent on the event-context of ritual, in the same way, one might argue, that ritual, or liturgical music is also. In other words, liturgical music can (and many would suggest, does) exist without a theology or theory of religious music, but it cannot exist without the ritual context. Ritual studies, then, is uniquely capable of dealing with those aspects of theology or religion, such as liturgical music which are ritual-bound.

Bell suggests that ritual studies is now largely informed by interpretive and performance-based theories. There is a growing recognition that ritual exists in process and not stasis and that its processual components, such as music, deserve particular attention. While more traditional ritual attitudes sought meaning in what ritual communicated through its symbol systems (with the majority of attention focused on the symbolic meaning attached to language), performance-theory is more inclined to locate ritual meaning in what
meaning does. This shift of emphasis has opened up new doors to the interpretation of the performative role of music in ritual. It does not suggest that music has no cognitive meaning (particularly in Christian liturgy, when it is so often attached to text), but that meaning is also located, and, perhaps, primarily located, in ritual action and not ritual cognition. Arguments concerning the centrality or peripheral status of music in the reformed liturgy of Vatican II, should be cognisant of this perspective.

The contribution of Ronald Grimes to this field and this research is significant both in terms of theory and method. Theoretically, Grimes’ work represents the most consistent defense of a performative interpretation of ritual. Building on the influence of Victor Turner, much of Grimes work, to date, has focused on performance as drama, and the dramatic nature of ritual. His work with Actors Lab in Canada, with Jerzy Brotowski in ‘ritual theatre’ and with the Welfare State International of England, has informed his view of ritual which locates its scholarship, not in theoretical frameworks, but in the ritual drama itself. To study ritual is to ritualise.

If Grimes work is critical of ‘classical’ Christian liturgy, it is also informed by it. The biographical detail presented in Beginnings in Ritual Studies notes the development of his own critical sense of ritual as emerging from personal experience with, and education in, this classical view. These critical roots gives Grimes’ theory of ritual a particular relevance to Christian liturgy, in that its critique resonates strongly with the critical reform endeavour of the Second Vatican Council. In the attempts of contemporary Roman Catholic liturgy to grapple with these issues, it is of use to examine a theory of ritual, which has developed from similar critical roots.

It may be suggested that much performance theory exists in tension with the strong hermeneutic stance of this research, in that performance theory developed largely in reaction to the over-emphasis on ‘meaning’ in ritual. As has been noted, however, this critique was not of hermeneutics in general, but of its tendency to locate all meaning in text. Grimes performative hermeneutic is particularly radical in its call for a hermeneutic
of the body, locating meaning in the physicality of human expression. Again, this hermeneutic has important repercussions for any discussion on the role of music, and particularly of vocal music in Christian liturgy.

Finally, in terms of theory, Grimes has provided the field with a set of definitions which attempt a mitigation of, on the one hand, a ‘hard’ view of ritual, which locates it only in existing, ‘mature’, religious rituals, and, on the other, a wider definition, which potentially includes all human behaviour and is, therefore, an oxymoronic category. Grimes ‘soft’ definition attempts to recognise the unique category of religious ritual (best found in his definition of ‘rite’) while including in the generic term ‘ritual’, sub-cATEGORIES OF ‘ritualizing’, which recognise the creative, or ‘nascent’ elements of ritual (and not just the traditional or conservative ones) and ‘ritualization’ which nods to the ritual potential of all behaviour.

Both these distinctions and their softness are helpful to a discussion of contemporary liturgical music. Firstly, the demarcation of a particular religious aspect of ritual allows for a theological dimension in the discussion of liturgical expectations of music. The refusal, however, to demarcate this in a ‘hard’ way, also recognises that while this may be distinct it is also related to broader patterns of ritual which have developed outside of this space. The ‘fuzziness’ of these borders may, for example, provide an insight into the demarcation and connection of liturgical and non-liturgical religious song traditions in Irish Catholicism.

In terms of method, one might point to three useful considerations in Grimes’ approach. Firstly, his discussion of ‘full description’ in Beginnings in Ritual Studies notes the importance of ‘mapping’ the ritual field. This ‘map’ is formed through a series of questions or considerations, capable of providing detailed descriptions of ritual space, objects, time, sound and language, action, and ritual identity. These considerations not only position inquiry, but reveal content. Questions concerning, for example, the changing spaces within which ritual music has developed, the various instruments
employed to produce it, the changing, perhaps accelerating sense of liturgical time, the shifting emphasis on the spoken, chanted or sung word, the use of music to accompany movement and gesture, and the identity, or lack of identity in the perceived liturgical role of music, are all considerations which may reveal needs and realities in liturgical music, as well as critical tensions.

But Grimes’ warning against ‘too much’ methodology is also reminiscent of Gadamer’s critique of the over-emphasis on methodology in early hermeneutic philosophy. A methodology can itself become a framework which ‘demands’ an interpretation of ritual, quite independent of the ritual itself. This demand is generated by the tendency to theorise even about method, in a way which creates a methodological system to which the ritual must then subscribe. If this critique is seen as typically performative, so is Grimes’ suggestion that the closer to the ground one remains – the closer method stays to practice – the greater the possibility of avoiding this pitfall. This involves locating one’s self and one’s interpretation in the performance itself, and not in a generated or systematically ‘unpacked’ meaning.

While Grimes subscribes to participant-observation models as a means of pursuing this objective, his most radical methodological suggestion pushes the boundaries beyond mere participation through the suggestion that one best understands ritual, not only through participation, but in its actual creation. From this perspective, ritual scholars come closest to ritual understanding when they are involved in its creation and development and not through a ‘theoretical’ study of it. This point is developed in some detail in Chapter One, ‘Interpreting Ritual in the Field’ of Beginnings in Ritual Studies.

Grimes’ creative methodology circles us back into a spiral of hermeneutic fusions within which practice meets theory, ritual studies meets its ritual elements, and theology, its liturgical music. Not only does this model suggest a meeting, but a transformation through which practice creates theory, ritual performance creates ritual study and liturgical music, itself, creates theology.
Liturgical Theology

Hermeneutics and interpretive anthropology provide the philosophical attitude and interpretive frameworks of this research; ritual studies sets the space for its performance. In engaging with the final layer of ‘liturgical theology’, the inquiry, the academic question, enters the final frame; the inner sanctum. For while the previous ‘layers’ may provide a perspective from, and a space within which faith may be examined, only this final layer demands it. For liturgical theology, like any theology, is an inner voice; not one incapable of dialogue beyond itself, but one which recognises its starting point as its own faith perspective. It would be perfectly possible to examine liturgical music reform in Ireland since the Vatican Council without this frame; such endeavour is regularly pursued within the disciplines of religious studies, ethnomusicology and ritual studies. If liturgical theology is, however, to be included as a frame of reference, the nettle of faith must be grasped, as must its implications for the academic pursuit.

In his publication *On Liturgical Theology*, Aidan Kavanagh explores this highly charged ground, where faith and scholarship meet. Kavanagh’s conviction that liturgy is the heart and pulse of all experience of God is at the quick of both his faith and academic scholarship:

... a church’s worship does not merely reflect or express its repertoire of faith. It transacts the church’s faith in God under the condition of God’s real presence in both church and world. The liturgy does this to a degree of regular comprehensiveness which no other mode or level of faith activity can equal. (p.8, Kavanagh, 1984)

For Kavanagh, the difficulty lies in holding this position, ‘while maintaining a credible objectivity according to modern standards of academic scholarship’ (p.9, Kavanagh, 1984). He notes this tension as a relatively recent one, connected with the development of research in the natural sciences and of methodologies in pursuit of ‘objective’ results.
Earlier philosophical or humanistic pursuits which co-existed comfortably with concepts of faith followed the natural sciences away from the metaphysical, towards the physical, empirical and observable. Subjective involvement, passion or belief came to be viewed as contaminants and with suspicion. Kavanagh concludes that;

The intellectual ecology all this seems to cause is curious. It requires that a mind which lives with this ecology work at a distance from whatever the mind addresses. This is necessary in order that the involvement with the object under study be avoided, lest accuracy in observation be compromised and prediction and verification collapse... This is why what is done in divinity schools and seminaries is academically rather suspect, while what is done in departments of religious studies in state universities is not. (p. 10, Kavanagh, 1984)

While philosophy, anthropology and ritual studies have all embraced the hermeneutic stance as a possible and legitimate academic attitude, each in turn seems unwilling or suspicious of entering into a ‘fusion of horizon’ with a faith-based position. Could it be that academic liberalism falls short of a spectrum, which could include negotiation with a faith-based ‘horizon’? Is academia suspicious of theological positions to the extent that Kavanagh suggests and to the extent that it modifies the hermeneutic rules to mean that fusion is acceptable as long it remains within the limits of subjective, negotiable, human knowledge? It is not that hermeneutic positions are not embraced by theologians, but to what extent are these acceptable beyond their own ‘academy’ or faith community?

Kavanagh’s suggestion that faith positions are viewed with a hermeneutic of suspicion within academia, smacks of a certain unrehabilitated prejudice. While fashionable hermeneutic attitudes might encourage a researcher to visit a gay bar or a rock concert to experience the ‘real’ context, and, indeed, would look to the voices of homosexual researchers or rock musicians to contribute an ‘inside’ experience to their research, the insider’s voice, if it is a Christian one, is often viewed as indoctrinated, conservative and, according to Kavanagh, obliged to work within those same ‘objective’ parameters which hermeneutics challenges, for fear that their position be contaminated with a dogmatic and doctrinal subjectivism.

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What Kavanagh seems to suggest is an academic fear of institutional religion and a concomitant distrust of its ability to enter the academic discourse. Kavanagh notes that, this often leaves us with,

...an outsider’s impression of what goes on inside an alien human group. Tourists on a bus to Santa Fe have access through their books and guides to more facts about the rain dance they are watching through their windows than do the Indians themselves. But the tourists can never really know the dance as the dancers know it, and knowledge alone does not make tourists Indians. Yet our intellectual ecology pushes us to accept more readily the tourists’ than the Indians’ sort of knowledge. Learned papers on the rain dance astonish no one more than the Indians. (p.10, Kavanagh, 1984)

While anthropology and ritual studies has pushed beyond the scenario Kavanagh describes to a recognition of that ‘inside’ voice, one might suggest that it is willing to entertain that voice as long as it is not asked to believe it. The hermeneutic principle here appears to stop short when asked to dialogue beyond this point. Kavanagh’s suggestion that religious studies is academically more acceptable than theology to a broader academic community may well have its roots in academic hurt and academic restriction in the historical interaction between academia and denominational religion. As Gadamer might suggest, such a prejudice may well be justified, but maintaining it through a refusal to even negotiate with these positions (and perhaps risk the rehabilitation of that prejudice) betrays the hermeneutic enterprise. This research then, suggests a movement to push the ‘fusion of horizon’ to include a faith position in the hermeneutic pursuit of meaning.

While this may serve to broaden the field of hermeneutic theory and method, Kavanagh concludes by suggesting that the move may also benefit the church. While academia may be pushing for a distanciation between itself and theological pursuits, it is perhaps ironic that the contemporary church is also characterised by a distanciation between theology and the pastoral church of the diocese and the parish. Kavanagh notes that, ‘[P]erhaps we who practice in academe do so in such a way that we suggest to students that the real
theological action is to be found only in academe ... In this way we inbreed our craft and weaken our pastoral ministry’ (p.19, Kavanagh, 1984). While faith and its theological expression must re-discover its valid academic voice it would seem that this voice may be found through a reinvestment in its own liturgical practice.

In *Context and Text: Method in Liturgical Theology*, Kevin Irwin suggests that the relationship between faith practice (liturgy) and faith explanation (theology) is at the root of the contemporary liturgical reform. Through his brief historical survey of this relationship, he suggests that Christian faith practice was the cornerstone of early Christian theology; indeed, it was itself a theology; what Gerard Lukken refers to as *theologia prima*, recognising it as both the first and the primary source of all faith understanding (Lukken, 1973). Historical changes, however, saw the gradual separation of liturgy from theology, until liturgy was reduced to little more than rubrical concerns and all preoccupation with faith expression and explanation seemed to reside in theology. The contemporary liturgical reform involves a re-evaluation of liturgy as *theologia prima*.

Framing his discussion in the statement attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine, *ut legem credendi lex supplicandi* (‘the law of prayer grounds the law of belief’), better known in its abbreviated form, *lex orandi, lex credendi*, Irwin pursues the changing historical relationship between theology and liturgy. With reference to Christian practice and belief preceding Prosper’s statement, he notes in the works of Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian and Augustine, a constant articulation of faith through the practice of liturgy. Tertullian, he notes, referred to penitential practices to explain the difference between pardonable and unpardonable sins. Augustine refers to liturgical practice involving initiation rites or aspects of the Eucharistic rite in his challenge to the Pelagian heresy.

These references were not to specific liturgical texts, but to liturgical practice. Irwin notes this difference to warn against what he perceives as contemporary scholarly textual fundamentalism, ‘foreign to the patristic era during which variety in liturgical ritual and in theological meaning flourished’ (p.7, Irwin, 1994). He also suggests that the patristic
explanation of the sacraments was based on their liturgical practice. This is evident in mystagogic catecheses and its sacramental explanation.

In the contemporary scholarly preoccupation with semiology, Irwin also notes that patristic terminology was also often multivalent and exchangeable and resists attempts to fix its meaning. In Cyril of Jerusalem, for example, he notes that, ‘[T]erms such as *typos* (type), *eikon* (symbolic imitation), *antitypon* (anti-type / sign), and *symbolon* (foreshadowing) can be used almost interchangeably in relation to *aletheia* (reality), *ontos* (reality) and *alethos* (truly)’ (p.9, Irwin, 1994).

Theological interpretation took not just liturgical texts but ‘enacted rites’ as its point of departure in the patristic church. Irwin looks to the teachings of Thomas Aquinas for one perspective on Medieval perspectives. Again, he notes a fluidity of terminology. While Aquinas never uses the term *liturgia* (a Greek term which appears again in the texts of the late 16th century), he uses related terms such as *ceremonia*, *cultus*, *devotio*, *minister*, *ministerium*, *mysterium*, *officiu*, *ritus* and *sacramentum*. His use of *signa* and *symbola* are also often interchangeable. Aquinas lists doctrine and the practice of the Church as one of three *auctoritates*, or authorities.

The great surge of systematic theological enterprise of the medieval period, however, saw the emergence of systems of theological understanding often removed from the liturgical practice itself. With reference to Aquinas’ work, Irwin concludes that,

...it reflected the needed systematization of theology at the time and yet sustained some measure of reference to liturgical practice, if not the full liturgical reality assumed in the patristic age. (p.15, Irwin, 1994)

In referring to the liturgical impact of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, Irwin notes the didactic thrust of Reformation liturgy, which sought to purge liturgical practice of its excessive devotionalism and cultic character, as well as the reactionary attention to
rubric exactitude, which developed in the wake of the Council of Trent. With liturgy now increasingly preoccupied with the externals of its cultic rite, sacramental theology was subsumed into the realm of dogmatic theology, to be expounded as doctrine, with little or no reference to practice.

The eventual breakthrough in this liturgical stasis was accomplished through the growing interest in historical studies, particularly as these pertained to historical practice and understanding of liturgy. This movement, coinciding with a rebirth of interest in the Fathers of the Church, led to an increased interest in patristic liturgy and what it revealed about early Christian understandings of liturgy. These interests mark the beginning of the Modern Liturgical Movement.

Irwin notes the contributions of Prosper Guéranger (concerning the historical and theological justification of the centrality of liturgy), Lambert Beauduin (concerning the pastoral dimension of liturgy), Romano Guardini (for his attempt to realign liturgy with systematic theology) and Anton Baumstark (for his work in comparative liturgy) as providing a foundation for the liturgical movement which, some would suggest, saw its culmination in Sacrosanctum Concilium, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council. Certainly the thrust of the Modern Liturgical Movement influenced the position of the constitution on issues of participation, liturgical variety and inculturation, as well as the repositioning of liturgy as the, ‘summit toward which the activity of the church is directed; it is also the fount from which all her power flows’ (Art. 10, p.6, Flannery, 1975).

Irwin’s work also attempts the formulation of a definition of liturgy reflective of this contemporary understanding and a suggested methodology for exploring this phenomena. Amalgamating definitions provided by Gerard Lukken and David Power, he suggests that liturgy is theologia prima (a source of theology in itself) and orthodoxia prima (a theological event, based, in the first instance on ‘right praise’ and secondarily, right teaching). This definition locates liturgy as the focal point of Christian life, belief, and
practice. Liturgy is *anamnetic*, and, through this link with memory, capable of holding the entire mystical body of Christ, past, present and yet to come; both earthly and heavenly, in a way that non-liturgical time and space cannot encompass. It is *epicletic*, deriving its existence and efficacy from the power of the Holy Spirit. It is *ecclesiological* in its expression of the corporate body of Christ and this corporate expression is the medium through which the Spirit acts in the world. In light of this definition, Irwin concludes that liturgy is;

a unique way for the worshipping assembly to experience Christ’s mediation of salvation and the Spirit’s power to sanctify and unify the Church. To assert that the liturgy is the Church’s central act of corporate prayer is to argue that liturgy is a unique, but not exclusive locus for the Church’s experience of God. The spirit enables the church to celebrate liturgy, at which time the church becomes an event, and the event of Liturgy makes the church more fully itself as the body of Christ on earth. (p.49, Irwin, 1994)

Irwin suggests two reasons for developing a new method in liturgical theology. Firstly, he notes that traditional methods which dealt with liturgy through textual interpretation are inadequate to this contemporary understanding of liturgy as event. Secondly, the reforms of the Second Vatican Council have resulted in a recognition of variety and fluidity in textual use and liturgical ‘performance’; a variety closely linked with processes of inculturation. The fixed method applied to texts, which has often resulted in a generic view of liturgy, rather than attending to the particularities of its various forms, is too limited a method for this contemporary perspective.

Once again, Irwin turns to hermeneutics for a broader, interpretive methodology. It is through the application of a hermeneutic perspective to what he terms the constitutive elements of liturgy; Word, symbol, euchology and liturgical arts, that a method adequate to contemporary liturgical expression may be developed.

While Irwin distances his view from strict textual analysis, his own interpretive approach emphasises the linguistic ‘Word’, and the symbolism of Eucharist as central. The
category of 'liturgical arts' is also of interest, particularly in its distinction from that of 'symbol'. Liturgical arts, including music, are defined according to a primarily aesthetic framework and are described as 'complementary elements of the experience of liturgy' (p.219, Irwin, 1994). For all his emphasis on the liturgical event rather than the liturgical text in isolation, Irwin appears more comfortable in falling back on the linguistic elements of liturgy (albeit, within the 'event' context) and euchology, and reluctant to be drawn into a discussion of the more performative, non-discursive aspects of liturgy, relegated to complimentary status and categorised as 'liturgical arts'. Indeed, in his preface, he notes that one area his text will not address is 'the formulation of a precise method derived from the social sciences for interpreting and evaluating liturgical performance' (p.xii, Irwin, 1994).

In *Creativity and the Roots of Liturgy*, John Foley, S.J. attempts to grasp this nettle. It is perhaps significant that he is, himself, a liturgical musician. Foley notes the normative position of liturgists and theologians such as Irwin in affirming the intrinsic role of the arts, but also their complementary status:

> Granted, music, dance, homiletics, and other arts are touted for the wonderful addition they make to liturgical celebration. Music is said to be normative for the liturgy. This contribution is certainly to be praised, but it must not obscure the ever present competition between liturgy and its arts. (p.3, Foley, 1994)

In a bold attempt to re-position the arts in liturgy, Foley suggests that liturgy, at its root, must be artistic, or else the arts are, indeed, only secondary expressions. If the liturgy is essential artistic, then it must be essentially creative. This is the central axis on which Foley's argument turns. In his reflections on the creative roots of liturgy, he draws on the metaphor of birth as the primary creative act. Taking as his central insight the statement that 'every significant union is fruitful', his position continues to draw parallels between the processes of conception, gestation and birthing, and the emergent, creative, eventualised process of liturgy.
Perhaps the least convincing aspect of Foley’s imaginative attempt to position ‘the arts’ at the heart of liturgy is the supposedly obvious link between creativity and an aesthetic stance. If liturgy is creative, he concludes, it must also be essentially aesthetic:

The question that will occupy this book can be simply stated. Is liturgy creative at its core in the same way that the various genres of art are creative? Liturgy may resemble art not only in many details, but also at its very root. If that is so, than the subsidiary arts should find in liturgy a creative home. A unified vision of the liturgy might be at hand: an aesthetical one. (p.1, Foley, 1994)

Drawing on the aesthetic theories of Jacques Maritain and Susanne Langer, Foley creates a chain of logic moving from creativity, to aesthetics, to liturgy. But while this position attempts to grapple with non-discursive, performance-based aspects of liturgy, in a way that Irwin and much liturgical theology fails to do, it is not unproblematic. The simple equation of creativity with aesthetics is itself unconvincing. Is all creativity necessarily aesthetic? To use Foley’s own example, the birth of a child may be viewed from some perspectives (though one doubts that the mother’s may be included here) as aesthetic, but certainly not from others. In the same way one must ask whether the use of music, song or gesture in liturgy is also and necessarily aesthetic? It is the statement that liturgy itself is aesthetic, however, which presents the greatest difficulty and one hardly sustainable anthropologically, not to mention theologically. Through an interpretation of ‘liturgical arts’ which is primarily aesthetic, both Irwin and Foley, though for different reasons, attempt a justification of liturgical art, through a justification of the aesthetic.

The increased influence of anthropological and hermeneutic thought on liturgical theology, however, suggests that the ‘arts’ or aesthetics might not provide a helpful categorisation in an exploration of liturgical practice. By viewing liturgy as an event, and recognising that the performative and non-discursive aspects of this event may well be central to the meaning communicated, music, song and gesture are re-positioned within a spectrum of performative, ritually based symbols and practices. For one of the most
comprehensive presentations of this position, one may turn to the work of Louis-Marie Chauvet, with particular reference to his seminal publication, *Symbol and Sacrament*.

First published in French as *Symbole et Sacrament* in 1987, an English language translation by Patrick Madigan, S.J. and Madaleine Beaumont was published by the Liturgical Press in 1995. Subtitled ‘A Sacramental Reinterpretation of Christian Existence’, this ambitious text attempts a reevaluation of the role and meaning of the sacraments in Christian existence. Looking to patristic examples, Chauvet re-positions the sacraments, not as theoretical concepts but as lived liturgies at the heart of his explanation of Christian existence and meaning. His subtitle also reveals three primary thrusts of this work; his position of ‘reinterpretation’ introduces a hermeneutic stance. Furthermore, this stance is poised to explore ‘existence’; a clear ontological reference. It is not surprising then, to discover that his own hermeneutic position takes Heidegger as his point of departure. Finally, the existence explored is a Christian and a sacramental one, thus locating both his hermeneutics and his ontology within a Christian perspective.

An examination of Chauvet’s development of themes such as performance, symbol, culture and ritual reveals a high degree of parity with the previous examination of interpretive anthropology and ritual studies. All of them may be seen as drawing strongly on hermeneutics and interpretation. They all also argue for an interpretation of the non-discursive elements of ritual which is not primarily aesthetic, but which view elements such as music as expressions of a larger cultural and symbolic mode of understanding; a mode which experiences powerful delivery in performance. The uniqueness of Chauvet’s position is that it locates this same discussion within a Christian context. As such, it may be suggested as a useful ‘inside’ voice, informing a discussion of Roman Catholic liturgical music reform.

Chauvet’s hermeneutic stance rejects the notion of theology as containing core truth matter, but rather views it as a constant dialogue, a constant attempt to engage in a theological pursuit of who we are, who God is, and how the two relate; a position
Heidegger calls an ‘onto-theology’. Chauvet notes that the question, ‘Who is God?’ can not be asked in isolation of the question, ‘Who is it who speaks of this God?’ (p.66, Chauvet, 1995). Attempting an answer to the first question involves a knowledge of who might ask it, and the conditions which led to the question:

In its role as hermeneutics, theology has the job, not of retrieving in original meaning but, on the contrary, of producing, starting especially from the text of the Scriptures, new texts, that is, new practices which foster the emergence of a new world. Its truth is always to be made; it resides in a future constantly happening ...[A]ccordingly, the well known hermeneutical circle is not an abstraction outside of time; it is the circle of life itself, in all its historical corporality, and mortality. The question, ‘Who is God?’ must then be posed in a concrete manner, and not starting from the generic onto-theological concepts of “nature” and “person”. That is to say it takes flesh for us not by descending from the theologies of the hypostatic union but rather by rising from the languages of the New Testament witnesses, which are historically and culturally situated. (p.69, Chauvet, 1995)

Chauvet’s interpretive stance is strongly rooted in scripture and linguistic interpretation. In dealing with the performance dimension of acts of symbolization, he refers almost exclusively to language acts, acts of enunciation and performative utterances (p.130, Chauvet, 1995). In pushing beyond language to pursue his concept of the body and its performative function, it is interesting to note his use of vocabulary, itself rooted in language. He speaks, for example of the ‘body as speech’ and claims that, ‘[C]orporality is the body’s very speech’ (p.146, Chauvet, 1995).

It is in his attempt to formulate a theological interpretation of the components of rituality that Chauvet pushes the frontiers of explanation beyond the linguistic, providing a Christian interpretation of ritual and symbol and its performative aspects. In its comprehensive amalgamation of hermeneutics, interpretive theology and ritual studies, it provides one of the more convincing liturgical models capable of both supporting both an ‘insiders’ theological stance, as well as embracing theoretical and methodological positions from beyond itself. It is a model designed to facilitate dialogue between these various perspectives.
Chauvet notes four primary characteristics governing symbolic practice which he identifies as the foremost expression of ritual dimensionality. The ‘concrete modality’ of each of these, there existence in time and space and corporal expression, indicates the Church’s radical involvement in its liturgical, sacramental life.

The first of these is referred to by Chauvet as ‘symbolic rupture’ (p,330, Chauvet, 1995). Drawing on Turner’s notion of liminality, he suggests that all rites are borderline; their nature, that of a ‘hetero-topy’. A ritual must always involve a rupture with ‘the everyday, the ephemeral, the ordinary’ (p,330, Chauvet, 1995). This rupture is actualised, not through a movement away from the ordinary but through the very appropriation of the ordinary of the most fundamental aspects of human existence (time, space, eating, drinking), and investing them with extraordinary properties. This rupture or remove from secularity is accomplished in a variety of ways. Liturgy frequently has a designated place of worship. It occurs at a consecrated or sacred time; on, for example, the Sabbath or on ‘Sunday’, the Lord’s Day. Ritual employs clothing, actions, food and objects; all of which come from the secular and commonplace, but whose liturgical presence is primarily symbolic and at a remove from their secular functions. The language of ritual is also hetero-topic. Often an old form of a language or even a ‘dead’ language, such as Ancient Hebrew, Classical Greek, Latin, or Old Slavonic, is used in liturgy to demarcate liturgical discourse from normal linguistic communication. Even when the vernacular is used, this usage is often formalised through repetition, or lyricised through song or chant.

If liturgical ritual, therefore, exists within this rupture, de-ritualisation occurs when this rupture experiences an imbalance. Pre-Vatican II Tridentine liturgy and current interpretations of Post-Vatican II liturgy are both illustrative of ritual imbalance and consequent de-ritualisation.

Chauvet’s model suggests that all ritual negotiates between two thresholds or ‘hieratisms’, beyond which rite cannot function. Tridentine liturgy is an example of
liturgy which functioned outside of what Chauvet refers to as the maximal hetero-topy. At this point, liturgy has removed itself so far from the commonplace that it loses its original point of identity and departure:

[F]rom being strange, it becomes foreign. In insufficient contact with the expressed or latent cultural values of the group, desymbolised rite tends to regress to the point where all it can do is appeal to each person’s imagination. (p.332, Chauvet, 1995)

This is illustrated in the Pre-Vatican II practice of saying the rosary during Mass - the communal Eucharist was transformed into an entirely private, disassociated practice. Tridentine liturgy over-emphasised the ‘sacred’ nature of liturgy, to the point where it became untouchable and inaccessible.

The converse of this ritual conservatism and atrophy is to be found in current interpretations of Post-Vatican II liturgy. If Tridentine liturgy can be said to have crossed the threshold of maximal hetero-topy, Post-Vatican II liturgy, in a typical swing of the pendulum, can be said to have moved beyond a minimal hetero-topy. In an effort to create relevance and authenticity, contemporary liturgy often employs the most superficial definition of these concepts, thus creating a trivialisation of symbolic meaning. The employment of only everyday language, gestures and objects, with no reference to their symbolic manifestations, has led to a liturgy which is often highly didactic and textually fundamentalist:

...due to a lack of reflection on the nature of ritual, the liturgy has sometimes been transformed into a mini-course in theology or a strategy session in protest behaviour, all of which have their importance, but which are better carried out some place else. (p.336, Chauvet, 1995)

Textual fundamentalism and the search for immediacy in literal understanding has resulted in the frequent divorce of the liturgical word from liturgical music or chant, which do not always serve the purposes of didacticism. This purpose-driven
manifestation of liturgy, removes it from the essence of ritual, which by its nature, creates a space beyond useful/useless distinctions.

Ritual can be further defined as symbolic programming. Ritual contains the collective memory of a community and employs symbolic means of expressing this memory. In an essay on the importance of chant to liturgical expression, Joseph Gelineau SJ stated that memory is intrinsically linked with the medium through which it is expressed: ‘the revealed message is inseparable from the signs which have historically transmitted it’ (p.232, Baraúna (ed.), 1966). The modern expression of liturgical texts without their historically associated chants, for example, are, therefore, only partial revelation of the memory they possess. Chauvet goes even further and suggests that the medium of expression may be of even greater relevance than what is actually being expressed:

... how something is said is more decisive than what is said, the content being largely determined by the context of the pronouncement. This is to say that ritual language must be treated within the framework of pragmatics and not just semantics. (p.325, Chauvet, 1995)

This point is particularly relevant to the current perception of music, as a ritual function at the service of the Word, a position reiterated in Sacrosanctum Concilium (Art.121). While this may be the case, Chauvet’s model would suggest that the nature of the Word may not be as fixed or inflexible as its importance has often suggested. This is in line with Kevin Irwin’s position in which he suggests that modern liturgy has become too textually fixated and that liturgy is better understood as an event.

Chauvet suggests that the symbolic programming of liturgy must be pastorally informed and contains inherent dangers of de-ritualisation. The programming can become too fixed as in the rubric-centred Tridentine liturgy. Alternatively, deprogramming, such as is evidenced in the Post-Vatican II search for spontaneity, naturalism and authenticity often leads to liturgy with no sense of its collective past or communal memory. It creates, as we often experience today, a liturgy which exists, primarily, in the moment.
In its essence, Chauvet views ritual as symbolic activity. Ritual is an experience. It is characterised by an economy or spareness; a crushing of time and space during which symbolic gestures and objects take on metaphoric dimensions, so that a piece of bread can manifest the paschal mystery or a chanted psalm can remove time from its secular temporality, into an eternal timelessness. The characteristics of symbolism and activity are essential clues to the positioning of music in liturgical context. The action of almost all liturgy is expressed in gesture, music or word. Of these elements, it is the word which is most likely to fall into the trap of didacticism, the antithesis of ritual. Music and gesture therefore provide the symbolic anchor to liturgical action; an anchor which roots liturgy in its proper ritualistic function. Post-Vatican II liturgy, at its most criticised is most often liturgy lacking this ritualistic balance.

Finally, Chauvet suggests that, ‘rite is not first of all a matter of mental content but of behavioural index’ (p.347, 1995). The indexical symbolism is rooted in behaviour and it is this behaviour, and not thought about it, which primarily informs, enacts and defines who we are and what we believe. In this sense, Chauvet views faith, not as a conceptual stance, but as behaviour. While one might view behaviour as informed by faith, Chauvet suggests the opposite; that it is what we do which informs what we believe. This perspective posits not a complimentary, but a central role for the performative aspect of behaviour and positions performative expressions, such as music, at the heart of faith expression.

Much of what liturgical theology offers by way of theoretical perspective and concomitant method can thus be viewed as related to the positions developed in the three previous frames. Chauvet’s work in particular moves liturgical theology in the direction of interpretive models in the search for ritual meaning. The perspective of faith, however, is one unique to liturgical theology and its implications, as a component of this research, will now be addressed.
As Kavanagh noted, the tension between faith and scholarship is a relatively recent phenomena. With the erosion of confidence in ‘objective’ research (even within the ‘natural’ sciences), it may be suggested that this tension is itself in a state of transition. With the growing recognition of, and respect for, overt, experiential points of departure as a component of academic endeavour, it is entirely plausible to include a faith-position as such a point of departure; an existing prejudice, brought to bear, with humility (but not through denial) on the field of inquiry. If the field itself happens to be related in some way to this position, as is the case in an exploration of liturgical music, one might even argue, as Gadamer does, that such a ‘prejudice’ might be advantageous, or, as Kavanagh would say, that it contributes an ‘inside’ voice, and does not limit articulation to the tourists on the bus.

Kavanagh’s suggestion that the interaction of scholarship and liturgy may benefit, not only scholarship, but also the liturgy, is central to this endeavour. Just as Grimes notes that ritual interaction goes beyond participation and includes elements of the creative, so too does this research suggest that its review of liturgical music reform in Ireland does not stop at reportage, subjective or otherwise, but is committed to formulating a creative contribution to the future direction of this reform. Chapter Seven will concern itself most directly with this. The thrust of the research is towards that creative place, which Gadamer and then Ricoeur noted as beyond or ‘in front of’ the fusion of horizon; that which Grimes would call ‘nascent’ or ‘emergent’. While this may form the creative heart of the enterprise, one hopes that it may also contribute beyond the academic, in service to liturgy.

Conclusion

The formulation of theory and method marks the place within which one ruminates on how to convey what one wishes to communicate. Disciplines such as literary theory, anthropology and ethnomusicology have made it a characteristic of their style to remind us that this is not something which can be taken for granted; that the point from which one speaks may, in fact, be one of the most decisive components of that which is
communicated. A number of motific threads, running through the above pages, will be enumerated in these concluding remarks concerning the style, ethos and method of this research.

Firstly, it will be noted that all definitions, methods and theories suggested, exist on the ‘soft’ edge of categorisation. While it is recognised that demarcations provide necessary points of reference, the ‘fuzzy edges’ mentioned by Grimes are given equal recognition. While it is necessary, for example, to note that ‘ritual’ in this work, refers to religious ritual, it is also necessary to locate this demarcation within the broader patterns of ritualization, prevailing every aspect of life.

These ‘soft’ edges are also viewed from a processual perspective, contributing another dimension of fluidity to their existence. Concepts of ‘culture’, ‘symbol’ and ‘performance’ exist, not as static artifacts, but in the changing context of time.

Underlying this double-edged fluidity is the interpretive stance of hermeneutics. This perspective locates meaning, not in fixed realities or core materials of truth, but in the constant interaction of the interpretive stance.

Within this ocean of soft definition, fuzzy edges, processual knowledge and hermeneutic interpretation, one wonders what, if anything, provides the terra firma, within which such a work may anchor itself?

The answer suggested by the above model is the event; the corporal reality of happening. In the case of this research, that happening is a ritual happening; more specifically, a Christian ritual, or liturgical happening, and, more specifically still, the musical aspect of that occurrence. Many perspectives may feed into our understanding of this event, such as historical data or published texts, but their relevance and interpretation takes the event as their point of departure.
This approach has significant implications for method, for, it becomes immediately obvious that, if the theory locates its meaning in the event, then the method must do the same. Thus, theory and practice, or theory and method, are symbiotic concerns. The analysis of historical data, use of qualitative interviews, ethnographic field work, and participant observations are all focused on the liturgical music event, with the intention of revealing its data from a variety of perspectives. This approach calls for multiple perspectives, all bearing down on the same data. This is Geertz’s notion of ‘thick description’, Grimes’ call for ‘full description’ and the rational behind this chapter’s ‘layering’ approach to theory and method, drawing on a broad spectrum of interlocking hermeneutic, anthropological, ritual and liturgical thought and process.

The voice being coaxed forth from this process is the voice of liturgical music. It is a voice mired in ideology, history, and practice, and all these must be afforded due attention if they are to yield up that sound. The following chapters of this work will look to historical context, ideological development and contemporary practice. The final chapters will attempt to follow the sound of the music emerging in this search, so that it forms the heart of any articulation of its future voice and context.
Chapter Two: Liturgical Precedents to the Second Vatican Council

Introduction

The Second Vatican Council is unique in the history of such councils as an event contextualised and shaped by the remit of liturgy. The Modern Liturgical Movement and its radical espousal of the pastoral in liturgy, guaranteed liturgy a decisive role in a council which was, ‘... the first council in history whose official position was to avoid doctrinal rigidity and condemnation, the first to be essentially and unequivocally pastoral’ (p.43. Winter, 1984).

The reclamation of liturgy as locus theologicus and, more particularly, as a theologia prima (Irwin, 1994) by the Council has thorough implications for liturgy as a whole and, for the positioning of music within its context. An understanding of this position dictates an appreciation of the evolution of its liturgical home.

The following chapter seeks to contextualise music within liturgy, by contextualising the present theology of liturgy within its historical development. While a complete history of the symbiotic growth of music and Christian liturgy is beyond the scope of this work, the chapter will draw on secondary literature to illustrate two aspects of this history relevant to the Irish contemporary context under exploration. The first aspect concerns the changing historical relationship between music and liturgy in the Western Christian church and its Post-Reformation Roman Catholic manifestations. The second involves contemporary scholarship concerning the ‘Celtic’ church, ‘Celtic’ spirituality and the historical development of Roman Catholicism in Ireland. The following historical survey takes these two motifs as its primary points of reference, providing dual insights into the historical relational development of music and liturgy, on the one hand, and Ireland and Roman Catholicism on the other.

The most immediate historical context preceding the Second Vatican Council is the Modern Liturgical Movement. An understanding of this context is essential to any exploration of the
subsequent positions, attitudes and directives issued on liturgy at the Second Vatican Council. While this chapter offers a motivic approach to its historical survey, it addresses the Modern Liturgical Movement with greater detail as the immediate precursor of the period under review. The foremost exponent of the Modern Liturgical Movement in Ireland is to be found in the Glenstal Liturgical Congresses of 1954-74 and the chapter will conclude with a detailed examination of its role in preparing the ground and implementing the changes called for by the Council.

Fore-runners of the Modern Liturgical Movement

Introduction

J.D. Crichton’s text *Lights in the Darkness: Fore-runners of the Liturgical Movement* suggests that *Sacrosanctum Concilium* documents, not the beginning of a liturgical revolution but, in many ways, its culmination (Crichton, 1996). This text, which traces the fore-runners in liturgical history from the 17th century is itself evidence of a movement which was to have profound influence on the liturgical movement. This involves the emergence of the scientific study of liturgy from the 16th century; a study which recognised the value of historical and temporal understanding of liturgical evolution. Crichton notes the study of Roman and Gallican sacramentaries in edited versions, such as that of Ludovico Muratori. Muratori, a scholar and liturgist, is represented liturgically by his *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (1748), which includes edited editions of the Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries. These sacramentaries were used by scholars until the production of modern critical editions (Crichton, 1996).

The 19th century saw the growth of interest in biblical and patristic studies alongside both the development of historically-based, scientific study methodologies and the discovery of a number of liturgical documents unknown to liturgists before the 1870’s. Jungmann notes that liturgists and scholars, prior to this date, relied almost exclusively on a small number of texts from which to draw liturgical conclusions. These include Justin’s first *Apology* of c.155AD, one of the earliest substantial recorded description of a liturgical event. The *Apology*, addressed to emperor Antoninus Pius is particularly interesting because of its intended audience, which was clearly outside the church: the description, therefore, assumes nothing and provides substantial detail. The texts contains two accounts; one of a baptism,
culminating in a Eucharistic celebration, and the second, of a Sunday Eucharistic celebration, which appears to represent a regular Sunday event (Bradshaw, 1992).

Other documents available to early liturgical scholars include the *Apostolic Constitutions*, received by Clement I, supposedly from the apostles, but most likely a fourth century text. It contains eight books, noting several liturgical regulations. The *Mystagogic Catecheses* of Jerusalem is also most likely a fourth century text attributed, but probably incorrectly, to St. Cyril. *De Sacramentis* attributed to St. Ambrose and dated at c.390AD is, like the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, a catechetical book of instruction for the newly baptised Christian.

Besides the rather fragmented references of scripture and of some patristic writings, these texts represented the most substantial body of liturgical information available to the liturgical scholar until the latter part of the 19th century. This century laid the foundation for change in every sphere of liturgical life not least of which included music. Liturgical documents now available to scholars included the *Didache* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* which date from the beginning of the second century and include some of the earliest examples of Eucharistic prayers; the *Tradtio Apostolica* attributed to Hippolytus of Rome, dated at c. 215 AD and representing the oldest text of the *canon missai*; the *Euchologion* of Serapian; *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, a recounting by a woman called Aetheria of a fourth or fifth century pilgrimage to the Holy Land and the liturgical celebrations she witnessed; the *Catecheses* of Theodre and the *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, of the fifth century, most likely related to the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.

The discovery of these writings created a new interest in the early worship of the Church and inspired some of the landmark texts of the 19th century liturgical movement including, for example, Duchesne's 1889 publication *Les Origines du Culte Chrétien*. In a translation of Duchesne's work by M.L. McClure in 1931, marking the fifth edition of *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution*, Duchesne treats of the two most significant early Irish liturgical works, the *Antiphonary of Bangor* and the *Stowe Missal* (Duchesne, 1931). Many of these texts, as well as several fragments and partial liturgical texts from the first four centuries of Christianity were published in a single volume by Lucien Deiss and translated into English by Matthew J. O'Connell in *Springtime of the Liturgy* (1979, Deiss).
Biblical Scholarship

Biblical scholarship and studies of early Christian worship dating from this time provide liturgicians with the roots of contemporary liturgical practice. The Reformed biblical scholar, Oscar Collmann, professor of New Testament and Early Church History in the Theology Faculty of the University of Basel, the École des Hautes Études and the Faculté de Théologie Protestante in Paris, is representative of that school of biblical studies which finds numerous derivative references to liturgy in the writings of the New Testament. In *Early Christian Worship*, Collmann recognises in passages from the Acts of the Apostles (2.42; 5.42); Paul’s letters to the Corinthians (1 Cor 14; 11.20), greeting formulae and doxologies from the New Testament Epistles and, particularly, John’s Gospel and the Book of Revelation, a multitude of references to the liturgical practices of the earliest Christian communities. Collmann cites Acts 2.46 and 5.42, along with Luke 24.53 to suggest the gathering for worship in the Temple, following the Jewish custom of teaching in the Temple (Mark 14.49). 1 Cor. 16.19 and Romans 16.5 are used to suggest that worship also took place in the homes of members of the community and Acts 2.46; 5.42 and Luke 24.53, to suggest that this gathering was a daily occurrence (Collmann, 1953).

Collmann notes the early adaptation of Sunday as the Lord’s Day, as distinct from the Jewish Sabbath. The early church did not yet differentiate between Easter and Sunday with every Sunday celebrated as an Easter event (1 Cor. 16.2; acts 20.7; Revelations 1.10). Later, full advantage was taken of the pagan sun cult to emphasis the centrality of Sunday, leading to its status as an official holiday under Constantine the Great.

Collmann also notes the frequent mention of psalms and hymns (1Cor 14.26; Col. 3.16; Eph 5.19), particularly in the Pauline letters. He suggests that the Johannine Apocalypse contains some of the oldest Christian songs (Rev. 5.9, 5.12, 5.13, 12.10-12, 19.1-2, 19.6) and concludes that ‘liturgically ordered singing was already in use in these first gatherings’ (p. 22, Collmann, 1953). Collmann suggests that John’s Gospel is, primarily, concerned with establishing direct lines of connection with the worship of the Christians he addressed and the historical life of Jesus Christ. In the Book of Revelation, Collmann sees a Joycean superimposition of the liturgical celebration, onto the structure of the revealed vision:
One might see that the seer, who has his visions on the Lord’s day, when the Christian community is assembled, treats the early Christian service of worship as an anticipation of the events of the last day. (p.37, Collmann, 1953)

Collmann’s liturgical, scriptural derivations are not without their critics. Ferdinand Hahn’s text, *The Worship of the Early Church*, for example, translated by David E. Green for a publication in 1973 is highly sceptical concerning many of Collmann’s conclusions. In an introduction to Hahn’s text, John Reumann, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, questions Collmann’s assertion that all early Christian worship was necessarily Eucharistic and suggests that worship was much less tied to the traditions of the Temple than Collmann postulates.

Hahn, Professor at the Institute for New Testament Theology at the University of Munich in Germany, approached scripture as a source of liturgical evidence with much more caution than Collmann. The fragmentary nature of references to any form of worship in the New Testament makes for dubious material:

> It is a well-known fact that the earliest evidences from which we can derive a complete picture of the structure and sequence of Christian worship, date from the middle of the second century. (p.1, Hahn, 1973)

Hahn suggests that the worship of the early Christian church was necessarily and theologically in opposition to the Jewish cult of Temple. Prayer was established by Jesus Christ, not as a work of piety, as in the Jewish tradition, but as a statement of belief (Mark 11.24). This prayer, addressed to *Abba*, revealed an intimacy of relationship heretofore unknown in Jewish practice. Hahn suggests that the prayer message of Jesus Christ ‘repudiates Jewish observance of the law and its concomitant ritualizations of life and he proclaims the end of the temple cult’ (p. 30-31, Hahn, 1973). Worship was no longer viewed as distinct from the life of service of every Christian. Hahn notes that even the word *leitourgia* or ‘service’ was not used exclusively to denote worship but to include the missionary proclamation of the Gospel and even the function of the state as appointed by God. Hahn’s observations on the continuum of service in worship and life have profound implications for the pastoral perspective of liturgy espoused by the Second Vatican Council.
Hahn disputes Collmann’s assertions on the presence of hymns in the Book of Revelation and sees no evidence for any derivation of same from public worship. He does, however, note with interest the hymn reference of Col 1.12-20, prefaced by the word *eucharistountes* (Hahn, 1973). This may suggest an early example of a sung component to Eucharistic celebration.

Whatever liturgical practices lie hidden in the fragments of scriptural illusion, Paul Bradshaw suggests that it is highly unlikely they include a homogeneous practice and that the presence of a single liturgical evolution from the early church to the fourth century is dubious. Bradshaw’s highly critical text, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, notes the tendency among biblical scholars to over-interpret scripture as reference to liturgy, to draw conclusions of early practice, based on later documentary evidence, and to collect information to form composite conclusions (Bradshaw, 1992).

Bradshaw highlights a number of problems faced by liturgists attempting to reconstruct the worship practices of the early church. There is the ambiguity of metaphoric language. Does the phrase ‘sealed with the Holy Spirit’ (2 Cor. 1.22), for example, refer to a literal practice or a symbolic image? Can practices described in scripture be assumed to be generic? Does the description of the church gathering for prayer on Paul’s imprisonment (Acts 12.5, 2) represent a regular practice or a night prayer on the occasion of this extraordinary occurrence?

Bradshaw also cautions recent research, which detects evidence of actual liturgical texts and hymns within the New Testament. Among these he includes the Lukan canticles (1.46-55, 68-79, 2.29-32), John 1. 1-16, Phil 2.6-11, Col 1.15-20 and the Book of Revelation. Bradshaw questions the criteria used to separate these passages from what may simply be an example of poetic style. He does concede, however, that ‘in spite of all the uncertainty, these passages which have been identified as hymns and prayers can legitimately be seen as reflecting the sort of liturgical material which early Christians would have used’ (p. 44, Bradshaw, 1992).

Bradshaw is equally cautious concerning the information to be gleaned from the earliest liturgical sources at our disposal. Does Justin’s *Apology*, for example, refer to a widespread practice or to a particularly Roman one? The writings of Ambrose (339-97), written as they
were for a Christian community, give little detail of that which would be assumed to be public knowledge. The style is also highly metaphorical and therefore difficult to rely on as a source for definitive practices. The Egyptian writers, notably Clement of Alexandria and Origen were also highly allegorical in style and wrote for an elitist group of Christians, making it difficult to ascertain exactly how widespread the practices described in their works might have been. A number of sources survive from fourth and fifth century Jerusalem, notably the travel diary of a female pilgrim, but Bradshaw cautions against using these as the basis for any generalisations on liturgical practices as Jerusalem very likely had unique worship practices, as a centre of pilgrimage for the early church.

Finally, Bradshaw notes the prevalence of what he refers to as ‘living literature’: documents which were liberally changed and revised by the communities through which they passed over generations. This makes exact datings of specific practices even more complex.

In conclusion, then, a review of literature concerning liturgical practices of the early Christian communities, reveals little by way of explicit evidence. ‘We must therefore be content to remain agnostic about many of the roots of Christian worship practices’ (p. 55, Bradshaw, 1992).

With the lack of firm historical foundations concerning both liturgical and religious music practice, contemporary scholarship is looking increasingly to both text and architecture in its speculative search for the origins of Christian liturgical music. Edward Foley, professor of liturgy and music at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, for example, uses biblical exegesis and architectural sites as the basis of his proposals concerning the ‘auditory environment’ of early Christian ritual. While definitive statements concerning repertoire and melodic content are difficult to sustain, an understanding of the auditory surround within which this music developed may illuminate something of its character. In Ritual Music: Studies in Liturgical Musicology, Foley proposes that the auditory environment of early Christian worship was directly and significantly influenced by the oral base of Ancient Israel. While Israel had already developed a strong literary tradition by the time Christianity began to emerge, evidence of residual orality may still be identified. Foley suggests three examples of this. Firstly, auditory imagery dominates in descriptions of divine manifestations in the
Old Testament. While visual imagery also features in these descriptions, the visual usually sets the stage for the auditory revelation. Visually, the divine manifestation is also often obscure or may not be viewed directly, as in Moses’ experience of God revealing himself in the burning bush. Moses turns his face away for fear of looking directly on the face of God (Ex 3:6). Looking at God is somehow dangerous while listening to God is a medium through which humanity gains access to the inaccessible. Foley suggests that this bias in favour of auditory over visual communication partially informs the Judaic prohibition of visual depictions of God as well as the development of the musical aspects of Judaic ritual.

Concealed oralism is also evident, Foley suggests, in the importance given to the ear and the mouth, as the organs of hearing and speaking in the Old Testament. The relationship between God and humanity is one of listening and hearing, dramatically expressed in the opening words of the shema ‘Hear, O Israel’. Finally, Foley notes the extended vocabulary associated with the organs of speech:

The mouth (peh) is the main organ of speech mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures ... Besides the mouth, however, the Hebrew Scriptures also admit a host of other parts of the body that represent the instruments of speech: sapa which literally means lips (Ps 22:8), but also is a metaphor for language (Is 6:7), lason is the tongue (Lam 4:4), but also is a figure for true (2Sm 23:2) or false (Ps 12:3) speech, hek or palate is literally the seat of the sense of taste (Ps 12:3); garon is at once the throat (Jer 2:25), but also an organ of speech (Is 58:1). (p.48, Foley, 1995)

Christianity emerged as both a child of this culture as well as one under the Hellenistic influence imposed across the Near East by Alexander the Great and subsequent Greco-Roman political and cultural inroads. While Hellenic culture prized the visual as much as the auditory, Foley suggests that Jesus’ ministry was self-consciously oral. His style of preaching and teaching, for example, would appear to be improvised and spontaneous, even in a cultural surround which valued the written word and memorised recitation. Stylistically, the Gospels are characterised by the predominance of story-telling. The parables, for example, utilise mnemonic devices such as contrast and exaggeration, rendering the stories memorable and easily retold.
While these proposals say little about the actual musical content of early Christian ritual, they do highlight a number of characteristics concerning its surround. Firstly, oral transmission was still an important aspect of the communicative environment of early Christianity. Oral and auditory imagery played an important role in the way Christians understood their world and assimilated their faith system. Finally, this ‘auditory’ environment did not distinguish categorically between the various vocal expressions of speech, chant and song. Declamation of prayers, stories and histories moved across these expressive modes to the extent that references to ‘music at liturgies’ would seem an inappropriate way of describing what was fundamentally an auditory and oral experience within which all forms of vocal expression were intrinsic.

Historical Motifs: Music and Liturgy / Ireland and Roman Catholicism

The Constantine Influence and the Introduction of Christianity to Ireland

The edict of toleration issued from Milan by Constantine in 313AD, signalled significant changes for the Christian community and its worship practices. Constantine and his family erected great buildings for worship across the Holy Land, notably in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, as well as in Constantinople and Rome. The building of these so-called basilicas provided a significant contact between secular culture and the Christian community. Music was soon to be affected in the same way.

The connection between emerging liturgical practice and its musical expression may be examined through the works of two scholars, Karl Gustav Fellerer and Johannes Quasten. While subsequent scholarship has led to a revision of several aspects of their work, both have made meaningful contributions to the questions surrounding the interconnectedness of music and liturgy in Christianity.

In *The History of Catholic Church Music*, Karl Gustav Fellerer suggests that the initial contact between music and the new Roman aesthetic and, more importantly, the reaction to it, is at the heart of the continuous tensions between music and liturgy (Fellerer, 1961). In an effort to separate themselves from their pagan neighbours and their worship practices, the Christian community developed a conscious, cultic character. The effects on musical practice
were complex. Instrumental music, associated with pagan sacrifice and libation, was widely forbidden in Christian worship. Singing involved simple, melodic, monophonic lines with responsorial features, as described in Hippolytus’ *Apostolic Tradition.*

When the liturgy was being formed in the first Christian centuries there was no difficulty or disagreement because the musical expression grew with, and out of, liturgical forms ... It was not until church music became an independent art and went its own way in the effort to enhance the inner liturgical expression with artistic means that any problem arose regarding the place of music in worship. (p. 3, Fellerer, 1961)

The influence of secular culture on this shift in attitude to music in worship following the Edict of Milan has exercised a profound influence on the positioning of music in liturgy. Fellerer suggests that the root of this tension is to be found in the approach adopted by the Church to the secular music and music aesthetic following the fourth century expansion of religious rite and liberation of Christianity. The widespread growth of Christianity, without the same probation or instruction possible when the community was smaller and more close-knit created the need for a more adamant attitude to ritual; one which would separate it from its pagan surround. Hence, the restriction on instrumental music associated with this world.

On the other hand ‘...the serious musical outlook of antiquity could not simply be discounted. It possessed in its tradition too great a worth for Christianity not to adapt it and to give it a Christian basis’ (p. 14, Fellerer, 1961). While much of the Greek musical theory promoting mathematical proportions in melody, harmony and, most significantly, word-setting, has been lost, its valuing of music according to aesthetic principles independent of function has remained a factor within Western attitudes to church music, changing it, in its essence, from primarily an expression of cult to one of art. This tension between the positioning of music as a natural expression within cult to an artistically informed art lies at the heart of the unease facing contemporary attitudes to church music composition, practice and perspective.

Quasten’s *Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* explores similar motifs concerning the relationship between secular and sacred culture as well as pagan and Christian cultic practice. Christian cultic worship was determined to identify itself as offering a
‘spiritual sacrifice’. The exterior aspects of worship were valid only as means of expressing an interior, spiritual state, ‘[O]nly insofar as singing is the expression of an inner disposition of devotion does it have any meaning’ (p.59, Quasten, 1983).

Singing, as the voice of the soul, was accepted in a way that instrumental music, associated with pagan cultic practice, was not. If the pagan use of instrumental music was easily dismissed as external and seductive, leading man towards earthly temptation rather than the purity of God’s word, the use of instrumental music by the Jews, God’s chosen people was more difficult to ignore. Quasten suggests that emerging Christianity utilised musical expression as a means of both distancing themselves from what was viewed as excessive, external cultic practice, as well as from the Jewish worship forms out of which Christian liturgical practice had grown. This was done through the exclusion of instrumental music from worship. Chrysostom explained the Jewish use of instruments as a concession of God to the Jews who couldn’t be expected to reach the same spiritual elevation of the Christians. Clement of Alexandria reverted to allegorical explanation, suggesting that the Old Testament references to the psaltery represented the tongue, while the cithara stood for the mouth. Theodoret explains that the Jews picked up their practices of instrumental music during their slavery in Egypt, thus enforcing the association between instrumental music and paganism. Quasten concludes that while the early Christian assertion of this theory was derived as much from perceived necessity as fact, the Egyptian influence on Jewish music should not be dismissed.

The exclusion of instrumental music would seem to be as much about the practical need to create a separate identity for the growing Christian community as it was based on a theological explanation of spiritual expression and sacrifice. Indeed, the separation of practical and theological considerations in the formation of liturgical practice is often a complex process. In many cases, necessity or circumstance would seem to be the foundation upon which later theological explanation was built. Quasten’s exploration of the development of unison singing in the early church suggests that these considerations walk hand in hand:

It has been shown ...that Christianity, for purely cultic reasons, was obliged to prohibit instrumental music, which was so closely connected with idolatry. But there was still another reason why Christianity assumed a generally hostile position in this
Clement extols the purity of unison song as representing the *koinonia*, the community of the people of God into a single body and rejects all harmonic and instrumental music as fragmenting this oneness. Cyril of Jerusalem viewed this unity as extending beyond the earthly realm, to include the choirs of angels and heavenly hosts. The conceptual importance of this unity may be illustrated in the use of this argument by Ambrose in defending the practice of allowing women to sing in church, for how could the *koinonia* of souls be achieved if half of the community was excluded from its expression? The danger of female voices distracting the congregation from the true purpose of their worship, however, led to the admonishment that women sing softly and unobtrusively, to the point where female non-singing was a sign of humility, while exuberant song was associated with the behaviour of courtesans and women of ill repute.

With the emphasis on song as an expression of internal spirituality, fears that concern for the external aesthetic would gain precedence over inner disposition led to inevitable conflict between aesthetic and spiritual concerns;

...many ecclesiastical writers of the fourth and fifth centuries began to fear that the prayerful character of singing could suffer because of too great an artistic elaboration. They were concerned lest the aesthetic predominate in the liturgy to the detriment of souls. (p.92, Quasten, 1983)

This same conflict is at the heart of continued tensions between musicians and liturgists where the former often views the aesthetic as necessary to the spiritual and the latter more inclined to view it as expendable.

In *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, Jungmann suggests that the relative importance and development of song in liturgy varied greatly according to the liturgical practice (Jungmann, 1959). The Syrian liturgy, developed originally in the earliest language of the church, Syro-Aramaic, and surviving to the present day with the Nestorians of Iraq, had a strong influence on the development of the Greek liturgy, particularly regarding singing,
introducing new modes of psalm singing and the composition of hymns. The Syrian liturgy also included the practice of adding the Gloria Patri to the end of the psalms. Of particular note are the hymns of Ephrem, many of which were translated and used in Greek liturgies and even later in Latin.

The change from Greek to Latin as the liturgical language of the church dates from c.250AD. The use of Latin, not only as a liturgical language, but as the language of ecclesiastical government had profound influence on the development of rites beyond the original Latin rites of Rome and North Africa. Jungmann suggests four other Latin rites which developed throughout the Middle Ages: the old Spanish, Celtic, Gallican and Milanese. Each of these had, by and large, their own liturgical texts and liturgical books.

In examining the liturgical texts of the Celtic rite in the early Irish church, Peter O’Dwyer O Carm, notes in Towards a History of Irish Spirituality, the scarcity of extant manuscripts, with little before the seventh century (O’Dywer, 1995). Of the liturgical books and texts of the Celtic rite belonging to the Irish church, among the most significant and earliest is the Antiphonary of Bangor. Composed at Bangor, between 680 and 691, it includes a collection of prayers and hymns used especially for the celebration of the liturgy of hours. These prayers give us a rare insight into the spirit and orientation of the early church in Ireland and its monastic expression. This orientation drew on the traditions and prayer forms of the universal church but

... in these hymns and prayers the Irish made their own contribution to the development of a living tradition of prayer, adapting it to their needs and expressing it in their own style. (p. 14-15, Maher, 1981)

The Irish monastic community represented in this manuscript is one which sourced itself predominantly through prayer structures and elements similar to the Roman, Gallic and Spanish liturgies of its time. In Michael Maher’s collection of essays entitled Irish Spirituality, Michael Curran suggests that an interesting factor of early Irish worship practices was not its unique ‘Celticism’ but ‘the fluency and depth displayed by the Irish in the composition of hymns and versified prayers in Latin as early as the second half of the sixth
century, about a hundred years after the initial conversion of the country’ (p. 15, Maher, 1981). Curran suggests that the hymns found in the Antiphonary are among the finest examples of early Christian Irish liturgical composition. In her M.A. thesis on The Music of Traditional Religious Song in Irish, Nóirín Ní Riain notes that the Antiphonary contains the only remnants of chant practice preceding the Romanising influence of the following centuries (Ní Riain, 1980). ‘Audite omnes’, a hymn in honour of St. Patrick is attributed to St. Sechnall; ‘Hymnum dicat’, attributed in the manuscripts to St. Hilary of Poitiers and widely regarded as a Gallican hymn of Irish composition and ‘Sancti venite’, the Eucharistic hymn, are among the twelve hymns in the collection.

Curran examines one hymn from the Antiphonary, ‘Sacratissimi martyres’ as an example of Latin hymn, which draws on Irish literature and Irish monastic piety, emulating Latin composition while creating a work rooted in its local expression. ‘Sacratissimi martyres’ has a metrical form not commonly found in Latin hymnody. Each stanza contains four lines of irregular length with four accentual beats in each line. Curran suggests that,

It is the first accentual or strictly rhythmical hymn in Latin hymnody, a form which was to have a great future in the Middle Ages when it was combined with the established syllabic metres. The literary background for this new metrical development is found in ancient Irish verse forms. (p.16, Maher, 1981)

The writings of Columbanus also indicate the importance of the liturgy of the hours in early Irish monasticism and O’Dwyer notes that Columbanus is attributed with the establishment of laus perennis, maintained by relays of choirs. A strong exegetical tradition and Marian devotion (such as that evidenced in ‘Hymnum dictat’) are other characteristics of early Irish worship which can be gleaned from these writings.

Medieval Music and Medieval Ireland: Roman and Gregorian Assimilation

‘After many diverse developments and adjustments from the fourth to the sixth centuries, the basic shape of the Roman liturgy and of its chant was finally achieved about the turn of the seventh century’ (p.29, Fellerer, 1961). Despite Fellerer’s confident assertion, knowledge of the codification of the liturgy and the development of chant during this period is limited due to a scarcity of extant source materials. Ideologically, if not actually, the name most often associated with the assimilation process of this period is Pope St. Gregory the Great.
Hayburn suggests that the present positioning of chant in the Roman Rites of the Mass and Divine Office can be dated back to the reform of the seventh century liturgy (Hayburn, 1979). In *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, David Hiley is somewhat more circumspect in naming the extent of Gregory’s actual contribution to this development:

Since there is a gap of nearly three centuries between Gregory’s life and the appearance of the first completely notated chant-books, it is unlikely that what finally entered the written musical record is what Gregory knew, even if we subtract the chants for those days whose liturgies were added to the calendar after Gregory’s time. It is nevertheless possible to argue that an ancient core of the repertory, in something very much like the state in which we find it in the late ninth century, might date back to Gregory. (p.503, Hiley, 1993)

Gregory wrote very little himself on his musical reforms. In a *Letter of Gregory the Great to Bishop John of Syracuse*, he defends his reforms to the *Kyrie eleison*, the singing of the *Alleluia* outside of Paschal Time and its repression during Lent (Hayburn, 1979). Later writings such as those of Venerable Bede, a historian of English Catholicism, assert the importance of the Gregorian tradition and the central position of Gregory as the reformer of the Divine Office and liturgical chant.

Whatever the extent of Gregory’s influence in liturgical reform, it would appear that Rome had neither the power nor the mission to introduce its practice across Western Europe. The impetus towards this standardisation was initiated, not by Rome, but by the growing power of the Frankish Empire and the Carolingian dynasty. The conviction of Pippin III and later, of Charlemange, that the Frankish Empire should emulate and promulgate the Roman liturgy has been attributed to both political and religious motives. A standardised liturgy bespoke a unified empire, but Hiley suggests that the attribution of an exclusively political motivation to Charlemange would fail to acknowledge his genuine knowledge and love of chant, his familiarity with Roman liturgy from several visits to Rome, as well as his personal, liturgical piety.

What is referred to as ‘Gregorian’ chant may have been retrospectively attributed to Gregory but the earliest written sources currently available have been sourced in the Frankish Empire.
The Frankish assimilation was not a slavish one and modifications and adjustments expanded the repertoire to include, for example, the Frankish predilection for sequences and tropes.

The liturgical reforms of the 7th century, initially intended for Rome, began to spread to other parts of the Christian world as part of this trend towards centralisation. Gallican chant, for example, was largely unable to withstand the Romanising pressure of Charlemagne. In Spain the Mozarabic chant maintained a strong presence until the 11th century, with pockets of it still in existence. By and large, the unification of Roman chant practice did not become a reality until after the Council of Trent. Hiley concludes that an understanding of what was to become the officially recognised liturgical music of the Roman Catholic church, Gregorian chant, must carry an awareness of its fragmented political, liturgical and ideological history:

"...'Gregorian' chant is neither of one specific time, nor wholly Roman, nor wholly anything else. A legendary label is as good as any. (p.513, Hiley, 1993)"

Irish manuscripts of this time continue to include a combination of old Spanish, Gallican and Roman influences, as well as a uniquely Irish perspective on spirituality and devotion. The Stowe Missal of c. 800AD illustrates the centrality of Eucharistic devotion to the early Irish church. A product of the Céili Dé reform, it is the oldest extant missal of the Irish church, including a short treatise in Irish on the Mass (O'Dwyer, 1995). Michael Curran concludes his essay by suggesting that manuscripts such as the Antiphonary of Bangor and the Stowe Missal creates a picture of early Irish monastic worship, built around the daily prayers of the hours and the Sunday Eucharist (Maher, 1981). Pádraig Ó Fiannachta also suggests in an article in Maher’s collection that much of our early nature poetry can be attributed to the Céili Dé period and illustrates a strong imminence in early Irish spirituality.

A steady interaction between Irish spirituality and continental liturgical practice characterised the following centuries. The missionary zeal of the early church continued with the formation
of the so-called Schottenkloster with monasteries founded at Ratisbon, Würzburg, Nuremberg, Constance, Vienna and Eichstatt throughout the 11th and 12th century. These monasteries were in close contact with their Irish foundations, both financially and liturgically (O’Dwyer, 1995).

The 12th century is considered a watershed in Irish liturgical history, marking the first significant attempt to bring the Irish church in line with the Roman rite and the Gregorian reforms. This formed part of a larger attempt to structure the Irish church according to Roman diocesan norms and to bring the church into closer accord with the moral and political norms of Rome. A number of synod were called to address these issues. The synod of Cashel in 1101 dealt with ecclesiastical reform, forbidding simony, parallel jurisdictions and clerical concubinage. The synod of Rathbreasail in 1111 established the diocesan structures of the church, creating twenty-six sees. The synod of Kells in 1152 increased this number to thirty-seven, with Dublin and Tuam raised to archdioceses and Kells included as a diocese. The primacy of Armagh was also established.

Continental monastic orders also began to permeate Irish monasticism. Though there may have been a small number of Benedictine in Ireland prior to this date, the first Cistercian monastery founded in Ireland was established at Mellifont in 1142. The Mendicant orders followed with the Dominicans arriving in 1224, the Franciscans c.1230 and the Carmelites and Augustinians in the second half of the century. A number of these orders, particularly the Dominicans and the Carmelites, brought their own liturgical rites with them and the Norman introduction of the Sarum rite in the twelfth century was also a significant addition to Irish liturgical practice.

According to an article included in the second volume of Irish Musical Studies by Patrick Brannon, the first notated evidence of Irish Medieval liturgical music is suggested as dating from the early 11th century. Of manuscripts extant in Ireland, however, the earliest notated sources are of the Sarum rite, introduced to Ireland in the 12th century. In 1186 a synod at Dublin's Christ Church Cathedral declared that all churches in the province of Dublin should adopt the English Sarum use, thus signalling the beginning of the demise of the liturgy and music of the Celtic rite as previously practised in Ireland (Gillen and White,
1993). The use of the Sarum rite spread beyond the Dublin province and appears to have been used outside the pale, in combination with a mixture of continental and Celtic influences. In terms of music, Brannon notes the survival, for example of the hymn *Ecce fulget clarissima*, found in the *Liber Hymnorum*, within the period of widespread Sarum usage, suggesting a corresponding mixture of musical material from the Celtic and Sarum rites.

O'Dwyer suggests that it is difficult to postulate about the liturgical life of the laity in the early centuries of Irish Christianity. Parishes only became a reality in the 12th century and they were very likely still largely dominated by family allegiances. In keeping with continental Europe, there is ample evidence in the stores of Irish literature of a strong Marian devotion throughout the Middle Ages. The oldest Gaelic litany to Mary is found in the *Leabhar Breac* and dates from before the 12th century. Pilgrimage remained an important aspect of Irish religious life with frequent pilgrimages organised to Rome and Santiago. Lough Derg remained an important pilgrimage site until its closure in 1497 by Alexander VI. Devotion to Mary as ‘Muire Mháthair’ is evidenced since the 8th century and with the arrival of the Normans, Ireland became more closer influenced by the rich Marian devotional traditions of Medieval Europe. *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, a Latin text, dating from the 14th century, was translated into a number of languages including Irish. The Irish translation, *Smaointe Beatha Christi*, treating of the great sorrow of Christ’s passion and of Mary’s prominence in his life, appears to have been enormously influential in Irish spirituality, appearing in numerous manuscripts and inspiring later poetry and prose writings. The work of the Irish poet Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (d.1448), represents the devotion to Mary as Mother, to the Cross and the Passion. His poem, *Slán ar na mharbhadh Mac Dé*, recounting the fifteen sorrows of Christ’s Passion illustrates the numerical and mystical symbolism characteristic of Medieval spirituality. In an essay on Mary in Irish spirituality, Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire, S.J. suggests that Irish Marian devotion was at once an aspect of a greater Medieval Marian tradition and, at the same time, uniquely Irish in its treatment of Mary. Mary is seen primarily through her relationship with her son. This relationship is one of great intimacy and sore compassion in the face of her son’s suffering. Ó Laoghaire notes the direct and personal language of, for example ‘Caoineadh na dTri Muire’ : ‘A Leinbh, is mor é t’ualach is leig cuid de ar do mháthair’ (‘O child, it’s a heavy burden, let your mother part bear it.’) (Maher, 1981).
While Ireland remained influenced yet separate from continental Europe liturgical expression during the Middle Ages, Rome continued to exercise an increased control over all aspects of liturgy, not least of which, included music. A number of significant documents and legislation concerning music appeared during this period. *Una Res* (C.850), the papal bull of Leo IV, is the first official Papal legislation confirming the centrality of chant in liturgy. By far the most important legislation of the Middle Ages, however, is John XXII’s *Docta Sanctorum Patrum*, the most significant Papal statement on the liturgical use of the *Ars Nova* style.

The development of polyphony within the liturgy created liturgical problems beyond those inherent in the heretofore almost exclusive marriage of chant and liturgy. The introduction of the *cantus firmus* included a slowing of the chant and a more metrical approach to its rhythmic quality. Secular texts, even in the vernacular, were often inserted into the chant line. Tension between the liturgical intent of text and music on the one hand, and the aesthetic principles of this new style on the other, were addressed by John XXII in *Docta Sanctorum Patrum* in which the practice of polyphony was excepted for the celebration of feast days, the Mass and the Divine Office but only on the condition that the chant be given pride of place in all liturgical worship. This legislation marks the beginning of the church’s attitude of preservation towards chant, strict restriction of the vernacular and regulation of texts within liturgical use (Hayburn, 1979). Fellerer suggests that the root of the tension lay in the growth of a secular music, independent of church use or principle and that, in attempting to solve the problem John XXII rejected ‘any means of musical composition which expressed contemporary secular art’ (p. 56, 1961). This hostile attitude to the secular world, reinforced throughout the years of Tridentine influence remained one of the primary tensions faced by musicians writing for the liturgy until the reforms of the second Vatican Council.

**Reform and Counter-reform**

‘The Council of Trent (1545-1563) was of paramount significance both in the shaping of general ecclesiastical usages and in the reform of the worship and music of the Church’ (p.25, Hayburn, 1979). The musical significance of Trent lies less in any explicit reaction to musical
and aesthetic issues than in its firm focus on the purpose and action of music in its liturgical context.

With the social and theological upheaval of the Reformation ever present, matters of music were not addressed until the final sessions. Tension existed between those who wished to entirely exclude music or at least limit it to the use of chant and those who advocated a reform that was liturgically rather than stylistically based. With the intervention of, among others, the emperor of Spain, Ferdinand I, with an impassioned plea for the retention of polyphonic music, the latter group eventually held sway. While little was actually legislated, Tridentine attitudes, championing chant and polyphony as the ideal forms of liturgical music expression, rooted deeply in the post-Reformation atmosphere. Latin chant became a statement of Catholic definition. Reactionary in its perception of the new Protestant vernacular hymnody, Catholicism adopted the Tridentine Mass as its stronghold, with chant and chant-based polyphony its primary musical vehicle.

With the placing of liturgical considerations at the heart of musical decision, music was firmly positioned at the service of liturgy. Fellerer suggests that this channelling of musical expression into the demands of the rite it served shifted the balance to create an ecclesiasticalliturgical art (Fellerer, 1961). Palestrina and Zoila were commissioned to compile a gradual of chants and, in accordance with Tridentine attitudes to textual clarity and musical directness, and with reference to the aesthetic of the time, several of the chants were significantly rearranged. While the initial commission was withdrawn, the Medicean Gradual, printed in 1615 adopted many of the changes and served as the source for the official Ratisbon edition of the 19th century.

The most significant liturgical music papal document in the period between the Council of Trent and the church music reforms of the 19th is the *Annus qui* encyclical of Benedict XIV. Hayburn suggests that it ranks second in all church music papal legislation only to the 1903 *motu proprio* of Pius X, signalling the beginning the modern liturgical movement (Hayburn, 1979). The encyclical addressed the singing of the Divine Office and of Gregorian chant, the use of the organ and musical instruments in worship, polyphony and contemporary music. Its position, regarding the acceptance of polyphonic and instrumental music, to the extent to
which they served the liturgy and, particularly, the word in the liturgy, used issues of piety as criteria for musical acceptance. With only liturgical and pietistic guidelines, and little by way of actual instruction on musical style, the door was open to the growing tendency towards individual emotionalism in musical expression and the importation of musical styles and compositions from the secular world: ‘Thus the ecclesiastical authority adopted as the principle for evaluating church music the effect of the musician’s art on the worshiper rather than the demands of the liturgical action itself’ (p.143, Fellerer, 1961). As with many papal documents of its kind, it takes a firm stance against abuse within liturgical music without clarifying the nature or criteria of same. This remains an issue today, in the light of the Vatican II guidelines, in which such explicit criteria remain unaddressed.

The actual and immediate effects of the Reformation on Irish liturgy remain ambiguous. Peter O’Dwyer suggests that ‘the content of the Protestant Reform was hardly known to most Irish or many Anglo-Irish Catholics’ (p.157, O’Dwyer). In its earliest years, it exerted its primary influence in the towns of the Pale and its surround. The reforms of the Council of Trent were advocated, most notably by the friars and the Jesuits. In an essay on the contribution of the Franciscans to Irish spirituality, Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M. notes their unique contribution to publications in the Irish language. In 1593, the Franciscan, Florence Conry, completed the translation of a catechism from Spanish into Gaelic, one of the earliest such works by the Franciscans for the Irish church. A later catechism, composed by Bonaventure O’Hussey of the Louvain community, represents the unique ability of the Franciscan publications to adapt themselves to their Irish community, both in language and style. As a member of an Irish bardic family, O’Hussey represented the bardic poetic tradition in a catechism noted for its poetic compositions and the use of verse for ease of memorisation. This also facilitated the large number of the rural community who were unable to read. Giblin concludes that, while the Franciscan publications were largely translations of Spanish, Italian or Roman texts, they were unique in their adaptation of these texts and style of expression, for the specific needs of the Irish church (Maher, 1981).

Paradoxically, both the Reform and the Counter-Reform brought about an influx of continental Christianity to Ireland. The Reformation resulted in the growing need of continental education for Irish priests and religious. The Irish College in Paris was established
In 1578, along with more than thirty other similar centres throughout the continent. These Irish continental houses still exert an influence on their Irish counterparts today. While the explosion of Reform-influenced hymnody did not exert an immediate influence on its Catholic counterparts, it is significant for its later contribution to the contemporary Irish Catholic church. In his article on the Irish churches of the Reformation, George Simms notes the compositions of Irish hymn writers such as H.F. Lyte, Thomas Kelly, J.S.B. Monsell, A.M. Toplady and Mrs. Alexander, whose works, including ‘Abide with Me’, ‘Rock of Ages’, ‘All Things Bright and Beautiful’ and ‘Once in Royal David’s City’, have become staples of the Catholic hymn repertoire (Maher, 1981).

At the same time, the counter-Reform movement was anxious to people Ireland with Tridentine priests and religious. The Jesuits, though not widespread in Ireland, formed the tip of the Roman Counter-reform arrow. The Capuchins and Discalced Carmelites arrived in the 17th century, with the Vincentian fathers establishing themselves in Cashel and Limerick in 1647.

Persecution, however, reached a new height in 1697 when all bishops and regular clergy were banished from Ireland. Liturgical norms became impossible. The Mass house and the Mass rock became the common place of gathering. In the immanent face of danger, the difficulty of gathering, the inadequacies of the gathering place and the stark reality of survival, rite sacrificed much of its cultic and musical nuances. In his afterward to Volume II of Irish Musical Studies: Music and the Church, Harry White suggests that the legacy of the Reformation resulted in a radical divergence between Irish church music expression and the church music aesthetic of Western Europe:

Put plainly, the impoverished condition of Roman Catholics in Ireland between 1500 and 1800 excluded the possibility of a high culture of sacred music. The consequences of this exclusion for the development of church music after emancipation were ruinous: a vast population without any cultural base consonant with the prevailing aesthetic of church music as high art. (p.333, Gillen and White, 1993)

White argues that the roots of such a cultural expression are evident in the musical expression of the early and Medieval Irish church, but the gradual erosion of both religious and secular Gaelic culture rendered any significant continuity impossible. Longing for this time of
I mainistir naomh beidh céir ar lasadh acu
is Eaglais Dé go salmach fós
ag canadh Té Deum gan bhaol gan eagla

(In holy monasteries candles will be alight and God’s Church again echoing to psalms and the singing of the Te Deum without danger or fear.) (p.126, Maher, 1981).

This erosion of native worship made way for the importation of continental devotional forms. Continental religious orders encouraged the practice of exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. Confraternities flourished, as did the growing number of published catechisms and devotional texts. The vast majority of these texts, however, were printed in English while the devotional language of most of rural Ireland remained Irish. The observation of local religious feasts and the celebration of patterns were still widespread in rural Ireland, indicating a divide in worship practices between those of the urbanised East and a significant portion of the rest of the country.

The emergence of a Catholic party in the 1750’s and the gradual lifting of the Penal laws, saw the slow recovering of the Church’s liturgical and educational infrastructure. The first two native seminaries were founded at Carlow and Maynooth in 1793 and 1795 respectively. In the years preceding the famine, small chapels, parish schools, monastic houses, diocesan seminaries and a number of cathedrals commenced construction. The provision of a seminary at home and the difficulties imposed by the French Revolution saw a growing number of Irish clergy training in Ireland. By 1850, over half of Ireland’s secular clergy had trained in Maynooth. The Presentation Sisters were founded by Nano Nagle in 1775, followed by the Irish Christian Brothers in 1802 by Edmund Rice, the Irish Sister of Charity by Mary Aikenhead in 1816, the Loreto Sisters by Teresa Ball in 1822 and the Irish Sisters of Mercy in 1827 by Catherine McAuley.
The growing number of clergy, the establishment of a strong, parochial and diocesan infrastructure and the importation of continental influences, had direct implications for liturgical and devotional practice. The early 19th century saw the growth of devotion to the Sacred Heart, the practice of May devotions and of the Forty Hours. Combined with the rigours of a Tridentine liturgy, moving further away from active participation of the faithful than any other liturgy in the history of the Catholic church, these practices were to remain at the heart of devotional expression in the Irish Catholic church until the Second Vatican Council.

The growth of Roman-influenced devotion saw the parallel decline in traditional devotional practice. Pilgrimages, patterns and waking the dead, were deeply rooted expressions of rural spirituality, pre-dating Christianity itself. This resulted in a growing suspicion of the superstitious attitudes surrounding these practices, and in the festivity which often tended to outweigh its religious elements. Donal Kerr notes the similar issues in the contemporary celebration of the *fiesta* in Latin America (Maher, 1981). Traditional patterns and pilgrimages, often associated with drunkenness and fighting, came under increasing attack from the Irish clergy. The pattern at Dooneskeagh was abolished by the Archbishop of Cashel and all pilgrimages to wells were forbidden in 1829. The pilgrimage to Lough Derg was maintained, but under strong clerical supervision. Clerical condemnation, however, was not nearly as successful in rooting out these practices as the rural devastation wrought by the Famine.

While regular attendance at Sunday mass remained the norm only in large towns and cities, the parish mission, introduced in the 1840’s became a mainstay of devotional expression throughout the famine years. A mission often resulted in the establishment of a confraternity which, in turn, increased the level of regular participation in the sacraments.

'In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the church was marked by greater centralisation at home and abroad. The Council of Trent became a reality in Ireland and, in addition, Italian devotion coloured urban Irish Catholicism.' (p. 231, O'Dwyer, 1995). One mark of this change was the transfer of sacramental practice from the home to the church. A history characterised by a lack of public celebration and public space for same, resulted in the
frequent celebration of baptism, confession and marriage in the home. Paul Cullen, archbishop of Dublin from 1852 to 1878 and a central force in the Romanisation of the Irish church, introduced the nuptial Mass as the proper expression of the sacrament of marriage and advocated the celebration of all sacraments in church buildings. The Synod of Maynooth in 1875 discouraged the practice of funeral Masses being celebrated in the home of the deceased. The sacramental history of home devotions, however, is significant in assessing the role of music and other ritual practices in Irish sacramental celebration.

O'Dwyer concludes that with the death of Paul Cullen in 1878, 'the Catholic church in Ireland had taken on the shape which it held up to the Second Vatican Council to a large degree. A dominant Tridentine spirituality had evolved among the urban middle class.' (p.235, O'Dwyer, 1995). The legacy of this period is therefore of direct relevance to the contemporary Irish church and its devotional practices. This legacy may be said to be twofold. It represents the constant though shifting connection between the Irish Catholic church and its expression as a Roman Catholic church. It also, however, represents a specific history which renders its expression as a Roman Catholic church specifically Irish. This dual legacy has resulted in a divergence and a confusion of attitudes and practice in the face of the liturgical renewal following the Second Vatican Council.

Cecilianism as a Precursor to the Modern Liturgical Movement

While the historical development of liturgy has always influenced its corresponding liturgical musical expression, the Cecilian movement is unique in Catholic church history as a primarily musical movement which had direct implications for liturgical practice and may be viewed as a significant precursor of the Modern Liturgical Movement.

The Romantic era saw a paradoxical intensification of the ideological divide between, the growth of the individual voice and emotionalism as musical aesthetic, feared and rejected for liturgical use by ecclesiastical authority and a reactionary interest in ancient and Medieval art, causing a resurgence of interest in Gregorian chant and the polyphonic music of the church, inadvertently supporting the liturgical position of that same authority. Thus the progressive, symphonic sacred music of Franz Liszt, César Franck and Anton Bruckner developed side by side with the reformist thrust of Franz Xaver Witt and the Cecilian Society.
The Cecilian Society was founded by Witt in 1868 and gained papal approbation in 1870. The revival of Gregorian chant and its perceived purpose was directly connected with the revived interest in liturgy and the search for ‘authentic’ and ‘ancient’ liturgical practices as initiated by Dom Prosper Guéranger. Benedict XIV’s Annus qui of 1749 and its call for reform is at the root of one of the keystones of Cecilian aspiration: that of music as servant of the Word. The importance placed on the text by the Cecilians established a direct connection between their aspirations and those of Post-Tridentine polyphonic composers, thus providing their reform with both a liturgical and musical precedent. The revival of Gregorian chant and polyphony involved an attempt to regain an affiliation with the liturgical practices which had inspired this music and to move away from the practice of employing secular musical forms and compositions which had no historical or theological connection with the liturgy. By the 19th century, numerous editions of the chant melodies existed, with much argument as to the authenticity of the various editions. Franz X. Haberl’s edition, based on the Medicean edition, itself a revisionist effort, received the authorisation of the Sacred Congregation of Rites and was published by Pustet of Regensburg between 1871-1878. This work would become an important source of contention during the growth of the Modern Liturgical Movement.

Cecilianism also promoted the composition of new material for liturgical use and in this regard forms an interesting parallel for contemporary efforts in this direction. As is the case in the more recent history of liturgical renewal following the Second Vatican Council, efforts by the Cecilians to produce music which was liturgically correct often failed to appreciate the value of music outside of their self-imposed liturgical remit and to include music according to liturgical, rather than musical criteria:

Caecilianism endeavoured to create a musical form from an ecclesiastical vantage point. This was the revolutionary attitude of the Caecilian Movement, and it held a danger of negating the artistic. Moreover, in an attempt to obtain a doctrinaire objectivity in expression, a wealth of national peculiarities that distinguished other church-music currents was unfortunately lost. (p.189, Feller, 1961)
This attempt at objectivising musical composition according to liturgical norms and limited attitudes to style and musical genre, had considerable significance in the historical development of the Cecilian movement in Ireland.

A significant contribution to contemporary understanding of the Cecilian movement Ireland is Kieran Daly’s *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903: The Cecilian Reform Movement* (Daly, 1995). Daly recounts the beginnings of the movement in Ireland through the person of Nicholas Donnelly. Born in Dublin in 1837, educated by the Vincentians and later at the Irish College in Rome, Donnelly, a travel and linguistic enthusiast, made frequent trips to the continent to improve his knowledge of German and Italian. In 1873, while on a trip to Germany, he heard the choir of the Regensburg cathedral for the first time. This marks the beginning of his conviction in the centrality - and beauty - of plainchant. Following a meeting at the pro-cathedral, Marlborough St., where Donnelly was positioned until 1879, it was resolved to send notices to influential clergy and musicians. Following favourable responses, the committee agreed to the formation of a society, and a periodical to promote its work. Daly’s exhaustive treatment of *Lyra Ecclesiastica* provides an insight into the aspirations, attitudes and eventual demise of the Cecilian society in Ireland.

*Lyra Ecclesiastica* was the first periodical in the English language devoted specifically to Cecilian tenets. In his analysis of its fourteen year history, Daly reflects the shifts and currents of cultural and ecclesiastical Ireland. From the societies early years under Donnelly, with its strong reliance on German material and music, Daly relates the growing self-consciousness of its Irishness and desire for Irish composition, the shift from clerical to lay control, the role played by Archbishop William Walsh in championing the society but in simultaneously transforming it from its vision of a national society to the voice-piece of the Dublin diocese and, finally, the arrival of Heinrich Bewerunge, the accompanying return to clerical control, German influence and the emergence of Maynooth as the centre of liturgical music direction (Daly, 1995).

The growth of the Cecilian society in Ireland must be contextualised by the diverse, and often conflicting liturgical and musical practices of the turn of the century. The legacy of clerical control, best illustrated in the person of Paul Cullen, saw a highly Romanised aspiration, in a
country with little by way of tradition or resources to facilitate it. Penal conditions resulted in
the development of a highly privatised, non-liturgical song form and devotional practices
which, with the exception of a Eucharistic spirituality which was largely non-musical, also
developed primarily outside of church rite. This reality often resulted in practices far removed
from any liturgical or musical criteria.

In his study of the musical practices at St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin at the turn of the
century, Andrew Johnstone suggests that lack of sacred repertoire and appropriate venues for
secular music are at the heart of the frequent employment of non-liturgical music at the
Cathedral. (Gillen and White, 1993). Though studying the musical practices outside of a
specifically Catholic liturgy, his study provides an interesting insight into attitudes to church
music in an urbanised Dublin cathedral which, in terms of resources and repertoire, had more
in common with its Catholic cathedral counterpart, than it, in turn had with the corresponding
rural Catholic parish church. Johnstone notes the reference to the Cathedral as ‘Paddy’s
Opera’ during the mid-19th century and the theatrical style of performance, even in the
singing of liturgical music. Under the influence of the cathedral’s young organist and Wagner
enthusiast, Charles George Marchant (1858-1920), the cathedral organ was rebuilt to allow
for the adaptation of its sound to Romantic symphonic reproductions. With the lack of
authentic organ music, many organists worked with transcriptions of popular,
contemporaneous symphonic compositions. In sharp contrast to the espoused values of the
Celicilians, Johnstone concludes that: ‘whatever their spiritual yearnings may have been, there
is no evidence to suggest that the musical appetite of those who attended divine service at St.
Patrick’s was left unsatisfied’ (p.158, Gillen and White, 1993).

As well as this divided loyalty to contemporary musical taste and liturgically-based reform,
Irish attitudes to church music were further complicated by the nationalist agenda described
in Joseph J. Ryans article Assertions of Distinction: the Modal Debate in Irish Music (Gillen
and White, 1993). Ryan suggests that the growing nationalist self-consciousness of the latter
part of the 19th century, fostered an attitude of cultural separateness and even isolation, in an
effort to assert its nationalist identity. Ryan quotes Eamonn Ó Gallchobhair’s comments in
the September publication of Ireland Today, 1936, arguing that: ‘...for the Irish man, the Irish
idiom expresses deep things that have not been expressed by Beethoven, Bach, Brahms, Elgar or Sibelius - by any of the great composers.’ (p.65, Gillen and White, 1993).

The manipulation of music for nationalistic ends began to focus on the tonal structure of Irish airs and the suggestion that ‘Irish melody in its essentials was at variance with the construction of western music but closely related to a more august tradition: Irish music had, in short, retained its integrity through a repudiation of modishness and by maintaining a direct connection with its modal base’ (p.66, Gillen and White, 1993). In a lecture entitled Of Music and Musical Instruments in Ancient Erinn, delivered on June 10th, 1862, Professor O’Curry attempts to parallel the Greek Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian modes with the three Irish musical idioms described as suantraighe, gentraighe and goltraighe.

This particular nationalist by-road into a rediscovery of chant and a re-assertion of its significance, happily crossed paths with the contemporaneous Cecilian movement and its assertion of the supremacy of chant, albeit for different reasons. The arrival of Heinrich Bewerunge to St. Patrick’s College, Maynooth in 1888 marked the introduction of the man who was to become the best known advocate of Cecilianism in Ireland. Bewerunge’s own considerations on the modal connections in Gregorian chant and Irish music are much less optimistic than many of his contemporaries, though recognising that Irish music has a distinct, modal tonality.

While Fellerer locates Bewerunge as an initiator of the Cecilian movement in Ireland, Daly’s work shows clearly that Bewerunge’s arrival in Ireland, a full decade after Donnelly’s formation of the society, positioned him at the heart of a thriving movement. White also suggests that the existence of three significant publications; Donnelly’s translation of Haberl’s Magister Choralis (1877), the initial issues of Lyra Ecclesiastica, from 1879 and Walsh’s Grammar of Gregorian Music (1885), all published prior to Bewerunge’s arrival, illustrate a strong commitment to Church music reform and the presence of a Cecilian society of significant standing (Gillen and White, 1993). In 1888, a chair of ‘Church Chant and Organ’ was established, a position which Bewerunge was to fill for almost thirty-five years. As both an academic and practical musician, Bewerunge’s contribution to the work of the Cecilian society and to church music scholarship, particularly through his contribution to the
burgeoning school of chant scholarship, provided an influential voice in the 19th century reform of church music in Ireland.

The withdrawal of Vatican support for the Regensburg chant edition, the growing ascendancy of Solesmes as a centre of chant scholarship and the 1903 motu proprio of Pius X mark the transition points from Cecilian, 19th century, liturgical music reform to the birthing of the Modern Liturgical Movement. The direct influence of this movement on the direction and shape of Vatican II liturgical and musical reform is central to an understanding of its rationale and current lines of growth.

The Modern Liturgical Movement

Foundations

While the Modern Liturgical Movement is primarily identified with the present century, its roots reach back to the restoration of Solesmes in 1833 and the inspiration of Abbot Guéranger. J.D. Crichton’s Lights in the Darkness: Forerunners of the Liturgical Movement (Crichton, 1996) concludes with a concise sketch of the movement from this date. Following the suppression and devastation of monasteries across Europe and particularly in France at the turn of the century, the latter half of the 19th century saw a restoration and renewal in the activity and ideals of monastic life. Vital to this expression, was the centrality of the liturgical cycle. Monastic ideals were mirrored in the cycles and expressions of the Divine Office, the liturgy of the seasons and the Eucharistic Mass. Solesmes became a centre, not only of liturgical practice but of liturgical scholarship and expertise. Guéranger’s Année Liturgique, is an illustration of the author’s appreciation and knowledge of the whole liturgical year and its multifaceted liturgical expressions.

Guéranger’s intense loyalty to Rome and to the centralisation of Roman rite, while leading to a renaissance of liturgical interest which continued and included the liturgical reform of the Second Vatican Council also however, resulted in the practical demise of any vestiges of Gallican rite which had managed to survive previous attempts at centralisation. This was particularly grievous in relation to Gallican chant.
The Solesmes influence spread throughout the monastic world but, in terms of liturgy, one of its more significant influences was that it exerted on the Wolter brothers, two secular priests and then professed monks at St. Paul's-outside-the-Walls in Rome, who were profoundly influenced by the Benedictine life they experienced at Solesmes. Returning to their native Germany, they founded the monastery of Beuron in 1863. Beuron monks founded Maredsous in Belgium in 1872, which, in turn, founded the Abbey of Mont-César at Louvain in 1899 and, some years later, the conventual priory at Glenstal Abbey, in Ireland, in 1948. The Abbey was established in 1957. Also founded or restored from Beuron were the German monasteries of Maria Laach and Trier. All the aforementioned monasteries shared a common commitment to the development of liturgy and liturgical scholarship and were to play significant parts in the unfolding liturgical movement.

The *motu proprio* of Pius X in 1903 marks the most significant Papal legislation on liturgy and liturgical music at the beginning to the century and marks the transition from a movement which was primarily monastic, to a growing awareness of the role played by the congregation in liturgical expression. Central to Pius’ document is the seminal phrase on active participation in the liturgy by the congregation. Participation through music and song was to take its inspiration from the restoration of Gregorian Chant, long recognised in Papal legislation as the official song of the church.

Dom Lambert Beauduin of Mont-César is credited with the introduction of the pastoral element of liturgical expression which, more than any other, has set the Modern Liturgical Movement apart from its predecessors (Crichton, 1996). Eight years of work as a secular priest in Liège before entering Mont-César, convinced him of the necessity of including the entire Body of Christ in any liturgical movement which was to be authentic and truly involve itself in reform. The first liturgy week was organised in 1910 in Belgium, which quickly took the lead in organised and structured liturgical education and practice for the non-monastic community. The *Semaines liturgiques* amassed a body of liturgical writings in Belgium, as well as providing the impetus for the most radical liturgical innovations. The Young Christian Workers, founded by Cardijn, were significant in the development of the Dialogue Mass, offertory processions and congregational singing.
The Abbey of Maria-Laach became an important player in liturgical renewal under the leadership of Abbot Herwegen and is particularly remembered for the theological contributions of Dom Odo Casel. Crichton states that:

...his emphasis on the Paschal Mystery (the passion, death and resurrection of Christ) as the dynamic heart of the liturgy can be discerned as forming the basis of the Constitution on the Liturgy. (p.154, Crichton, 1996)

Crichton suggests that a paradoxical effect of the Second World War involved closer communication between French and German liturgists, who were to carry the liturgical torch to the opening of the Second Vatican Council. The Centre de Pastorale Liturgique was founded in Paris in 1943, and provided the impetus for a number of liturgical congresses at Versailles and Maria Laach and culminating in the international congresses of Lugano (1951) and Assisi (1956) which, for the first time, involved a central contribution and recognition from Vatican bodies.

Liturgical Congresses became the foremost medium of liturgical dissemination. Dom Virgil Michel, of St. John’s Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, was central to the introduction of liturgical renewal to the United States through a series of ‘Liturgical Weeks’ which ran from 1940 to 1961, and the publication of Orate Fratres, which, under its new title, Worship, remains one of the most influential English language liturgical periodicals. Ireland’s first liturgical congress was held at Glenstal Abbey in 1954 and continued until 1974.

**Papal Legislation**

‘Whenever church music breaks new ground, church authorities must take a stand’ (p.195, Fellerer, 1961). The present century has witnessed more landmark legislation, concerning church music, than any previous century and while ‘Many popes have issued decrees on sacred music, yet Pius X (1903-1914) wrote more than all the popes together’ (Hayburn, 1979). The motu proprio, Tra le sollecitudini, of November 22nd, 1903 has since become the benchmark of the Modern Liturgical Movement.
Pius X’s understanding and appreciation of the integral nature of music and liturgy reflects Fellerer’s statement: ‘Liturgy and church music cannot stand side by side: they must interpenetrate’ (p. 219, Fellerer, 1961). As a young priest in Tombolo, he formed a church choir and encouraged congregational singing through experimentation with simple musical settings. He became increasingly convinced that Gregorian chant was musically, liturgically and, pastorally, the most appropriate music, for both choir and congregation.

During his time at Salzano, he became interested in the chant restoration, spearheaded by Dom Guéranger and Solesmes, an interest which would be pivotal in his later Vatican chant edition. As canon at Treviso, he taught liturgy at the seminary. In 1878, as chancellor of the diocese, he accompanied the bishop in pastoral visits to parishes throughout the diocese, witnessing at first hand, the liturgies of rural congregations, town churches, chapels and schools.

As Bishop of Mantua the diocesan synod marks his first official legislation for church music. Chapters 25, 30 and 31 of the synodal decrees refer to instruction in music at seminaries, the use of instrumental ensembles in processions, the primacy of chant and the organ and the exclusion of women from musical participation. These decrees form the seeds of all later musical legislation formulated by Pius X, illustrating a notable consistency, particularly in relation to the centrality of Gregorian chant, the primacy of the organ and restrictions placed on the use of other instruments and the exclusion of women from liturgical participation. These issues were again the subject of a pastoral letter, written in his capacity of Cardinal-patriarch of Venice in 1895, and finally, of his first Papal musical legislation, three months after his election as Pope.

In a detailed comparison of the Mantua decrees of 1888, the Pastoral letter of Venice (1895) and the motu proprio of 1903, Hayburn suggests a remarkable consistency in attitude and direction, providing forceful direction and leadership in the subsequent liturgical implementation. The motu proprio identified liturgical music as a liturgical office and therefore, not accessible by women (Art. 13, MP). Instrumental ensembles, or ‘bands’ were best used outside of the church, as in processional practice, and should be limited to music outside of the secular realm (Art. 21 MP). The organ retains its supremacy as an instrument
appropriate to liturgical accompaniment, with limited use of other instruments permitted (Art. 15 MP). Music is seen to best fulfil its liturgical brief in so far as it serves liturgical text. Finally the characteristics of sacred music, seen as that which is holy, beautiful, artistic and universal are most totally found in Gregorian chant: ‘These qualities are found most perfectly in Gregorian chant, which is therefore the proper chant of the Roman Church’ (Art.3 MP).

Immediately following the motu proprio was the decree of January 8th, 1904, which left no doubt as to the cessation of official recognition for the Ratisbon chant edition and to Vatican affirmation of Solesmes chant editions as the official editions of the church. The April motu proprio, Col nostro, announced the publication of an official Vatican edition of Gregorian chant, under the supervision of the Benedictines of France with the particular aid of Solesmes. The tension between Dom Pothier and his disciple Dom Mocquereau, contributed to the withdrawal of Solesmes from active participation in the publications for a period and illustrates the ongoing polemic between aesthetic, liturgical and historical considerations is the production of chant editions for the liturgy.

The legacy of Pius X’s motu proprio reaches far beyond chant restoration. In 1910, the Pontifical School of Sacred Music was established at Rome. Benedict XV succeeded Pius X in 1914 and in spite of the difficulties imposed by the First World War was determined to continue the reform established under his predecessor. Benedict was a strong benefactor of the growing Cecilian society, particularly in the United States, and in the Canon Laws (1918) reaffirmed the importance of using music appropriate to its liturgical function and avoiding the use of secularly inspired practices. Pius XI’s apostolic constitution Divini cultus sanctitatem of 1928, explicitly supports and reiterates the principles of Tra le sollecitudini, while also furthering its remit. The growing importance of the pastoral element in the liturgical movement influenced Pius XI emphasis on active participation by the congregation. Divini cultus sanctitatem was an affirmation of the importance of the arts and, particularly music, in the achievement of liturgical authenticity and recognised the necessity of structured education and training, especially in seminaries.

The champion of the Modern Liturgical Movement in the days preceding the Council however, is undoubtedly Pius XII. His encyclicals Mediator Dei (1947) and Musicae sacrae
disciplina (1955), stretched liturgical music reform to its farthest point, prior to the reforms of Vatican II. Mediator Dei contains the most explicit papal articulations on the concept of active participation and strongly promoted congregational singing. Congregational singing may include responses to the priest's prayer, hymn-singing or, at High Masses, liturgical chant (Art. 105, MD). Diocesan committees for the promotion of active participation in the liturgy were encouraged (Art. 109, MD), suggesting a precedent for the establishment of music and liturgy commissions, advocated in the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy. Participation in Sunday Vespers (Art. 150, MD) and devotional practices outside of the liturgy (Art. 182, MD) were also encouraged as appropriate media for expressive, communal prayer. Mediator Dei also included provisions for limited use of the vernacular, a germinal statement for successive conciliar and post-conciliar reform.

Following the encyclical, a commission to prepare proposals for liturgical reform was established by Pius XII. The most overt outcome of the commissions work was the revision of the Easter Vigil rite (1951), leading to an entire revision of all Holy Week liturgy in 1955. These reforms were to become the incubation point for the subsequent reform of all liturgy, following the council.

Musicae sacrae disciplina (December 25th, 1955) reaffirms the positioning of music in liturgy, according to ecclesiastical tradition, aesthetic considerations and pastoral concerns. While walking close to the path thread by Pius X and XI, greater flexibility is allowed in the use of instruments other than the organ and emphasised the complimentary roles of both the choir and congregation. Following a historical introduction to the practice and centrality of music to liturgy, Musicae sacrae disciplina reaffirms the importance of the artist's contribution to liturgy. Gregorian chant retains its pride of place as the supreme musical liturgical medium (Art. 44, MSD), while allowances are made for the limited use of vernacular hymnody (Art. 47, MSD). The place of ancient polyphony is recognised (Art. 54, MSD), as is that of the organ which, amongst all instruments, 'rightly holds the principal position since it is especially fitted for the sacred chants and sacred rites' (Art 58, MSD). The practical implementation of the encyclical was addressed in the 1958 Instruction on Sacred Music and Sacred Liturgy.
The commitment of successive popes to liturgical reform, the efforts at the heart of the liturgical movement towards active participation, pastoral centrality and a general re-evaluation of the role of liturgy in the life of the church, and the liturgical and pastoral vision of John XXIII, positioned liturgical reform at the font-head of the Second Vatican Council.

The Modern Liturgical Movement in Ireland: The Glenstal Liturgical Congresses

20th century liturgical expression in Ireland preceding the Second Vatican Council reflected its inheritance of Cecilian reform, increased clerical control and Post-Tridentine Romanisation, presenting a fragmented and often, sporadic, attitude and practice. The urban/rural divide was one of the most significant in terms of liturgical differentiation, with urban, Cathedral liturgies at a far remove from rural, parish practice. Beyond the cathedral choirs and larger, urban churches, little or no music accompanied the Eucharistic liturgy. Music was more frequently integrated into devotional practices inherited in the 19th century importation of various devotions such as Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, The Forty Hours, novenas, and processional, primarily in the form of Latin and English-language hymns.

In A Note on the Glenstal Liturgical Congress, written on January 21st, 1996, on the occasion of my preliminary discussion with Dom Placid Murray OSB on the Glenstal Liturgical Congress, Dom Placid cautioned against the use of generalisations such as the concept of a 'Liturgical Movement', particularly as it relates to Ireland. While the popularisation and documentation of liturgical developments of this century provide a legitimate rationale for the perspective of a movement, it is less accurate in the case of Irish developments which were largely sporadic, localised and, even in the case of the Glenstal Congresses, necessarily limited in objective and impact. Nevertheless, the Glenstal Liturgical Congresses represent the most significant Irish contribution to both the growing corpus of liturgical literature and practical assistance with liturgical reform.

The Glenstal Liturgical Congress is representative of the last phase of the Liturgical Movement, characterised by large, national and international liturgical seminars, weeks and congresses, as well as by the Papal influence and directives of Pius XII. Placid Murray OSB, the central energy behind the congresses, particularly in their early years, locates the initial inspiration to a conversation in a parlour at Glenstal, in 1953, between himself and the
Dominican, P. Thomas Garde, present at Glenstal in connection with the annual retreat. The idea of a Liturgical Congress at Glenstal was discussed over coffee, leading to the first such event in 1954.

No minutes of the congress exist from 1954 to 1959. The lectures from these first six years, however, were published in 1961 by the Furrow Trust, Maynooth, as Studies in Pastoral Liturgy, edited by Dom Placid Murray OSB (Murray, 1961). These first six congresses addressed a number of issues, under the following titles: The Liturgy (1954), The Lord's Day (1955), Baptism (1956), The Liturgy and Death (1957), The Eucharist (1958) and Holy Week (1959). Divided into doctrinal, pastoral and documentary contributions, the volume’s introduction, written by Dom Placid, locates Mediator Dei, the landmark liturgical encyclical of Pius XII as ‘the charter of our assembly’ (p.xi, Murray, 1961).

In his forward to the volume, written in 1961 on the Feast of St. Benedict, in Thurles, Thomas Morris, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly notes that the Liturgical Movement, having started relatively late in Ireland:

... has had, from its early stages, the benefit of the guidance of the Holy See and of the maturity of the liturgical movements of other countries ... In harmony with the encyclical, the Congresses have maintained a balance between respect for the Irish stamp of Catholicism, with its actual needs, resources and achievements, and the new movement guided and fostered by the Holy See which is enriching the Church in modern times. (p.ix, Murray, 1961)

Visitors such as the Jesuit liturgist, Jungmann and Balthasar Fischer of Trier, co-editor of Liturgisches Jahrbuch, are represented through their contributions in this volume.

It is significant that in a contribution to this first volume, the Liturgical Movement itself became the subject of study, reflecting on its growth and explained through a number of suggested points of departure. Phases of the Liturgical Movement, by William Barden, a member of the Irish Dominican Province and Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Mary’s, Tallaght, locates present liturgical developments within the church’s liturgical history and suggests four phases in the so-called Modern Liturgical Movement. Christianity, he suggests contains an implicit call to worship:
Christian worship or cult is a part of Christian culture, of the way in which Christian men have used ideas, images, sounds, words, gestures, movements, darkness and light, day and night, the sequence of the seasons, earth and the fruits of the earth, fire, air, water, vesture and edifice, being together and being alone, in a word, the whole natural context, in their worship of God. (p.3, Murray, 1961)

Barden notes the impetus given to liturgy at key moments of its historical development: its fourth century growth into legitimacy within the Roman Empire, absorbing and adapting its secular culture; the seventh century associated with Pope St. Gregory and the adaptations of the Franco-German liturgies, in the eighth to tenth centuries. The Council of Trent marks the transition from the ‘... audible to the silent recitation of the canon, when the people became spectators only and ceased to be hearers also’ (p.5, Murray, 1961). This period also marks the cessation of communion under both kinds, the permanent furnishing of altars placed against the wall and the subsequent turning away from the people, by the priest. Reactionary efforts to stem the Reformation tide resulted in the gradual fixation of Tridentine rubrics:

The Catholic reaction of all this was to canonise the legitimacy of the Church’s theology and practice and to clamp down on any liturgical change whatever. The epoch of uniformity and fixity had begun. (p.5, Murray, 1961)

Borden suggests four phases, describing the liturgical movement which has emerged from this history. The first monastic phase centred around Dom Guéranger and Solesmes, is characterised by its commitment to monastic restoration and a rediscovery of the liturgy and rites of the early and Medieval church, with particular emphasis on the role played by Gregorian chant.

The second phase is marked by the growth of liturgical reform beyond the confines of the monastery, through the work of the abbey at Louvain and, particularly, the contributions of Dom Lambert Beauduin. This phase corresponded with the reforms of Pius X.

The third phase revolves around the influence of the Abbey of Maria Laach, notably through the persons of Abbot Herwegen and Dom Odo Casel. This phase seeks a theological understanding of liturgical practice, particularly through an awareness of the Paschal Mystery.
and the mysterious presence of Christ in the liturgy. *Mystici Corporis* and *Mediator Dei* represent papal contributions to same. Finally, Barden suggests that the present state of liturgical reform involves the popularisation and dissemination of informed and inspired liturgy.

The most significant manifestation of modern liturgical reform, prior to the Second Vatican Council, was undoubtedly the revised liturgy of Holy Week. *The History of Holy Week as the Heart of the Liturgical Year*, represents Joseph A. Jungmann’s contribution to this volume. Jungmann notes that, in the first three centuries of the church, every Sunday was an Easter celebration. The concept of Easter encompassed both day and night, making ample use of analogies with ‘sun’, ‘light’ ‘rising’, and these connections with pagan sun cults of the time. In an interesting aside, lacking, however, any source reference, Jungmann comments on the Easter fire:

> And it is well known that it originated from Ireland, even from the times of St. Patrick. Apparently, in this case, the Easter celebrations took over an older, Celtic (and Germanic) practice which was bound up with rites connected with the Spring of the year’. (p. 17, Murray, 1961)

The fourth century expansion and elaboration of liturgical practice marked the beginning of emphasis on the whole week of Easter. Jungmann concludes that present attitudes to devotion have seen a deterioration of the centrality of the Easter experience, overshadowed by a host of individual and emotional forms of piety. The revised Holy Week liturgy reclaims the Paschal Mystery as the heart of Christianity.

This devotional piety, so characteristic of Irish Catholicism prior to the Second Vatican Council, is also addressed by Daniel Duffy in a survey entitled *Eucharistic Piety in Irish Practice* (Murray, 1961). Duffy notes the large congregations attending mass and receiving communion frequently, but also the largely silent participation, the ‘telling of beads’ throughout the celebration. Prayer manuals, when used, are frequently interspersed with aspirations. Corpus Christi processions, Forty Hours devotions and Exposition are popular and well attended. Duffy concludes that there is little real preparation for or understanding of the Eucharistic liturgy, reflected in the continued use of alternative prayers, unceremonious
entrances and exits and an extreme shyness of singing at liturgy: in all, a liturgical practice and attitude out of contact with liturgical modernity.

In *Liturgical Piety According to the Encyclical ‘Mediator Dei’*. Dom Placid also notes the lack of real understanding of the liturgical reform, beyond its exterior manifestations. Many priests would appear to feel that, their duty ... is to safeguard the elementary things among the general body of the faithful before they could attempt to go on to the refinements of the liturgy. This attitude is based on a misconception of the nature of liturgy and belittles liturgy, considering it to be no more than rubrics or outward ceremonial. (p.132, Murray, 1961)

In an interpretation of active participation rooted in *Mediator Dei* but often neglected in present liturgical reforms, Dom Murray reminds the reader that all liturgical activity is directed towards inner communion and ‘in the strictest sense then, need not be vocal’ (p.136, Murray, 1961).

Finally, this initial volume contains one reference to music in the liturgy, noting the afternoon session of the first day of the congress of 1959 which was dedicated to the ‘Chants of Holy Week’. Conducted by Fr. Kieran O’Gorman, director of Sacred Music in the Diocese of Killaloe, it consisted of a practical introduction to chants for use in an average parish liturgy. In an unknowing allusion to what would become the aspiration of Vatican II liturgical reform, O’Gorman concluded that, ‘If we succeed in Holy Week, it is but a short step to active participation in every Mass, be it sung or read.’ (p.287, Murray, 1961).

The three congresses from 1960 to 1962, addressing issues under the titles of *The Church and the Sick, Participation in the Mass* and *Our Churches*, were published in a second volume of *Studies in Pastoral Liturgy*, edited by Vincent Ryan OSB (Ryan, 1963). In keeping with its commitment to practical liturgical reform in Ireland, this second volume includes an article on *The Mass and the People in Irish Parishes* by William Conway. Conway suggests that the ultimate goal of active participation is less one of external activity and more that of an active awareness:
The final object [of active participation] is to achieve a more conscious and intimate participation of the individual person in the Mass - a more conscious participation not merely at the level of explicit intellectual apprehension but also at the deeper levels of consciousness to which the liturgy, in all solemnity and majesty of its sacred forms and symbols speaks so powerfully. (p. 108, Ryan, 1963)

Conway notes the need for instruction in dogmatic truths and the use of the missal. While recognising the strong devotion of the Irish people to regular mass attendance and frequent communion, he suggests that, ‘while Irish people are deeply conscious of the sacredness of the mass, they are not as conscious as the Church would like ... of the reasons why the mass is so sacred’ (p. 111, Ryan, 1963).

The place of song in liturgy is addressed with the suggestion that a regular Missa Cantata in every parochial church would be desirable. In singing responses such as the Amen, Et cum spiritu tuo, Gloria Tibi, Domine, and Deo gratias, they give ‘visible expression to the nexus between the celebrant and the congregation’ (p.115, Ryan, 1963).

Participation in the Mass by song is taken up by Kieran O’Gorman in an article of the same title. Rooting the modern liturgical awareness of the role of music in the writings of Pius X and his conviction that participation in worship was the most critical and indispensable source of Christian living, O’Gorman traces the historical development of music in the liturgy. From the earliest biblical references and the writings of the Church Fathers, such as Justin Martyr, music has been integral to worship. O’Gorman notes the introduction of the Christian song of praise, the Sanctus, to the liturgy in the fifth century and the gradual growth of liturgical song for the celebrant, the choir and the congregation. In these roles, O’Gorman suggests that the liturgical function of music was shared by all worshippers. The gradual erosion of these roles, through the choir’s appropriation of the people’s parts and the practice of reading parts of the mass by the celebrant, originally assigned to the choir, resulted in the marginalisation of choir to inessential tasks: ‘the bond between choir and altar was loosened and the choir ceased to perform an important task in the celebration of Mass. Instead, it took on a decorative role’ (p. 173, Ryan, 1963). In the same way, reactionary attitudes to the Lutheran restoration of congregational singing, ‘forced into the background any notion that the faithful had a part to
play in the prayer of the priest or that they should co-offer in closer union with him' (p.174, Ryan, 1963). The restoration of the liturgical role of the choir and the congregation lies at the heart of the musical reform.

*Vernacular Hymns at Low Mass* were addressed by John Piert. Referring to *Musicae Sacae Disciplina* and its support of the use of vernacular hymns at masses not performed with solemn rites, Piert notes the use of vernacular hymnody in liturgy, particularly, at Children’s masses. He advises the use of hymns to cover the *Introit, Gradual, Offertory* and *Communion*, an arrangement commonly referred to as the ‘four-hymn formula’, the continuation of which is now seen to mitigate against conciliar reform and the singing of the mass itself.

Piert also proposes a widely contended view, concerning the importance of composing with a limited range for congregational style singing, quoting Father O’Neill S.J. in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July 1918, who suggests that the E above to C below should be the range limit of congregational composition, thus ruling out a large number of old Irish melodies. This would seem to be contradicted with the popularity achieved by, for example, some of O’Riada’s liturgical compositions, many of which extend in range to an octave and a fifth.

Minutes of the liturgical congresses were kept from 1960 onwards, firstly by Dom Placid and, later, in a more sporadic fashion, by Dom Paul McDonnell OSB. While music was represented in an occasional fashion, it was not central to the congress brief. Dom Placid explained that the congress defined itself more in terms of the promotion of an understanding of liturgical reform; more as a facilitator of awareness, which might then be translated into particular practices, among which would be music. In the minutes of the annual general meeting of the committee on Tuesday, May 16th, 1961, it is noted that:

A suggestion in a letter of Fr. D. Linehan (Cork) to form a musical sub-committee on the Congress. The general feeling was that the musicians should get every encouragement, but that the formation of a committee might emphasise the difference between ‘liturgy’ and ‘music’ (*Minutes, Glenstal Liturgical Congresses*, 1961)
The same caution does not appear to have been deemed necessary when treating of the other arts in liturgy. On October 29th, 1961 a study day for architects and priests was organised, followed by the dedication of the 1962 congress to the theme of Our Churches, with papers on church design for liturgical participation, the architects brief and economy and art in church design.

The 1963 congress, The Liturgy and Pastoral Life was a reaffirmation of the centrality of pastoralism to the Modern Liturgical Movement. At a committee meeting at Maynooth on Wednesday, November 21st, 1962, it was noted that:

The specific aim of this congress is the re-establishment in the most cogent forms of our original 'liturgical brief': we wish to take into account not only our own acquired experience of the last ten years but also the definite liturgical progress in the Church at large during the same period, and in particular the treatment of Pastoral Liturgy in Vatican II. (Minutes, Glenstal Liturgical Congresses, 1962)

Fr. Crichton, author of numerous liturgical publications, was an invited guest.

Minutes referring to the 1964 congress, Christ in Our Midst, note discussion concerning the production of a periodical by Glenstal Abbey. It was concluded that the monastery was not in a position to do so, but that the congresses would continue to be represented through summary volumes of presented papers.

By 1967, the conciliar liturgical reform was underway in Ireland and the minutes of the Annual General Meeting of Thursday, June 16th, 1966, note that, at the initiation of the congress, it represented the only energy promoting liturgical reform in Ireland. The liturgical reforms, brought about by Second Vatican Council and felt in Ireland, particularly over the preceding two years, had resulted in new national and diocesan structures and even the possibility of a Pastoral Institute. The congress therefore, noted its function as directional: as a source of information and practical advice to the newly established diocesan commissions. A difference of opinion as to the format of the congress is noted with Dr. Cunnane, for example, recorded as advocating a more theological approach and the provision of educational background, while Fr. McKenna felt that papers were too scholarly.
On August 4th, 1966, Abbot Joseph wrote to the hierarchy:

In view of the setting up of diocesan commissions and of a national Liturgical Commission by the Hierarchy, the members of the Liturgical Congress committee... recently met to discuss the future role of the annual Glenstal Congresses. (Minutes-Glenstal Liturgical Congresses, 1966)

It was agreed unanimously that co-operation between diocesan and religious clergy was to be maintained; that the congress should render a service to priests for at least the next decade and that close collaboration between official diocesan bodies and the congress was desirable. Finally, it was proposed that a representative of each diocesan commission be invited to assist the liturgical congress committee.

The Study Day, organised for October 19th, 1966 included representatives from the diocese of Achonry, Cloyne, Derry. Elphin, Ferns, Galway, Kerry, Kildare, Killala, Kilmore, Limerick, Ossory, Raphoe, Waterford and Lismore. The guest speaker for the study day was Father Gy O.P., director of the Institut Supérieur de Liturgie in Paris.

The question of music was raised by Mr Ó Cléirigh (one of three lay representatives present), urging that young composers be encouraged to go ahead with music which would be at least of interim value. Fr. Gy pointed out that tremendous work lay ahead here. There was a great need for new composition. Obviously not all of these would survive, but some surely would. Dr. Muldoon drew attention to present work on new melodies in the interim hymnal in course of preparation. Fr. Prior referred to the relative paucity of sung Masses in Ireland. Fr. Gy favoured an optimistic attitude. So much had been done in France in the last twenty years, he suggested; generally speaking, there were no Sunday masses without chant, with the exception of Masses at seven or eight in the morning. He emphasised the role of the schola as a support for the singing congregation. (Minutes-Glenstal Liturgical Congress, 1966).

The annual general meeting of June 15th, 1967 notes the proposal of three possible themes for the fifteenth congress: Church Music Today, The Paschal Mystery or Priesthood and People. While the eventual title was The Community at Worship, a paper was included on
Tuesday, April 23rd on music. *Music at Mass in Ireland: A Feasible Programme* was presented by Manus O’Doherty C.C., D.D., Moville and Thomas Shannon C.C., Castlebar, followed by a sung Mass on Wednesday, April 24th, according to the norms of the *Instruction on Music in the Liturgy* of March 5th, 1967.

A summary of this lecture is included in the minutes. It is suggested that the significance of the instruction lies in its emphasis on principles, rather than rubrics. The value of No. 51, of the instruction, which allows for the use of different languages in the same liturgy is noted, thus eliminating the previous either / or situation. This allows for the use of Latin at a largely vernacular mass or the addition of vernacular elements to a Latin Mass. It also allows for a greater variety of Masses, from said Masses with vernacular songs to almost completely sung Masses. The article concludes with suggested sources of music, including the compositions of Deiss and Gelineau, traditional hymns and the *Kyriale Simplex*.

The 1968 minutes also note ‘The Castlebar Experiment’. Following the 1968 study day, suggesting that the congress should act, and not just lay down principles, Fr. Thomas Shannon circulated a questionnaire to his congregation and, on the basis of the response, produced a small hymnal and made a recording of his own congregation singing the contents. The questionnaire and hymnal were provided for members of the congress.

The questionnaire, sent to 3,700 parishioners an returned by 1,837, contained four questions. To the first question, ‘Do you like to sing at Mass?’ , 1,485 responded yes, 75, no and 277 said that they could not sing. To the question, ‘Do you like everyone singing at mass, 1, 737 responded positively and 97, negatively. When questioned as to whether singing made the mass more (a) interesting, (b) joyous, (c) more personal to you, responses included, (a) Yes (186), No (126); (b) Yes (235), No (77) and (c) Yes(87), No (225). Finally, the finally question asked: ‘In the new hymns (Mission hymns) which matters most to you, words or music?’, to which 1,085 responded ‘words’, 302, ‘music’ and 414, ‘both’. Comments and suggestions, requested overleaf, included a largely favourable attitude to singing at mass. Attitudes objecting to singing included the comment that the mass was ‘too sacred to need a side show’. Those in favour of singing, emphasised the singing of hymns, including the suggestion that ‘Faith of Our Fathers’ be made into a Sunday National Anthem. Finally, it
was suggested that congregational singing would improve if one would ‘knock off the leader’s microphone’ (Minutes - Glenstal Liturgical Congress, 1968).

The results of this questionnaire illustrate an interesting mixture of pre-conciliar and post-conciliar attitudes. The ‘sacredness’ of the mass, which seemed to imply the unworthiness of the congregation to participate and the retention of preconciliar hymns such as ‘Faith of Our Fathers’, harken back to a Post-Tridentine attitude to liturgy. Paradoxically, the attempt to introduce ‘modern’ hymn-singing illustrates perhaps the most pre-conciliar attitude. This is best illustrated by the contents of the hymnal. Standard hymns included *Holy God, Sing to the Lord of All*, *Lourdes Ave*, *Silent Night*, *The First Noelle*, *O Come All Ye Faithful*, *St. Patrick*, *Jesus Christ is Risen today*, *Faith of Our Fathers*, *Jesus*, *Thou Art Coming*, *Adoro Te* and *Soul of My Saviour*. These hymns are far more representative of the musical world which evolved around *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* than that recommended by *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. The rest of the hymnal includes hymns representative of the earliest stage of liturgical music reform, involving the importation of American secular melodies, including *Hymn 1* (Tune: *Michael Row the Boat Ashore*), *Hymn 2 and 5* (Tune: *Kum ba ya*), *Hymn 3* (Tune: *Where are all the Flowers Gone*) and *Hymn 4* (Tune: *Blowin’ in the Wind*). These efforts at conciliar reform fail to fulfil conciliar directives at two levels, firstly in their failure to address the singing of the parts of the Mass itself, rather than the singing of peripheral music and, secondly, through their failure to aesthetically or liturgically comply with conciliar criteria.

The 1969 congress began the move away from a largely lecture-format to the inclusion of a number of practical workshops. A workshop on singing was included, conducted by Rev. T. Egan C.C., B.Mus., St. Mary’s Cathedral, Killarney. The AGM minutes of June 11th, 1969 include a report on this workshop from Fr. Egan. Two sessions were conducted by Fr. Egan on April 9th, with a third session conducted on April 10th by Dom Paul McDonnell OSB. A group of approximately 30 attended, with a broad spectrum of musical taste and competence. The congress sung mass was prepared by the group, the musical programme of which is included:

*Sing to the Lord of All* (Entrance)
Kyrie Eleison (K.S.9)
Glory be to God on High (rhythmic recitative with organ accompaniment)
Alleluia (G.S.)
Creed (as Glory above)
Praise to the Lord (Offertory - V2)
Holy, Holy (arr.)
Agnus Dei (Liber Usualis, XVII)
Lord, I am not Worthy and Psalm; (Communion) Ceád mile (Acclamation)
Ye Sons and Daughters of the Lord (Final Hymn)

This programme illustrates a closer understanding of the musical, liturgical requirements, suggested by Sacrosanctum Concilium, than that represented by ‘The Castlebar Experiment’ described above.

The 1972 congress was attended by over 200 representatives, marking it as one of the biggest congresses, with numbers beginning to decline from then on. The 1973 congress minutes were recorded by Dom Paul McDonnell OSB, who took over from Dom Placid Murray OSB as secretary. The 1974 congress records between 70-80 representatives. Two music workshops were included, on poetry and hymns in the New Breviary and on the New Irish Hymnal, presented by the hymnal’s editor, the Rev. J. Threadgold.

Following the 1974 congress, the minutes note a meeting of the Glenstal community to examine its liturgical apostolate. The drop in attendance at the congresses was noted. Dom Placid suggested an end to the congresses, which properly belonged to the ‘liturgical movement’ which had since been superseded by the council itself. He suggested instead a small, active, working committee, which would facilitate and organise workshops and seminars around particular topics.

The final volume of Studies in Pastoral Liturgy, edited by Dom Placid Murray (Murray, 1967), departs from the original format of publishing papers directly from the congresses and included basic liturgical studies, the scope of which would have been too extensive for the congress. Three articles are particularly relevant to liturgical music and liturgical practice in
Ireland. The *Vernacular in the Mass since the Council*, by Pierr-Marie Gy notes the simultaneous decision, take at the Second Vatican Council, to reform the liturgy and allow the vernacular. While such a reform is a long and difficult process, the vernacular become an almost immediate reality. This presents particular difficulties for the musician, who must fill the void which exists in vernacular song-settings, and yet is forced to do so, prior to the preparation of official liturgical texts. This issue remains problematic for English and Irish language composers, with the current revisions being conducted by ICEL (International Commission for English in the Liturgy).

Gy notes that the problem is particularly acute in terms of aspects of the proper of the mass, which are open to both read and sung versions. Musicians need a translation which lends itself to singing, such as the ICEL Psalter translation, currently under review. Gy also recognises that ‘much more time is needed for the creation of a new musical repertory than for the translation of the liturgy into the vernacular’ (p.19, Murray, 1967).

Musical translations, like poetry also challenge the translator to create a version which contains, at once, the literal meaning and, at the same time, retains its poetry as a hymn or a sequence. Gy concludes, however, that while the Proper may contain the more challenging issues, it is the composition of the ordinary which is pivotal as this is what will be heard, read and sung most regularly.

*The Christian Prayer of the Psalms* by Liam G. Walsh introduces the psalms as the ‘foremost among the forms of Christian prayer’ (p.29, Murray, 1967) and suggests that their use in Christian liturgy has always been fundamentally Christological. The inclusion of Christian titles for psalms, in addition to their biblical titles is evidenced in manuscripts including the sixth century *Cathrach of St. Columba*, noted by Walsh as the oldest extant manuscript to include these titles. Walsh concludes that:

‘Psalmody, in fact, appears to be a sublime expression of the inner nature of the church as the community of the faithful in Christ. The natural foundation for this is the power of song ... even when one sings alone, or in a small circle, certain songs can create a feeling of solidarity’ (p. 53, Murray, 1967).
Finally, *Patterns of Prayer and Devotion, 1750-1850* by Tomás Uasal De Bhál represents the consistent effort by the Glenstal congresses to root their liturgical renewal in an understanding of liturgical practice in Ireland. Tomás Uasal De Bhál, librarian of the Irish Folklore Commission, notes a number of devotion publications from the period in question. The _Garden of the Soul_, published by Richard Challoner in 1740 included the ceremony of Benediction for the first time in the English language. George Hay’s publications, *Sincere Christian Devout Christian* and *Pious Christian* mark the beginning of a devotional piety which was to characterise Irish Catholic worship until the reforms of the council. The article concludes with a recognition of the loss of traditional Irish devotional practice and the importation of a fundamentally non-Irish piety, the effects of which are felt in the contemporary search for an Irish liturgical voice:

It was at this stage that the English won over the Irish even in the concerns of the soul. There was a sad tendency, even among the enlightened bishops, to repress the native pietica, to condemn the old traditional ways, the holy well, the pattern, the pilgrimage, the ancient shrines of our saints. And as for the deep religious sentiment enshrined in the Irish languages, in its casual greetings, occasional prayers etc. ...So it comes that down to our own time our piety has been of the eighteenth century, Georgian in style and pattern rather than Gothic or Gaelic. (p.213-214, Murray, 1967)

In her review of the Glenstal Liturgical Congresses for *Worship*, Julie Kavanagh notes that the most important legacy of the congresses involved the inauguration of the Irish church into the Modern Liturgical Movement (Vol.22, No.5, September, 1998). As such, it must be noted as a primary precursor and carrier of the radical liturgical reforms signalled by the Second Vatican Council.

**Conclusion**

The theoretical underpinnings of this work proposed in Chapter One reveal a significant hermeneutic enterprise. As also suggested in the Introduction, part of this perspective involves the rehabilitation and revelation of prejudice; of pre-condition, presupposition or pre-existing context.
This chapter primarily engages with aspects of the prejudice or pre-condition of historical surround. It is not its intention to relate an 'entire' or 'universal' summary of the historical development of music in Christian liturgy. Recognising, however, that historical context is an important aspect of contemporary practice, it attempts to address two primary motifs, or relational, historical patterns. The first concerns the changing historical relationship between music and liturgy since the emergence of Christian worship. The second concerns the dynamic relationship of Christian (and later, Catholic) liturgical practice with Irish culture and society. These two motifs are traced, firstly, across the broad historical strokes of early Christianity, the Constantine changes and the introduction of Christianity to Ireland, the Medieval church, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and the Cecilian Movement. By drawing on secondary sources, a number of historical trends and tensions are revealed. Five of these may be suggested as salient issues for the primary consideration of this work: the development of liturgical music in Post-Vatican II Ireland.

The first of these must include the continuous, underlying tension between conceptual and theological understandings of music as art and music as prayer. The broad historical strokes of this chapter chart a history replete with examples of music struggling to establish an aesthetic standard, on the one hand, and of liturgy resisting the perceived move of music away from its spiritual expression, on the other. The development of styles and sounds identified as 'sacred', such as early chant repertoires, Gregorian chant, sacred polyphony and the compositions of the Cecilian movement illustrate self-conscious liturgical and theological agendas, some of which produced music of aesthetic durability, others of which would appear to have suffocated under the weight of liturgical strictures. These same tensions remain at the heart of liturgical music considerations in the wake of the Second Vatican Council. As will be illustrated in Chapter Three, much of the musical debate and liturgical documentation of this period has simply re-ploughed these same furrows with little appreciable change or development. It is the proposal of this work that the new semantic inclusivity of disciplines such as ritual studies will facilitate a new way of speaking about and understanding the shared sensitivities of both musical and liturgical concerns.

With reference to the encounter of music and liturgy in Ireland, historical developments reveal additional tensions. Firstly, there is the almost complete lack of liturgical music
foundation upon which to build. While extant sources reveal clear indications of musical liturgies, nothing appreciable of this music survives. While the Irish church and indeed large parts of the European and North American Catholic Christian world are drawn towards ‘Celtic’ Christianity as a possible source of revitalisation and renewal, the musical voice of this world has been lost in time, leaving contemporary expressions with only speculative deduction or pseudo-Celtic compositions.

Secondly, what does remain of notated liturgical music composition in Ireland is music which has become identified with the beginnings of both a cultural and liturgical shift from practices emerging from the island of Ireland to those imported from the island of England. Tangled in political power shifts, this music has been viewed less as part of the widespread liturgical standardisation of Medieval European liturgy, and more as the musical suppresser of its indigenous antecedent.

The radical, sporadic suppression of Catholic liturgical practice in Ireland during the implementation of the Penal laws reveal a third tension. This involves the flowering of a non-liturgical, religious music repertoire which, while central to the story of religious music in Ireland, remains peripheral to the development of liturgical music, even since the Second Vatican Council.

Finally, the devastation of the Famine, following on this history of liturgical deprivation, led to the relatively easy imposition of an imported 19th century liturgical piety, characterised by a strong clerical control and allegiance to Rome. The musical practice of this period, with its Victorian hymnody and sung devotionalism, characterised Irish liturgical practice until the Second Vatican Council. It is also, however, a piety and liturgical sound which invokes both anger and nostalgia in the contemporary Irish Catholic church.

While the first part of this chapter addresses the broad historical strokes of these tensions, the second part looks with closer detail and through primary sources at the most immediate precursor of the Second Vatican Council, the Modern Liturgical Movement. Using Ireland as its case study, it examines this context with reference to the Glenstal Liturgical Congresses. Drawing on field interviews, extensive access to the minutes of the congresses, as well as
publications resulting from the congresses, it traces the place of music in the attitudes, 
 writings and actions of the congress. A number of conclusions may be suggested.

Firstly, the congresses represented access to some of the most informed interpretations and 
opinions concerning liturgical and liturgical music reform available in Ireland prior to the 
Second Vatican Council. This access, however, was limited throughout the course of the 
congresses to an almost exclusively clerical community. In this way, the congresses may be 
seen as supporting both the innovations of liturgical reform and the status quo of Irish clerical 
authority.

While the numerous articles and presentations referred to in this chapter illustrate reference to 
the special concerns of musicians in liturgy, evidence would not seem to suggest that this 
consideration was central. Music never featured as a central aspect of the congresses in the 
same way that art and architecture did. Given its ‘specialist’ status, which has often been as 
much a blessing as a curse to liturgical musicians, its primary presence at the congresses was 
 experiential, through the monastic liturgy, rather than debated or conceptualised. While this 
certainly provided liturgically contextualised experience for the participants, it did not always 
provide a theoretical or theological grounding which might have served them better in the 
very different reality of parish liturgical practice.

As Kavanagh has suggested, it must be concluded that the congresses provided the most 
sustained and informed forum for the Modern Liturgical Movement in Ireland and, if it did 
not address all the historically inherited tensions between music and liturgy in an Irish 
context, it certainly contributed to bringing Ireland up-to-date with the new liturgical spirit 
about to unleash its own tensions and challenges on the Irish Catholic liturgical music 
experience.

The history of liturgical music development is inexplicably inter-linked with the changing 
fortunes and forms of liturgy itself. While the reform of liturgical music dating from the 
Second Vatican Council has its most immediate roots in the Modern Liturgical Movement of 
this century, the vacillations of liturgical thought and practice throughout the history of the 
Christian church provide the wider context. This liturgical history becomes most explicit at
moments of greatest change and this chapter has attempted to chart those most relevant to the Irish context.

The impact of liturgical history on liturgical music; of Irish spirituality on its musical expression, and the intersection of both, provide the backdrop for the musical, liturgical reform of Vatican II. Liturgically, music exists in the historical tension between music as liturgical, ritual component and music as aesthetic expression; as an independent action in ritual and as servant to the Word of scripture. Irish liturgical music, in turn, takes as its diverse inheritance a flourishing early history, contextualised by both its separateness and allegiance to Rome; a forced paucity of liturgical expression and corresponding flowering of extra-liturgical song throughout the enforcement of Penal Law; the importation of Romanised, 19th century piety and simultaneous suppression of traditional devotion and a sporadic awareness of modern liturgical music reform. The Irish experience of the liturgical music reforms of the Second Vatican Council must locate itself within these multi-faceted voices, tensions, paradoxes and challenges.
Chapter Three: Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Liturgical Music Documentation

Introduction

The relationship between directives and implementation is fraught with all the tensions and challenges of theory and practice. Like theory, directives often presume upon themselves the position of a point of departure; an instigator of change. Practice may, however, have its own ideas. Practice and implementation may resist the changes called for in theory or develop along lines never conceived on paper. Official documentation may be called upon to support a whole number of varying and sometimes contradictory practices.

The lines drawn between theory and practice, or between conciliar and post-conciliar directives and the processes of implementation are neither unilateral nor clearly demarcated. This chapter reviews a spectrum of liturgical/liturgical music documentation of the conciliar and post-conciliar period, bearing in mind the following considerations.

Firstly, the documentation is not seen as a singular point of departure, instigating liturgical change, but one of many manifestations of change in liturgical and musical practice. While aspects of the documentation have provided liturgical reform with both theological and musical leadership, other aspects would seem to be the result of uneasy compromise. Liturgical and musical change has happened because of, and in spite of, the directives. In practice, change is always localised. An exploration of the local impact of change in Ireland, as is suggested in Chapters Four and Five, is developed with reference to the aspirations of the Second Vatican Council and subsequent attempts at implementation. Just as theory both reflects and influences practice, the directives of the Vatican Council may be seen as reflective of the thrust towards reform illustrated in the Modern Liturgical Movement, as well as facilitating aspects of reform never imagined. In Ireland, preparation for the directives was minimal, interest was limited, and resistance to change was strong. The documents reviewed in this chapter will form a backdrop to the local considerations of the following two chapters.
The chapter does not intend a comprehensive survey of all conciliar and post-conciliar documentation, but a review of those most concerned with liturgy and liturgical music reform. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, is the liturgical source document of Vatican II and will be reviewed with reference to both liturgy and music. Two additional conciliar documents will be reviewed: *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes*. Their attempts to articulate the church's changing attitudes to both modernity and pastoralism are important sources for the theological mandate suggested for music in Chapter Six, which locates itself in the postmodern condition and sees service as a fundamental component of its theological enterprise.

Post-conciliar documentation emanating from Rome will be reviewed under four headings. The first concerns documentation addressing the implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. This also includes the publication of the New Roman Missal. The second area references the primary post-conciliar document relating directly to music in the liturgy: *Musicam Sacram*. The third explores post-conciliar musical publications and editions while the final heading reviews Papal addresses concerning liturgical music.

In addition to these Roman documents, two English language documents, *Music in Catholic Worship* and *Liturgical Music Today* will also be reviewed as influential liturgical music documents in English speaking countries. The tensions and processes of the reception of this documentation will also be addressed.

The chapter concludes with the suggestion that, while the documents provide some direction for the emergence of a theology of music, this direction is sporadic, often compromised and, at best, providing an uneasy foundation. In its review of three final documents, the *Universa Laus* document, the Milwaukee symposium document, and the Snowbird Statement, it suggests that new efforts at an integrated theology of music are beginning to emerge; ones cognisant of the ritual, aesthetic and spiritual demands placed on liturgical music.
Conciliar Documentation

Sacrosanctum Concilium

October 11th, 1962, witnessed the gathering of 2,540 periti and the activation of the Twenty-First Ecumenical Council of the Universal Church, or the Second Vatican Council. Initiated by John XXIII within months of his pontificate, in the proclaimed spirit of aggiornamento it was the first council to be, ‘essentially and unequivocally pastoral.’ (p.43, Winter, 1984).

Of the ten commissions and two secretariats appointed to address specific subjects central to the council’s work, two concerned themselves with liturgy: the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments and the Commission for the Sacred Liturgy (Doctrine and Life, September, 1961). The Council elected to address liturgy as its first schema of consideration and, in doing so, fundamentally influenced the entire council proceedings. The liturgy schema proposed, and subsequently documented in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, actively affirmed John XXIII’s pastoral vision and copper-fasted the influence of this vision throughout the Council. The centrality of pastoralism to liturgical relevance was to become the most cited rationale behind the subsequent radical revision of liturgical music repertoire, function and character.

Sacrosanctum Concilium comprises 130 articles, divided into an introduction and seven chapters. Of most immediate relevance to the position of music in liturgy are the Introduction, Chapter One, which sets out general principles of liturgical renewal and Chapter Six, which specifically addresses liturgical music.

The full text of the constitution appeared in the February issue of Doctrine and Life, 1964. The translation by the periodical’s editor, Austin Flannery O.P., was the first English translation to originate in Ireland. Flannery subsequently compiled two volumes of conciliar and postconciliar documents in translation. These translations, which were among the most important access points for the Irish public to Vatican directives are the translations used in this research.
The introduction to the constitution places liturgy at the centre of the church’s activity and sense of self: ‘...it is through the liturgy, especially, that the faithful are enabled to express in their lives and manifest to others the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church’ (SC, Art. 2). If liturgy is central to a living definition of Church, directives on liturgy must, by implication, resonate with all council directives. The general principles of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, therefore, became a template for subsequent conciliar directives. These principles, elaborated in Chapter One, attempted to address not only liturgy but consequently, the entire conceptual framework of the church and its contemporaneous relationship with the world.

The centrality of liturgy to Church definition is the preoccupation of the first section of this chapter. Just as Christ was sent by the Father, so did Christ send the apostles, with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to preach the Gospel and to promote the work of salvation through the sacraments. There exists a direct inheritance of Christ and the paschal mystery in the sacraments; a link accessed through liturgical rite: ‘Thus by Baptism men are grafted into the paschal mystery of Christ, they die with him, are buried with him and rise with him.’ (SC Art.6). Christ is present in all aspects of the Church’s liturgical celebration; present, when the church ‘prays and sings’ (SC Art.7).

The positioning of liturgy at the source and summit of Church (SC Art.10) defines it as a radical locus theologicus. The signs and symbols of music in a liturgical context must consequently, strive towards its own theological assertions and definition. Lack of same has hindered an informed rationale of liturgical music.

The second and third sections of Chapter One concern themselves with liturgical promotion and reform. The title of the second section contains one of the most quoted conciliar directives, that of actuosa participatio; ‘Mother Church earnestly desires that all the faithful be led to that full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy’ (SC, Art 14). Once again, the lack of clear theological assertions for liturgical practice, has resulted in extensive interpretation and claims of misinterpretation regarding this directive, no less so then in the area of liturgical music.
While clear assertions are noticeably lacking, Article 21 contains ‘... the core value of the entire liturgical movement’ (p. 52, Winter, 1984); the principle of evolving liturgy:

... the liturgy is made up of unchangeable elements divinely instituted, and of elements subject to change. These latter not only may be changed, but ought to be changed with the passage of time, if they have suffered from the intrusion of anything out of harmony with the inner nature of the liturgy or have become less suitable. (SC, Art. 21).

In this directive, the council signaled the passing of Tridentine norms and rigidities, and the birth of a new perception of liturgy as culturally and temporally informed and of its logical right to evolve and change. It is possible that only the immediate implementation of this perspective was more radical in the history of liturgical reform, then the directive which informed it.

Norms for the guidance of an emergent liturgy, form the third and final section of this first chapter. Liturgical renewal should be informed by the communal, pedagogical and pastoral characteristics of liturgy. Every member of the liturgical function is to be considered, including ‘servers, readers, commentators, and members of the choir’ (SC Art. 29). Liturgy is not just worship, but instruction, with dialogue between God and his people, proclaimed in ‘song and prayer’ (SC, Art. 33). This instruction feeds the Body of Christ and provides for her pastoral needs: ‘when the church prays or sings or acts, the faith of those taking part is nourished’ (SC Art 33).

Significant to post-conciliar attitudes concerning liturgical music were the norms for adapting the liturgy to the temperament and traditions of peoples. For the first time in conciliar history, primacy of consideration was given to the culture context of liturgy and liturgical music: ‘Even in the liturgy the church does not wish to impose a rigid uniformity in matters which do not involve the faith or the good of the whole community. Rather does she respect and foster the qualities and talents of the various races and nations’ (SC, Art. 37). Facilitation of this attitude involved increased authority at local ecclesiastical level (SC, Art. 39,2). The exercise of such authority was to be facilitated by the establishment of a commission on sacred music in every diocese (SC, Art. 46).
With this first chapter, the council introduced the seedlings of a new theology of liturgy; a theology which saw liturgy not only as descriptive of the Church, but as its embodiment. The signs and symbols of liturgy, therefore, take on a new significance, not just as mediators, but as active agents in the Church’s sense and search for identity. In the same way, liturgical music is not an optional mode of expressive thought, but a central characteristic of the Church’s voice at prayer.

In Chapter Six of the constitution which specifically addresses the issue of sacred music, the pre-eminent role of music is explained through its connection to the word. It is also to be regarded as serving the liturgical action, and therefore, central to liturgical expression, both literally and symbolically (SC, Art. 112).

As with all Vatican documents, Sacrosanctum Concilium, has been both praised and condemned for being a document of normative suggestion, while avoiding pronouncements on particulars. In the chapter concerning sacred music, this principle is evident. General statements are made concerning the treasury of sacred music, the role of choirs (SC, Art 114), the special position of Gregorian chant (SC, Art 116) and the pipe organ (SC, Art. 120), and the music of specific cultural communities (SC, Art 119), but no detailed guidelines are given as to how these concerns might be actualised. Ideologically, it would seem that the directives were allowing for the diversity of situations which would logically develop out of their own recommendations, and which would need to be guided locally rather than centrally. Alternatively, the directives have been viewed, largely, as a result of compromise: ‘A number of points reflect a middle line between rival forces, or a vacillation between two poles. Daring new insights are sometimes couched in hieratic language or constrained by a traditional theological framework’ (p. 57, Winter, 1984). From either perspective, differing interpretations were the inevitable outcome. Liturgical music has suffered and continues to suffer from a lack of guidance, clear leadership and strong theological underpinnings from either Rome or regional authority.
Subsequent Conciliar Documentation

While subsequent conciliar documentation did not directly address issues of liturgy or liturgical music, it continued to search for contemporary meanings of Church. Liturgy, as the expressive font of the Church, looked to these latter directives for the self-identity of the Church it manifested: ‘ecclesiology has serious consequences for ritual, which is the embodiment of its belief’ (p.59, Winter, 1984).

This search for contemporary expressions of identity is most directly addressed in *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et spes*; the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church and the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. Both documents illustrate an unprecedented self-scrutiny and internal search on the part of the Church. Both informed the sense of self, to which liturgy proceeded to give expression.

The Dogmatic Constitution on the church sought to reveal the various faces of the Church as it presented itself to the modern world. Of greatest significance to liturgy was its expression, in Chapter One, of Church as mystery. The Church is seen ‘... in the nature of sacrament - a sign and instrument’ (*LG*, Art. 1). Central to this mystery is the belief that liturgy is not a representation of our salvation through the paschal mystery, but an experiencing of this event: ‘As often as the sacrifice of the cross by which “Christ our Pasch is sacrificed” (1 Cor 5:7), is celebrated on the altar, the work of our redemption is carried out’ (*LG*, Art. 3). The instruments of this redemption include the word, music and action of liturgy: ‘[I]n the Old Testament the revelation of the kingdom is often made under the form of symbols. In similar fashion the inner nature of the Church is now made known to us in various images’ (*LG*, Art. 6). In thus defining the mysterious nature of the Church as manifested in her sacraments, *Lumen Gentium* reiterates the centrality of liturgy to Church identity.

*Gaudium et spes*, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World seeks to locate its self-vision, as expressed in *Lumen Gentium*, within its concept of modernity and the modern world. The constitution preface states that the Church seeks this definition within its solidarity with all people and all of humanity: ‘...the second Vatican Council ... resolutely address not only the sons of the Church and all who call upon the name of Christ, but the
whole of humanity as well' (GS, Art 2). In this way, Church liturgy is equally challenged to embrace traditions, not only of the Christian world, but of all human expression.

Gaudium et spes describes the Church’s understanding of the conditions of modern life and declares that: ‘In language intelligible to every generation, she should be able to answer the ever recurring questions which men ask about the meaning of this present life and of the life to come and of how one is related to the other’ (GS, Art.4). Mankind is perceived as enjoying unprecedented wealth and well-being, while at the same time, vast numbers of the world’s population suffer extreme deprivation (GS, Art 4). Science and technology have brought about change at greater acceleration than ever before (GS, Art.5). Traditional structures of community and kinship are breaking down (GS, Art.6), traditionally excepted values are questioned, especially by the youth, and religion is perceived in a new attitude of both expectation and scepticism (GS, Art 7). In general ‘... there often arises an imbalance between an outlook that is practical and modern and a way of thinking which fails to master and synthesise the sum total of its ideas’ (GS, Art.8).

Gaudium et spes suggests that the dichotomy illustrated in modern life, is but a reflection of a greater dichotomy which is present in mankind itself (GS, Art 10). This dichotomy concerns itself with the imperfect nature of humanity and the search for perfection which informs so much of its thought and action. This eternal dualism of God and man, in mankind, is the dualism of liturgy which is at once human endeavour and Christ Incarnate. Liturgy and its music must always, simultaneously, be both.

Chapter Two address the Community of Mankind and suggests that central to human identity is human relationship:

One of the most striking feature of today’s world is the intense development of interpersonal relationships, due in no small measures to modern technical advances. Nevertheless, genuine fraternal dialogue, is advanced, not so much at this level as at the deeper level of personal fellowship and this calls for mutual respect for full spiritual dignity of men as persons. (GS, Art 23)

This dialogue of genuine relationship and community is alive in the liturgy of communion:
Christ left to his followers a pledge of this hope and food for the journey in the sacrament of faith, in which natural elements, the fruits of man’s cultivation, are changed into his glorified Body and Blood, as a supper of brotherly fellowship and a foretaste of the heavenly banquet. (GS, Art 38)

Chapter Three returns to an issue addressed in Sacrosanctum Concilium, that is, the centrality of culture to the Church’s self-expression. Culture is defined as ‘all those things which go to the refining and developing of man’s diverse mental and physical endowments’ (GS, Art 53), and it is suggested that the expressions of a culture, adapted to contemporary times and faithful to various traditions, should find a home in the church and its activity (GS, Art 62). This directive had far-reaching effects on the nature and justification of several forms of ‘new music’, which entered liturgical practice after Vatican II.

In all, the council issued sixteen documents; four constitutions, nine decrees and three declarations. Sacrosanctum Concilium defined liturgy as the embodiment of Church, while Lumen Gentium and Gaudium et spes sought a contemporary and ecclesiological expression of that same identity. These three documents are considered key seedings of the five-fold theology of music suggested in Chapter Six of this work.

The remaining documents further defined aspects of Church, which also sought expression through the liturgy. Inter mirifica, the Decree on the Means of Social Communication, acknowledged the new forms of communication made available through technology and embraced these as media for the Gospel message. The subsequent increase in the broadcasting of liturgy played a role in the implementation process of liturgical and musical practice. Efforts at increased dialogue with the Catholic Eastern Churches, other Christian and non-Christian churches, as directed in Orientalium ecclesiarium (Decree on the Catholic Eastern Churches), Unitatis redintegratio (Decree on Ecumenism) and Nostra aetate (Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions), opened the doors to increased liturgical interaction and the integration of musical practices from one liturgical form to another. Christus Dominus, the Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church, redefined the regional authority of the bishops, giving them increased autonomy in matters including liturgical procedures and cultural norms. The decrees concerning the
training and education of priests, religious and laity, all recognise the importance of adequate liturgical understanding and education.

Conciliar recognition of the centrality of liturgical practice and, by implication, of liturgical music, can be viewed as two-fold. Firstly, in its initial constitution, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Council explicitly placed liturgy at the source and summit of all we understand as Church. Secondly, in thus defining liturgy as the embodiment of Church, all subsequent documentation, particularly those which deal explicitly with Church definition and identity, also refer, implicitly, to liturgy and by association, to liturgical music.

**Post-Conciliar Documentation**

**Introduction**

Post-Conciliar documentation concerning itself with liturgical music in the thirty years since the Vatican Council has been sporadic and, with the exception of a small number of documents, is most often found in records of private addresses to individual institutions.

This documentation will be addressed under four headings: (1) Post-Vatican II liturgical documents concerning music, (2) the primary post-conciliar document concerning church music, *Musicam sacram*, of March 5th, 1967; (3) Post-Vatican liturgical music publications and their prefaces, including *Jubilate Deo*, the *Kyriale simplex*, the *Graduale simplex*, and the new Roman Missal; (4) texts from the Pope or the Secretariat of State, addressing particular groups, the most important of which include addresses to The International Association of Sacred Music, *Universa Laus*, The Italian Society of St. Cecilia, the review, *Musica Sacra* and Italian congresses on Sacred Music.

**Post-Vatican II Liturgical Documentation**

On January 25th, 1964, the Motu Proprio *Sacram Liturgiam*, was issued by Paul VI outlining those aspects of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* which could expect immediate implementation, and those which would require preliminary work before coming into force. The *motu proprio* recommended that seminaries, houses of study attached to religious orders and departments of theology begin immediately to include the new liturgical directives in their programme of
study. The immediate establishment of a commission for liturgy in every diocese was suggested with a special commission for sacred music and sacred art, where possible (SL, Art.2). Sacram Liturgiam also reinforced the importance of local Episcopal authority in the implementation process.

Three further instructions were issued, concerning the proper implementation of Sacrosanctum Concilium. Inter Oecumenici (1964) and Tres abhinc annos (1967) were issued by the Congregation of Rites and Liturgiae instaurationes (1970), by the Congregation for Divine Worship.

Inter Oecumenici concerned itself primarily with defining the role and authority of the bishops in the process of liturgical implementation. It detailed changes in the liturgical formation of the clergy, religious and the faithful, ecclesiastical authority, the use of the vernacular and the function of liturgical commissions. In the opening remarks of Tres abhinc annos, the ongoing growth of the new liturgy is noted as well as the fact that ‘the participation of the faithful in the sacred liturgy, especially in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, has everywhere increased and has become more conscious and more active’ (p. 98, Flannery, 1975). Tres abhinc annos also contains directives for the use of gesture in liturgy, including the gestural language of genuflections, kissing of the altar and of the cross (Seasoltz, 1980).

Liturgiae instaurationes once again concerns itself primarily with the local and central authority in the implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. In New Liturgy, New Laws (Seasoltz, 1980), Kevin Seasoltz notes a certain hardening of attitude in comparison with earlier documents of implementation. Personal innovation is strongly warned against:

... some individuals, acting on private initiative, arrived at hasty and sometimes unwise solutions, and made changes, additions or simplifications, which at times went against the basic principles of the liturgy.’. This led to a need for the Church’s authority ‘... to keep and increase that fruitful union of minds and hearts which is characteristic of the Christian family’s encounter with God. (p.210, Flannery, 1975)
This standardising of liturgical reform action was aided by the long awaited publication of the New Roman Missal. The Apostolic Constitution on the Roman Missal was announced on April 3rd, 1969 and the General Instruction on the Missal was published in March, 1970.

Finally, general liturgical documentation which related specifically to aspects of music in the liturgy must include reference to instructions on the use of the vernacular in liturgy. Of particular interest are those related to the use of English. Following the Vatican directives on the use of the vernacular of the same year, the U.S. bishops adopted a decree on the Use of English in Accordance with The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, on April 2nd, 1964. This included the use of the vernacular for (1) the lessons of the Mass (the epistle, gospel and reading which may proceed the epistle); (2) the Ordinary of the Mass, including the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Pater Noster and Agnus Dei; (3) parts of the Proper which pertain to the people, such as the antiphons with their psalms at the introit, offertory and communion. It is noted that other sacraments, sacramentals and the Divine Office allow for the use of the vernacular, but also note No. 54 of Sacrosanctum Concilium, in which liturgists are reminded that ‘[N]evertheless, steps should be taken so that the faithful may also be able to sing in Latin those parts of the ordinary which pertain to them’ (Seasoltz, 1966). The Pontifical Commission Established with the Reform of the Liturgy and the Post-Conciliar Commission for the Execution of the Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy confirmed the decree.

Musicam Sacram

The most significant Post Conciliar document on sacred music to date, Musicam Sacram, was issued on March 5th, 1967 by the Congregation of Sacred Rites. The opening sentence of the Instruction roots music firmly in its liturgical context: Sacred music, in those aspects which concern the liturgical renewal, was carefully considered by the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council’ (p.80, Flannery, 1975). The Instruction notes that the implementation of Sacrosanctum Concilium has led to tensions and problems concerning the ministerial role of music in liturgy. As a result, the Concilium created to supervise the process of implementation has issued this instruction. The Instruction is a set of norms which seek to expound in greater detail the directives concerning music in Sacrosanctum Concilium.
*Musicam Sacram* provides one of the clearest attempts at defining sacred music. Sacred music is understood as ‘that which, being created for the celebration of divine worship, is endowed with a certain holy sincerity of form’ (*MS*, Art.4). Within this definition is included Gregorian chant, sacred polyphony, sacred music for the organ and other approved instruments and sacred popular music.

Within the ‘General Norms’, *Musicam Sacram* seeks to justify the place of music in liturgy under five headings. Music renders prayer more attractive, it aids the notion of worship as mystery and fosters the concept of unity; it raises the heart and mind to the heavenly aspects of prayer and prefigures the heavenly liturgy to which the faithful aspire. The priorities in selecting music should therefore be influenced by these characteristics, as these, and not primarily musical criteria, inform the use of music in liturgy. To this end, ‘no kind of sacred music is prohibited from liturgical actions by the Church as long as it corresponds to the spirit of the liturgical celebration itself ... and does not hinder active participation’ (*MS*, Art.9). The inclusion of any genre of music in liturgical celebration is a move unprecedented in Roman liturgical history.

Authority for implementation and development of liturgical music reform is placed firmly in the hands of both the Holy See and territorial Episcopal commissions. (*MS*, Art.12). Active participation by all the faithful in the music of the liturgy is restated several times throughout the Instruction, possibly most forcefully in Art. 16 which states that ‘One cannot find anything more religious and more joyful in sacred celebrations than a whole congregation expressing its faith and devotion in song’. Due regard is also given to the importance of choirs in liturgical song. It is recommended that all cathedrals and major churches should facilitate choral singing at its liturgy and smaller churches are encouraged to establish similar structures. Art. 21 states that provision should be made for at least one or two properly trained singers, even in churches which cannot support a choir. The place of the choir in the church during liturgies and the spiritual training of choral singers are also addressed.

Chapters Two and Three offer instruction for the use of music in the Divine Office and the celebration of the Sacraments and Sacramentals. It is suggested that the nature of the Divine
Office is best expressed in its sung form and that certain hours of the Office, particularly Lauds and Vespers should be open to the people in sung celebration (MS, Art. 37).

Article 42 reiterates the importance of communal celebration and, suggests that it ‘follows logically from this that singing is of great importance since it more clearly demonstrates the ‘ecclesial’ aspect of the celebration’. This is equally true for popular devotions.

The use of the vernacular is dealt with in Chapters Four and Five. By 1967, the vernacular had already taken root in liturgy to a greater extent than the council could have ever supposed and the first article of Chapter Four restates the centrality of the Latin language to the Roman rite. Decisions on the use of the vernacular are delegated to territorial ecclesiastical authority.

In the preparation of vernacular texts and accompanying melodies, fidelity to the Latin texts is to be maintained (MS, Art. 54). The challenge to composers of liturgical music in this new environment is presented, if not addressed, in Art. 61:

Adapting sacred music for those regions which possess a musical tradition of their own, especially, mission areas, will require a very specialised preparation by the experts. It will be a question, in fact, on how to harmonise the sense of the sacred with the spirit, traditions and characteristic expressions proper to each of these peoples. (p. 95, Flannery, 1975).

The use of musical instruments in sacred celebration is addressed in Chapter VI both in accompanying singers and for solo or ensemble instrumentals. As in Sacrosanctum Concilium, the organ is again given pride of place in liturgical music. The use of other instruments is to be regulated by territorial ecclesiastical authority and should be influenced by the traditions and musics of individual peoples.

Finally, Chapter VII suggests the creation of diocesan commissions for sacred music, to aid ecclesiastical authority in decisions pertaining to the implementation of these and conciliar directives. These should work closely with the liturgy commissions and, in many cases, it may be advisable to combine the two.
Post Vatican II Liturgical Music Publications and Instructions

While the vast majority of post-conciliar music would be composed in the vernacular, Roman liturgical music publications and instructions following the Council dealt almost exclusively with Gregorian chant. While this could be viewed as an attempt to leave vernacular directives to territorial ecclesiastical authority, as suggested in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* and *Musicam Sacram*, it may also be viewed as one of the more overt and immediate signs of separation between conciliar directives and post-conciliar practice.

*Quum Constitutio* promulgated the *editio typica* of the *Kyriale simplex* on December 14th, 1964. The *Kyriale simplex* was a compilation of simple Gregorian Chant melodies for the Ordinary of the Mass, produced by the *Consilium*. The introduction to the edition stated that the publication hoped to allow ‘everyone to make a more extensive use of the heritage of the ancient rites’ (p. 1338, ICEL, 1982).

A similar decree, *Edita Instructione*, was issued on the same date, promulgating the use of a number of chants suggested for the Roman Missal. *Sacrosancti Oecumenici*, promulgating the *editio typica* of *The Simple Graduale*, was issued on September 3rd, 1967. Containing a collection of simple chants for the Proper of the Mass, its aim was to make sung liturgy accessible even to smaller churches with little or no musical resources. *The Simple Graduale* was intended to supplement, not replace the more complex chants of the *Graduale Romanum* and the *Ordo Cantus Missae*, issued on June 24th, 1974, outlined the changes and adaptations to the *Graduale Romanum*, necessitated by the conciliar reform of liturgical books. Issued with the assistance of the monks of Solesmes, it was an effort of restoration and adaptation which included almost twenty Gregorian texts which had fallen into disuse and a number of older versions of melodies were employed to replace less ‘authentic’ versions previously in use.

On April 14th, 1974, Cardinal James Knox, prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship, send a copy of *Jubilate Deo* to all bishops. This was accompanied by a letter in which congregations across the world were urged to sing these chants for the Ordinary of the Mass and, in doing so, to provide a unique example of the unity of the Roman church. The challenge to the Roman church was to embrace the traditions, languages and musics of all its
Challenge to the Roman church was to embrace the traditions, languages and musics of all its people, while at the same time, providing them with a song to express their unity and oneness of body and spirit. This song is the song of Gregorian chant. A 'sound balance' (p. 1328, ICEL, 1982) between chant and vernacular singing is urged, to reflect the balance of diversity and unity within the church itself. The preface to Jubilate Deo was issued on April 14th, 1974, in which the Holy Father's desire for the use of Gregorian chant was expressed: '... for then the voices of the faithful would resound in both Gregorian chant and in the modern vernacular' (p.571, Hayburn, 1979).

Unique in this chronology of liturgical music publications and instructions is Passim quaeritur, a note from the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship, on music for vernacular editions of the Roman Missal. The note expressed concern at the number of vernacular editions published which did not provide music. As a result, an increasing number of masses were being celebrated with no music at all. Passim quaeritur stated that all editions must provide for the ordinary of the Mass, the music to be sung by the celebrant, the ministers, the congregation and choir.

Addresses from the Pope or Secretariat of State to Specific Music Organisations
The vast majority of post-conciliar Roman documentation related to liturgical music concerns itself with private addresses or correspondence with specific musical bodies or organisations. Robert Hayburn's 1979 publication, Papal Legislation on Sacred Music : 95 AD - 1977AD (Hayburn, 1979) is one of the definitive sources of church music legislation. While its primary focus is on legislation culminating in the Motu Proprio of 1903 and the Modern Liturgical Movement, appendix seven of the work makes reference to a number of post-conciliar documentations, including two addressed to the International Association of Sacred Music; two, to Universa Laus; three, to the Italian Society of St. Cecelia; one, to Musica Sacra and two, to meetings of church choir members. Similarly, the publication of the International Commission on English in the Liturgy, documenting conciliar, Papal and Curial Texts from 1963-1979 (ICEL, 1982) contains four documentations addressed to the International Association of Sacred Music; four, to Universa Laus; four, to the Society of St. Cecelia; one, to Musica Sacra; three to Italian congresses on sacred music and four, to meetings of church choir members. Winters bibliography (Winters, 1984) of post-conciliar
music legislation draws largely on Hayburn, with the inclusion of more recent music addresses by John Paul II.

The combined content of these addresses and correspondences provide an interesting source of Papal and post-conciliar thought, in the years following the council. The centrality of Gregorian chant to the church’s musical repertoire is a constant theme, almost in the face of the practical disregard for this premise. Sacrosanctum Concilium is sourced as a point of departure for statements on the pastoral challenge to liturgy, the importance of active participation and the acceptance of the vernacular in liturgical song. The centrality of music to liturgical action and expression is a theme of many addresses. Choirs are reassured of their importance to liturgical music and of the complimentary role they offer to congregational singing.

These private addresses, together with the published and general documents of the post-conciliar period all pledge allegiance to the principles and norms of Sacrosanctum Concilium and Musicam Sacram, albeit with varying emphasis. The centrality of chant and the heritage of sacred polyphonic music became increasingly important in addresses to conservative Roman music organisations, particularly as the vernacular gained a growing foothold worldwide. While the addresses remained loyal to the principles of the council, there was a significant expression of doubt as to the success of its implementation.

Postconciliar English Language Documentation

Introduction

Specific documentation of the Irish post-conciliar church, most of which was written in English, will be addressed in the following chapter. Most of this documentation is found in journal publications. There are also a number of English language documents, produced outside of Ireland which had a significant influence on the Irish post-conciliar church. The most influential of these include Music in Catholic Worship and Liturgical Music Today. The Bishop’s Committee on the Liturgy of the United States Catholic Conference issued these documents in 1972 and 1982 respectively, with a revised edition of Music in Catholic Worship published in 1983.
Music in Catholic Worship

The revised edition of *Music in Catholic Worship* remains one of the seminal English language liturgical documents. An introduction and five sections provide the body of the document. The introduction, entitled ‘The Theology of Celebration’, places liturgy at the centre of faith and its expression: ‘We gather at mass that we may hear and express our faith again in this assembly and, by expressing it, renew and deepen it’ (*MCW*, Art. 1).

Central to the success of liturgy as a celebration of faith is its use of signs or sacramental action, foremost of which includes music: ‘People in love make signs of love, not only to express their love but to deepen it. Love never expressed dies. Christians’ love for Christ and for one another and Christians’ faith in Christ and in one another must be expressed in the signs and symbols of celebration or they will die (*MCW*, Art. 4). As liturgical signs communicate, they must be comprehensible. As they are human, they must emerge from, and return to, humanity (Art. 7).

The first section of the document, ‘Pastoral Planning for Celebration’ suggests that the successful sharing of celebration depends on the unity of its conception. This unity roots itself in the scripture readings and liturgical season, and expresses itself musically, poetically and artistically, with a coherence that does not negate diversity, but which contextualises it within a unified source.

The expression of the liturgy must also take into account the total community whom it serves. The selection of music or songs must be appropriate to the liturgical feast but also meaningful to those who celebrate. While every community is a diverse and complex entity, the challenge to liturgy is to at once address immediacy and, at the same time, nourish the transcendent qualities of liturgy which allow this diversity to find meaning beyond immediate and local limitations.

The second section of the document locates music within this challenge to celebrate. The importance of music is seen as pre-eminent among the sings and symbols of celebration (*MCW*, Art. 23). The function of music is firmly ministerial; it serves liturgy and serves the
Music imparts a sense of unity, particularly when shared congregationally. Music is also recognised as able to ‘unveil a dimension of meaning and feeling, a communication of ideas and intuitions which words alone cannot yield’ (MCW, Art. 24).

The criteria for the selection of music in worship and the determination of its value are viewed through musical, liturgical and pastoral perspectives. Musical judgements must be made by competent musicians. Musicians are called to create new music suitable to the new liturgy; to find new uses for the best of our inherited music, to search out music from other liturgies and find a practical means of integrating Latin chants and polyphony (MCW, Art. 27). Musicians are urged to patience by the words of St. Augustine: ‘Do not allow yourselves to be offended by the imperfect while you strive for the perfect’ (MCW, Art. 27).

In a clear statement on the value of different musical styles, the document warns musicians not to confuse the judgement of music’s value to the liturgy with a judgement on its musical style. The postconciliar church recognises the value of all styles of music and reminds musicians that they ‘must judge value within each style.’ (MCW, Art. 28).

Musical criteria must always subject themselves to liturgical criteria. These include structural requirements, which call for music to balance the emphasis on the parts of the mass in accordance with their liturgical importance; textual requirements, and due attention to the roles of the congregation, the cantor, the choir, the celebrant and the instrumentalists. Music chosen for each of these categories must take into account the abilities and purpose of each in the liturgy.

Finally, pastoral judgement is seen to permeate every aspect of celebration (MCW, Art. 39). Liturgy has little value if it is not meaningful to those who participate in its celebration. In this way, ‘[T]he signs of celebration must be accepted and received as meaningful for a genuinely human faith experience’ (MCW, Art. 41). This must allow for socially and culturally meaningful signs, as central to liturgical expression.

The third section of the document is a detailed explanation of the structure of the Mass, viewing this knowledge as paramount to the selection of music which will appropriately
reflect this structure. The fourth section urges celebration to embrace music, particularly in the acclamations (the Alleluia, the Holy, Holy, the Memorial Acclamation, the Great Amen, the Doxology to the Lord’s Prayer); processional songs (the entrance and communion songs); the responsorial psalm, ordinary chants (the Lord Have Mercy, the Glory to God, the Lord’s Prayer, the Lamb of God, the Profession of Faith) and supplementary songs such as offertory or recessional songs. The final section urges the use of music in sacraments and sacramentals, including the rite of baptism, the anointing of the sick, reconciliation, marriage, confirmation and in the new burial rites.

**Liturgical Music Today**

*Liturgical Music Today* is, in many regards, an appendix to *Music in Catholic Worship* in its attempt to address circumstances and rites not covered or detailed in the former document. Structured as *Music in Catholic Worship*, with an introduction and five sections, it is primarily a positivist statement on liturgical music, commending the growth of liturgical music practice as confident and strong (*LMT*, Art. 1). The document addresses aspects of liturgy which *Music in Catholic Worship* was unable to speak to, as liturgical books were still undergoing revision and not all the new directives were in place. These areas concern themselves primarily with music for sacramental rites other than the Mass and the Liturgy of the Hours. *Liturgical Music Today* is seen as a companion to *Music in Catholic Worship* and not as a replacement.

The opening section deals with general principles influencing the selection of music for celebration. Principle among these is the structure of the liturgy, as balance within this structure should be reflected in the balance of selected music. *Liturgical Music Today* reaffirms the criteria suggested in *Music in Catholic Worship* and further suggests that it is applicable to all liturgical celebrations which include a liturgy of the Word. (*LMT*, Art. 7). The individual structures of specific rites, such as baptism or confirmation yield up structural criteria for musical selections. Therefore, ‘the first place to look for guidance in the use and choice of music is the rite itself’ (*LMT*, Art. 8).

The function of song within each area of the rite is also of importance. At times the music will serve to accompany and emphasise the Word. At other times, it will be a constituent
element of the rite and while it is being performed, no other ritual action takes place (LMT, Art. 10). The function of the music should influence its form. An acclamation, for example, calls for a short and declarative statement, rather than something longer and less direct (LMT, Art. 11). The centrality of pastoral criteria, as outlined in Music in Catholic Worship, is reaffirmed in relation to all rites. Finally, it is suggested that there may be criteria for using a variety of musical media and styles in a single liturgy, depending on the profile of the worshipping community and the musical expertise.

Section Two of the document includes additional notes on the function of music in the Eucharist celebration and is very much an appendix to the corresponding section in Music in Catholic Worship. Section Three extends these recommendations to address the rites of Christian Initiation, Reconciliation, Christian Marriage and Christian Burial. Section four addresses the Liturgy of the Hours, with particular emphasis given to the singing of psalms as responsorial, antiphonal, through-composed and metrical. The singing of the hymns in the Liturgy of the Hours is also highly recommended.

Other matters addressed in Liturgical Music Today include the liturgical year, music of the past, instrumental music, recorded music and music ministry. Every rite is viewed as part of a greater unfolding of the mystery of the church and, as such, cannot be viewed as an isolated event, but as part of an eternal unfolding of mystery (LMT, Art. 46). This unfolding roots itself in the original Christian feast, the Sunday Eucharist, but also relies on the seasonal feasts which mark the liturgical year. It is noted that contemporary culture may sometimes contradict or even discourage the full celebration of these feasts but that an effort must be made to counteract this with the full liturgical significance of celebrations of, for example, Christmas and Eastertide, being made manifest in fully prepared and celebrated liturgies surrounding these feasts.

Liturgical Music Today, while acknowledging the importance of the musical heritage of the past is one of the few documents to openly admit that reform of the liturgy and maintenance of this tradition exist within a ‘certain tension’ (LMT, Art. 49). It urges a realistic reassessment of this tension in light of liturgical practice world-wide. It notes that immediately prior to the council, few parishes were performing this repertoire and that its
proper home was rooted in the cathedral and court chapel tradition. While the post-conciliar liturgy accommodated this heritage it challenged it to address the needs of reformed rites. Finally, liturgical music must always reflect the diversity of cultures it serves and musical heritage must be contextualised by this knowledge.

The role of instrumental music is affirmed, though it is noted that liturgy traditionally prefers song to instrumental music *\(LMT, \text{Art. 56}\)*. Recorded music is discouraged in as far as it should not replace the living human activity of music making. It is, however, noted that, as an element of some electronic music composition, it is a valid compositional element.

*Liturgical Music Today* concludes by rooting music in its role as ministry. Liturgical music training must include clear instruction in music and liturgy and the musician’s contribution to liturgy must by informed, recognised and properly compensated. The document concludes with the admonition of St. Augustine: ‘You should sing as wayfarers do - sing, but continue your journey. Do not be lazy, but sing to make your journey more enjoyable. Sing, but keep going’ *\(LMT, \text{Art. 74}\)*.

**The Reception of Conciliar and Postconciliar Documentation**

Temporal retrospection of a few decades is hardly likely to produce lasting insights into the reception and long-term repercussions of the conciliar documents and their contexts. It can, however, provide a useful perspective on the tensions and attitudes which the documents produced and with which all renewal must contend.

The context of the Second Vatican Council, however, also precedes the event itself. This context includes, not only Vatican I (1869-70) but also the Council of Trent (1544-63). The Council of Trent precipitated ‘a drastic narrowing, both qualitative and quantitative, of the Catholic horizon’ *\(p.13, \text{Alberigo et. al., 1987}\)* and its influence on attitudes to modernity and centralisation, affirmed by Vatican I ensured that ‘[E]cclesiocentrism thus reached levels that were new in relation to the entire Christian tradition’ *\(p. 15, \text{Albergio et. al., 1987}\)*. The influence of this period of church history cannot be overemphasised; nor can its impact on Vatican II and the evolution of its reception.
Vatican II marks the most radical and fundamental break with Tridentine theology and practice. Initiated by the Council of Trent and affirmed by Vatican I, the church’s policy of Roman centralisation and Curia-based power had proceeded virtually unchallenged for 300 years. John XXIII’s announcement of the Council and its agenda clearly marked the most significant counter-gesture to this policy, a position which inevitably led to hostility and defensive action on the part of the existing Roman power bases:

His intention was to call into Council, not only Catholicism, but the whole of Christianity, within the limits possible of a situation so compromised and intractable. His purpose was that... the church should emerge from a lengthy historical stage that now seemed finished and without any possible future. (p.15, Alberigo et. al., 1987)

Furthermore, those in favour of reform were not unanimous in their view of what that reform might involve. In an essay from The Reception of Vatican II (Alberigo et. al, 1987), Menozzi sites Graber, bishop of Regensburg, as representative of many who, while not going as far as Archbishop Lefebvre in his explicit rejection of the Council, nevertheless gave allegiance to the Council in letter only, advocating an interpretation of renewal that was rooted almost exclusively in tradition, while others, particularly in the younger churches, rejected almost all links with traditional and sought to create a contemporary church, influenced and moulded by the norms of that context. While those in favour of reform were always in the majority, Alberigo suggests that it was never a large or influential enough group to completely overcome the advocates of pre-conciliar oligarchy. This became increasingly significant during the reign of Paul VI.

The Papal change from John XXIII to Paul VI had fundamental implications, not so much for the conclusion of the Council, as for the following years of implementation. While Paul VI reiterated his allegiance to the spirit and direction of the Council from the first moments of his Papacy, the growing discontent of the more intransigent members of his staff and advisers, led to an increased conservativism in implementation. Already in 1965, E. Schillebeeckx noted that ‘the programme of ecclesial aggiornamento emerging from the pope’s address was based on a letter-oriented vision of the conciliar documents and was in
substantial contrast to the dynamism the majority of the council fathers had intended the
documents to embody (p. 332, Alberigo et. al., 1987). The Papacy of Paul VI led to an
undermining of the reformist theses of the Council and became increasingly isolated from the
actual events of reform, which were happening, with or without the leadership of the Pope.

As with every major council, not least of which is the Council of Trent, Vatican II
experienced and is still in the throes of complex tensions between positions not easily
relinquished and those too hastily adopted. This is particularly true of Vatican II in that, while
the Council of Trent and Vatican I sought to restore stability through rigidity and
authoritarianism, Vatican II sought aggiornamento through a new relaxation of Tridentine
norms and an openness to its contemporary context. Alberigo suggests that the first phase of
this tension will not be completed until the positions they represent are inherited by the next
generation:

At present, the postconciliar period is marked largely by a continuation of the tensions
experienced at the Council itself: nor is it an accident that almost all the leading
figures on all sides today attended the Council. (p. 8, Alberigo et. al., 1987)

These tensions are at the root of the complexity involved in the interpretation of the
documents themselves. The documents eschewed an authoritarian tone and most of the
language is persuasive, rather than dogmatic. Furthermore, in an effort to satisfy all sides, the
documents are more often the result of compromise than conviction, as stated by Pottmeyer’s
essay: ‘Many conflicts of the postconciliar period have their basis in the difficult and
uncertain interpretation of Vatican II (p. 28, Alberigo et. al. 1987). These documents, on their
own, cannot communicate the mission of renewal or the spirit of historical evolution of the
Council wished to promulgate. The twin thrust of spiritual renewal and self critique; of a
return to Pre-Tridentine and patristic tradition and a simultaneous recognition of historical
and contemporary context, which the Council sought to apply to itself, was often lost in the
legalistic battles of interpretation which followed.

One of the most significant repercussions of this tension was the swift disappearance of the
spirit of optimism and aggiornamento which pervaded the Council sessions, to be replaced by
a pedantic and legalistic period of implementation. The initial enthusiasm led to often bitter disillusionment in recognition of 'the inertia characteristic of so great an institution and its historical forms' (p. 34, Alberigo et. al., 1987). In an effort to placate opposition, change was often limited only to the most formulistic interpretation of the documents, with little or none of the accompanying spirit of reform. This is most obvious in the reform of the liturgy, where reform was often limited to the printing of new liturgical texts, with most energy and emphasis centred on concerns of translation and schema.

These changes, such as they were, were further limited by the atmosphere of fear and caution which followed the student protests of 1968 and general unrest of the 1970's. Ironically, while this unrest cut to the heart of the profound social issues the Council sought to address, they were largely interpreted as symptoms of destabilisation, with the Council fingered as, at least, a contributing agent.

Alberigo concludes with the suggestion that the period of implementation has experienced a clear return to a number of pre-conciliar norms. This includes a sceptical attitude to the contemporary world and the possibility of locating the church in meaningful relationship with it. This attitude is especially prevalent among many in positions of authority within the church. In his contribution to *The Reception of Vatican II* (Alberigo et. al., 1987), Pottmeyer also notes an increasing call for stabilisation in the face of continuing attempts at reform.

The root of the dissension, and possibly a hint to its resolution, is hidden in the internal contradiction of the documents themselves. Pottmeyer suggests that a hermeneutic involving the juxtapositioning of conciliar positions, as opposed to the prevalent practice of selective interpretation, may provide a key to the next phase of interpretation. By allowing for both a recognition of tradition and its value and, at the same time, a commitment to the positioning of same within the contemporary issues at large in the world and therefore relevant to the people of God, the post-conciliar church may come closer to the true spirit, the *discretio spirituum*, of the Council's understanding of renewal, than it has succeeded in, to date.
Tensions in the Reception of Liturgical and Musical Documents

Issues affecting the general reception of conciliar and post-conciliar documents, also influenced the implementation of documents concerned specifically with liturgy and music. The interpretation of conciliar texts without reference to the attitudes and environment which created them is at the heart of the dissatisfaction expressed, concerning the initial publications of liturgical texts. ‘It is a basic hermeneutical principle that texts can be properly understood and interpreted only when they are situated in their proper context’ (p. 157, Seasoltz, 1980); a principle largely ignored by those responsible for implementation of liturgical reform. The texts were often printed and published after lengthy debate on language, style and translation, and then offered to the Catholic community at large with little or no effort at education in implementation or understanding of the new liturgy. Implementation was often reduced to the production of the new texts, with scant reference to the spirit which inspired them.

As characteristic of all the conciliar documents, the liturgical texts are riddled with the juxtapositioning of opposing and heterogeneous statements and principles. With reference to the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy, Jungmann states that. ‘[O]n many questions, a middle line has had to be drawn between ideal and tradition, a line which depended on the momentary balance of rival forces, which resulted in vacillations in the text of the Constitution itself’ (p. 8, Jungmann, 1967). Conflict was expressed most strongly by those who, one the one hand, sought to safeguard the church’s inheritance of tradition and, on the other, those who wished to affirm the Council’s affirmation of the liturgy’s responsibility to pastoral considerations. In an introduction to the constitution for the Abbott publication of the documents of Vatican II, the Jesuit C. J. McNaspy suggests that this tension was already obvious at the point of the preparation of schema for the constitution, to which representatives of the major liturgical centres, particularly at Trier and Paris, were not initially invited (Abbott, 1967).

Of all aspects of liturgical reform, those musical are among the most complex and created the most conflict. In a commentary by Kieran O’Gorman on the Irish reaction to liturgical reform, he stated that on the promulgation of the Constitution on the liturgy the people least ready for the changes were the musicians (O’Gorman, 1968) while Jungmann claimed that
the liturgical movement was challenged most strongly by musicians, who formed the backbone of resistance to the suggested changes in the liturgy (Jungmann, 1967).

By far the most detailed and intimate account of the tensions and complexities of the liturgical music reform, is to be found in Anibale Bugnini’s publication, *The Reform of the Liturgy, 1948-1975* (Bugnini, 1990). Bugnini’s liturgical career included the position of secretary of the commission for liturgical reform under Pius XII (1948-1960); secretary to the pontifical preparatory commission on the liturgy (1960-1964); peritus to the conciliar commission on the liturgy (1962-64); secretary to the consilium for the implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy (1964-69) and secretary to the congregation for Divine Worship (1969-75). Through the vacillations of this extraordinary career, Bugnini experienced first hand the changing fortunes of liturgical reform and was himself, perhaps, a victim of the increased conservatism of the years following the council. The pages of his publication chronicle the private and public tensions of this reform and provide some of the most revealing insights into the environment of liturgical music reform, immediately before and after the Council, which were ‘among the most sensitive, important and troubling of the entire reform’ (p. 885, Bugnini).

The tensions which were to plague the post-conciliar liturgical music reform were, according to Bugnini, almost immediately obvious, from the moment the preparatory commission on the liturgy was formed. Monsignor Anglés, Dean of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome, was appointed Realtor of the subcommission on sacred music and a number of people, representing various aspects of music, were recommended as consultants. Anglés rejected all but one of those recommended to him. He sought instead to appoint his own consultants, among whom were Monsignor Johannes Overath of Germany, Monsignor Jean Beilliard of France and, as ‘adviser’, the Dutch Jesuit, Father Smits van Waesberghe. Cardinal Cicognani, the president of the preparatory commission on liturgy rejected these suggestions.

In retaliation, Anglés held a number of meetings to which the appointed consultants were not invited. When Bishop Kowalski of Poland wrote that he had received no correspondence or
information concerning such meetings, Anglés is alleged to have replied: 'How do I know that he's not a Communist bishop?' (p.22, Bugnini, 1990).

Anglés read a paper at a meeting in April, 1961 and proposed that a significant section of it be included in the constitution. When refused, Anglés turned on the preparatory committee, suggesting that it was in opposition to the church's Latin inheritance, and began to look to the International Congress on Sacred Music for support. At a final meeting of the commission for June 11th-13th, 1962, Anglés walked out of the meeting room before the session concluded.

'These details show how sacred music was unfortunately the most unsettled area of reform both before and after the Council' (p. 22, Bugnini, 1990). Bugnini suggests that the camps of traditional inheritance, represented by music directors, liturgical composers and choral societies; and those of pastoral reform, represented by the liturgical reform movement; were clearly in place and in opposition from the inception of the council:

Because of the specialised choirs, professional organisations and 'chapels' (i.e. choirs) to be found in the holy city, Roman circles were more sensitive to the artistic side of the question and the preservation of the values of the past than they were to the requirements of popular participation. (p. 885, Bugnini, 1990)

As a result, liturgical music has consistently been largely one or the other; either music of a high standard which has no regard for the pastoral dimension of the new liturgy, or music which is not always inspired or artistic, but is widely received because it is in spirit with the liturgical reform movement. This reform has largely isolated the professional musicians, who have set themselves up in opposition to the thrust of the renewal. This accounts for the lack of critical musical leadership within the reformed liturgical music movement.

Bugnini suggests a state of intransigent positionalism which all the efforts of the Concilium failed to convert. Even while the vast majority of post-conciliar Vatican publications, concerning music, were publications of chant; the Kyriale Simplex, Jubilate Deo, the Graduale Simplex, the revised Graduale Romanum and Ordo Cantus Missae, many musicians and composers insisted on interpreting the efforts of reform as antagonistic to
choirs and the sacred inheritance of Gregorian chant and polyphonic music. The publication of all these texts was ridden with opposition and revision, with, for example, the *Graduale simplex* not receiving permission for publication until 1967. The *Concilium* replied with numerous statements indicating that a proper reading of the liturgy constitution and subsequent liturgical documentation would make such a position impossible, but ‘the radical prejudice against any undertaking, by the *Consilium* and other movements ... remained unchanged’ (p. 888, Bugnini, 1990).

To further complicate matters, tension was obvious between the two main international bodies representing sacred music, *Universa Laus* and the *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae*. In the introduction to the English translation of the *Universa Laus* document and commentary, the ‘faithful friendship’ of Msgr. Anibale Bugnini is noted (p. 2, Duchesneau, Veuthey, 1992); a friendship which often saw Bugnini fighting to maintain a balance between two positions:

One type of musician looked upon song primarily as an art-form and an adornment of the celebration. Liturgists and pastors, on the other hand, as well as musicians more conscious of pastoral needs, saw song as having a structural role and serving to give better expression to the mystery being celebrated. (p. 885, Bugnini, 1990)

*Universa Laus*, founded in Lugano in 1966, was immediately seen to be interfering in the jurisdiction of the *Consociatio* and the *Consilium* was forced to bring the issue to the attention of the Secretariat of State. At the advice of the Secretariat and through communication between Monsignor Overath on behalf of the *Consociatio* and Father J. Gélineau on behalf of *Universa Laus*, clear lines of demarcation were drawn between the two groups, further dividing the potential musical energies involved in liturgical music.

Tension reached its most overt presence at the formulation of *Musicam Sacram*. At meetings involving the preparation for the liturgical instruction *Inter Oecumenici*, the need for a separate document concerning music was discussed. This discussion centred primarily on the need to address the perceived imbalance between the conciliar instructions on the use of the vernacular and Latin, and the practical implementation of same.
Schema for the proposed document were drawn up by the Consilium and the appointed study group. These were rejected by a number of prominent musicians as not respecting the inheritance of sacred music and the Holy See was called upon to intervene and prevent 'the practical introduction of many abuses' (p. 900, Bugnini, 1990). With the failure to construct new schema satisfactory to the musicians, the Consilium finally sent a memorandum to the Pope in March, 1966, outlining the main criteria with which they were working and which they felt were imperative to the proper implementation of the conciliar directives. The Pope responded by asking the musicians, in turn, to construct their own text, and the Pope himself composed a harmonised version of the two documents. Despite ongoing protests to this document from the musicians, the Pope stood by the compromise and the twelfth schema was published in March, 1967. The press conference announcing the new document was protested by, among others, Monsignor Virgili, master of the Calpella Pontificia at St. John Latern.

While Bugnini’s account may seem to present the presence of an intransigent and irrationally conservative musical voice, one unable to accommodate the full implications of pastoralism in the new liturgy, and while Bugnini himself may well have fallen victim to the power of members representing this group, through his hasty and unexplained ‘retirement’ as secretary of the Congregation for Divine Worship in 1975, the opposition raised by this group represents one of the main voices of the post-conciliar liturgical music reform. Advocates, continually address the contradiction between conciliar directives and contemporary practice, particularly in the area of Latin and chant in the liturgy. Johannes Overath, in an article in Crux et Cithara, gives a detailed explanation and history of the context and formation of the liturgy constitution and concludes that it is impossible to maintain a position which rejects chant and yet claims to be faithful to the conciliar recommendations. In response to Jungmann’s claim that the ideal of a High Mass in a foreign tongue and surrounded by great musical splendour has been abandoned, Overath writes that ‘Jungmann’s interpretation of Art. 113 [SC] does not conform to the conciliar texts’ (p. 197, Skeris, 1983). In a separate article, he challenges the common interpretation of actuosa participatio, particularly as translated in English as ‘active participation’, which, he claims, emphasis almost entirely the external activity of the congregation, while ignoring the internal activity and the direct mention of ‘listening’ in Art. 115 [SC] as an aspect of actuosa participatio. He suggests that,
actuosa participatio includes listening to the inheritance of Gregorian chant and sacred polyphony, as sung by choirs, there is no implicit contradiction between the continuance of sacred inheritance and actuosa participatio.

In an article in the same publication, Max Baumann suggests that, liturgical music practice is now divided between those who inherited a long tradition of musical practice and who are now reluctant to give it up, and those whose inheritance was poor or non-existent, and who are now adopting all the innovations of community worship having, as it were, little to lose in doing so. In either case, Baumann is highly critical of the lack of musical or financial support provided to church musicians and composers, in spite of all the recommendations regarding the importance of music in the liturgy, and concludes that '[I]n such a situation, the composer of Catholic church music has but one alternative: to emigrate into the concert hall' (p. 89, Skeris, 1983).

Similarly, Doppelbauer's contribution to this publication is critical of much music which has come to represent 'liturgical music' since the council, cautioning against the prevalence of a perception of liturgy, which is increasingly informed by modernist rationality: 'Linked with the attempt to be as relevant as possible, on the broadest possible basis, one can repeatedly observe a tendency toward liturgical horizontalism and functionalism ... The process amounts to a rationalistic, nihilistic procedure of reduction' (p. 206, Skeris, 1983).

In an often sweeping and generalised overview of this phenomena, Robert Day's publication Why Catholics Can't Sing (Day, 1990) suggests that the Council itself was an example of the phenomena it excepted as a reality for the first time: the fact of cultural and contemporary contextuality. This is best represented through the architectural style and accompanying philosophy which gripped Post War Europe and America, the so called International Style, including Walter Gropius' 'start from scratch' and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's 'less is more' admonitions. Liturgy was strongly influenced by this call to clarity, simplicity and direct communication. This communication was best facilitated by the tools of the society to which it choose to communicate, thus leading to the adulation of the contemporary expression above all other. Day quotes Joseph Jungmann's criticism of the heavy ornamentation and embellishment of liturgy in the past, corrupting the simplicity of pastoral communication:
‘The ideal and simple rituals which had once existed soon disappeared under the embellishments and useless clutter, most of which was music’ (p.92, Day, 1990). This position of ritualistic simplicity and pastoral centrality was often interpreted as existing in opposition to the inheritance of sacred music. Day sites the editorial commentary of Karl Rahner and Herbert Vorgrimler in the German edition of the documents of Vatican II, in which they suggest that traditional church music, as with much genuine art is ‘hardly to be reconciled with the nature of the liturgy and the basic principle of liturgical reform’ (p. 93, Day, 1990). Day suggests that Gelineau belongs to this same movement, as does Rembert Weakland, archbishop of Milwaukee, who, in an extraordinary article on *Music as Art in Liturgy*, claimed that:

...there is no music of a golden age to which we can turn, because the treasures we have are the products of ages which do not represent an ideal of theological thinking in relationship to music. (p. 95, Day, 1990)

This reduction of liturgy to the ‘contemporary’ often resulted in a liturgy that is one dimensional, over-simplistic and unable to access the transcendental character which is the hallmark of ritualistic liturgy. Its first victim is music, which is valued for its functionalism rather than its aesthetic value and for horizontal rather than vertical qualities.

Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger suggests two reasons for this trend in practice. He refers to these as puritanical functionalism and functionalism of accommodation (Skeris, P. 214, 1983). The former conceives of liturgy only in the most pragmatic of terms, seeking to eliminate any element of the cultic and return to the simplicity of a community based meal. The latter, seeks to accommodate the contemporary at any cost. Ratzinger points out the simultaneous disbanding of traditional choral groups and the formation of popular music ensembles, not because the latter are any less elitist but because the perception of the contemporaneous which they represent must be accommodated at all costs.

Ratzinger refutes these positions as misrepresentations of the early theology of the church. The elimination of all things cultic, he suggests, is based on an interpretation of the mission of Jesus Christ as a journey away from the Temple worship of the Old Testament and into the worship of the commonplace; as a continuance of the criticism of Temple worship begun by
the Old Testament prophets. From his crucifixion, 'without the gate' (Heb: 13:12) 'people today conclude that Christianity in the sense of Jesus Christ is opposed to Temple, cult and priesthood'(p. 218, Skeris, 1983).

Ratzinger sees this position as in opposition to the evidence of the New Testament Epistles, which document an early church in which singing of the Psalms of Israel, hymns and chants was commonplace, and in which the book of the Apocalypse reclaims the Temple image for Christianity. Early Christian worship was anything but an embracing of the profane, of the secular, but sought to spiritualise the liturgy in accordance with Platonic principles of movement from the Sensible to the Spiritual. This is best illustrated in the early rejection of instrumental music for liturgical celebration; the liturgy only permitting, as Doppelhauser suggests, the use of the *vox* (the voice animated by the soul) and not the *sonus* (everything which resounded).

The renting of the veil of the Temple during the crucifixion is a powerful symbol for the departure of God's spirit from the Temple as understood in the Old Testament, to its new dwelling in the Temple, as reclaimed by Jesus Christ, the Church which gathers in his name; the Body of Christ itself.

**Emergent Aspects of Conciliar and Postconciliar Reception in Liturgy and Music**

Despite the widespread and continuing tensions in the reception and interpretation of conciliar and postconciliar directives, certain aspects of liturgical and musical renewal have emerged in the process of implementation. Central to this is the reaffirmation of the liturgy as an imperative expression of Church. In his contribution to Vorgrimler's volume on the documents of Vatican II, Jungmann mentions that the first preparatory commission to the council, led by the Secretary of State, Cardinal Tardini, invited bishops from all over the world to send in their recommendations for the Council proceedings. Over one quarter of those received concerned liturgy (Vorgrimler, 1967). McNaspy suggests that the centrality of liturgy is evidenced in the influence on liturgy constitution had on the major statements on the definition of Church found in other conciliar documents. The liturgy constitution has often been viewed as a blueprint for all the Council's subsequent constitutions (Abbott,
1967). This affirmation of the centrality of liturgy to the life of the church was praised, particularly by a number of Protestant theologians and commentators. The Reformation scholar, Jaroslav Pelikan saw worship as the ‘metabolism of the Christian life’ (p.179, Abbott, 1967) and praised the Council’s directives on liturgy as the accommodation of culture and modernity, the re-emphasis on the cycle of the church’s year and the centrality of scripture.

The new liturgy also broke, for the first time since Trent, the clergy’s monopoly over the liturgy and ended the almost exclusive control the Congregation of Rites had exercised over liturgy for three and a half centuries (Seasoltz, 1980). The result was the development of a liturgy which allowed for a re-emergence of local voices and ‘the rigid post-Tridentine uniformity was abandoned in favour of the principle of pluralism’ (p. 28, Schillebeeckx, 1967). This break from a rubric-centred, to a people-centred liturgy has critical implications, for both the practical implementation and the theological underpinnings of all post-conciliar liturgy.

In a definition which is at once paradoxical and profound, the council defined liturgy as, at once, the living expression of the mystery of Church and, at the same time, its location in the moment and in its own historicity. The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church moved from a starting point which explored the ‘nature of the church’ to one which acknowledged ‘ the mystery of the Church’, while the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, shows that the Council ‘finally accepts the historicity of man’s existence’ (p. 48, Schillebeeckx, 1967).

By far the most pervasive aspect of the Council was the reclamation of the pastoral role of the Church. Initiated in Sacrosanctum Concilium, it was to be mirrored most forcefully in Lumen Gentium and Gaudium et spes, closing the circle between liturgical expression, church definition and social practice.

Inseparable from the liturgical renewal of the Council, was the reform of music: ‘... no branch of liturgy was affected to its roots to such an extent by the reform as music’ (p. 76, Vorgrimler, 1967). Music received an entire chapter in the constitution. The pastoralism of
liturgy received its most overt expression in the constitution in the repeated call for *actuosa participatio*, referred to at least five times in the ten articles. While Gregorian chant, sacred polyphony, the organ and choir singing; the staples of liturgical music before the Council, received due recognition, the doors were opened for more extensive use of the vernacular, more congregational singing, the use of other instruments and of indigenous and contemporary musical styles. This unprecedented change in musical spectrum, coupled with a radical shift in the perceived purpose of music; that is, primarily as a aid to the pastoral needs of liturgy, created the immediate need for new music, new translations and new attitudes, many of which emerged too hastily, or not at all.

**Emergent Perspectives on Music in Liturgy**

**Introduction**

Characteristic of the reform of music, immediately following the Council, was a reform which, on the one hand, produced immediate and numerous new ‘compositions’ to fulfil the new pastoral and linguistic requirements and, on the other, isolated a significant number of church music directors, musicians and composers, who were entrenched against the reform and refused to lend their support to the new liturgical music movement. A combination of reactionary forces wishing to sweep away the lag of three hundred years of liturgical music atrophy, the loss of the expertise and experience of many pre-conciliar musicians and the lack of a reflective interpretation of the conciliar directives, led to the production of post-conciliar music which was largely experimental, transitory and of dubious ritualistic use.

More recent years, however, have seen the production of a number of significant documents, indicating a more reflective approach to the purpose of music in liturgy and a new determination to underpin composition and usage with clear directives and the beginnings of what may be called a theology of liturgical music.

Three documents may be used to illustrate emerging aspects of this direction, most significant of which include the rooting of music in rite and cult; the role of music in reflective pastoralism; and the redressing of a perceived imbalance between musical practice and conciliar directives.
Universa Laus, an international group dedicated to the study of music in the liturgy was founded in April, 1966 in Lugano Switzerland. Many members of the group had been actively involved in the pre-conciliar liturgical reform and contributed to the various liturgical and musical preparatory commissions of the Council itself. Informal affiliation existing in association with particular periodicals, such as Musik und Altar in Germany (Erhard Quack and Helmut Hucke) and Eglise qui chante in France (David Julien, René Reboud, Lucien Deiss and Joseph Gelineau, let to the formal creation of Universa Laus to explore liturgical music from various historical, theological, technical and pastoral perspectives.

As the group developed its study, it came into increasing contact with disciplines such as semiology, cultural anthropology and socio-psychology, in its efforts to understand liturgical music in its world-wide manifestations. In 1980, Universa Laus presented its members with a document, including the ‘points of reference’ and ‘beliefs held in common’ of Universa Laus. This document is one of the first documents to discuss music and liturgy almost exclusively within the context of liturgy as ritual. Indeed, the document begins by declaring that ‘sacred music’, ‘religious music’, ‘church music’ and even ‘liturgical music’ do not adequately express the full implications of music in celebration. Henceforth in the document, this music is referred to as ‘ritual music’.

The document attempts to outline the role of music within the context of rite and ritual. As such, it is a seminal document in terms of the germinating anthropological and ritualistic components of music theology. Ritual music is defined in Section One of the document as: ‘any vocal or instrumental practice which, in the context of celebration, diverges from the usual forms of the spoken word, on the one hand, and ordinary sounds, on the other’ (UL, Art. 1.4). According to this definition, there is no type or genre of music which is specific to all Christian liturgy (UL, Art 2.2).

The singers and musicians in a ritual activity consist, primarily of the gathered assembly. The distribution of particular roles in singing or playing music, however, must take into account social norms and traditions of specific cultures. If, for example, singing in public is customarily the role of an individual in a given society, this can still be considered as an
example of music of the assembly, as the soloist reflects the desires of the gathered community (UL, Art. 3.3).

The predominant form of music utilised in ritual is that which is considered ‘common practice’ within the surrounding society. (UL, Art. 4.2). This is music which does not require specialist skills and of which the community at large has ownership. This does not negate the more specialist roles of soloists, choirs or other musical ensembles within the group, but it redresses a balance of emphasis.

While the music of particular cultures should be utilised in ritual, the document also notes the need for a pluralistic attitude to music, which recognises the cultural fragmentation of many societies and the universal nature of the Catholic church. While ritual music, therefore recognises the local, it should not be confined by it.

Central to all Christian liturgy is the Word; the expression of the Christian life through scripture and the prayers of the church. No aspect of liturgy is so closely related to the Word then music. Music facilitates the communication of language beyond its literal meaning, to include relational, emotional and poetic functions (UL, Art. 5.4).

The use of instruments is also addressed. It is acknowledged that, while vocal song is the primary song of the Christian ritual, many cultures combine vocal song with instrumental accompaniment. Furthermore, instrumental music may be used in its own capacity, but as a rite in itself, as in, for example, the ringing of bells, or as an integral aspect of a rite, for example, in processional worship (UL, Art. 6.4).

The Universa Laus document is one of the first liturgical documents to outline the ritual functions fulfilled by the use of music from an anthropological perspective. Many of the functions are similar to those which music fulfils in general society: emotional expression, group solidarity or the symbolising of festival. The document notes two categories of ritual function; that which is defined and, as such, controllable, and that which is less deterministic and more unpredictable (UL, Art. 7.2). These two categories are necessary and interdependent.
Central also to the understanding of music within its function of ritual, is the understanding of music as symbol. As all symbols, music in ritual always symbolises or refers to something beyond itself: ‘Taken in terms of faith, music for the believer becomes the sacramentum and the mysterion of the realities being celebrated’ (UL, Art. 7.4).

Two aspects of ritual are central to an understanding of ritual music composition and use. On the one hand, elements of ritual must be part of a common repertoire of understood symbols and metaphors. These are, by nature, repetitious aspects of the ritual and, as such, must allow for a residue of meaning and not be exhausted in a single event. In order to avoid stagnation and fossilisation, ritual must, at the same time always be a contemporary event. Every ritual is a unique occurrence and, simultaneously, the echo of rituals throughout the ages. To facilitate this, the document suggests the use of operative models; models which prescribe certain aspects of the ritual music, but which also allow for flexibility, improvisation and the occurrence of the unknown.

Tension in ritual music is often the result of struggle between the aesthetic and pragmatic aspects of all ritual; the need for sensory aspects of the ritual to be beautiful and pleasing to the community gathered and, at the same time, for the ritual to achieve its pragmatic ends of prayer and celebration. While these must not be contradictory, musicians and liturgists throughout the ages have argued over music which, though beautiful, isolates the community gathered or, alternatively, music, which is so focused on the immediate gathering that it precludes any reference or possibility of transcending this immediacy. The Universa Laus document concludes by suggesting that the question is, ultimately, less one of aesthetics or liturgy, than of values. The values and anti-values of a community are the starting point of all ritual as aesthetic experience is, at its heart, localised and value-laden. One of the greatest challenges to contemporary ritual music, is to find expression which can be meaningful across the increasingly pluralistic communities it serves (UL, Art. 9.2).

The Milwaukee Symposium
The Universa Laus document is one of the seminal reflective documents, introducing concepts and components of ritual to the practice of liturgical music. Following in this
direction, is the ten-year report of the Milwaukee Symposia for Church Composers. Published in 1992, the report is the result of ten years of work from the Milwaukee Symposia. Initiated by Archbishop Rembert Weakland OSB and Sister Theophane Hytrek SSSF, the Milwaukee group’s report concerns itself primarily with the nature and quality of liturgical music, in the Roman Catholic tradition of the United States. Its recommendations are, however, to a much larger community and address global liturgical considerations as they pertain to music.

The work of the Milwaukee symposia embraces the ritualistic foundations suggested by *Universa Laus*, buts its liturgical perspective illustrates a different and significant aspect of contemporary liturgical music thought. While the *Universa Laus* documents recognises the role of the community in liturgy, its chief perspective is that of ritualistic elements and the positioning of music. The Milwaukee document, while grounding itself in these ritual components, sees the activity, commitment and attitude of the community as its main point of focus and return. In this respect, the Milwaukee document is overtly pastoral in its attitude to liturgical music and its explanation of this position provides a significant advancement in an understanding of this central aspect of liturgical music manifestation.

The document divides itself into a Foreword, a Preamble and nine sections. The Preamble opens with the statement that music is a profoundly human experience (*RMS*, Art. 1), thus setting the tone for a people-centred attitude to music and liturgy. In the collective history of humanity, few significant rituals of celebration or life-cycle have developed, which have not embraced some aspect of music. Unusual within this context, is the phenomenon of Catholic worship which precludes music. Reclaiming music in the Catholic ritual involves a clear understanding of the intrinsic connection between music and ritual. This understanding is also central to the selection of music which best facilitates the ritual it seeks to serve.

The transformation in musical requirements and practice brought about by Vatican II has led to uncertainty and confusion in attitudes towards liturgical music. The Milwaukee document suggests that this is not a new phenomena in the church; that such change has characterised the change and growth of liturgical music from the church’s foundation. This transformation includes the appropriation of Judaic songs and chants for Christian worship; the assimilation of the church into imperial Rome and the parallel growth of a new musical professionalism;
the growth of large monastic settlements and the emergence of Gregorian chant; the transformations of polyphony, the Reformation and Counter-reformation (RMS, Art.5).

The shared characteristic of all these transformations is their cultural conditioning. Fundamental to an understanding of the Vatican directives, is a reclamation of cultural norms as a way of understanding the appropriateness of specific music to specific rituals, and the shift from objective aesthetics to subjective, functionalistic norms, as a means of evaluating this suitability.

Understanding music as ritual allows musicians to contextualise musical judgements within liturgical ones. A theology of Christian ritual music is fundamental to this understanding (RMS, Art. 10). A theology of ritual music allows music to become a meaningful symbol of the paschal mystery. This mystery is the centre of all Christian celebration and music is called to be, an icon, avenue of approach and numinous presence of this heart of worship (RMS, Art 11).

Symbols are, at their essence, actions, not articles. As such, music is one of the most powerful symbols of the liturgical action. (RMS, Art. 12).

The Milwaukee Document is significant in its attempt to actually categorise the symbolic functions of sound and music, and provides seminal perspectives on the theology of sound and music. Sound’s temporality, it suggests, symbolises a God actively involved in creation and located in history; its insubstantial nature symbolises a God at once present and hidden; its dynamism symbolises a God capable of dialogue with its creation; its ability to unify, symbolises our oneness with God and the mystery of the Body of Christ; its emotional evocation of particulars symbolises a personal and particular God (RMS, Art. 13) Music, then, provides further symbolic function. Its rhythmic elements can convey temporality; its melodic elements convey consequence. (RMS, Art. 14).

The formation of liturgy depends on the rites and symbols of the people the liturgy serves. A basic repertoire of such symbols serves as the foundation for ritual action. Liturgical music, needs to access the symbols of the community gathered. Active participation within the
liturgy depends on this: ‘The community song is the cantus firmus upon which every other musical contour in the liturgy depends’ (RMS, Art. 20).

The formation of liturgy depends, not only on the formation of the community but on pastoral musicians and musical leaders. Participation or leadership in liturgical music requires an understanding of music as well as its function as an element of ritual and of specific liturgies. As liturgical and communal leaders, priests and deacons require similar leadership skills. Finally, ‘The first and best formation for liturgy is the liturgy done well over time’ (RMS, Art. 27). Formation, though it may partially occur outside of the liturgy, can never be separate from the liturgy. Many ritualistic aspects of liturgy cannot be taught, but can only be experienced.

Preparation for liturgy is always rooted in the paschal mystery. This must be the starting and final point of all liturgical decisions. Liturgy preparation is therefore, at best, an organic, not a consequential experience. Musical preparation cannot happen in isolation, but must attend ‘to the contour of the whole rite’ (RMS, Art. 33). The rite must have an internal cohesion and spring from a unity. This unity must exist simultaneously, within the rite itself, within the whole liturgical function, and with the Church’s seasonal cycle.

Structuring music within this unity relies on an understanding of the structure of the liturgy. Indeed, musical structures should mirror liturgical ones. The structure of the liturgy itself is a complex, symbolic activity. The liturgy structure, for example, relies on the dialogic form. This symbolises the dialogue of Revelation between God and humanity. The singing of the responsorial psalm is a musical structure, suggested to mirror this liturgical dialogue (RMS, 42).

The most significant suggestion of the Milwaukee document is the claim that the liturgy is, at its essence, lyrical. This lyricism is understood as dabar, biblical Hebrew implying word as content and event, as encounter. In the Judaic and early Christian church, ‘Speech naturally migrated toward song’ (RMS, Art. 46) and all text contained lyrical attitudes and declamations. As such, liturgy was inconceivable beyond the ability to effect simultaneous
transfer from spoken to sung sound. This had profound implications for the meaning of sound; at once literal, poetic and transcendent.

In contrast, contemporary efforts at translation have concentrated on efforts of literal intelligibility and orthodoxy of translation. The present challenge is to reclaim the poetic, lyricism of text, and thus its symbolic residue. This allows for the maintenance of meaning across repetition and reiteration.

The Milwaukee document states that the acknowledgement of cultural conditioning within ritual, faces us with the growing challenge of the phenomena of cross-cultural practice. This diversity allows us to experience a variety of entries into the paschal mystery (RMS, Art. 56). This challenge must begin with an understanding of the cross-cultural currents at a local level and, while being informed by these, must not limit itself to them. The document addresses the pre-conciliar attitude towards the primacy of chant and claims that no musical practice is inherently superior to another. While this may be anthropologically true, it does not address the possibility of one musical practice being more appropriate to a particular liturgy than another. Given the long history and often inseparability of the development of Gregorian chant and the Roman Catholic liturgy, it seems to contradict the directives of the Council to imply that this is of little consequence.

The document also challenges the development of different styles of liturgy with single communities; thus a single parish may offer a ‘folk mass’, a ‘choir mass’ etc. Given that the same document advocates unity within a liturgy, including unity of musical style where possible, and yet recognition of the diversity of cultures within a community, it seems difficult to imagine how this is to be achieved without a variety of liturgical and, by implication, musical styles.

While the Milwaukee document is an effective pastoral document, its attitude towards cultural accommodation remains unclear. In the section on technology in worship, for example, it states: ‘The tension between contemporary culture and worship can intensify with the introduction of technological symbols developed for purposes and usages different from that of liturgy’ (RMS, Art. 73). A number of difficulties exist in this statement. Firstly, all
symbols derived from a community for ritual will have their origins, purposes and, often, usages, outside of that ritual and its function. Secondly, the tension between contemporary culture and worship cannot be reconciled by isolating the ritual from its community base. Finally, the statement seems to imply a homogeneous culture, which is ‘contemporary’ and a homogeneous attitude, on behalf of this culture, to notions of technology, both attitudes of which are problematic.

The Milwaukee document concludes with reference to the earlier American document, *Music in Catholic Worship* and the proposition of that document, of three central criteria for the selection and composition of liturgical music. These three criteria, referred to as the musical-liturgical-pastoral judgement, form the basis of an informed approach to the location and theology of music within liturgy. The Milwaukee document concludes with the suggestion that, while these are useful, they are often incorrectly approached as isolated aspects and delivered as separate judgements. It is suggested that a more integrated approach to the three would better serve the final liturgical experience.

**The Snowbird Statement**

While recognising obvious areas of similarity and cohesion, it may be suggested that the *Universa Laus* document primarily addresses liturgical questions, while the Milwaukee document is inclined towards a more pastoral leaning. There can be little doubt, however, that the ‘Snowbird’ document is firmly rooted in its decision to address musical concerns.

The Snowbird Statement on Catholic Liturgical Music resulted from a series of discussions and meetings among members of the English-speaking world, including representatives from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Ireland. The first consultation occurred in Snowbird, Utah in August, 1992, with a second gathering in Salt Lake City in August, 1993.

The 17 signatories stated that, since the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy was promulgated in 1963, the theoretical and practical aspects of liturgical renewal have proceeded at a pace not mirrored in many instances by musical aspects. The document represents support for the renewal, but also a critique of what was felt to be inadequate and, at times, even counter to
the spirit of reform, guided by the conciliar directives. Ireland is represented in the document by Gerard Gillen.

The first section comments on theoretical considerations and asserts the position that: ‘beauty is essential in the liturgical life and mission of the church. Beauty is an effective - even sacramental - sign of God’s presence and action in the world.’ (SD, Art.3). While not advocating aestheticism for its own sake, the lack of aesthetic beauty in a liturgy seriously undermines its ability to symbolise the mystery of faith and to convey this to the assembly. Traditional standards of excellence in choral and cantorial singing are in no way contradictory to the pastoral principles of the post-conciliar liturgy but are nonetheless, often interpreted as such.

The document welcomes the concept of ritual music as it has helped inform an understanding of the close connection between music and liturgy. The criteria for the use of music in ritual also illustrate the role that aesthetically pleasing and artistic music can play in facilitating the function of ritual. The document notes, however, that ‘much ritualistic music in the Catholic church today is hampered by an excessive academicism and an artless rationality’ (SD, Art. 5). In this form, the document suggests it is a product of modernity and, as such, transitional. The development of notions of ritual music which avoid utilitarianism are welcomed.

Perhaps the most controversial statement of the document concerns its attitude to musical judgement. Referring to the call to evaluate music according to pastoral, liturgical and musical perspectives found in Music in Catholic Worship, the document suggests that adequate criteria have not been developed to assist musical judgement. It proposes the following criteria: ‘some music is of higher quality than others; not all music is good’ (SD, Art.6). The document rejects the position that ‘comparison is only valid within a particular style’ and calls for a ‘discussion of musical quality across stylistic boundaries’ (SD, Art. 6). It is difficult to imagine criteria for such a discussion which would not, of necessity, themselves have been drawn from a particular musical style and attitude, and therefore difficult to view this position as constructive.
Article 7 makes a dubious connection between cultural contextualisation and the inclusion of objectionable elements in the liturgy: ‘[W]hile we believe that the process of dialogue between liturgy and its cultural context must be promoted and advanced, we challenge the indiscriminate incorporation of an entertainment or therapeutic ethos into liturgical music’ (*SD*, Art. 7). No cultural perspective of ritual and liturgy advocates indiscriminate assimilation of secular practices for ritualistic use. The placing of this phenomena, then, on the shoulders of cultural contextualisation is, therefore, flawed and misleading. If aspects of ‘sentimentality, consumerism, individualism, introversion and passivity’ (*SD*, Art. 7) are evident in some contemporary liturgies, this would seem to suggest that the blame for same is misplaced.

Finally, the location of a Catholic ethos within all liturgical music practice, is necessary. It is suggested that this ethos may be found by addressing musical practices which have served the liturgy and that there may be more to be learned from an examination of the past than has heretofore been utilised.

The second section on education and formation affirms the development of the singing congregation. Fundamental to any formation, however, is the proper provision of resources and financial support. This is not currently provided and accounts for a widespread malaise in the contribution of musicians to liturgical practice. The document calls on the Church’s long tradition of musically education the young and suggests that ‘musical education should be part of the overall curriculum of the religious education of children’ (*SD*, Art. 11). The support of choir schools and of graduate training for church musicians, particularly in seminarians, is called for, according to the explicit directives of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.

The practice of good liturgical music suggests a number of elements. First among these is the trained, professional musician (*SD*, Art. 15). The choir also has a long history as a constituent element of musical liturgy and serves the more specialises requirements of ritualistic liturgy. (*SD*, Art. 20). A congregational repertoire which will endure across generations also facilitates central aspects of renewal (active participation) and ritual (recognised, durable symbols). This could be facilitated by a positive approach to hymnody, which reaches back to the earliest musical expressions of the church, thus providing continuity, and may also play a
role in the church’s commitment to ecumenism (SD, Art. 19). Gregorian chant also provides a connection between modern liturgy and its ancient roots, thus uniting the modern church with her own inheritance (SD, Art. 21). The pipe organ can perform a similar function of rooting the contemporary in its history. Finally, the importance of good acoustics and the dubious aesthetic or pastoral value of recorded music are addressed.

The third and concluding section of the document notes ‘the current lack of official leadership’ in the area of liturgical music. Recognising the pressures and demands on ecclesiastical authorities, particularly in the social and moral arenas, the document calls on such authorities to recognise the importance of liturgy and, by implication of liturgical music, to these same problems. If a community is reflected in its rituals, so too must the Church strive to reflect itself in its liturgies.

**Conclusion**

This review of conciliar and post-conciliar documentation related to liturgical and liturgical music reform illustrates both a continuity with the liturgical / musical tensions evidenced in the historical considerations of Chapter Two, as well as some emerging developments, attempting to address these tensions through the formulation of new ways of looking across the divide.

The documents are too directive in nature and too compromised in tone to contain the formulation of a strong theological position. They should, however, be looked to as partial source material in the development of any theology of music in liturgy. Aspects of this addressed in the documents include the importance of pastoralism in musical expression, aesthetic strength and cultural diversity, music as constitutive of ritual and music as a carrier of creative prayer. These considerations are viewed as important precursors of the theology suggested in Chapter Six. They also form the theoretical background within which the implementation and assimilation process of liturgical music reform in Ireland will be reviewed in the next two chapters. Along with Chapters One and Two, this chapter proposes the methodological, historical and theoretical pre-dispositions within which the case-study of liturgical music reform in Ireland will be explored.
Chapter Four: Periodicals and Processes of Dissemination in Ireland

Introduction

In 1983, on the 20th anniversary of Sacrosanctum Concilium, a Doctrine and Life article by Dennis Carroll, reflecting on the process of liturgical renewal in Ireland, concluded that the council is not best understood as an event, but as a combination of event, text and process (July/August, Vol. 33, No. 5, 1983); that understanding the Second Vatican Council involves the conciliar and post-conciliar documentation, in consort with the ongoing processes of implementation. With regard to liturgy, and music in the liturgy, this process is dependent on initial directive implementation and processes of mutual tuturation.

A significant window, illuminating this concept, involves the exploration of the organs of dissemination employed in Ireland, and the role these played in the process of implementation. Five Irish periodicals, The Firarow, Doctrine and Life, New Liturgy, Hymnus and Jesulogs provide the most significant documentation of events marking the implementation process of the conciliar directives, as well as being themselves the pivotal organs of information dissemination and liturgical renewal promotion. The Firarow and Doctrine and Life, published continuously since 1950 and 1951 respectively are the most significant pre-conciliar periodicals published in Ireland, in terms of liturgical preparation and information prior to the council. Though neither are specifically liturgical journals, their founder editors, J.O. McCullary of The Firarow and Austin Flannery of Doctrine and Life, had a life-long commitment to liturgical renewal in Ireland and the liturgical direction of the council, a commitment reflected in the journals’ coverage of the council years and the first years of implementation in Ireland. It would be five years after Sacrosanctum Concilium before a national bulletin specifically related to liturgy would be published in Ireland, and twelve years before one on liturgical music. During the interim years, The Firarow and
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Doctrine and Life provided Ireland with its most significant coverage of the liturgical process of renewal.

New Liturgy would appear first as a diocesan bulletin for Kildare and Leighlin in 1968, and with the creation of a National Secretariat for Liturgy in 1973, was absorbed to create a national bulletin for liturgy in Ireland. Once again, its first editor, Sean Swayne, was not only a committed liturgist, but a competent and enthusiastic musician, who insured that music in the liturgy was a consistent feature of this bulletin. Though its size and simplicity might suggest a modest role, its importance lies in the detail of infrastructural development; of the establishment of centres and bodies in Ireland for the facilitation of liturgical music, which it chronicles.


All five periodicals share the characteristic of consistency of editorship and therefore in ethos and direction. The Furrow, a Maynooth publication, was founded and edited by Fr. J.G. McGarry in 1950, and editorship passed to Fr. Ronan Drury in 1977. Similarly, Doctrine and Life, a Dominican publication, was founded in 1951 and edited by Austin Flannery O.P., with the editorship passing to Bernard Treacy O.P. in 1989. New Liturgy was edited by Sean Swayne until 1986, at which time editorship passed to Patrick Jones. Hosanna was co-founded and co-edited by Fintan P. O'Carroll and Joseph Walsh in 1975 and the editorial board expanded to include Sean Óg Ó Tuama the following year. The retirement of Joseph Walsh and the death of Fintan O'Carroll and Sean Óg Ó Tuama, all occurred within a three-year period and editorship passed to Paul Kenny. Jublius was edited for its duration by Dr. Sean Lavery.
The Furrow and Doctrine and Life

Introduction

Though preparation for the council, psychologically and theologically, was sporadic and, in some areas, non-existent in Ireland, The Furrow and Doctrine and Life provided some of the most consistent coverage. In a review of liturgical renewal in Ireland from 1963-83, Seán Swayne recognises the role of both these periodicals as vital to the renewal process, particularly in the years leading up to the council and the years immediately following (New Liturgy, Winter-Spring, Nos. 40-41, 1983-84).

The Pre-Conciliar Years


Liturgical congresses were an important feature of the liturgical movement which preceded Sacrosanctum Concilium. In 1912, a congress was held at Maredsous and continued at Louvein. Most congresses began in the 1940's and 50's in response to the liturgical reforms instigated by Pius XII through Mysteri Corporis (1943) and Mediator Dei (1947). The direction of liturgical reform, which would find voice at the first conciliar session took its lead from Pius' reforms which already included the simplification of rubrics and the seminal reform of the Holy Week liturgy. The first National Liturgical Week in the United States was held in October, 1940 at Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago. The first Irish congress was held at Glenstal Abbey, Co. Limerick from the 6-7 April 1954. The Liturgy - Phases of the Liturgical Movement (Rev. William Barden O.P.) was one of four papers delivered at the congress and
reproduced in *The Furrow* (Vol. 5 No. 11, 1954). Barden's overview notes that liturgy is a dynamic entity, and that the modern liturgical movement must be viewed within this context:

"The Christian liturgy is two thousand years old and since the beginning it has been constantly changing." (p.667, Vol. 5, No. 11, 1954). The liturgical movement has always been most alive at moments of change in the church; at the point of Romanisation, during the reforms attributed to Gregory, in the Franco-German world of 700-900; and during the epoch of unification from Gregory VII until the Council of Trent. During this period, the liturgy ceased to be audible and became a silent recitation of the Canon; the congregation became spectators, communion ceased to be given under both species; the altar began to require permanent and prescribed furnishings and was placed against the wall of the church so that the priest had his back to the people. All these features became identifiable characteristics of what has been called the Tridentine mass and remained liturgically static, resisting liturgy's dynamism, until the modern liturgical movement.

The Tridentine liturgy was challenged unsuccessfully by the Jansenists, who advocated for a single altar without flowers or reliquaries, simpler liturgical ceremonies and audible recitation of the mass by the priest in the mother-tongue of the people. Prophetically close to the changes of the Second Vatican council, the Jansenists were condemned at the Synod of Pistoria in 1794.

Barden identifies four stages in the modern liturgical movement. Each of these phases represents a precursor of the directives which would become *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. The first phases involved the movement at the end of the 19th century, parallel with Romanticism, toward a reinvestment in the mysterious, aesthetic and irrational nature of liturgy. Central to this was the work of Solemnes and particularly Dom Guéranger. Often identified as the father of the modern liturgical movement, Guéranger was responsible for the Solemnes restoration of a monasticism to the western world, following its breakdown in the eighteenth century and the French revolution. Linked with this monastic restoration was the movement, spearheaded
by Germanic theology, back to the ethos of a church personified by the Founding Fathers, a
movement associated primarily with Newman, in Ireland and England:

The Church was seen to be something richer and more mysterious than just an
organisation with jurisdiction and obedience; it was the body of Christ; the liturgy
was seen to be something vaster and deeper than a body of rites to be regulated by
rubricists; it was Christ the priest exercising his priestly function through his
members. (p.672, Vol.5, No.11, 1954)

The second phase is associated with the Benedictine Abbey of Louvain and Dom Lambert.
This has been identified as the pastoral phase and the effort to put into practice the new
teachings and liturgical attitudes at parish level and in parish churches. The third phase
centres around the reforms of Pius XII and culminated in *Mysteri Corporis* and *Mediator Dei*.
The final phase identified by Barden is the phase immediately preceding the council when
liturgical change had already begun and had its most significant manifestation in the new
Easter Rites.

The Easter Rites, introduced in Ireland in 1956, were not viewed as new rites but as a
restoration of the liturgy. As part of its extensive coverage of the rites, *The Furrow* editor,
J.G. McGarry referred to a description of the restored rites as 'the most important reform to
the liturgy since the Council of Trent' (p.131, *The Furrow*, Vol.7, No.3, 1956) and that 'the
year 1956 will long be remembered by the faithful, for the changes that have been introduced
into the liturgy in the past few months have been truly revolutionary' (p.132). The restoration
was formulated in three documents: *Maxima redemptiois nostrae mysteria*, a general decree
of the congregation of rites; *Cum propositum*, a pastoral instruction; and the *Edito typica* of
the *Ordo Hebdomdae Sanctae*. Radio Eireann broadcast the ceremonies live from Maynooth
College on Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday and the Easter Vigil (the service did not operate on
Good Friday) and Seán Mac Réamoinn, of the Radio Eireann staff wrote for *The Furrow* in
January, 1956:

Perhaps this is the great achievement of the whole reform: that we now see the liturgy
not merely as a commemorative but as a living continuous renewal with immediate
relevance to every one of us.' (p.336, Vol.7, No.6,1956).
Of specific significance to liturgical music within these years of liturgical reform, were the directives issued by the Vatican on the place of music within the context of the new liturgy. The milestone document, Pius XII's encyclical *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* of December 5th, 1955, built on Pius X's *Tra le sallecitudini* (November 22nd, 1903) and Pius XI's *Divini Cultus* (December 20th, 1928). The implementation of *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* within the context of liturgical renewal was addressed by the *Instruction on Music and Liturgy*, issued by the sacred Congregation of Rites on Sacred Music. In an article adapted from *L'Osservatore Romano* by Ferdinando Antonelli, *The Furrow* reported that the purpose of the new instruction was to pave the way for 'the continually increasing development of the liturgical movement' (p.700, Vol.9, No.11, 1958).

Two years before *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was released as the first document of the Vatican Council, the editor of *Doctrine and Life* noted that:

...many Catholics are insufficiently informed about its [the coming ecumenical council] nature and scope and are unaware of the extent and importance of the preparation upon which the church embarked some two and a half years ago. (Editor's comments, September, 1961)

In a special double issue, *Doctrine and Life* produced *Preparing for Vatican II*; a series of articles introducing the commissions and secretariats appointed to deal with the issues the council was to address. Ten commissions and two secretariats were appointed to address the Catholic church and theology; bishops and the government of dioceses; the discipline of the clergy and the laity; religious; the discipline of the sacraments; the sacred liturgy; studies and seminaries; the eastern churches; the missions; the apostolate of the laity; press, radio, television and cinema; and the union of Christians.

Of these commissions and secretariats, Charles Davis, author of *Liturgy and Doctrine*, editor of the *Clergy Review*, and professor of dogmatic theology at St. Edmund's College, Ware, identified two as specifically relevant to liturgy; the Commission for the Discipline of the
Sacraments and the Commission for the Sacred Liturgy (Doctrine and Life, September, 1961). It is the latter commission which concerned itself with the ritual aspects of liturgy and celebration and which corresponded with the permanent church body, the Congregation of Rites. This commission, with Cardinal Cicognani as President and Anibale Bugnini as secretary would formulate and later provide the guidelines for liturgical renewal after the council.

The Council and the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy

Among the most comprehensive and immediate coverage in Ireland of the council years and of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy was that provided by The Furrow and Doctrine and Life. The first mention of the forthcoming constitution appeared in The Furrow in February, 1963 (Vol. 14 No.2, 1963) in an article by Cipriano Vagaggini OSB, the Vice-Rector of the Pontifical Athenæum of San Anselmo, Rome, in which he summarised the schema and structure of the constitution de Sacra Liturgia. Doctrine and Life carried an article by Vagaggini in March, 1963, in which he addressed the impact of liturgy in the context of the council: 'no ecumenical council in history has given so much importance to the liturgy as the Second Council of the Vatican is doing' (p.133, March, 1963). Vagaggini viewed the modern church as characterised by a growing awareness of the liturgical aspect of its expression and rightly predicted that the council's statements and attitudes towards liturgy would influence the direction of the rest of the council.

The full Latin text of Sacrosanctum Concilium appeared in The Furrow in January, 1964 (Vol. 15 No.1, 1964) and was followed by an English translation, taken from The Catholic Messenger in the February issue (Vol. 15, No.2, 1964). The same issue carried the official statement of the U.S. bishops:

The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy promulgated on December 4th is the first achievement of Vatican Council II. It will effect the spiritual life of prayer and worship of all Catholics. It will make the Church more comprehensible to all men.
This is the first great step in the Church's inner renewal begun by Pope John XXIII and now being carried out by all bishops in union with the chief bishop, Pope Paul VI.' (p. 113, Vol. 15, No.2, 1964.)

The January issue of Doctrine and Life announced the promulgation of the constitution and the suspension of its implementation until February, 1964. It published extracts from an article on the new constitution by Ferdinand Antonelli, which appeared in Osservatore Romano on December 8th, 1963 in which he characterised the constitution as essentially the magna charta of the new pastoral liturgical order:

Everything is directed to a single end: to help the faithful to understand the rites easily and to follow them: the aim is that they should once again become what they ought to be, sharers in the liturgical actions and not merely spectators at them. Here is an essential point which has been lost sight of for centuries and which was slowly being rediscovered in the last forty years or so. (p.37, January, 1964)

The February issue of Doctrine and Life, 1964, provided the full text and a full commentary on the new directives. This was the first complete commentary on the constitution published anywhere in the world. Sacred Music was addressed in an article by Kieran O'Gorman. O'Gorman quoted the constitution's directives on the ennobling effect of music in the liturgy and the pride of place still to be accorded to Gregorian chant. In speculating on the effects of the vernacular, he quotes Art.54 and its directive that 'steps must be taken to ensure that the faithful are able to say and sing together, also in Latin, those parts of the ordinary of the Mass which are rightfully theirs.' No other directive regarding sacred music has been so fully and so quickly ignored. O'Gorman recognised and welcomed the new pastoral note in the constitution which provided for the needs of the small church and parish and stressed the necessity of the teaching and practice of music and of competent music teachers, particularly in seminaries and religious houses. Finally, it is recognised that '... these will be large-scale changes which may take many decades before they are finalised.' (p.124, February, 1964).

Of particular importance in the provision of Vatican documents in translation, was the digest of papal documents provided in Doctrine and Life. Most of these documents were translated
and edited by Austin Flannery, editor of *Doctrine and Life*, and of some of the most comprehensive volumes of conciliar and post-conciliar documents. Through *Doctrine and Life*, the Irish public received almost immediate access to conciliar documents right throughout the years of the council and in those immediately following. Those most relevant to liturgical music include *Sacram Liturgiam; motu proprio* of Paul VI on January 29th, 1964, giving directives for the implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (March, 1964); the Instruction by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on *Implementing the Liturgy Constitution* (November, 1964); and the *Instruction on Liturgy*, the second instruction on proper implementation by the Sacred Congregation of Rites (June, 1967).

The 11th Glenstal liturgical congress in 1964 was the first congress in the world to devote itself to a study of the liturgy constitution. Chaired by Rev. Michael Harty from Maynooth, the discussion panel included Austin Flannery O.P., Dom Placid Murray OSB and Dom Vincent Ryan OSB (*The Furrow*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1964).

The May issue of *The Furrow*, 1964, was a special edition on the liturgy constitution, covering all aspects of the constitution's liturgical directives. The music directives were commenated by Desmond Forristal. Forristal saw the constitution as very much rooted in the preceding liturgical documents of Pius XI and XII, particularly in relation to the pastoral function of liturgy: 'the faithful at worship, and especially at the supreme act of worship, the Mass, should be intelligent and active participants, not passive onlookers' (p.315, Vol.15, No.5, 1964). Of particular interest is Forristal's comment on what may be viewed as the chief weakness or great strength of the document; its openness to interpretation: 'the council authoritively points out the direction in which the church's public worship is to develop but it does not give us any precise details about the form which these developments will finally take.' (p. 315, Vol. 15, No.5, 1964). The openness to interpretation, facilitated by the directives has led to unprecedented experimentation and confusion in the development of liturgical music over the last thirty years and has created the need for a liturgical theology of music which will provide criteria for liturgical composition and musical practice.
This issue also included the official statement of the standing committee of the Irish hierarchy:

The standing committee of the Irish hierarchy, at its meeting at Maynooth on 7th April had under consideration the implementation in Ireland of the Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy of the second Vatican Council, in accordance to the rules of the motu proprio of His Holiness Pope Paul VI of 25th January, 1964. (p.361, Vol.15, No.5, 1964)

The Furrow - Music Supplements, 1968-1972

Perhaps the single, most comprehensive contribution of The Furrow to liturgical music implementation and documentation in the years immediately following the liturgy constitution is the series of supplements on liturgical music, published with The Furrow between 1968 - 1972. Starting in 1967, The Furrow published a number of supplementary series, addressing topics such as music, books, the Bible and catechetics. Four music supplements were published. The supplements refer specifically to the changes necessitated by the directives of Sacrosanctum Concilium and by the most important post-conciliar document, related to music in the liturgy, Musicam Sacram. (Musicam Sacram - The Instruction on Music in the Liturgy, was issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on March 5th, 1967 and published in The Furrow in Vol. 18, No.4, 1967) Edited by Dom Paul McDonnell of Glenstal, they may be considered seminal documentation of liturgical music implementation and thought in Ireland, in the crucial years immediately following the constitution. They illustrate a vigour of thought and an enthusiasm of commitment, characteristic of the early years of implementation and can certainly be looked to thirty years later, for direction in the present process of restructuring and assimilation.

The first supplement reported on a study day on Church Music held at Glenstal Abbey on April 18th, 1968. The day was preceded by a preliminary study day held in November, 1967 at Glenstal which included a comprehensive survey of church music by Charles Acton. The
response to this resulted in the more representative April seminar, to which this first supplement refers.

Cathal O’Callaghan, Chairman of the Music Liturgy Committee of the National Liturgical Commission reported on The Instruction on Music in the Liturgy, issued in 1967, responding to the directives of Sacrosanctum Concilium and Musicam Sacram. The instruction is presented in three sections. The first section establishes the principles of music in the liturgy and the ennobling role it plays in liturgical character. The second section examines the musical roles and responsibilities of the various participants in liturgical music; the choir, the congregation and the priest. The final section deals with the specific role of music in the mass. A sung mass is always preferred to a said mass. Within the context of a sung mass, various levels of participation and music are possible, governed by the forces and abilities of the choir, congregation and priest. (Music Supplement, No.1, 1968).

Finally, Rev. O’Callaghan refers to one of the most significant post-Vatican liturgical issues - the use of the vernacular. Drawing on the word vernaculus, meaning one born in the house; a native of the place, he advocates a vernacular liturgy that is rooted in an Irish sense of liturgy and an Irish identity, with music composed by Irish composers and with Irish idioms.

The second paper of the supplement and of the Glenstal study day was presented by Jeremiah Threadgold, an examiner in church music and priest of the Dublin diocese. He notes the subtle but important difference in the pre-conciliar instruction title- Instruction on Sacred Music and the Sacred Liturgy (1958), and the post-conciliar Instruction on Music in the Liturgy (1967) and the change of attitude from music as an aspect of liturgy to music as liturgy, inherent in this wording: '... the time is right for a genuine understanding and cooperation between musicians and liturgists.' (p.6 The Music Supplement No. 1, 1968).

Finally, this first music supplement concluded with extracts from an open discussion on church music during the Glenstal congress. Chaired by Dom Paul McDonnell, the panel
included Professor Aloys Fleischmann and Seán Ó Riada from University College, Cork, Sean Mac Reámoinn, Phil Coulter, Dom Placid Murray, Gerard Gillen, and Rev. Joseph Regan, (U.S.A.). With a variety of positions and approaches, the recorded comments of the panel reflect what were to become some of the most contentious issues of debate and division in the next thirty years of liturgical music growth in Ireland.

Seán Ó Riada spoke of his own work and compositions, and reflected on the combination of a sacred text with music which might have secular associations. Though this was hardly a new practice in the history of church music composition, it was a practice coming under heavy attack in the Post-Vatican music renewal where popular tunes were used with sacred settings. Within the context of his own work, Ó Riada suggested that the secular association is only relevant until the music and its sacred text establishes a new and liturgical identity, after which the former association becomes weaker and the latter stronger, within the sacred context.

Phil Coulter, identified as an Irish composer of pop music and the composer of the winning entry in the European Song Contest in 1967 with *Puppet on a String* and runner-up in 1968 with *Congratulations*, proposed that church music should be uncomplicated, should be harmonically and rhythmically simple and attractive; that people should want to sing it 'while doing their washing' (p.14, *Music Supplement No.1, 1968*). Even within his identity as representative of the world of popular music, he expressed a horror of the use of, for example, electric guitars in the church.

Gerard Gillen, then organist at St. Mary's Church, Haddington Road, saw the greatest obstacle to the development of church music in Ireland in terms of the shortage of well-trained church musicians. He attributed this to a lack of appreciation of the role of musicians in liturgy and of their professional status, illustrated in the lack of professional remuneration.
Finally, Seán Mac Reámoínn rooted his presentation of church music within the context of liturgical renewal. Musical style or genre or status was more than ever directly linked into the ethos and interpretation of the liturgy and the validation of one provided the criteria for the other. Within this context, it was not a question of what one did, but how liturgically well one did it: 'What we must guard against is the trivial in any kind of music. Whether it is trivial Victorian or badly sung plainsong or trivially, badly-made contemporary popular tunes' (p. 16, *Music Supplement, No.1, 1968*).

The Music Supplements continued to reflect and predict what were to become the major issues in liturgical music development over the next thirty years. In the second supplement the editor notes the necessity of symbolic language in the liturgy, the lack of which can be seen as one of the greatest weaknesses of the modern liturgical renewal: 'To the outsider, the Eucharist is a set of prayers and actions of a gathering of people: in deep reality, it is the whole body of Christ, head and members, worshipping the Father. The realisation of this mystery calls for the most powerful symbols we know to express it; it is only in singing that the whole person is most fully involved in expressing this;' (p.1, *Music Supplement No.2, 1969*) '...the need for a symbol of higher things is deeply rooted in us. (p.3, *Music Supplement, No.2, 1969*).

The editor also identifies the liturgy as the highest expression of Christian community: 'Human experience teaches us that singing together expresses and even constitutes a community' (p.2, *Music Supplement No.2, 1969*), an attitude also expressed by Dom Placid Murray, 'A sung liturgy achieves a greater union of hearts through the union of voices.' (p.15-16, *Music Supplement No.2, 1969*).

The attempt to fully understand and interpret the mystery of the liturgy in the pastoral light, demanded by the council, would of necessity, require time and maturation. In terms of music, it could not be expected to be any different. In his contribution to the supplement Michael Callaghan, Head of Music at De La Salle College of Education, Manchester, stated: 'The task
in hand is 'not an easy one and it is almost certain that much of the music we are getting will be transcient' (p.10, Music Supplement, No.2, 1969).

*The Furrow* also provides information on the structures being formed in Ireland to facilitate the implementation. The supplement notes the formation by the Irish hierarchy, in February 1965, of panels of consultants to advise them in areas of the liturgy. The panel for church music included Very Rev. C.H. O'Callaghan as Chairman; Rev. Seamus O'Byrne as Secretary; Rev. Thomas Egan, Rev. Noel Watson; Rev. John Pier; Rev. Francis McNamara; Rev. Kieran O'Gorman and Rev. Francis Maher. In September, 1968, the panel was expanded to include Professor Anthony Hughes and Professor Aloys Fleischmann of University College, Cork, Mr. Gerard Gillen (organist, Dublin);. Gerard Victory (Director of Music, RTE.) and Dom Paul McDonnell OSB (organist at Glenstal Abbey). Rev. Noel Watson succeeded Rev. Charles H. O'Callaghan as Professor of Sacred Music at Maynooth and also succeeded him as chairman of the panel.

The need to provide for guidance, direction and material for Irish organists, choirs and congregations led to a proposal from the Irish bishops to establish a Church Music Association, depending on the reaction of people to this suggestion. Interested parties were encouraged to contact the editor of the supplement.

The *New Ordae Missae*, promulgated on April 6th, came into force of law on November 30th, 1969. The editor saw the new Order as one of the most concrete moves towards full liturgical integration of music:

... the wording of the rubrics is such that it is presumed that a Mass with a congregation will always be accompanied with song. Perhaps never before have the rubrics of the Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite dealt so fully and specifically with sacred music. (p.1 The Furrow, Music Supplement No.3, 1969)
The effect of Vatican documentation and the attempts of the Irish hierarchy to implement them are contextualised in a report by Thomas Egan, curate at St. Mary’s Cathedral, Killarney, on church music at the parish level since the council. Egan recognises three dominant trends: the perception of Latin as a dated language and as pre-conciliar; an effort to promote congregational singing; and an attempt to introduce a version of commercial beat and folk music. He noted that the most common form of community singing is sympathetic listening to the accepted soloists of the community (p.12 Music Supplement No.3, 1969). These trends are still prominent in the liturgical music of many Irish parishes. Egan suggests that a fourth trend could and should evolve: 'a new sound in our liturgical music then, would most suitably be a distinctly Irish sound (p. 10, Music Supplement No.3, 1969).

The final music supplement addressed the use of instruments in worship. The Instruction on Music in the Liturgy, issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on March 5th, 1967, differentiates between instruments associated with secular music and those usually identified with sacred music. With this in mind, the pipe organ is to be given pride of place in liturgical music and No.63 of the instruction demanded that '...those instruments which are by common opinion and use, suitable for secular music, are to be altogether prohibited from every liturgical celebration.' (Music Supplement No.4, 1972). The Third Instruction for the Correct Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, issued on September 5th, 1970, also deals with the specifications of instrumental use in the liturgy and recommends that instruments should be '...few in number, suited to the place and the congregation, should favour prayer and not be too loud.' (Music Supplement No.4, 1972).

In an effort at implementation, the Irish Liturgical Commission recommended, in its document on the use of musical instruments in the liturgy, that the pipe organ should retain its place of honour; permission was given for the use of the violin or fiddle, the harp, the flute or the feadóg; the guitar or piano could also be used, especially in the context of young people; no electric guitar or recorded music was to be used within the celebration of the liturgy (Vol. 23, No.7, 1972).
The Post-Conciliar Years

The Furrow and Doctrine and Life continued to document the changes and implementation processes of liturgical music, following the initial release of Sacrosanctum Concilium and the period directly following. Not being periodicals specifically related to liturgical music, the coverage was consistent, but sporadic and consisted primarily of reports on the work of liturgical music bodies, or articles reflecting the function and role of music in liturgy.

Events covered by the Furrow included the establishment of the Irish Church Music Committee (Vol.19, No.2, 1968); the opening of the Irish Church Music Association's first Summer School (Vol. 21, No.9, 1970) and the first Irish liturgical weekend seminar devoted specifically to the tradition of Irish religious music. (1973, Vol.24, No.3) Organised by Seán Óg Ó Tuama in Spiddal, an expert in old Irish hymnody, the weekend included a recital of religious music in the local church, with local singers drawing on their repertoire of 'laments' and 'repentance' songs; songs which they had not previously sung in church. This seminar and the report of same by Aodán Glynn, formed an important part of the growing search for an indigenous liturgical repertoire.

Sean Swayne, secretary of the commission and the director of the National Liturgy Centre, wrote in 1976 that after more than a decade of liturgical implementation, '... many contend that ... we have failed to explain adequately to the faithful, the reasons behind the renewal' (p.560 The Furrow, Vol.27, No. 10, 1976). Swayne introduces notes included in the Pastoral Directory on the Sacraments, produced by the Irish Episcopal Commission for Liturgy, which recognises five services which music performs in the liturgy. These services are rooted in the scripture, the writings of the church fathers and the conciliar documents. Music makes prayer more attractive and beautiful (SC 112; Ex15:20; 2 Chron 5:13; Eph 5:19; Col 3:16; Augustine's Confessions: x,33). Music helps increase awareness of the mystery of the liturgy (SC 7; 1 Cor 12:4). Singing creates a bond of unity and community, as in Ambrose's conviction: ' who could retain a grievance against the man with whom he had joined in
singing before God. The singing of praise is the very bond of unity.' The beauty of music helps raise our hearts and souls to God (SC 7; SC 34; MS 11). Finally, earthly music echoes the heavenly hymn to which we ultimately aspire (Rev 4:8) (The Furrow, Vol. 27, No. 10, 1976).

In keeping with this view of the service rendered by music and by all art to liturgy, Frank McNamara, founder of the St. Finnian's Schola Cantorum, quoted Paul VI's address to artists at the close of the council, in an article on music in the church, written for The Furrow in 1993:

We address you artists who are taken up with beauty and work for it: poets and literary men, painters, sculptors, architects, musicians, men devoted to the theatre and cinema ... this world in which we live needs beauty in order not to sink into despair. it is beauty like truth which brings joy to the heart of man and is that precious fruit which resists the wear and tear if time, which unites generations and makes them share things in admiration. And all of this is through your hands. Remember that you are the guardians of beauty in the world. (p.153, The Furrow, Vol. 44, No.3, 1993)

Liturgical renewal marked its own growth and development and coverage in reviews that were not specifically liturgy-oriented tended to occur at anniversary points, marking five, ten and twenty years of liturgical reform, always taking Sacrosanctum Concilium (1963) as its point of departure.

David Regan C.S.Sp. remarked in an article on Five Years of Aggiornamento in Ireland that 'Sadness is the motif dominating the symphony of impressions gained from contact with the church in Ireland after five years of aggiornamento.' (p.492, Doctrine and Life, September, 1969). Lack of preparation and an unwillingness to let go of the perceived security of the past, are reasons suggested by Regan for the lack of real implementation and understanding of Vatican directives in Ireland and he predicts that:

Traditional Catholic areas only begin rethinking their pastoral and theological positions when dwindling congregations threaten extinction. (p.500, September, 1969).
Vatican II - Twenty Years On: The Liturgy appeared in the November issue of Doctrine and Life of 1983 and once again, centred any discussion of liturgy rooted in conciliar and post-conciliar directives as being necessarily congregational:

One of the great rallying cries of the liturgical movement in this century was 'active participation' ...the whole area of music and singing is not going to straighten itself out automatically ... it is the whole congregation which first and foremost needs to sing, and so the capabilities of the congregation should be a prime consideration.' (p. 523 and p 527, November, 1983).

In a reflection on the council and its implementation in Irish liturgy over the twenty years since the council, Dennis Carroll suggests that Ireland does not differ substantially, in its implementation process and difficulties from other post-Vatican communities. He does suggest, however, that Ireland's implementation process has tended to observe the letter of the law assiduously, without always observing or recognising the full spectrum of its theological and liturgical spirit. (Doctrine and Life, July/August, 1983). A certain degree of imagination or vision is necessary for implementation beyond the obvious processes and the lack of same would seem to be linked at least partially with the loss of momentum in liturgical renewal, evident in the latter years of implementation.

This sense of stagnation in the process of renewal is reflected in Seán Mac Reámoínín's article, Liturgy at a Time of Crisis, in which he suggests that liturgical renewal in Ireland has led to a liturgy deprived of a sense of form and existing in a state of matter without a sense of its medium (Doctrine and Life, November, 1995). In terms of liturgical music, Mac Reámoínín sees the almost complete obliteration of Gregorian chant from liturgy as having severed the vital connection between the ethos of new liturgical music and the most significant music of the church's past: 'There is no doubt in my mind that we will be cursed by future generations for our impious Philistinism, if we continue to neglect these riches which it has been our good fortune to inherit.' (p.628, November, 1995). This is not specifically or fundamentally related to the changes suggested by the council, there having been very little reasonable chant
in Ireland even before the council, Mac Reámoimn suggests. It is rather the combination of superficial reactionism and an inability to move beyond our lack of specific liturgical music inheritance to an embracing of our greater Catholic tradition. This factor makes the process of liturgical renewal in Ireland, and the development of a liturgical music for Ireland, a distinctly Irish phenomena.

New Liturgy

First series: 1968-1974

Established as a direct result of the new Vatican directives following the council, *New Liturgy* is one of the earliest and most continuous bulletins or newsletters published in Ireland, which relates specifically to the development and implementation of new liturgy and liturgical practices. Initially established in 1968 as a diocesan bulletin for Kildare and Leghlin, and edited by Fr. Sean Swayne, it included information on events and organisations relevant to liturgical growth in Ireland, as well as articles and essays on aspects of the liturgy. *The Furrow* referred to the new publication in its March, 1969 issue: 'members of liturgy commissions and others interested in following how one diocese is seriously trying to apply liturgy reform at ground level should study this modest and helpful pioneering effort' (Vol.20, No.2, 1969) and again in November, 1972: '[New Liturgy] continues to improve in each issue with short practical articles and up to the minute information' (Vol.23, No.11, 1972). The first two issues were entitled *Liturgy*; on the third issue it was renamed *New Liturgy* to distinguish it from another magazine of the same title.

In June, 1973, the Irish hierarchy created a National Secretariat for Liturgy, with the approval of the Irish Episcopal Commission for Liturgy, established in 1963, following the release of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. The diocesan bulletin was absorbed to create a bulletin of the National Secretariat, Irish Episcopal Commission for the Liturgy. Fr. Sean Swayne was appointed secretary to the commission and continued to edit the bulletin. Fr. Swayne was
deeply committed to musical issues in liturgy, and the prevalence of music-related articles and reports would seem to be a reflection of this particular liturgical perspective.

The initial issues provide some of the earliest records available, documenting liturgical music happenings in Ireland in the years immediately following the council. A sense of continuity with pre-Vatican liturgy is documented in its coverage of the 16th Liturgy Congress at Glenstal (New Liturgy, No.4, 1969). The liturgy congresses, which took place from 1954 to 1973, were rooted in the liturgical movement of the 1940's and 50's which grew up around Pius XII's Mediator Dei (1947) and Musicae Sacrae Disciplina (1955). They represent the most significant pre-Vatican liturgical movement in Ireland. The 16th conference in 1969 included a number of workshops, one of which explored aspects of hymn singing and composition.

The first diocesan Congress on Sacred Music for Kildare and Leighlin was reported in Spring, 1970 (New Liturgy, No.7, 1970) and took place on January 25th, 1970 in Crofton Hotel, Carlow. From the beginning, Carlow was central to liturgical developments in Ireland, and remained so until 1996 when the Carlow energy was assimilated into Maynooth. This first congress limited invitations to three delegates from each parish and two from each religious house. 270 people attended, a number which represented a significant interest in liturgical music development. This interest, as represented by the number of delegates attending such conferences and congresses, was to persist throughout the 1970's.

The first paper at the congress, entitled 'Why Music?' was delivered by Dr. Carl Seeldrayers. As is the case with many of the articles and papers addressing the theological basis of liturgical practice, it is rooted in reference to scripture and Vatican directives. Dr. Seeldrayers premises his arguments with Paul's Col 3:16 and 2 Chron 5:13-14 and concludes that true church music is not:
... a prescription of certain types of modes, but rather a challenge to responsible and knowing men to recognise the blend of philosophy and ethics required to produce the kind of music which will be a proper aesthetic expression of Christian faith. (p.20, No.7, 1970)

The second paper at the congress was delivered by Sean Swayne and introduced the most recent post-Vatican directives relating to liturgical music, contained in Musicam Sacram (March 5th, 1967) and Institutio Generalis, issued with the new Ordo Missae (April 6th, 1969) with specific reference to the role of the choir (MS 19, 21, 23) and the conductor (IG, 64).

Courses for organists were offered by Dr. Seeldrayers through Sean Swayne at Carlow College and the principles of good choral teaching were presented by Fr. Noel Watson of Maynooth. Along with newsletters and bulletins such as New Liturgy, such congresses formed the principle modes of transmission of the new liturgical music directives and the means of implementation.

New Liturgy also provided an organ for the dissemination of newly composed music and new music collections. Aifreann in Onoir Muire, MÁthair Dé by Fintan O’Carroll of Waterford was announced in the Summer issue of 1973 (No.20, 1973) as was the publication of a new national hymnal for Ireland, edited by Fr. Jerry Threadgold and available as of September, 1973, containing 146 hymns in Irish and English. Fr. Threadgold, a graduate of the Pontifical Academy, Rome, and teacher of sacred music at Clonliffe College and Mater Dei Institute of Education, recommended four areas of musical growth, appropriate to the post-Vatican II liturgy in Ireland, at a talk at Droichead Nua on December 12th, 1971 (No.15, 1972). These included Gregorian Chant and the Latin tradition; Irish music and musical instruments; traditional English hymns and organ accompaniment; and modern music with guitar and percussion accompaniment. In 1970 facilities were created at St. Finian’s, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, for the training of church musicians. Scholarships were made available for five years of secondary school education for boys, during which time, the student would receive training in organ and piano, choral work, keyboard training, theory and a second instrument.
New Liturgy also contained lists of recommended music for the appropriate liturgical season, with an emphasis on music composed in Ireland. Dr. Seeldrayers recommend the *Exsultet: The Easter Proclamation from Glenstal Abbey* as one of the most appropriate liturgical pieces written in Ireland for the Easter liturgy (No.15, 1972).

Newsletters and bulletins such as *New Liturgy* were largely responsible for the process of self-reflection and assessment in the years following the council, with 1963 and *Sacrosanctum Concilium* always seen as the point of departure. In the Winter issue of 1972-73, the editor asks the first of a series of rhetorical questions; 'now, after an interval of nine years, we ask - how has Ireland reacted to the liturgical movement?' (p.2, No.18, 1972-73). One answer to the question was the formation of the new liturgy centre at Carlow in 1972. The centre was not yet a national one, but acted as an information body and a centre for liturgical dissemination.

***New Liturgy - second series: 1974-79***

In Spring, 1974, *New Liturgy* became the bulletin of the National Secretariat, Irish Episcopal Commission for Liturgy and began a new series of publication. Its new logo, designed by Liam Miller represented the hand of God, based on the *dextra Dei* carving on the high cross of Muiredach at Monasterboice.

As well as continuing to edit the bulletin and act as secretary of the Irish Episcopal Liturgical Commission, Fr. Sean Swayne became the first director of the newly formed Institute for Pastoral Liturgy. The institute was opened on September 29th, 1974 at Mount St. Anne's, Portarlington, and offered a thirty week residential course in liturgical studies; the first of its kind in Ireland. The Institute's ethos reflected the Vatican's emphasis on the pastoral character of liturgy, and marks a natural transition of liturgical reflection and study from the liturgical congresses at Glenstal Abbey, with the spirit and ethos of the Institute, drawing on the
Benedictine tradition of prayer and hospitality. The lecturing staff of the Institute included a number of members of the Benedictine and Cistercian orders in Ireland.

The issues of 1974 contained some of the first examples of printed music in the bulletin, composed in Ireland, including responsorial psalms by Joseph Walsh, O.Cist., Mount Melleray, and congregations and choirs were encouraged to make use of them. The publication of *Jubilate Deo* by the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship was also noted. This booklet of Gregorian chants for the mass and other popular chants, was advocated as part of a consistent reiteration of the pride of place Gregorian chant deserved within the new liturgy (*SC, 116*). To this end, a full week of master-classes in Gregorian chant, conducted by Dom Jean Claire OSB from Solemnnes, was organised at St. Columban’s College, Dalgan Park, Navan in 1975 (*New Liturgy*, No.5, 1975). The classes were co-ordinated by Dr. Sean Lavery, then Professor of Music at St. Columban’s College, and later head of seminary music at Maynooth and editor of *Jubitus*, the one of the most significant church music periodicals to come out of Ireland.

Philosophically, *New Liturgy*, reflected a strong bias towards the pastoral approach to liturgy and the importance of music in achieving this end. Extracts from a paper by Fr. Kevin Donavan, given at the Carlow Liturgy Seminar in May, 1975 and published in the *New Liturgy* summer edition (No.6, 1975) reflect this perspective. Again, Fr. Donavan grounds his argument in scriptural exhortations to song (Ephes 5:19; Col.3:16; Acts 16:25) and in the history of the early church, rooted in the Jewish tradition and its chanting of the scriptures and the berakoth prayers. Music is suggested as a corrective to an over-rationalist approach to liturgy, a danger inherent in too literal an interpretation of pastoralism, and advocated as central to liturgical meaning and not just a liturgical medium; 'music should grow organically out of a worship situation' (p.8, No.6, 1975).

The summer issue of 1975 (No.6, 1975) also announced the appointment of Miss Margaret Daly as director of music at the Institute for Pastoral Liturgy, Mount St. Anne’s. A
characteristic of the growth of liturgical music in Ireland is that its shape and direction was strongly influenced by the personalities and talents of a significant number of individuals, one of which was to be Margaret Daly.

This same issue reported the sixth summer school of the Irish Church Music Association. The ICMA, founded in 1969 was one of the first liturgical organisations founded in Ireland to support and implement the new liturgical directives and it is significant that it was a music-based initiative and that it has hosted a liturgical music summer school ever since, celebrating its Silver Jubilee in 1994. As with the Pastoral Institute, it has become progressively more strongly associated with Maynooth. Until the formation of Hosanna in November, 1975, New Liturgy and the English publication Church Music were the main organ's of the ICMA.

The first copy of music by Margaret Daly appeared in the Autumn issue of 1976 (No.11, 1976) as well as an article on the role of music in the seminaries. Following the council, musical emphasis shifted from the choir and the priest to the congregation, as a result of a preoccupation with the Vatican's directives concerning sensus communitatis and actuoso participatio. Margaret Daly's article forms part of a body of counter-literature, restating the centrality of the priest's role, of his function in persona Christi, in the context of church music.

The composition of new music for the liturgy reflected the predominance of the Mass as a liturgical form and new masses by Seóirse Bodley, T.C. Kelly, Fintan O'Carroll, Sean Og O Tuama, Archie Potter and Gerard Victory were made available at Mount St. Anne's and publicised through New Liturgy. The Diocesan Directors of Music established a basic national repertory of church music, which was published in the Spring issue, 1977 (No.13, 1977). This list recommended Seóirse Bodley's Mass of Peace and Seán Ó Riada's Ceol an Aifrinn as the two mass settings for the national repertory. Emphasis was placed on Irish compositions, with works by Margaret Daly, Fintan O'Carroll and Seán Óg Ó Tuama, among
others, but the repertoire also included Gregorian chant and compositions by composers such as Lucien Deiss and Joseph Gelineau.

On July 1st, 1978, the Institute moved from Mount St. Anne’s, to Carlow and was to remain there until 1996. A short history of the Institute was published by Sean Swayne in *New Liturgy* in Autumn, 1978 (No.19, 1978). Founded in 1974 following the creation of the National Secretariat in Liturgy, the Institute was housed by the Presentation sisters of Kildare and Leighlin at Mount St. Anne’s until the summer of 1978, when it moved to Carlow and established itself as an independent centre within Ireland’s oldest major seminary, Carlow College, founded in 1782. The staff of the institute, on taking up residence at Carlow consisted of Fr. Sean Swayne, Sr. Dolores Fitzgerald, Margaret Daly, Sr. Rose Wright, Sr. Pamela Stotter and Fr. Anthony O'Shea. At the time of moving, Margaret Daly’s seminal publication, *Alleluia! Amen!* was in preparation.

Throughout the end of the 1970’s *New Liturgy* continued to publish new music, particularly music by Irish composers, but also a number of publications from the United Kingdom. Proportionately, publications from North America were in a minority.

The final issue of the 1970’s was a special edition which included two numbers (Nos. 23-24, 1979) to mark the visit of Pope John Paul II to Ireland. The *New Liturgy* logo was replaced by a reproduction of the Pope John Paul II Ireland commemorative medallion. The issue contained a thematic presentation of the Pope's homilies and address, given during his visit in Ireland from September 29th to the first of October. The address range in topic from Northern Ireland popular devotions, and include an address to Irish artists:

Irish art embodies in many instances the deep faith and devotion of the Irish people as expressed in the personal sensitivity of its artists. Every piece of art, be it religious or secular, be it a painting, a sculpture, a poem or any form of handicraft made with loving skill, is a sign and a symbol of the inscrutable secret of human existence, of man's origin and destiny, of the meaning of life and work. It speaks to us of the meaning of birth and death, of the greatness of man. (p.39, No. 23-24, 1979)
New Liturgy: 1980-86

*New Liturgy* began 1980 with the introduction of a new Mass, *Alfreann Cholmcille* by Tomás Ó Canainn. The issues from the early eighties document significant changes in the personnel central to the growth of liturgical music in Ireland throughout the seventies. The Autumn issue of 1980 (No.27, 1980) announced that Margaret Daly was leaving the Irish Pastoral Liturgy Centre for the Cistercian Abbey of Glencairn. She came as a student to the Institute in 1974 and remained there for six years as musical director. With the institute students, she produced five recordings and wrote prolifically, her most notable work being *Alleluia! Amen*. Margaret Daly was closely involved with the music commission of ICEL (International Commission for English in the Liturgy), the Irish Church Music Association, the Diocesan Directors of Music and organist at the Galway youth mass celebrated by Pope John Paul II during his visit to Ireland. As with many liturgical composers and arrangers during this pivotal years of development and dissemination, her role at a structural level is at least equally as important as her contribution to the corpus of Irish liturgical music composition. The autumn issue also contains a review of her *Saint Benedict Centenary Mass* by Gerard Gillen. Her position of music director at the Institute was filled by Sr. Gerard McLoughlin, a sister of Mercy from Clogher diocese.

The same issue notes the death of Seán Óg Ó Tuama, an active supporter of the Irish Church Music Association, and particularly central to the promotion of traditional hymns in Irish. Within a year another great supporter of the Gaelic spiritual tradition, Aodán Glynn, left for Malawi. Aodán Glynn was a student at the Institute from 1977-78 and a member of the Irish Commission for Liturgy.

1981 also saw the death of Fintan P. O’ Carroll one of the most significant composers and promoters of liturgical music during the years immediately following the council (No. 31, 1981). As with Margaret Daly, his significance lies not only in his music but in his dedication and active participation in the structural development of centres, associations and
periodicals, associated with liturgical music, and in the dissemination of the new liturgical music directives and the music itself.

Based in Waterford where he worked as cathedral organist and choirmaster, at the time of his death Fintan O'Carroll had written half a dozen Masses, settings of the responsorial psalms for every Sunday and major feast of the three cycles, and numerous settings of psalms, canticles, responses, hymns and the divine office. His best known works include the entrance psalm for his Mass of St. Benedict, which was translated into French and incorporated into the repertoire at Loudres and his setting of Psalm 22, Sé an Tiarna m'Amire. Fintan was a founder member of the Irish Church Music Association and co-founder and editor of Hosanna, which was the first Irish post-Vatican periodical to devote itself to the subject of church music.

The removal of these individuals, characterised by their energy and dedication to the establishment of an Irish liturgical music voice, by their willingness and commitment to this in structural terms and by their musicianship combined with liturgical acumen and an intimate knowledge of the Vatican directives, led to a change of energy from the seventies to the eighties, and it may be argued, a dissipation. At the 12th annual summer school of the Irish Church Music Association in 1981 over 500 people attended to hear Lucien Diess and Christopher Walker. A new mass by Máire Ní Dhuihbir was introduced. The course in pastoral liturgy offered by the Institute was at its most popular. Throughout the eighties, however, numbers would continue to fall, leading to a radical restructuring in the nineties.

The early years of liturgical music development in Ireland was marked by the importance of new compositions. These were often encouraged through the use of song contests. The Summer/Autumn issue of 1982 (No. 34-35, 1982) announced the National Franciscan Song Contest, to celebrate the eighth centenary of the birth of St. Francis of Assisi. It also announced the winners of the National Hymn for Knock Contest, of August 7th, 1982. The winning hymn, A Secret Garden, with music written by T.C. Kelly and words by Michael
Hodgetts, confirmed, in Margaret Daly's view 'an observation I have heard made by several
people who are in touch with the church music scene in Ireland; that at present much of the
really creative work is being done in Irish' (p.30-31, No. 38-39, 1983). Awarded a very close
second, having tied the adjudication, was Magnificat by Professor Aloys Fleischmann and
Daniel McNulty.

Sr. Gerard McLoughlin's first contribution to New Liturgy following her appointment as
music director at the Institute included a series of articles on music in parish worship (No.34-
35, 1982). These marked a change of approach from Margaret Daly's emphasis on
composition and the music itself, to an emphasis on the implementation of music within the
liturgy; an emphasis which would continue to dominate music direction at the Institute.

A defining characteristic of New Liturgy, the Irish Pastoral Institute and the Irish Church
Music Association, was an emphasis on the creation of an Irish corpus of liturgical music.
This included nurturing the tradition of Irish hymns, already in existence, both in the English
and Irish language, and the composition of new liturgical music in Ireland. The shared
heritage of Ireland and England was noted, as was the encouragement of the use of, for
example, Anglican hymn-tunes. The influence of North America would seem to have been
less central at the level of these associations, though the picture is less homogeneous at parish
level.

The most significant contribution from North America during the early years of liturgical
growth included the documents published by the Bishop's committee of the United States of
Music Today (No.36, 1982-83), became seminal points of reference for Irish liturgical
composers and liturgists. In the absence of similar documents from the Irish hierarchy, they
became the most-quoted documents, after the Vatican documents themselves.
1983 marked the twentieth anniversary of the promulgation of the Liturgy Constitution - *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, and *New Liturgy* editor, Sean Swayne devoted most of the Winter 1983-Spring, 1984 issue (Nos. 40-41, 1983-84) to a reflection on developments in Ireland during those years. Among the positive developments he notes the rediscovery of Christ's presence and its various modes in the word of God, the priest and the people; the more active and enlightened participation of the faithful; the simplification and accessibility of the new rites; the new eucharistic prayers; the enrichment of the vernacular, the chalice for the laity and the connection between the Eucharist and Christian living. Of interest in terms of music in the liturgy, and of liturgy in general, however, are the concerns expressed by Sean Swayne. These concerns centre around the impoverishment of the ritual and symbol of the liturgy; an impoverishment effected by the loss of rubrical centrality in the liturgy and a fundamental change of liturgical emphasis from reverential to pastoral. Fr. Swayne quotes the late Archbishop Bugnini:

> It seems as if some priests are surrounded by faithful deprived of their five senses ... to strip the sacred rites of their emotive appeal is to impoverish them, to reduce them to a skeleton, shrivelled and shrunk. (p.9, Nos. 40-41, 1983)

Fr. Swayne relates this to what he sees as the impoverishment of ritual and symbol in the post-councilor liturgy. This liturgy is fundamentally cerebral, rational and verbal and neglects the non-rational and bodily dimension central to ritual.

He is quick to note that the fault is not intrinsic in post-conciliar liturgy, but is rather due to a minimalist approach in the use of ritual gesture and sense, permitted through the *pro opportinitate* clause. This allows the celebrant to dispense with, for example the use of incense, lights, or processional movement. Even when ritualistic symbols are used, in gesture, silence, music or movement, very often they are not performed with their full symbolic weight, but are rather carried out perfunctorily or ornamentally. 'today there is a new approach to liturgical law. One can observe the letter but fail the spirit.' (p.10, Nos. 40-41, 1983).
Sean Swayne's concern goes to the root of the liturgical music dilemma facing the Irish liturgy. If liturgical music is a central part of the liturgy and not an ornamental one, then its fate and its expression must be directly linked to the fate and expression of that same liturgy. The history of liturgical implementation since the Vatican council is one of rationalism and cerebralism - it is fundamentally a modernist interpretation, in keeping with the temporality of its initiation. A modernist interpretation of Vatican directives will emphasise the pastoral over the liturgical, rather than the pastoral through the liturgical. Such an interpretation will not and cannot define music as central. The late bishop of Limerick, Jeremiah Newman, in his book *The Postmodern Church*, suggests a postmodern definition of church which allows for a liturgical perspective of symbolic synthesis and the centrality of all symbolic language, including music (Newman, 1990). As Sean Swayne points out, this is not missing from Vatican directives, but has been consistently absent from post-conciliar implementation.

The 1983-84 issue also contains a comprehensive listing of landmark events and publications concerning liturgical developments in Ireland from 1973-83, compiled by Sean Swayne. His depth of involvement and commitment to the growth of liturgy in Ireland following the council, is central to the relevance and importance of *New Liturgy*, perhaps greater than its size and purpose would suppose.

The Summer-Autumn issue of 1983 includes an article on the singing of the responsorial psalm by Sr. Gerard McLoughlin. A further article by Sr. Mc Loughlin on the use of music in the Advent and Christmas liturgies and which introduces newly composed *O Antiphons* by Seoirse Bodley and Gerard Victory appears in the Summer-Winter issue of 1984 (Nos. 42-43, 1984) Both articles illustrate an increased emphasis on implementation within the appropriate liturgical context.
In the Spring edition of 1986 (No. 49, 1986) Margaret Daly’s solemn monastic profession was announced. The profession was presided over by the abbot of Mount Melleray, with Gerard Gillen as organist. Gerard Gillen had been appointed professor of Music at Maynooth in 1985, following on his position as lecturer in music at University College, Dublin. His commitment to liturgical music included positions as Chairman to the Advisory Committee on Church Music and titular organist at the Pro-Cathedral (Nos. 45-46, 1985).

The Autumn-Winter issue of 1986 (Nos. 51-52, 1986) was the last issue edited by Sean Swayne. Fr. Swayne was appointed to the parish of Graighnamanagh, Co. Kilkenny and the editorship of *New Liturgy* passed to Patrick Jones, lecturer in liturgy at Holy Cross College, Cloncliffe and Mater Dei Institute, Dublin. *New Liturgy* has only had two editors in the course of its almost thirty year existence, a characteristic of continuity it shares with many Irish periodicals. Seán Collins OFM was appointed director of the Irish Pastoral Liturgy Institute. Fr. Swayne continued to contribute his popular *Jottings* to *New Liturgy*.

*New Liturgy*: 1987-89

Under its new editor, *New Liturgy* maintained its format and structure and remained an organ of liturgical dissemination, primarily for the Institute, but also for the Irish Church Music Association, the Liturgy Commission and other liturgical bodies and publications. The first edition under the new editor announced the publication of a new national liturgical songbook for Ireland (Nos. 53-54, 1987). The Advisory Committee on Church Music published *Hosanna* in fiche form through Columba Press.

On Sunday, November 20th, 1988, a day of folk music was organised by the folk group at Gort Muire. This is the first folk music day noted in *New Liturgy* (No. 59, 1988), showing folk music to be a rather late development in the stages of liturgical music growth in Ireland.
The same issue announces a seminar on Gregorian chant to be conducted by Fr. Tom Egan on Sunday, March 5th, 1989.

The Winter issue 1988-89 (New Liturgy, No. 60, 1988-89) contains one of the first contributions of Fr. Pat O'Donoghue, the diocesan director of liturgical music in Dublin. Fr. O'Donaghue also taught at Holy Cross College and served in the Pro-Cathedral, and was responsible for the development of a diocesan programme of sacred music in the secondary school of Dublin; a programme unique in Ireland.

From May 23rd-24th, the 18th annual Carlow Liturgy Seminar addressed the development in liturgy in Ireland, following the 25th anniversary of the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy (Spring 1989, No. 61). New Liturgy published a letter from Pope John Paul II written on December 4th, 1988 to mark the anniversary of Sacrosanctum Concilium and made public on Pentecost Sunday, May 14th, 1989. In a commentary on the letter by Sean Collins, the central challenge of the pope's letter was identified as the challenge to the priesthood and the Catholic hierarchy to 'become imbued with the spirit and the power of the liturgy' (Sacrosanctum Concilium, 14). The centrality of the priesthood to liturgical renewal was previously articulated by the pope at a gathering of Presidents and Secretaries of National Liturgical Commissions in Rome in 1984 and in his 1989 letter he once again identified it as one of the chief issues in the continuing process of renewal (No. 62, 1989). The role of the priesthood in liturgical music growth in Ireland is ambiguous and largely unsupported and, in the context of falling clerical numbers and the uncertain role of the laity, continues to be ambivalent.

The final issues of New Liturgy for 1989 saw the appointment of Margaret Daly as musical director at Gort Muire Conference Centre and as a member of the Catholic Communications Centre and director of Veritas liturgical music resource (No. 63, 1989).
New Liturgy: The 1990's

The 1990's in Ireland were marked by the end of one and beginning of a new cardinalship. On May 8th, 1923 Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich died at the age of sixty-seven (Nos.65,1990). Tribute was paid to him in New Liturgy, as president of the Irish Church Music Association and as a supporter of liturgical renewal in Ireland and the role of music in that process and Cathal Daly was welcomed as the new Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland.

New Liturgy also paid tribute to another individual, central to liturgical reform after the council, not only in Ireland but throughout the Catholic world. During Annibale Bugnini's years of service at the Vatican, he served as secretary of the commission for liturgical reform, established in 1948 with Pius XII; secretary of the preparatory commission on the liturgy (1960-62); peritus of the second Vatican council and of its commission on the liturgy, secretary of the concilium for the implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy (1964-69) and secretary of the congregation for Divine Worship (1969-1975) (No. 69, 1991) As a summation of his life's experience, Bugnini published The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948-1975 in 1983. The book was translated into English by Matthew J. O'Connell and published by Columba Press in Europe. In Bugnini's words 'the purpose is that the clergy and people may at last attain to an authentic and deeper understanding of the sacred liturgy and may be allowed to truly taste it.' (Bugnini,p.933) It is unique in being one of the few single volume publications to embrace the entire history of liturgical reform and renewal from 1948 to 1975, and provides a unique bridge between the pre- and post-Vatican perceptions and attitudes towards liturgy.

In the summer of 1992, Sean Collins OFM completed his term as director of the Irish Institute of Pastoral Liturgy and the position was filled by Patrick Jones. As was the case with Sean Swayne, the positions of Institute director, New Liturgy editor and national secretary for liturgy were once again filled by the same person (No. 74, 1992).
New Liturgy continued to support new liturgical composition, both through the announcement of new publications and articles on the musical and liturgical considerations involved in composition of church music. Fr. Edmond Cullinan, teacher of liturgy at St. John's College, Waterford, prioritised the possibilities of sung parts of the liturgy to include the acclamations, responsorial psalms, gloria, litanies, antiphons, presidential prayers, and additionals not included in the missal, such as hymns at the preparation of the gifts or communion (No.74, 1992). Of interest in Fr. Cullinan's article is the definite priority given to congregational singing as opposed to the presidential prayers, again, a significant position in the ongoing debate between two perceived priorities.

The Autumn issue of 1992 notes the death of Professor Aloys Fleischmann and contains a report on the Schola Cantorum by the schola director, Shane Brennan (No.75, 1992). Founded in 1970 by the Irish Episcopal Commission, it offers four music scholarships each year. Inspired by the schola cantorum of the early church and its seven year programme of singing tuition and the memorising of all the sacred chants of the Gregorian repertoire, the schola cantorum at St. Finnian's reported that by 1989, 20 of its past students had completed university degrees, with 16 of these in music and that fifty percent of its graduates were actively involved in church music.

Other institutions covered in the pages of New Liturgy included the Diocesan Music Commissions and the Palestrina choir. Pat O'Donoghue reported on the Diocesan Commissions (No.81, 1994). The first Irish Diocesan Music Commission was established in Dublin under John Charles McQuaid in a response to the instruction on music by Pius XII with Rev. Michael Dempsey acting as first chairman a position later filled by Jeremiah Threadgold and Gerard Gillen. The commission appointed by Desmond Connell in 1992 consisted of 16 deanery co-ordinators of music and other representatives.

The Palestrina choir was founded in 1902 by Edward Martyn, with Vincent O'Brien appointed first musical director in 1903 (No.81, 1994). Under Ite O'Donavan, it continued to
perform a repertoire based primarily on chant and classical polyphony. The choir boys rehearsed every Wednesday afternoon for two hours and the whole choir rehearsed for an hour on Fridays. The choir's schedule included Sunday mass at 11 am and Friday Vespers at 5:05 at St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral.

Sr. Gerard McLoughlin left the Institute in 1993 and the position of musical director was filled by Sr. Moira Bergin, a sister of mercy and former music teacher in Templemore, Co. Tipperary (No. 78, 1993).

Two 1990 publications related to liturgical music and covered by *New Liturgy* were *Why Catholics Can't Sing* (Day, 1990) and the second volume of *Irish Music Studies: Music and the Church* (Gillen and White, 1990). Thomas Day, chairman of the Music Department at Salve Regina College, Newport Rhode Island provides, in his own words, a selective look at the deterioration of church music since the Vatican Council and of the influence of the non-singing Irish church on American Catholic liturgy (No. 76, 1992-93). A popular and controversial book, one of the most significant ideas suggested in the book involves a view of liturgy which is word rather than symbol-oriented.

It is characteristic of *New Liturgy* that its coverage includes both this popular publication and one of the most significant academic Irish publications on Church Music since the Vatican Council; the second volume of *Irish Music Studies: Music and the Church*. Edited by Gerard Gillen and Harry White, the publication includes twelve articles which reflect various aspects of church music practice and musicology within the Irish context surrounding both.

*New Liturgy* noted over 40 settings of the ordinary of the mass composed in Ireland in the thirty years following the council (No. 81, 1994). The Advisory Committee on Church Music proposed archiving these in Carlow. In a continued response to the role of the composer in liturgical music, the first forum for composers was held in the Institute on February 11th, 1994. The forum was opened by Dr. Gerard Gillen with an overview of liturgical music.
developments since Sacrosanctum Concilium, during which he identified six paradigms of liturgical music, including neo-cecilian, classical, folk/popular, ethnic, functional and ecumenical. These paradigms provide an interesting perspective on the spectrum of liturgical music being composed and sung within the context of liturgical music development in Ireland. Other speakers at the forum included Fr. Brian Magee, Fr. Pat O'Donoghue, Fr. Sean Collins and Máire Ní Duibhir.

Dr. Gerard Victory died on March 14th, 1995 (No.85, 1995) and was remembered in New Liturgy for his composition of Mass of the Resurrection, one of the first four masses commissioned by the music panel of the Irish Commission for Liturgy in 1977 and for the O Antiphons, published with Bodley's in 1979.

Two surveys on liturgical music were reported in the Spring and Autumn-Winter issues, 1995, of New Liturgy. A survey on popular church music conducted in four centres throughout North America included a listing of the favourite gospel acclamation (the Celtic Alleluia; Chris Walker's arrangement of Fintan O'Carroll's composition), the three most popular Eucharist acclamations (settings by Marty Haugen; Richard Proulx; John Foley and Don Schutte) the most popular music hymnal (Glory and Praise), and the seven most popular hymns. These include Be Not Afraid; On Eagles Wings; Glory and Praise to our God; One Bread, One Body; Blest Are They; Here I Am Lord and City of God, most of which arose out of the American folk church music movement. The piano was named as the most popular liturgical musical instrument, with the organ a close second (No.85, 1995).

The second survey, conducted by the BBC asked listeners to name their favourite hymns. Out of a response from 8,000 listeners, ten hymns were identified in order of preference (Nos. 87-88, 1995). These included: Dear Lord and Father of All Mankind; The Day Thou Gavest, Lord is Ended; How Great Thou Art; Abide With Me; Guide Me, Oh Thou Great Redeemer; Great is Thy Faithfulness; Praise My Soul the King of Heaven; Love Divine, All Love Excelling; When I Survey the Wonderous Cross and Shine, Jesus, Shine.
1995 saw the close of the Gort Muire conference and retreat centre, the retirement of Ite O'Donavan from the Palestrina choir, with her position filled by Dr. Joseph Ryan, and the 25th anniversary of the Schola Cantorum (Nos. 87-88, 1995). The anniversary was marked by a concert on November 25th at which the schola's first director, Fr. Frank McNamara and Shane Brennan, director since 1984, were present. The concert included performance by former schola members such as John O'Keefe, presently at Maynooth and Donal Doherty, at St. Eugene's Cathedral, Derry. Professor Harry White, himself a former schola noted that half the alumni had honours music degrees and were organists in parishes around Ireland, including Derry, Mullingar, Waterford, Longford and Cavan.

*New Liturgy* issues from the mid-nineties continued the practice of charting liturgical developments since *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. December, 1993 marked the thirtieth anniversary of the promulgation. A two day conference was held from December 2-4, 1994 in Gort Muire conference centre entitled 'Thirty Years of New Liturgy - an Analysis'. The conference was opened by Eltin Griffin O.Carm and Catherine Gorman and covered areas including deritualisation and a contemporary notion of the sacred; the hierarchical structures of the church, women's issues, liturgy, prayer and spirituality; liturgical community and communion and liturgical studies. Contributions were also made by Michael Mulvihill CSSp, Seán Mac Reámoîn, Seamus Ryan, Seán Collins OFM and Anne Kelly (No.85, 1995).

The final issue of 1995 includes the reflections of Pope John Paul II on the anniversary of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (*New Liturgy*, Nos. 87-88, 1995). In these, the Pope identifies the liturgical goal of the council as not only providing for 'a merely external form of worship [but] ...to imbue the Christian Community with a new awareness of the liturgy as the summit towards which the activity of the church is directed and the point from which all the power flows' The reason for this centrality is directly related to the theology of salvation:
Liturgical prayer in comparison with the many other forms of prayer, has a status all its own, not only because it is the public prayer of the church, but above all because it is a true actualisation, and in a certain sense, continuation, by means of signs, of the marvels wrought by God for man's salvation. (p.37, No. 87-88, 1995)

*Hosanna and Jubilus*

*Introduction*

During the course of thirty years of liturgical music renewal since the council, Ireland has produced two periodicals specifically addressing the issue of liturgical and sacred music. *Hosanna*, the magazine of the Irish Church Music Association, published 21 issues between 1975 and 1985, while *Jubilus Review*, a quarterly publication from Maynooth, issued 16 publications from 1984 to 1987. As the two liturgical music periodicals which Ireland has produced, they reflect a significant spectrum of opinion and attitude to liturgical renewal. Structurally, the similarities are great. Both provided readers with two liturgical music approaches, reflected in the articles printed. These articles either educated or informed its readership on practical issues of liturgical music praxis, or provided the readership with philosophical or theological reflections on the role and function of music in the liturgy. Both also regularly reviewed and recommended suitable liturgical music with published examples.

If the two were structurally similar, they also displayed significant differences in their approach to the strategy and attitude of liturgical renewal. Far from being fundamentally antagonistic, however, their combined approaches offered a stimulating, challenging and distinctly Irish liturgical music story. Both were in simultaneous publication for only a single year, 1984-85, and that year would see the final two issues of *Hosanna*. That single year was the only year to see the publication of *The Furrow, Doctrine and Life, New Liturgy, Hosanna* and *Jubilus*. The spectrum of liturgical coverage offered by these five periodicals in Ireland has not since been equalled and the lack of any specific liturgical music organ since then, has created a specific vacuum in the ongoing dissemination of information, stimulus and implementation process; a vacuum which the other non-specific periodicals do not fill.
Practical Implementation -*Hosanna* and *Jubilus*

Both *Hosanna* and *Jubilus* were committed to providing practical advice and information for the implementation of liturgical music practice. Ideologically, however, *Hosanna* could be characterised as realistically pragmatic while *Jubilus* was idealistically committed to specific notions of musical standards in practice. This is not to suggest that *Hosanna* did not espouse high standards in liturgical music or that *Jubilus* lacked pragmaticism, but the delineation was rather the former than the latter.

*Hosanna’s* approach to implementation was rooted in the realities of Irish parish, school and musical life and throughout its existence, it remained associated with renewal at this level. This association was facilitated by its relationship with the Irish Church Music Association and its annual summer school. Its articles on practical implementation were almost always rooted in actual Irish situations and places and usually written by Irish writers and liturgical practitioners.

*Hosanna’s* first issue addresses the use of hymnody in the post-conciliar liturgy. Adopting Gelineau's definition of a hymn as representing '...the immediate and spontaneous expression of the Church's faith by the assembly celebrating the worship' (p.13, Vol. 1, No.1, 1975), Margaret Daly's article suggests that hymn singing is central to the council's recommendations on active participation and contains the seeds of liturgical integration far beyond the pre-conciliar instruction of 1958. *Let the Children Sing*, by Sr. Margaret Doyle suggests the integration of music and children's liturgy and *Hymns in Use* provides a list of commonly sung hymns in Ireland, categorised as worthy or unworthy of church service by Professor Aloys Fleischmann. Of *Sweet Heart of Jesus*, for example, Professor Fleischmann writes:

... the saccharine words are matched by an ugly tune, which is particularly cloying because of the chromatic cliche of its first two cadences; and of *Faith of Our Fathers*:
'Despite its popularity, a clumsy tune with its ungainly leaps and over-emphasis.' (p.20-21, Vol.1 No.1, 1975).

A feature of Hosanna's implementation process, was the tutorial-article. These articles gave detailed instructions on practical issues of liturgical music practice. These include Hugh O'Grady's article addressing the accompaniment of liturgical music. Accompaniment, in this article, assumes organ accompaniment. Over three issues, tutorial instructions are given on hymn tune accompaniment, accompanying a choir, accompanying the congregation, and the use of organ stops and pedals. This same approach is reflected in Sean Swayne's article, A Tuneful and Reverential Liturgy. Detailed instruction, prioritising the sung parts of the mass follow the rhetorical question; 'At what moments of the mass should we sing?' (p.5, Vol. 1 No.4, 1976). Advice is offered for the teaching of liturgical music in primary school (Vol. 2, No.2, 1977); liturgical music in a parish (Vol.2 No.3, 1977); buying an organ (Vol.3, No.1, 1977); starting a church choir (Vol.3.No.1, 1977), building a choir repertoire (Vol.5, No.4, 1984) and the use of public address systems in churches (Vol.3, No.4, 1978).

If implementation was also an ideological aim of Jubilus, it was within the context of very specific notions of standard and genre. Musical Illiteracy in our Choirs (Vol.2, No.3, 1985) deprecates the use of rote-learning and contends that every member of a church choir should be able to at least sight-read a simple hymn-tune. The Parish Choir - to Join or not to Join? (Vol.1, No.1, 1984) provides instruction in reading basic musical notation. The use of the organ as a solo or accompanying instrument in the liturgy is seen as demanding the highest possible standard of technical expertise (Vol.1, No.3, 1984) and familiarity with the possibilities of the instrument (Vol.4, No.1, 1987). A survey of organs and their liturgical use, entitled King of the Instruments is preceded by an article on the advantages of investing in a pipe organ (Vol.4, No.1, 1987). The exploration of organs in Hosanna, focused on organs actually being restored or rebuilt in Ireland, such as the organ at Tullamore (Vol.2, No. 1, 1985) and at St. Muiredeach's Cathedral, Ballina (Vol.2, No.3, 1977).
The Unmusical Priest and the Choir (Vol.1, No.4, 1984), and The Conductor and the Church Choir (Vol.3, No.4, 1986) assert the role of the choir in liturgical music, a role often perceived as redundant following the council, but asserts this role within conditions of excellence. Advice is also giving on the office of cantor (Vol.2, No.2, 1985). Practical guidance in choosing music is provided for liturgies ranging from the Easter celebrations (Vol.3, No.1, 1986) to weddings (Vol.3, No.2, 1986) and the restoration of liturgy other than the mass was suggested in articles such as Quoniam Advesperascit - Vespers Restored (Vol.2, No.1, 1985).

Guidance to liturgical music implementation in Hosanna, therefore, emphasised the application of standards to the realities of liturgical music practice, while Jubilus supported the necessity of the practice to adapt itself to given standards.

Both Hosanna and Jubilus included a guide to events and news, seen as relevant to church musicians and liturgists. The events reported in Hosanna, again, reflected primarily on events in Ireland, and provide and interesting chronology of some of the more significant liturgical music landmarks in Ireland after the council. Hosanna reported regularly on the Summer School of the Irish Music Association and on the minutes and meetings of the association itself. It also included regular information on the Liturgy Institute; its courses and meetings and subscribers to Hosanna received a complementary copy of New Liturgy. Other regular features in Hosanna included the development of the Irish federation of Pueri Cantores in, the schola cantorum at St. Finnian's, Mulingar and the growth of the Palestrina choir.

The range of events, workshops and seminars in liturgical music, announced and reviewed in the pages of Hosanna, reflects the full spectrum of liturgical music experimentation in Ireland. These include coverage of the visit of Kevin Mayhew, one of the primary exponents of the folk idiom in popular liturgical music to Gort Muire Carmelite Centre (Vol.1, No.3, 1976) and an article by Eric Routley on popular hymn tunes and the guitar in liturgy (Vol.1, No.4, 1984); the annual master-classes in Gregorian chant, established in 1975 by Sean
Lavery, which included visits from Dom Eugene Cardine and Dom Jean Claire OSB from Solesmes, (Vol.1, No.3, 1984) and the Gregorian chant festival co-ordinated by Fr. Jerry Threadgold (Vol.4, No.2); the advocation of the development of a Gaelic liturgy by Sean Óg Ó Tuama (Vol.1, No.4, 1984) and a new Irish Mass by Fr. Pat Aherne, sung for the first time for St. Patrick's day, 1883 at the Pro-Cathedral by the Siamsa Tire choir from Tralee, Co. Kerry, accompanied by pipes, tin whistles, violins, flutes and organ (Vol. 5, No. 4, 1983). Two national song contests; the National Hymn for Knock Contest and the National Franciscan Song Contest were also covered as was the emergence of liturgical dance since the council (Vol.4, No.2, 1982).

By contrast, events and news appearing in the pages of *Jubilus* tended to be of a more international character, including reports on the annual Mozart festival in Pueblo, Colorado and the division of the Sacred Congregation for Sacraments and Divine Worship by Pope John Paul II, into the Congregation for Sacraments and the Congregation for Divine Worship (Vol. 2, No. 3, 1984). Events covered in Ireland tended to reflect a bias in favour of chant, organ and classical choral music and include the Dublin International Organ Festival (Vol.1, No.3, 1984) the Navan Choral Festival (Vol.2, No.3, 1985) and the formation of Cumann Náisiúnta na gCóir by Professor Aloys Fleishmann in 1980 (Vol.1, No.1, 1984).

Similarly, magazines or periodicals reviewed and promoted by *Hosanna* included *Liturgy*, published by the Liturgical Commission of the Catholic Bishops Conference of England and Wales. An English language periodical, it was similar in style to *Hosanna*, but was not exclusively music-oriented. Periodicals reviewed in *Jubilus* included *Singende Kirche*, a German language periodical of the Church Music Commission, with a highly academic style and a very small readership in Ireland.

The publication and reviews of music also served an important role in both periodicals. Both the music published in and recommended by *Hosanna* showed a strong bias in favour of newly composed music by Irish composers. Music published and recommended in issues of
Hosanna include a significant contribution by Hosanna's editors, Fintan O'Carroll and Joseph Walsh, as well as Sr. Columcille Ni Chonain, Seoirse Bodley, T.C. Kelly and Sr. Gertrude Kiersey.

Jubilus did not explicitly champion new Irish liturgical composers, but rather tried to present music for various liturgical events. This music tended to draw strongly on the repertoire of Gregorian chant, classical polyphony and more recent choral compositions. A large section of each edition of Jubilus was devoted to printing music, and the music was usually presented thematically, including Choral Music for Lent, Holy Week and Easter tide (Vol.1, No.1, 1984); Choral Music for Advent and Christmas (Vol.1, No.4, 1984; Vol.2, No.3, 1985); Music for Celebrant, Choir and Congregation (Vol.2, No.1, 1985); Music for Male and Female Choirs and Congregation (Vol.2, No.2, 1985); Wedding Music (Vol.2, No.4, 1985) and Christian Burial (Vol.3, No.2, 1986). Lavery's commitment to the optimal inclusion of music in the liturgy and his love of Gregorian chant (Lavery received his doctorate in Gregorian Chant in 1983) is consistently illustrated in his choice of music and articles throughout the publication of Jubilus.

Towards a Liturgical Theology - Hosanna and Jubilus

Practical implementation of liturgical music practice expressed itself in Hosanna and Jubilus through tutorial-like articles, published and reviewed music, and coverage of related publications and events. Both, however, also viewed the process of implementation as dependant on a solid foundation of knowledge and reflection; knowledge, primarily of the relevant liturgical documentation, and reflection on the new praxis which informed a growing liturgical theology. If the periodicals were similar in this commitment to practice and theory, they differed in the emphasis afforded to each. Hosanna was primarily a practical magazine for liturgical music implementation in Ireland, while Jubilus, rooted itself strongly in the theological and theoretical aspects of the implementation process.
Knowledge of liturgical music implementation was rooted in the directives and documentation of the conciliar and post-conciliar church. This documentation was made available in both *Hosanna* and *Jubilus* and these two periodicals were among the prime sources of documentation relating specifically to liturgical music; documentation which often did not appear in any other Irish publications. This documentation often took the form of letters or addresses issued by the Pope on an occasion significant to church music. Examples include a message on the *Renewal of Sacred Music in the Light of Liturgical Reform*, given by Paul VI to the Italian association of St. Cecilia (*Hosanna*, Vol.2, No.1, 1976); a Pope's address to the Italian *schola cantorum* on September 25th, 1977 (*Hosanna*, Vol.3, No.1, 1977); John Paul II's address on sacred music to the Italian Cecilian society in 1980 (*Jubilus*, Vol.1, No.1, 1984); the address on the blessing of the new mobile pipe organ to accompany liturgy in St. Peter's square by John Paul II (*Jubilus*, Vol.1, No.3, 1984) and the blessing of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome on November 21st, 1985 (*Jubilus*, Vol. 3, No.1, 1986).

This documentation is an ongoing source to which liturgical theologians and practitioners constantly return, for the foundations of any praxis or theory. This documentation is the articulation of the Roman church and the font from which Catholic liturgy drinks. The most significant difference between *Hosanna* and *Jubilus*, lies in the extent to which they engage in this reflective process. *Hosanna* belongs properly to the pragmatic period of implementation, while *Jubilus* probes further into the area of reflective liturgical music theology than any other Irish periodical. Hints of this process are to be found in *Hosanna* but *Jubilus*, coming, as it did, at a stage when it was obvious that implementation in Ireland was not a reality at all in many parishes and, where it was, it was often misdirected and misunderstood, began a search for liturgical music criteria, which was at once reactionary and visionary.
Conclusion

If liturgical music implementation in Ireland has therefore reached a stage of necessary reflective liturgical theology, *Jubilus*, and, to a lesser extent, *Hosanna*, would seem to suggest four points of departure. These include an emphasis on inculturation and a re-examination of liturgical music and the notion of an Irish liturgical music repertoire, within both a Celtic Christian and a European Christian context. Central to this search is also the relationship between music and the word in liturgy and the integration of aesthetic philosophy and liturgical philosophy, towards a new inculturated liturgical music theology.

In *The Celtic Tradition in Worship* (*Hosanna*, Vol.3, No.4, 1978) Fr. Bonaventure OSB of Glenstal Abbey, contextualises Irish liturgy within its Celtic inheritance. Central to the Vatican directives is the notion of liturgical acculturation, of culturally-specific and culturally diverse Catholic liturgies. Fr. Bonaventure notes that this is not a new process in liturgical history. From the beginning of Christianity, the Church was confronted with the problem of '...how to strip Christianity of its Jewish dress and Hellenise it' (p.21, Vol. 3, No.4, 1978) and continued to address it, with the expansion of the church eastwards and the development of the Oriental rights. Within the new conciliar directives, Ireland is now challenged to integrate her own identity with her liturgical practice. One of the richest sources of this identity is rooted in her Celtic past. Bonaventure suggests that the absorption of this identity into liturgy is not merely a question of the adaptation of the external ornaments and images of Celticism, but rather of an internal absorption of Celtic spirituality, founded in a Celtic theology and given expression through a Celtic liturgy. In terms of music then, an understanding of the purpose and function of music in Celtic life and liturgy is of greater importance than a knowledge of the musical detail. 'In Celtic thought, music is associated with the portrayal of the transcendent' (p.26, Vol.3, No.4, 1978). If liturgical music does not fulfil this role; it cannot be said to draw on this inheritance, whatever its musical form. The encouragement in the Vatican directives towards genuine inculturation of music and liturgy, allows this inheritance to find a voice, for the first time, in modern Irish Catholic liturgy.
In a further article in *Jubilus*, Nóirín Ni Riain examines the inheritance of traditional religious song and the problems and possibilities of using this as a source of liturgical music. Noting that this is essentially a solo, unaccompanied art tradition, she suggests that any application to liturgy must be sensitive to the characteristics of this form and be familiar enough with the repertoire and its idiom to discern between those which are best sung by soloists and those which could be accessed for congregational use. This repertoire also forms a musical model which could be used towards the composition of new liturgical music, inspired by the idiom.

In the light of the new acculturating possibilities open to music, she notes the importance of creating a liturgy '... mediated by different kinds of music ... [C]ertainly the native Irish tradition of religious song with its integral singing style should be one of the musical possibilities.' (p.12, Vol.1, No.1, 1984). If an awareness of this inheritance is desirable, it must also be cautionary in its zeal:

Virtually all hymns in Irish which have appeared in hymnals to date, have been selected by editors seeking to create a hymnology in Irish. These editors were not in touch with the live tradition, for one reason or the other, and therefore they adopted the procedure of selecting items from the immense repertoire of religious poetry and setting them to tunes which, up to then, had no connection with religious texts. (p.9 Vol.1, No.1, 1984)

Some of these tunes were in fact written by the editors themselves. These include popular Irish language hymns described as 'traditional', including *Docas Linn Naom Padraic*, *Deus Meus* and *Faileire Romhat a Ri na n-Aingeal*. The process of inculturation is as complex as the culture it seeks to assimilate, and requires depths of sensitivity to that culture and the liturgy in which it searches expression.

Ireland's liturgical, musical heritage roots itself in a Celtic church, but this same church came to be increasingly contextualised by its Roman mother church and its broader cultural expressions: 'The history of the Roman liturgy is closely bound up with the developments of Western civilisation and culture' (p.4, *Jubilus*, Vol.1, No.1, 1984). The musical point of contact between the two cultural inheritances manifested itself most significantly through the
practice of Gregorian chant. As the strongest surviving legacy of both expressions, chant may be proposed as a voice which could link the modern Irish church with its past, and provide a basis for the development of a new Irish liturgical voice, integrating both inheritances. In a commentary on the vital service offered by the Irish church to chant in the past, Seán Lavery, editor of *Jubilus*, suggests this as a model for the continued search for an Irish voice in chant:

They should never forget that the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, where the chant flourished by the 9th century, was peopled by the missionary and exiled monks and scholars of Ireland. It was Columban and Gall, Moengall and Marcus, Eusebius and Tuotilo, among many others, who brought from Ireland to a Europe which was culturally devastated, the arts in every form - the arts which Ireland had preserved in tact and had developed through what has been called the Dark Ages. (p.114, *Jubilus*, Vol.1, No.4, 1984)

Central to this vision of chant, was an acknowledgement of the role played by Solesmes in the Modern Liturgical Movement. It is revealing of Lavery's commitment to both chant and Solesmes, that the bulk of his final edition of *Jubilus* is devoted to articles on both topics. Lavery himself contributes a short history of Solesmes and its role in the modern liturgical renewal and revival of chant, and Robert M. Fowells adds a brief account of the science, and limitations, of semiology (Vol.4, No.4, 1987). The edition also contains a transcript of the address given by the Lord Abbot of Solesmes at the International Symposium on Gregorian Chant in Washington D.C. in 1983. This address situates Gregorian chant at the centre of the church's concept of spirituality. Mankind sources his God-given inheritance of participation in divinity, through faith. Faith is cultivated and nourished through Holy Scripture, the teachings of the Church and the expression of both in liturgy. Liturgy reveals God's word by appealing to both the rational and the irrational in mankind: 'In addition to catechetical instruction of an intellectual type, the church has made a point of providing another catechism, of a lyrical nature, in order to embrace man in all his faculties, intellectual and sensitive'.(p. 541, Vol.4, No. 4, 1987). One example of this 'lyrical catechism', is the singing of chant, with its unique relationship with the word of God it seeks to express.
Earlier editions of *Jubilus* also contain two transcripts of addresses given by Dom Jean Claire OSB, choirmaster of Solesmes, who, quoting Dom Gajard, defines chant as the 'authentic and official commentary that the church gives its liturgical texts in the universal language of music' (p.168, *Jubilus*, Vol.2, No.1, 1985) and reiterates the prime function of chant as the illumination of the Word of God: 'The gregorian melodies in fact do not exist for themselves alone. They are at the exclusive service of the liturgical texts from which they have sprung within the official prayer of the church.' (p.190, *Jubilus*, Vol.2, No.2, 1985).

If part of the search for liturgical music definition included a re-sourcing of its musical inheritance, it also sought to re-define the relationship between music and its liturgical host. The recent Irish liturgical past often included hymns and music of popular worship which bore little relevance or relationship to the liturgy it proposed to serve. Fundamental to liturgical renewal, was the vital connection between music and the Word. Music was at the service of the Word of God and its primary function was to illuminate and underline its content. Liturgical music not directly connected to the Word, such as instrumental music, should also serve to nourish the atmosphere and context, in which the Word would be spoken. In an article on the language of worship, Gracia Grindal states that 'language is fundamental to our being human ... It is language which allows us to share as much meaning as we do' (p.287, *Jubilus*, Vol.2, No.4, 1985). The combination of the communicative powers of language and music, to produce song, is suggested by Mark P. Hederman OSB, to be a channel through which the Other in ourselves may be accessed:

> Genuine singing is the activity which embodies that centre in a way which carries us beyond ourselves to a dimension or a space which gives access to other sources of self, meaning and reality. (p.286, *Jubilus*, Vol.2, no.4, 1985)

In defining the function of music in liturgy, musicians looked to the liturgical theology which grew up around the new liturgical directives, for direction. But while liturgists contended with liturgical directives and context, concerning music, musicians also had to confront the musical tensions and realities created by the limitations of liturgy. Musicians drew heavily on
their contemporary aesthetic philosophies, to develop criteria for repertoire which was acceptable, both liturgically and musically. This movement, which, combined with an increased awareness of the contribution inculturation makes to both liturgy and music, contains the seeds of a genuine theology of liturgical music. These early efforts are documented in *Jubilus*, in a number of articles, seeking to define the relationship between music and liturgy. In an increasingly rational world, Rudolf Graber, Bishop of Regensburg, notes that liturgy must include 'that element of mystery by which every religion stands or falls' (p.96, Vol.1, No.3, 1984). Music can provide a voice which facilitates this condition. In an article on sacred music and contemplation, Dr. Richard J. Schuler again quotes Bishop Graber and belief in the necessity of art in liturgy, as a mediator to the divine: '... sacred art is a sensitive, prophetic anticipation of that glory which will one day outshine and overwhelm all art' (p.110, Vol.1, No.4, 1984). Music which does not facilitate this transcendance is not seen to be liturgically appropriate:

The humanism of our day has put so much emphasis on man's humanity, that it has neglected God's divinity. This reflects itself in the earthy music prevalent in our churches today. (p.117, Vol.1, No.4, 1984)

The difficulties in constructing a musical repertoire which allows for liturgical aspirations to transcendence, musical standards within a given practice, particular cultural demands and the pastoral directives of the council, are addressed in two articles by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger on the theological problems of church music and the implications for liturgy.

The challenges to the centrality of music to liturgy, are contextualised by the central tension between iconoclasm and art, which has informed much of the church music debate from the Carolingian age, through the Reformation and up to the present tensions of Vatican II liturgical reforms. Liturgical theology has always had to contend with, on the one hand, the pragmatism of functionally conceived liturgy and on the other, the notion of art as her own mistress, resistant to anything perceived as compromising her integrity. Those followers of the former camp have seized upon the council's directive of *participatio actuosa* as
permission to cultivate a liturgy in which the ideal includes uniform participation of all present, and a dominance of congregationalistic thinking. Congregational singing does not exist as an art but as an activity. Functional liturgy also tends to equate contemporay processes with relevance. Contemporary music, therefore, speaks to a contemporary congregation, in a way not available to 'historic' music:

...all previous Western culture was not regarded as belonging to the present and hence could not be part of contemporary practice, such as liturgy can and must be ... the contemporary world is viewed so completely in terms of the functional that the link with history is broken. (p.244, Jubilus, Vol.2, No.3, 1985)

Ratzinger uses present theological models of Eucharist to explain the conflict. The 'Eucharist as meal' paradigm, is rooted in the belief, that the transition from Old Testament worship to the new vision of Christ, was a transition from Temple, to worship of the commonplace. Functionalism also describes this as worship through the commonplace. Jesus' symbolic destruction of the Temple is taken as evidence that the new order is to be lived out in the 'real' world, not the artificial ritualism of Temple worship.

'Eucharist as feast' is a model which challenges this view. It notes the inclusion of song and ritual at the first Eucharist, as recorded in Mark's gospel (14:26) and the references and exhortations in the New Testament Epistles to the singing of psalmody, hymnody and chant. This model draws on Apocalyptic reference to temple, which includes singing and giving glory as expressions of Christian faith and claims that ' from the very beginning, Christian worship was the worship of God and clearly contrasted with the everyday and the commonplace. Indeed, from the very beginning, it was characterised by earnest efforts towards a new form of poetic and musical praise, and this from theological motives (p.247, Vol.2, No.3, 1985).

The church's ongoing effort to resolve this liturgical tension, exists in a Post-Vatican context. This context is characterised by an increased lack of certainty in traditional norms concerning
art, aesthetic values and concepts of culture. Liturgy and liturgical music finds itself at the
centre of this struggle. The challenge to liturgical music is the theological challenge of
mediating the temporal and the transcendent, in a culturally and spiritually meaningful way:

The Church's liturgy has a compelling mandate to reveal in resonant sound the
glorification of God which lies hidden in the cosmos. This, then, is the liturgy's
essence: to transpose the cosmos, to spiritualise it into the gesture of praise through
song and thus to redeem it: to 'humanise' the world. (p.249, Vol.2, no.3, 1985)

Ratzinger finishes his reflections with a reference to Mahatma Gandhi's concept of 'living
areas' and their corresponding ways of life. Sea creatures are silent. Earth creatures bellow,
bark and bray. Heavenly creatures sing. Mankind has access to all three but man, deprived of
transcendence can only bray:

True liturgy ... gives man once again his completeness ... Indeed, we could now
actually say that true liturgy can be recognised by the fact that it liberates from
everyday activity and restores to us both the depths and the heights: silence and
singing ... True liturgy sings with the angels, and true liturgy is silent with the
expectant depths of the universe. And thus true liturgy redeems the earth. (p.271,
Vol.2, No.4, 1985)

These reflections suggest that the tensions between art and prayer, between aesthetics and
pastoralism in Ireland are current and continuous. They also suggest, however, that the
answers emerging have three discernible roots: one, located in musical expression itself, a
second, in the commitment to its particular development in an Irish historical and cultural
context, and a final one in the search for a meaningful theological expression to reconcile or
at least accommodate both poles.
Chapter Five: Human and Musical Infrastructures of Liturgical Music in Ireland

Introduction
Any interpretation of the implementation process concerning conciliar and post-conciliar liturgical music reform must be amenable to multivalent perspectives. The manifestation of this process in Ireland has been examined in the previous chapter from one such perspective; that of written documentation, in the form of five journals and newsletters, portraying a spectrum of opinion and information concerning this process.

The following chapter explores this same process of implementation from two additional, related perspectives. These include, on the one hand, the living documentation provided by musicians, scholars, liturgists and worshippers involved in this musical, liturgical experience. This perspective is explored through an examination of the infrastructures developed for the facilitation of this experience, as well as commentary from experiential participants. The second perspective involves an examination of the musical compositions, resultant of this same implementation. In most cases, the musical composition is examined not through the lens of musical analysis but through the commentary provided by the composer or performers of the music. This commentary has been encouraged to include liturgical as well as musical reflection.

The criteria for data generation, collection and interpretation draws on the philosophical and methodological considerations presented in Chapter One. The central tool of data generation utilised in this chapter is the qualitative interview. The interview material presented is drawn from fieldwork carried out between 1995 and 1999. Interviewees were selected to provide a sample of liturgists, musicians, composers and liturgical participants from around Ireland. Institutions, organisations and individuals who have articulated a
liturgical or musical response to the current arena of liturgical practice in Ireland were selected.

A number of formal presentations related to the area of liturgical music in Ireland were also recorded and included in the sample. Opinions expressed in interviews or presentations are examined in tandem with audio and / or visual recordings of music or musical liturgies, as well as published manuscript sources.

The material presented does not pretend to offer a composite picture of liturgical music in Ireland. Many of the opinions voiced provide contradicting information and perspectives. The picture yielded up from this information collage is a fragmented and diverse one. A strong division between, for example, music which is liturgically aspirational or liturgically inspired, and the actual use of such music in liturgy in Ireland is suggested. It is this fragmentation which has resulted in the methodological decision not to include an ethnographic study of a particular liturgy or liturgies in Ireland, as much of what is being written, performed or talked about is not apparent in the living liturgical environment.

This collage of perspectives and material suggests a fragmentation of opinion and practice, of liturgical and non-liturgical music, of direction and theology. It provides a sample of trends, initiatives, ideologies and practices currently at work in this arena. Any attempt to formulate or suggest a liturgical music theology for Ireland would do well to be cognisant of the soil in which it attempts to sow its seeds.

Perspectives on Pre-Conciliar Liturgy and Music in Ireland
The vocabulary of pre-conciliar, conciliar and post-conciliar, posits a perspective of linearity and historicity. While liturgical music does not lend itself to easy, temporal
categorisation, contextual information on style, resources, attitudes and practice, from one period may assist in the understanding of another.

The liturgical music world of Ireland immediately preceding the conciliar reforms is, therefore, of contextual interest. In *Towards a History of Irish Spirituality*, Peter O’Dwyer notes that, with the death of Paul Cullen on October 24th, 1878, ‘... the Catholic church in Ireland had taken on the shape which it held up to the Second Vatican Council to a large degree’ (O’Dwyer, 1995). This shape included a strong devotional piety expressed through devotion to the Sacred Heart, perpetual adoration, novenas, the recitation of the rosary, Benediction and regular Sunday attendance at Mass. The role of singing in this devotional environment was the topic of an interview carried out with Seán Mac Réamoinn on October 26th, 1995. Mac Réamoinn worked throughout his life as a correspondent, journalist and reporter for Irish radio, television and print. Present at each session of the Second Vatican Council, he has expressed a life-long personal and professional commitment to liturgy.

Liturgical music played an important role in the expression of pre-conciliar devotional practice:

... every day, not every day but once a week and in many cases twice, was the evening service of Rosary and Benediction. At Benediction you had two verses of one of the, no, two verses each of two of the hymns attributed to St. Thomas; one, *O Salutaris*, and the other, *Tantum Ergo Sacramentum*, and then of course, you might hear a bit of chant, *Laudate Dominum*, the shortest of all the psalms, 150 now, these were usually sung by a lay choir but with no great enthusiasm. I mean, this was the only bit of chant they did, but then, there would be others setting up, the other thing, hymn-singing, was entirely dominated by Victorian tradition and the curse of Fr. Faber lay heavily on the land, and particularly in dreadful hymns to the Blessed Virgin. (Mac Réamoinn, 1995)

An examination of two publications, *The Choir Manual* and *The Redemptorist Hymn Book*, and one recording, *Faith of Our Fathers* would appear to confirm Mac Réamoinn’s summary description of the most common pre-conciliar musical practices in Irish parishes. Both the music publications were given to me by Mr. Derry Hassett, whose
music collection comprised a significant amount of the musical resources utilised in the parish church of St. Joseph’s in Glanmire, County Cork during this period. They may be seen as representative of parish-level musical resources and repertoire.

*The Choir Manual*, published by J. Fischer & Bro., New York, received the Diocesan Church Music Commission approval in 1914. It is representative of a number of compilation publications which included Masses, Vespers, Latin Hymns, Motets, Antiphons, Psalms, Canticles and English language hymns for parish use. In the organ accompaniment, all the Latin compositions are provide with four part harmonic suggestions. The Latin hymns in this publication include *Veni Creator Spiritus, Pange lingua, Adeste Fideles, Stabat Mater Dolorosa, O Salutaris*, and *Tantum Ergo*. English language hymns are given a similar four part treatment, with several harmonic arrangements provided by AE Tozer, R.R. Terry, Fr. Maher and H.G. Ganss. *Faith of Our Fathers* is noted as ‘A Catholic Hymn for the Twentieth Century’.

Much of the hymnody featured dates from the English Catholic Revival, following Catholic legal Emancipation in 1833. While Latin chant remained the primary sacred music of the Mass and most Catholic liturgy, vernacular hymnody found expression, chiefly through the service of Benediction, and as a vehicle of the evangelical mission of conversion, characterising this period of English Catholicism. The hymn *Faith of Our Fathers* composed by Faber was, itself, one of the central, galvanising hymns of this movement. Hymn tune composers included a number of Tractarian Anglican converts, such as Edward Caswall, Frederick William Faber and John Henry Newman. Other Catholic, Victorian composers, including H.F. Hemy and W.J. Maher, also contributed to this style of evangelical, congregational hymn tune, which formed the staple diet of the English speaking Catholic church into the 20th century. The *Westminster Hymn Book*, edited by Sir Richard Terry, following years of research into French and English psalmody, contains many of these Victorian hymn tunes. The eleventh edition of this hymn book was published in 1956, attesting to its continued popularity and use.
The 19th century Romanisation and urbanisation of the Irish Catholic church, brought it into increased contact with this hymn tradition, through the influence of men such as Newman and Cullen. This spirituality, which included novenas, perpetual adoration and Benediction, encouraged the use of vernacular hymnody and characterised much of Irish Catholicism until the Second Vatican Council. The Westminster Hymn Book become a primary source for Irish publications of hymn collections as can be seen in the Holy Ghost Hymnal (edited by Reverend Joseph Corless C.S.Sp. and published by the Holy Ghost Fathers, Blackrock College, County Dublin in 1954) and the Redemptorist Hymn Book (edited by Leo O’Hallaran C.SS.R), two of the most popular hymn books in Ireland prior to the Second Vatican Council and in the period immediately following it. The first edition of the Redemptorist Hymn Book was published in 1947, with a fifth edition published in 1963, after the Council’s commencement.

Fifteen of the seventeen non-Latin hymns included in Faith of Our Fathers are to be found in the Redemptorist Hymn Book. A brief survey of the English and Irish language hymn-tunes, as well as the Latin chants and hymns selected for this recording show them to be similar to those mentioned by Mac Réamoinn and found in hymnal publications of the period.

The Bells of the Angelus appears in the Redemptorist Hymn Book as The Lourdes Hymn. This version includes alternate verses sung at Lourdes, describing the events of St. Bernadette’s Marian vision. To Jesus Heart all Burning appears in The Westminster Hymnal as Dem Herzen Jesu singe. The original German text is attributed to Aloys Schlör (1805-52) and the English translation to A.J. Christie S.J. (1817-91). While this text has been adapted for use with a number of hymn tunes, the most frequently heard is that composed by W.J. Maher S.J., one of the most popular Victorian hymn tune composers. Maher’s tune appears in the Holy Ghost Hymnal and the Redemptorist Hymnal, and is featured on Faith of Our Fathers. O Sacrament Most Holy appears in the Redemptorist Hymn Book and is representative of the most common use of pre-conciliar vernacular hymnody: as a liturgical support to Benediction. With the exception
of Marian hymnody, much hymnody of this period took its inspiration from the two
Benediction office-hymns, *O Salutaris* and *Tantum Ergo*. *Ave Verum* is annotated in
*The Westminster Hymnal* as a mode vi chant, with the text attributed in a Richenau
manuscript of the 14th century to Pope Innocent. The *Pius X Hymnal* (1953) identifies this
Pope as Innocent VI, who died in 1362. The plainsong melody is identified by Terry as a
15th or 16th century composition. *Ave Verum* also appears in the *Holy Ghost Hymnal.*

*Jesus My Lord, my God, My All* is a composition of Frederick William Faber. Born on
June 28th, 1814, Faber came under the influence of John Henry Newman at Oxford and
became one of the ‘Tractarian’ converts to Catholicism and an Oratorian in the
Congregation of St. Philip. Faber’s composition is most popularly set to a traditional
melody (according to Terry), which *The Pius X Hymnal* identifies as English and dates
the source from 1852. As with many of the hymns in *The Westminster Hymnal*, Terry
provides an alternative setting of the text, for tunes, such as this which, he claims in the
musical editor’s preface, though ‘bound up with the pious associations of so many holy
lives … cannot be justified on musical or other artistic grounds’

*Salve Regina* is identified in the *Holy Ghost Hymnal* as the simple version of the chant
in mode v. *The Pius X Hymnal* notes that its use from first Vespers of the Feast of the
Blessed Trinity to None on Saturday before the first Sunday of Advent. It is attributed in
this collection to Humann Contractus (d.1054). *Tantum Ergo* is one of the most popular
Latin Benediction hymns. It appears in the *Holy Ghost Hymnal* as *Pangua Lingua* in the
Vatican edition. The text is attributed in *The Pius X Hymnal* to Thomas Aquinas
(d.1274). *Regina Coeli* is, according to *The Pius X Hymnal* an anonymous 14th century
composition in mode vi. The *Holy Ghost Hymnal* notes its use from Holy Saturday to
the Vigil of Trinity Sunday.

*Lord of All: Hopefulness* is a later composition, attributed in the *New Catholic Hymnal
(1971)* to Jan Struther (1901-53). The hymn tune is identified as traditional Irish and is
commonly used with the text *Be Thou My Vision. Sweet Heart of Jesus* appears in *The
Westminster Hymnal, the Holy Ghost Hymnal, and the Redemptorist Hymn Book. The Westminster Hymn Book attributes the text to Laurence Ampleforth. Céad Mile Fáilte appears in The Redemptorist Hymn Book. It is identified in the Veritas Hymnal (1973) as ‘traditional’ and is most likely an example of an editorial wedding of tune and text. Holy God, We Praise Thy Name, as English language version of the Te Deum appears in The Redemptorist Hymn Book and is attributed, in the Holy Ghost Hymnal to C.A. Walworth (1820-1900). The tune is ascribed to G.F. Bruce. The New Catholic Hymnal, however, identifies the melody as that of Grosser Gott, from the Katholisches Gesangbuch, Vienna, 1774. Soul of My Saviour is an English translation of Anima Christi. Anima Christi is identified as a 14th century composition in The Pius X Hymnal, and is attributed to Pope John XXII (1249-1334) in the New Catholic Hymnal. The translation appears to be anonymous. The setting of this English language version is by W.J. Maher (1832-77). Queen of the May was not composed as a hymn, but as a popular, secular song, made famous through the recordings of the Scottish singer, Fr. Sidney McEwan. The popularity of this recording resulted in the gradual use of the song as a Marian hymn. Hail Redeemer, King Divine appears in The Redemptorist Hymn Book. The New Catholic Hymnal attributes the text to Patrick Brennan C.S.S.R. (1877-1952) and the music to Charles Rigby (1901-62).

Faith of Our Fathers, for which the album is named, is one of the best know compositions of F.W. Faber and was the rallying hymn of the English Catholic evangelical movement in the 19th century. The tune is noted as ‘traditional’, with an alternate tune provided by Terry in The Westminster Hymnal. Hail Glorious Saint Patrick is another popular Faber composition, adapted to a traditional tune. The Westminster Hymnal identifies this tune as an ‘Old Irish Melody’, and attributes the hymn to ‘Sister Agnes’. We Stand For God is another popular, rallying evangelical hymn, which appears in the Redemptorist Hymn Book. I’ll Sing a Hymn to Mary is attributed in The Westminster Hymnal to Rev. Fr. Wyse, with the hymn tune noted as traditional. Again, Terry provides an alternate setting for the text. The Holy Ghost Hymnal, however, attributes the tune composition to H.F. Hemy (1818-88), a popular Victorian hymn.
composer, born in Newcastle of German parents. As well as composing, Hemy edited several collections of popular hymns. *Hail Queen of Heaven* was composed by John Lingard (1771-1851) and adapted to a traditional melody. Once again, Terry provides an alternative setting for Lingard’s text in *The Westminster Hymnal*. The *New Catholic Hymnal* notes the source of this melody as H.F. Hemy’s *Easy Hymn Tunes for Catholic Schools* (1851).

The popularity of English language hymns is indicative of the importance of popular devotions, especially Benediction. Concerning the celebration of the Eucharist, however, the division of Masses into High and Low Masses dictated the use and position of music:

... High Masses were in many, in most places, sung only when they had to be and the only time they really had to have them was Holy Thursday and then in the local cathedrals, they would have the blessing of the Holy Oils. They would have a fairly High Mass in many places, to be fair, on Easter Sunday, and perhaps on Holy Saturday, although they would get away with the minimum. It was minimalist, reductionist, and I am not being unfair when I say that with certain honourable exceptions, a lack of interest – I mean, all this was regarded as optional extras, so much bloody addition to the real thing and the real thing was to say Mass ... liturgical singing was regarded as a frill” (Mac Réamoinn, 1995).

While the employment of professional musicians was limited to cathedrals and large urban churches, Mac Réamoinn notes the employment of a significant number of Belgian musicians in Irish churches. Speaking of his own experience in Galway, he notes that:

... in the Pro-Cathedral in Galway, there was quite a decent choir, and there was a Belgian ... had the choir, he also had an assistantship in the college, a teaching assistant in the Department of French, made a few shillings out of that, but he was the choir master in the ProCathedral and plainchant and polyphonic music, but that was fine but that was very unusual, and there were a number of other cities where Belgians, - there was a tradition of importing Belgium organists and choirmasters. (Mac Réamoinn, 1995)
One such musician was Karl Seeldrayers. In an interview conducted at Seeldrayers home on March 30th, 1996, he made an immediate, emphatic clarification when asked where he came from:

From Belgium, but don’t call me a Belgium, you know, because I’m not. I’m anti-Belgium. The Flemish side, the North. (Seeldrayers, 1996)

Expelled from his position for playing the Flemish national anthem in a Belgian cathedral, Seeldrayers came to Westport in the 1930’s. As choir director, his first task was to disband the mixed choir and establish a liturgical choir of boys and men. From Westport, Seeldrayer went to work in Sligo Cathedral, moving to Carlow where he would remain until his death on October 23rd, 1996.

I came to Carlow, and in Carlow since 1941, working in the College, in the Seminary. Now the seminary in those days was different ... to what it is now. In those days we had two hundred seminarians. Two hundred. Sometimes we had to bring in extra chairs into the chapel there. And they had a tradition here in the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin ... whenever a priest died here, they had an office before Mass, and that office consisted of Matins and Lauds, followed by the Mass. And you should have heard that: it was cacophony. Never heard anything like that. And the Bishop knew that, you see, so he said, ‘during the priest retreat, you come in and do something about it’. Now, I talked to these priests, 60 or 70 priests there, and I talked to them about the Motu Proprio [Pius X, 1903]. They never heard of it! ... so where do you go from there? ... Now, in other words, what I am trying to say now is that it’s harsh but it is true; the clergy haven’t a notion. It’s not that they are all ill-willed, on the contrary, but they’re ignorant. (Seeldrayers, 1996)

Both Mac Réamoinn and Seeldrayers point to a liturgical practice which was largely indifferent to its musical expression, an indifference Seeldrayers notes in a lack of informed liturgical practice, and which Mac Réamoinn explains through a view of liturgy, focused on the ‘Word’ and an antipathy to ceremonial excess. Music was often viewed as a component of this ceremonial appendage. Widespread singing of chant was more a feature of the chant competitions, in which numerous school choirs participated, than of liturgical worship. Resource implications also played a role in hymn singing at Low
Masses becoming the normative form of Eucharistic liturgical worship. The influence of 19th century devotionalism also played a role in the development of vernacular hymn singing. Mac Réamoinn concludes with a cautionary note concerning a nostalgic view of pre-conciliar liturgical music:

... when people deplore the fact that the council has robbed us of our great tradition, of singing plainsong and polyphony, of throwing all that away, my comment would be yes and no. The tradition was there, but in Ireland, it was very minor and hardly existed at all. (Mac Réamoinn, 1995)

**Perspectives Concerning Conciliar Reform**

Two primary representatives for Ireland at the Second Vatican Council were Seán Mac Réamoinn and Austin Flannery O.P. Present at each session of the council, Flannery provided the first English language translation of conciliar documentation and has continued this work in his translations of post-conciliar documentation. His work with Dominican Publications, and particularly as editor of *Doctrine and Life*, was pivotal to the process of dissemination and implementation.

In an interview conducted on November 1st, 1995, Flannery noted a lack of any real readiness in Ireland for the liturgical reforms issued by the council. He gives two reasons for this. Firstly, with the exception of the Liturgical Congresses held at Glenstal Abbey since 1954, there was little or no concentrated scholarship or interest in liturgy in Ireland. The second reason suggested by Flannery involved the fear, on the part of much of the Irish hierarchy, that the reforms would threaten the existing piety and devotion of Irish Catholics:

I think the problem was that there were not enough key events. I think John Charles McQuaid, the first time he called a press conference, was when *Humanae Vitae* was ... like he had a terrible fear that this thing was going to change people in a bad way, like he said that, he reassured people that nothing would disturb the tranquility of their lives. (Flannery, 1995)
Mac Réamoinn’s comments reveal a similar tension in the hierarchy between loyalty to the Holy See, one the one hand, and a reluctance to embrace change, on the other:

... the then Archbishop of Armagh, the then Primate, William Cardinal Conway, who was by no means a raging progressive, but with a very strong sense of the realities of the situation, he realised that if the church was to stay even vaguely in step that we needed to pursue this, well because the other Primate ... the then Archbishop of Dublin, John Charles McQuaid was very much a go-slow man, his loyalty to the Holy See would, and to the church in general, would make it impossible for him to actually impede the new developments, the developments of the liturgy, but he believed in moving very, very slowly ... you got the impression generally that these were changes that had been ordered and that, therefore, they must be brought in. (Mac Réamoinn, 1995)

As for the reaction of the general worshipper, both Flannery and Mac Réamoinn note initial surprise, lack of preparation and passive acceptance:

Well, to the great majority, I suppose, it was something which just happened ... they generally felt that there were changes coming, but as to their rhyme or reason, of the changes, the thinking that went into them, the whole philosophy, and in so much as it was a response to the times, this passed, I would say, the great majority by. (Mac Réamoinn, 1995)

Flannery’s analysis of the immediate impact on liturgical music is less than positive:

... there was certainly a certain amount of dropping of existing choirs, and, you know, there were quite some good groups and quite good choir-masters, many of them from Belgium and France living in Ireland ... plainchant was fairly much confined to places like Glenstal, but there was a lot of Latin singing, polyphonic singing that went quite rapidly out of existence and the people will say that we were, we went too quickly in dropping the Latin, that we could have easily learned to combine the English of the liturgy with Latin motets and that, but I think that at a deeper level too, there was an overall failure to grasp the importance, in a positive way, of the changes brought in by the Vatican and I am afraid that the Archbishop of Dublin at that time had a major influence because he was clearly unsympathetic to the changes ... and I think that liturgical music
suffered a good deal as a result and like we got a lot of not very good English hymns ... there were some very good people but I think if the transition had been handled differently, we would have ended up in a better situation. (Flannery, 1995)

Post-Conciliar Liturgy, Music and Infrastructure
Prepared or not, the infrastructure called for by the directives of Sacrosanctum Concilium came into almost immediate effect in Ireland. Article 44 of The Constitution on Sacred Liturgy states that:

It is desirable that the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority mentioned in article 22:2 set up a liturgical commission to be assisted by experts in liturgical science, sacred music, art and pastoral practice. As far as possible, the commission should be aided by some kind of Institute for Pastoral Liturgy, consisting of people who are eminent in these matters, not excluding laymen, if circumstances so demand. It will be the task to the commission ... to regulate pastoral liturgical action throughout the territory, and to promote studies and necessary experiments whenever there is a question of adaptations to be proposed to the Holy See. (Art. 44 from Flannery, p.15, 1975)

In line with these directives, the Irish Episcopal Commission for Liturgy was created in 1963. The Commission appointed five advisory committees; in sacred music, art and architecture, pastoral liturgy, catechetics and translations. In an effort to co-ordinate all these activities, a National Secretariat for Liturgy was established in 1973 and the Irish Commission for Liturgy, in September, 1975. The first appointed secretary to the secretariat, Seán Swayne, was to play one of the most influential roles in these formative years of liturgical development.

Swayne, a priest of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, immediately grasped the importance of informed worshippers to the process of liturgical reform. In 1968, Swayne edited a small diocesan bulletin for the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin called Liturgy (after the third issue, the title was changed to New Liturgy). It was the first publication of its kind in Ireland to place liturgical reform at the centre of its agenda.
In 1972, in line with Council directives to accompany the liturgical commission with an institute for learning and education, a Liturgy Institute was founded under Swayne's direction. Initially, this institute offered day programmes, workshops and information sessions concerning liturgical reform. As Patrick Jones recounts, however, in an interview on March 30th, 1996, this was only the beginning of Swayne's aspirations for liturgy in Ireland:

Well, it all goes back to May 1973, Seán Swayne was appointed National Secretary for the Liturgy ... he was given a very wide brief in that he was to work for liturgical renewal, and I think he saw that as an opportunity to put a vision that he had, not just, if [he] ever had the opportunity, of an office, that it wouldn't remain that way, that it would be a centre. (Jones, 1996)

The essential role of music in liturgy was a tenet central to Swayne's liturgical perspective. Liturgical music was experiencing the development of its own infrastructures with, for example, the founding of the Irish Church Music Association by the hierarchy's advisory group, the Church Music Panel in 1969. The association hosted its first summer school in Maynooth from July 13th-17th, 1970, an event which was to become a primary meeting point for Irish liturgical musicians. The same year, the Church music panel guided the establishment of the Schola Cantorum at St. Finian's College, Mullingar, with Frank McNamara as director. The initiative provided scholarships, which allowed those who qualified to access free tuition and board at St. Finian's, as well as attendance at a special music programme.

In 1974, New Liturgy, the diocesan bulletin of Kildare and Leighlin, became the bulletin of the National Secretariat, Irish Episcopal Commission for Liturgy. Swayne's vision for liturgy and liturgical music now came into fruition with the formation of the Irish Institute for Pastoral Liturgy in 1973. Central to the development of liturgical music at the centre, was Margaret Daly. In an interview with Daly on July 25th, 1997, she recounted her own early musical journey and her pivotal contact with Swayne and the Liturgy Centre.
Daly came to Ireland from New Zealand at the age of 16 to begin a novitiate in Dublin. After a year at Mater Dei Institute, she started a B.A. / B. Mus programme at University College, Dublin. Three years into the programme, she decided to withdraw from the novitiate and, on the advice of the mother house, returned to New Zealand. With the assistance of the professor of music at U.C.D., Anthony Hughes, Daly returned to Ireland and completed her degree.

During this period of study, Daly had also received organ tutorials from Gerard Gillen and took part in the first summer schools of the Irish Church Music Association as an organ tutor. At one such summer school in Galway, she met Swayne. Thus began the beginning of a crucial musical liturgy partnership:

I met him at a church music summer school in Galway, and he came, out of the blue a few months after that he rang me, and he hardly knew me and ... he told me anyway that he was thinking of setting up a Liturgy Institute ... and he knew that I was just graduating in music and that I had this interest in church music, I suppose I had a bit of a feeling for liturgy too, because of having done it in Mater Dei ... and I also had been organist in Dominic Street and Austin Flannery was the prior there ... and he kind of gave me my head which was rare in the seventies, and he also got a little Kenneth John’s organ for me there .... but Sean, anyway, said, look I’m starting this Institute and there are going to be people coming to live together for a year and do a year’s course, and I’m wondering if you could see yourself making some contribution at the musical level to it, you know, and he envisaged maybe coming down a few times a year to do something ... so yeah, I said to him, well, would lay people be able to do that course, and he said Oh yes, I’d be delighted, so we worked out an arrangement that I would, instead of paying tuition for the course, I would do what I could as a sort of apprentice musician ... when the end of the year was drawing near, Sean had come to see that they couldn’t envisage the Liturgy Institute without a music person there on the spot, and so they created a post of music director. (Daly, 1997)

Daly remained in this position until 1980, when she entered the Cistercian community at Glencairn, Waterford.
The Irish Institute for Pastoral Liturgy opened its doors in September, 1973 at Mount St. Anne’s, Portarlington. By 1978, the centre’s development called for a more permanent and independent location. On June 30th, the centre reopened in an independent wing of Carlow College, under the patronage of the bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

The importance of the institute to the development of liturgy in Ireland after the Council, cannot be overestimated. Within its first ten years, at the height of its success, over 200 students from 18 different countries had completed the one-year, residential programme. Swayne’s vision for the programme as residential allowed the liturgical experience to be, not just a learned one, but a lived one. The student and staff body formed a prayer community, celebrating Morning Prayer, Mid-day Eucharist and Evening prayer together. Hospitality was also a central tenet of the centre and no guest was turned away unassisted.

During a commemorative presentation, marking the life and work of Seán Swayne, on May 39th, 1997, Margaret Daly spoke about his mission as a liturgist and about his contribution to music:

... if ever there was a man of the Council, it was Seán. And reading the Liturgy constitution was reading the blueprint. The blueprint for the church’s renewal of the liturgy, and in fact, the blueprint and the programme to Seán’s own career and life. He took to heart the Council’s assessment, that any attempt to renew the liturgy would be futile, if the whole church, those in training for ministry, and pastors in the field, the faithful, did not become ‘fully imbued with the spirit and power of liturgy’ (Art. 14). For this, an Institute specialising in liturgy would be needed ... [the] Institute included, I would say, several important basics; that the Institute staff and students would form a worshipping community; that the Eucharist and the prayer of the church would be worthily celebrated there, and to that end, the Institute would have a professional music director ... Seán was of course convinced that the experience of good liturgical celebration was not a luxury for a liturgical elite, but something to be shared. This conviction was the energising force behind his legendary hospitality. (Daly, 1997)

Daly also attests to his commitment to music as integral to liturgy, evidenced in his willingness to allocate scarce financial resources to the publication and recording of
music at the Institute. His musical view was one of mediation between the retention of pre-conciliar music and the exploration of new liturgical music voices:

While Seán appreciated Gregorian chant and polyphony as a heritage held in trust, which should be integrated into a new format on liturgical celebration ... when it came to music, the new wine of the renewed liturgy needed new wineskins. While studying in Paris, he had come to know Lucien Deiss personally ... Seán invited Lucien Deiss to conduct the first Carlow seminar in 1972. It’s difficult for us to appreciate how fresh, new and challenging Deiss’ music seemed at the time. I remember Seán recalling once with a certain amusement a long session he had with the organist at Carlow Cathedral, Karl Seeldrayer, in the wake of Lucien Deiss’ visit ... with Seán trying desperately to elicit from a died in the wool chant and polyphony man, some admission of sufficient musical merit to allow a piece such as ‘All the Earth Proclaim the Lord’ to enter the cathedral choir’s repertoire. (Daly, 1997)

The contribution of the Liturgy Commission and the Music Panel, acting in an advisory capacity to the promotion of music in liturgy took the form of a number of initiatives, central to these was an impetus towards the facilitation of hymnal publication and new mass settings. This contribution involved both the direct commissioning of new music and publication, as well as promoting and informing these activities among music publishers and composers.

The Publication of Hymnals

In a review of the liturgical renewal in Ireland from 1963-83 for New Liturgy, Swayne notes the publication of The College Hymnal, edited by Father Séamus O’Byrne of St. Peter’s College, Wexford, as possibly the first hymnal of its kind to appear in postconciliar Ireland. The hymnal contained plain chant commons, a collection of Latin hymns, 12 hymns in Irish and 26 in English (New Liturgy, Nos. 40-41, 1983-84).

The first hymnal published by the Church Music Panel of the Liturgy Commission was the New Liturgy Hymn Book, published in 1966. The hymnal contained 40 hymns in English and Irish, as well as the English and Irish texts for the new order of the Mass, which was officially approved for use as of the first Sunday of Advent, 1966. This
practice of including the revised liturgical texts in hymnals can also be seen in early editions of American hymnals, such as *Our Parish Prays and Sings* (first edition, 1959) and *Book of Sacred Song* (1979), both early editions of *The Collegeville Hymnal* (1990) from The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota.

The first major hymnal to be produced in Ireland was *The Veritas Hymnal*, published in 1973. Edited by Jerry Threadgold, with the collaboration of the Church Music Panel and the Irish Church Music Association, this was the first attempt to produce a national hymnal. In his preface to the hymnal, Cardinal Conway noted that:

> It is the hope of the editor that a worthwhile programme of hymns will be established throughout the country as a result of the widespread use of this hymnal. (Conway, 1973)

The hymnal contains 143 hymns in English and Irish. Jerry Threadgold, the editor of the hymnal, spoke of his own liturgical music journey, leading up to the publication of the hymnal, in an interview conducted on January 26th, 1998. Threadgold studied organ as part of his seminary training and, after ordination, was sent to Rome to study music in the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music for four years. Threadgold spend from 1962-66 in Rome, studying for his Masters degree and, therefore, was present for the years of the council. His recount of this period illustrates something of the musical, liturgical tension of the conciliar reforms:

> ...[those] were the years when, if you like, all the great traditions of music of the Church were kind of, ha, up for grabs, and it seemed at the time, on the one hand, liturgically speaking, it was great, all the changes, musically speaking, it was dreadful ... where I studied music, they thought it was a disaster, where I studied liturgy they thought it was brilliant. (Threadgold, 1998)

On his return from Rome, Threadgold was appointed curate to a Dublin parish for four years. This provided first hand experience of the realities of implementing change at
parish level in Ireland. Following this, he was appointed to the Seminary at Clonliffe College and as a lecturer at Mater Dei Training College.

Threadgold was one of the initial members of the National Commission for Sacred Music, chaired by Anthony Hughes. Gerard Gillen was involved from the early stages. Threadgold was then appointed Director of Music for the Dublin Diocese. His description of the early moments of implementation, also reflect the tension between musicians and liturgists:

The first years, you might almost call them crisis years, because we seemed to have given up all the great classics, and what we had in its place were basically what's now called 'Faith of Our Father' hymns ... we also, if you like, took a lot of the traditional classical Protestant hymns as well. And then the down side of it, you know, awful things like 'Michael, Row the Boat Ashore' and all that kind of stuff got in ... the liturgists became impatient with the musicians, and as a result, they kind of called the shots on the music at that stage ... I think the church went through a very impoverished period at that time. (Threadgold, 1998)

Threadgold's knowledge of the demands and tensions of liturgical music reform, as well as the realities of parish experience, made him an obvious source of expertise and experience, to which the Commission for Sacred Music and the Irish Church Music Association turned, to direct the compilation of a national hymnal. Threadgold recalls his work on this project:

I spent, I suppose, a couple of years researching that too, and based on what was going from the known to the unknown, and again, knowing from, if you like, the 'Faith of Our Fathers' thing, you know, through the Protestant repertoire to the best of what was available from contemporary sources, and I put a lot of thought into the Irish section of it, both with Gaelic words or with ... just Gaelic music and English words. And I think that was probably the strongest part of The Veritas Hymnal, that's what made it different to any other hymnal ...like all the work that was done at that time, it was done with a huge amount of good will and very, very meager resources ...[accompaniments] had to be done by hand ...one thing in the Veritas too, is that we transposed hymns, a lot of the classical Protestant hymns were at least a tone or two tones [too high] for modern Catholic congregations ...[arrangements and accompaniments] would have meant either taking up the
phone or getting into the car and going down to Gerard Gillen and sort of, a very busy man, beg him, would you please do this, please have it ready for next Thursday ...everything was done on a shoestring, everything that was done was done by good will with the absolute minimum of money, but I don’t think if we’d had a lot of money, I don’t think it would have been any better ... good will is an enthusiastic support. (Threadgold, 1998)

In her work concerning the music of traditional religious song in Ireland, Nóirín Ní Riain notes that, in the creation of an Irish hymnology, most hymnal editors to date have selected texts from the vast body of Irish religious poetry and either set them to existing secular tunes, or composed new tunes. One such example includes the hymn ‘Deus Meus, Adiuva Me’. While the poetic text was written in the 11th century by Maolíosa Ó Brolcháin, the melody was newly composed by Seán Óg Ó Tuama. That such a hymn appears in The Veritas Hymnal, annotated as ‘tráidisiúnta’ is, therefore, misleading. Ní Riain concludes that it is not in the presentation of an authentic religious song tradition, that hymnals such as The Veritas Hymnal have contributed, but in providing models for new composition:

Newly composed hymns figure prominently in the forty or so Irish hymns in this collection and it has been in presenting these newly composed hymns that The Veritas Hymnal has made its greatest contribution to the Irish language hymn singing. (Ní Riain, 1980)

The second major hymnal publication in Ireland, again, published by Veritas Publications, was Alleluia! Amen!, edited by Margaret Daly. Alleluia! Amen! was published in 1978, five years after The Veritas Hymnal and a comparison of the two editions provides an indication of the changing attitude to liturgical music during this period. It is significant that Alleluia! Amen! identifies itself, in its subtitle as ‘Music for the Liturgy’, and not as a hymnal. The title of the collection refers to two of the primary musical acclamations of the liturgy; the ‘Alleluia’ and ‘Amen’ acclamations. Both these points indicate a shift in emphasis away from hymn singing as the primary musical
expression of liturgy, to a reemphasis on the singing of the liturgy itself, as opposed to singing, which surrounded the liturgy, but was not essential to its celebration.

The table of contents of both publications also illustrates this change of emphasis. *The Veritas Hymnal* divides its material into hymns for the presentation of gifts, communion, recessional and entrance. These divisions mirror the Pre-Vatican practice of singing four hymns with a Low Mass; one at the beginning, one at the end, and one at the Offertory and Communion.

Conversely, *Alleluia! Amen!*, begins with three full settings of music for the Eucharist. These settings include music for the Penitential Rite, the *Gloria*, the Gospel Acclamation and Proclamation, Dialogue before the Preface, the *Sanctus*, Memorial Acclamation, Amen, the Lord’s Prayer, Doxology, *Agnus Dei*, and the Concluding Rite. This music is followed by settings of 31 psalms and canticles, 54 hymns and biblical songs, and, finally, music for the prayer of the church. It is clear that, within this collection, hymns are viewed as only one component of the church’s liturgical music, with a reclamation of, for example, the psalms as the primary song – prayer of the church’s worship.

A supplement to *Alleluia! Amen!* was published by the Irish Institute of Pastoral Liturgy in 1980, and an accompaniment edition by Veritas Publications in 1983. Gerard Gillen and Seoirse Bodley both contributed to the Music for the Eucharist. The accompaniments were frequently presented in two optional ranges, ‘medium’ and ‘low’.

A third important contribution to Post-Vatican hymnal publication involves the work of Paul Kenny as general editor of *Hosanna!* Published by Columba Press, *Hosanna!* describes itself as ‘A National Liturgical Songbook for Ireland’, indicating both its desire to contribute to the creation of a national repertoire, as well as its movement away from titling itself as a hymnal.
Paul Kenny spoke of his own musical and liturgical journey in an interview at Mater Dei College on January 26th, 1998:

I probably would have started when I went to the Seminary and, seriously, with church music, it would have been with Jerry Threadgold, Jerry Threadgold was our professor in college, so it was a long relationship there ... we would have had 96 students in the house, we would have had 35-40 in the choir, so it was great, it was an introduction to some of the classical polyphony as well, you know, Masses by Palestrina, Victoria, some of the Classical motets ... Mozart, Bach, up then through the contemporary stuff, up to Negro Spirituals, and then the whole liturgical development, people like Alexander Peloquin, which was, you know, very adventurous I suppose in Ireland for that stage (Kenny, 1998).

Kenny’s work with the Irish Church Music Association, from his initial contact in 1977, as a seminarian, to his official involvement since 1981, as well as extensive parish and teaching experience, were all brought to bear on his work as editor of Hosanna! Published in fiche form, its content represents both contemporary Irish composers of liturgical music, as well as other English language contributions from North America and the United Kingdom. Irish contributions include work from Pat Aherne, Shane Brennan (St. Finnian’s College, Mullingar), Margaret Daly, Tom Egan, Ite O’Donovan, Fintan O’Carroll, Máire Ní Dhuibhír, and Tomás Ó Canainn. The selection contains a high proportion of music from GIA, Oregon Catholic Press (OCP) and North American Liturgy Resources (NALR). These three publishers form the backbone of much North American liturgical music publication and distribution, representing composers such as Michael Joncas, David Haas and Marty Haughen. Contributions from the United Kingdom include music from Paul Inwood and Christopher Walker.

Hosanna! represents a growing recognition among hymnal editors, concerning the importance of fully referenced and annotated selections. Issues of copyright have contributed to this trend, as well as a greater level of liturgical music scholarship. Primary hymnals, such as The Collegeville Hymnal, produced by Liturgical Press in 1990, or the GIA hymnals, such as the Worship or Gather series, include comprehensive indices, listing scriptural sources, an index of psalms, a liturgical index, a topical index, an index
of composers, authors and sources with full dates of composition and initial publication, a metrical index, tune index and index of first lines and common titles. A hymnal containing this level of liturgically and musically informed scholarship has yet to be produced in Ireland.

Finally, a brief word needs to be said about the most recent ‘Irish hymnal’, *In Caelo: Songs for a Pilgrim People*. Edited by Liam Lawton and published by *Veritas* (1999), this is a hymn-book in the tradition of the earlier *Veritas Hymnal*, in that it provides a compilation of songs or hymns, without the inclusion of Mass settings, acclamations, psalmody or other liturgical music compositions. It also reverts back to a less detailed set of indices, limiting itself to a liturgical index which provides topical divisions for the music included. In this sense, it is not a scholarly edition, in the way that recent North American hymnal publications such as *The Collegeville Hymnal* (Liturgical Press, 1990).

In terms of repertoire, it does represent an interesting compilation of the musical trends of the past decades in Ireland. The first wave of Irish and Irish language composition is represented in the early contributions of Thomas Egan, Máire Ní Dhuibhir, Seán Ó Riada, Pat Aherne, Seán Óg Ó Tuama, Tomás Ó Canainn, Fintan O’Carroll, and Íte O’Donovan. The second wave of North American influenced music is perhaps represented in the high proportion of music in the hymnal copyrighted to GIA Publications (approximately 30 of the 150 pieces). Finally, a number of the more recent Irish liturgical music composers such as John McCann and Ronan McDonagh are also represented.

It is difficult to assess the full impact of these publications, particularly in terms of their express goal of contributing to the creation of a national hymnody. A number of factors contribute to this difficulty. Firstly, a number of the publications do not confine themselves to compiling hymns, but include liturgical music integral to the liturgical celebration of Eucharist and the Prayers of the Hours. To this extent, it is difficult to assess them as hymnals. It also begs the question as to whether a hymnal is a valid foundation for a national repertory of liturgical music. Given that contemporary liturgical
reform notes the importance of music which is integral to the liturgy, and not ‘added in’; of music open to improvisation and flexible use; of music drawn from oral as well as written traditions, one wonders whether the concept of a ‘hymnal’ is visionary or imaginative enough to house a significant development in liturgical music. This question is of particular importance to Ireland, where hymn singing is a relatively recent tradition and where much of the tradition of song is rooted in an oral practice with a very different musical aesthetic. The lack of an established tradition of hymnody in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and the growing recognition of a religious song tradition, which is not liturgical and, to date, not integrated into Irish liturgical music practice, provides a challenge to any attempt to inculturate liturgical music and to any discussion concerning a national liturgical repertoire.

**Mass Settings**

The reclamation of the Ordinary of the Mass as the music of the assembly, the recognition that much of the Ordinary, as well as the acclamations of the Mass were properly sung, not spoken, by the assembly, and the swift transition to the vernacular, all occasioned the need for new vernacular settings of the Mass.

One of the first projects of the Liturgy Commission Music Panel, involved the commissioning of four simple, congregational Masses which would serve these changes. Threadgold recalls the commissions:

Another of the great projects undertaken by the National Commission was to prepare, to have composed, three or four simple congregational Masses ... and I looked after the printing and publication of them, and I would say it was a most successful project because those Masses are still sung all over the country. (Threadgold, 1998)
The new liturgy, however, implied a radically new approach to the setting of a Mass. Traditional Mass settings of the Ordinary were not composed with a singing congregation in mind, but to be sung by a musically informed choir. Nor did these settings traditionally include anything other than the Ordinary, leaving acclamations unsung or chanted. The new settings were to be music for the assembly, and, therefore, included parts of the Eucharist celebration, not traditionally included, and excluded aspects of the ordinary, such as the Credo, which was now regarded as more properly recited.

Margaret Daly’s account of the process of liturgical re-education, necessary for composers of liturgical music, highlights the importance of liturgical awareness and formation for composers of liturgical music:

When I started at the Institute, I was invited to become a member of the Advisory Committee on Church Music to the bishops ... and Anthony Hughes was the chairman. Now, it was that committee which said, we need more music, and we need to establish a kind of national repertoire, so they commissioned T.C. Kelly, Fintan O’Carroll, Seoirse Bodley and Gerard Victory to write a Mass ... there was a brief being prepared for these composers ... and I was kind of horrified when I saw the brief, because you see I had learned from Seán about the new, a new understanding of the structure, and these people in the committee didn’t know anything about it, I mean, they were good musicians, but no particular specialisation in liturgy ... and I remember sitting down joined by Anthony Hughes and saying to him, look, you can’t just give a Sanctus, you’ve got to give a Memorial Acclamation ... and not only that, but they must be written in such a way that they bring out the fact that this is all one prayer ... so, I remember Anthony Hughes saying to me that you should go and see Seoirse Bodley yourself and speak to him ... and you know, I think he was a bit annoyed, rightly so, because he hadn’t been properly briefed, but in the end he came up with the goods, I mean his Mass was extraordinary, you know, and it has stood the test of time, and you do get that sense of the unity of the Eucharistic Prayer ... Fintan O’Carroll got it as well ... and really, those Masses kind of laid down the parameters. (Daly, 1997)

Jerry Threadgold also commented on the popularity of the Bodley Mass:

...the reason why it has lasted is because it has good meat in it, even though it’s very, very simple, and Bodley is an expert in Irish Music, and he wrote that, if you like, according to all the principles of Irish folk music, and it has really lived a long and successful life. (Threadgold, 1998)
Bodley's *Mass of Peace* was published by the Irish Commission for Liturgy (Music Panel) in 1976. His *Mass of Joy in Honour of St. John of God* was commissioned for the first centenary of the Irish Province Hospitaller Order of St. John of God in 1979 by Veritas publications. The *Mass of Glory / Aifreann na Glóire* was also published by Veritas in 1982. *A Concert Mass* was commissioned by the Gorey Festival through the Arts Council in 1984 and is available through the Contemporary Music Centre, Ireland.


T.C. Kelly’s Mass, *A Mass for Peace* was published in 1978. Other Mass settings include *A Mass in Gregorian Style* (1973 / 75), *Mass of St. Brigid* and *Mass in Honour of Our Lady of Loreto*. Much of this music and Kelly’s numerous arrangements were published through the Irish Church Music Association’s Choral Library. His best remembered contribution, however, is not a Mass Setting but *A Secret Garden*, winner of the National Hymn for Knock in 1982 by Kelly and Michael Hodgetts.

Gerard Victory’s *Mass of the Resurrection* (1977) was the most musically complex of the four commissioned works and has had the least congregational success. Complexity, however, is not always a criteria for congregational rejection. John O’Keeffe, lecturer and director of sacred music at the Pontifical College, Maynooth, noted, in a interview on January 22nd, 1995, in regard to the melodic complexities of the Ó Riada Mass Settings:

> In any of the pieces that congregations have taken to, you’ve seen that it has nothing to do with simplicity – well, take the Irish repertoire itself – the only ‘Our Father’ that has established itself in the country is the ‘Ar nAthair’, which is an
octave and a fourth, that’s the biggest range you are going to get ... same range as ...

... ‘Ag Criost an siol’ ... those hymns that really grab people because of their beauty ... Pius X was speaking about this: people must sing under beauty ... we are inclined to sell congregations short. (O’Keefe, 1995)

Seán Ó Riada’s Ceol an Aifrinn, published in 1971, remains one of the most widely sung Mass settings in Ireland since the Council. His Aifreann 2 was published by Gael-Linn in 1979. Threadgold notes that the third Mass,

... is a choral Mass which was commissioned by RTE actually for the death of a President, it was actually commissioned by RTE to have it ready so that when President De Valera departed, it could be sung. It was a beautiful Mass, it was never published, it’s still in the library in RTE. (Threadgold, 1998)

Threadgold concludes that:

... the first generation of Irish composers were very generous with their talents, as far as the liturgy was concerned’ (Threadgold, 1998).

Other Mass settings listed by the liturgy Commission include settings by Pat Aherne, Ian Callanan, John Gibson, Feargal King, Liam Lawton, Mary McAuliffe, Ronan McDonagh, Daniel Mcnulty, John C. Murphy, Colmcille Ní Chonáin, Peadar Ó Riada and Seán Óg Ó Tuama. In addition, the Contemporary Music Association includes Mass settings by Elaine Agnew, Frank Corcoran, Philip Edmondson, Aloys Fleischmann, Colin Mawby, Michael McGlynn, Martin O’Leary, Eric Sweeney and James Wilson. Several of these compositions, however, have received little or no liturgical exposure.

The Bodley Mass of Peace and the first Ó Riada Mass setting remain two of the most popular Mass settings to emerge in Irish liturgical music composition. Both, however, are so liturgically and musically different as to contribute little to a discussion of emerging style. The Bodley Mass is an English language composition, which includes a setting of the Lord, Have Mercy; Gloria; Gospel Acclamation; Holy, Holy; Eucharistic Acclamation; Great Amen; Our Father and Lamb of God. The setting is clearly
congregational and, as Margaret Daly remarked in her interview, cognisant of the liturgical music appropriate to the congregation in its setting of the Ordinary (but not the Creed) and the congregational acclamations. The music is also designed to be sung with the chants of the Mass published in the Roman Missal. The introductory comments note the use of the same music for the settings of the Alleluia and the Great Amen, noting these as 'points of especial importance in the liturgical structure of the Mass' (Introductory Comments of Irish Commission for Liturgy publication, 1976). The English language text is based on the ICEL translation of 1973-74. The settings are simple and diatonic with the most common tonal centre gravitating around F and a characteristic final cadence ending on the dominant. Musically, the Gloria, Alleluia, Holy, Holy, Eucharistic Acclamation and the Great Amen are all based on a motif consisting of a step-wise pattern moving up from the tonic, descending again to the tonic and resting on the dominant. It is of interest to note that it is these settings which have remained most consistently with less use made of the settings of the Our Father and the Lamb of God.

Part of this might also be accounted for by the popularity of both these settings in the Ó Riada Mass. Ó Riada's setting involves an Irish language text, setting an opening hymn (Is beannaithe Tigh Dé, Kyrie Eleison, An Ghlóir), an Offertory hymn (Ag Críost an siol), a setting of the Eucharistic Preface, Sanctus, Ar nAthair, Agnus Dei, a series of Eucharistic and Post-Eucharistic hymns and prayers (Gile mo chroi, Réir Dé go ndeineam, Bí a Íosa) and a Recessional hymn (A Rí an Domhnaigh)

The inclusion of settings for the Presider illustrates a knowledge of their importance, but in many ways, the setting is reminiscent of the pre-conciliar settings of hymns and the Ordinary (again, without the Creed), with no reference to the other congregational acclamations. The exclusion of the Creed in both cases would seem to indicate a response to the growing consensus that the Creed was more properly recited than sung by the congregation.
As already noted by John O'Keefe, the extraordinary feature of this setting is the challenging range and melodic complexity of its settings. The Ar nAthair, for example, may be said to consist of ten, different melodic clusters of unequal length and little repetition, with the exception of one repeated movement around the tonic (one tone above and one below) and the octave and fifth leaps, and a range of an octave and a fourth. This may be contrasted with the Bodley Mass, where for example, the setting of the Holy, Holy involves a single octave range, from dominant to dominant, and a three phrase structure, consisting of A (the common motif mentioned above) B, B1. Both settings tend towards modality and a pull away from the tonic to the dominant. This tonality may be the closest point of similarity between the two and indicative of an attempt to emulate a traditional style of melodic composition. Interestingly, this is contrasted in both cases by the inclusion of a harmonic accompaniment.

Contrasting these congregational settings with, for example Elaine Agnew’s Missa Brevis (1991) illustrates the diverse and problematic world of Mass settings. Agnew’s composition includes a setting of the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. These is no indication in this setting that the composition has any liturgical intent. In its setting of three aspects of the ordinary for SATB choir, it clearly does not envisage congregational participation. The score from the Contemporary Music Centre indicates that its first ‘performance’ was given by the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama Chamber Choir in Glasgow (May, 1991), noting the use of a specialist ensemble in what would appear to be a secular, performance context. A brief analysis of the Agnus Dei, for example, affirms the need for specialist musical forces. The setting makes use of chromatic tone clusters, such as the repeated cluster on each of the ‘miserere’ settings (Ab, Eb, Db, C, G, F) or the first two ‘pecata’ clusters (Eb, Bb, C#, F#, B, F). The rhythm is free and irregular and dynamics are used regularly and dramatically. As a choral setting, its vocal ranges are not demanding.

It is interesting to note that one of Ireland’s preeminent young composers would choose to compose a Mass setting, without any explicit liturgical intent. If liturgical intent
existed, then it is uninformed. It would appear that the Mass form, or aspects of its Ordinary, has a musical draw for a number of composers, who are equally unmoved or uninterested in the ritual context out of which it grew. This is not a novel development without historical precedent, nor is it unique to Ireland. It is, however, ritually problematic if the conclusion must be reached that the composers drawn to the ritual form are no longer interested in the ritual context.

An analysis of these and the other Mass settings mentioned by Irish composers reveals little by way of an emerging style or coherent sense of liturgy. If anything, these compositions are marked by their diversity of liturgical sensitivity or ignorance, and a wide variety of styles including congregational settings to contemporary settings requiring specialist music ensembles. They are also characterised by a growing division between settings which are liturgically sensitive but musically weak and those which are musically challenging but clearly not composed with liturgical intent. Their most common characteristic, however, includes their widespread failure to disseminate in any continuous way into the wider repertoire of Irish parish liturgical singing. The Bodley and Ó Riada Masses may say something of an Irish response to an indigenous sound but this has not flowered in any consistent way to be considered definitive.

Irish Language Liturgical Music Composition

Ó Riada’s involvement as a composer of liturgical music extended beyond musical considerations. His participation in, for example, the Church Music Study Day, held at Glenstal Abbey, on April 18th, 1968, illustrates a concern with both liturgical considerations as well as the particular challenges faced by composers choosing to contribute to the liturgical repertoire in the Irish language. These two preoccupations characterise the contributions of many Irish language composers. The work of two such composers, Tomás Ó Canainn and Máire Ní Dhuibhir, will be examined with these considerations in mind.
Ó Canainn’s contribution, like that of Ó Riada’s, was the result of a combination of Irish language, Irish music and religious interests. Though neither of these musicians could be described as primarily liturgical composers, this combination of interests led to significant contributions to the repertoire of Post – Vatican liturgical music.

In an interview with Ó Canainn on July 17th, 1997, he described his beginnings in liturgical music composition as circumstantial and unplanned:

I think Micheál [Ó Sílleabháin] and Nóirín [Ní Riain] asked me to sing something [for their wedding] and I had been thinking of Aifreann Cholmcille at that time, I think I wrote it for that, but I don’t quite remember, I certainly had been fiddling about the ‘Ar nAthair’, but I just sort of brought it together and sung it that day, and then, after, Aifreann Cholmcille was commissioned by the Irish Church Music Association (Ó Canainn, 1997).

Aifreann Cholmcille was published in 1978. Ó Canainn worked with Fiontán Ó Murchú, then choirmaster of St. Mary’s choir in Cork City and cites Ó Murchú as inspiring his work and interest in the liturgical music reform. Aifreann Naomh Fionnbarra, composed in 1994 for the Seán Ó Riada commemoration, was dedicated to Ó Murchú and the choir of St. Mary’s. The final setting in the Mass, entitled Cló, is based on a poem by Seán Ó Riordáin.

Commenting on the two Masses, Ó Canainn noted that Aifreann Naomh Fionnbarra was used for the celebration of the 150th anniversary celebrations at University College, Cork and that Aifreann Cholmcille was being sung frequently as part of the anniversary celebrations for Colum Cille, particularly in Ó Canainn’s native Derry. Ó Canainn finished composition of the Mass on the feast day of Culum Cille, June 9th, 1978. Both Masses were composed as congregational settings.

A third Mass, Aifreann Biosoántach, was published in 1995 for Cantairí Mhúscraí under the choir director, John O’Connor. Ó Canainn included optional entrance hymns,
including a version of the Greek battle hymn, *Hymn to the Blessed Virgin*, portraying the Virgin as a Battle General, for the choir’s visit to a Greek choral festival. Another optional entrance hymn included a setting of the 11th century poem ‘Deus Meus, Adiuva Me’ by Maoliosá Ó Brolcháin, a monk from Derry. The best known version of this poem is the hymn setting by Seán Óg Ó Tuama. Ó Canainn notes, however:

> I remember talking to Seán once on a train and ... he didn’t know who wrote it, but you wouldn’t know. Seán Óg Ó Tuama could still say that to you and mean he wrote it, but he wasn’t going to tell you ... but I guarantee you he said to me he didn’t know who wrote it. (Ó Canainn, 1997)

A comparison of the three Mass settings reveals a number of interesting similarities and differences. Each of the three select the same parts of the Mass to set and this selection is quite comprehensive. In each case it involves a setting of an entrance hymn, the *Kyrie*, *Goria*, a psalm setting, the *Alleluia*, Offertory hymn, Eucharistic Preface, *Sanctus*, Eucharistic acclamation, the Presider’s prayer with the Great Amen, the Our Father (with the ‘For Thine is the Kingdom’ verse included in two of the three settings), *Agnus Dei*, a Eucharistic and recessional hymn. These choices reflect a knowledge of liturgical structure and the call of the reform to reclaim aspects of the Ordinary and the acclamations for song. Both *Aifreann Cholmcille* and *Aifreann Naomh Fionnbarra* are congregational settings. Both are essentially diatonic, supplied with optional guitar chord accompaniments or an organ accompaniment, consisting largely of open fifths, octaves and drone-like suspensions under extended melodic phrases. Melodically, both would also appear to be derivative of an indigenous style, though less modal in character than Ó Riada’s. The third and most recent Mass, *Aifreann Biosantach*, is of interest in that it was a choral commission and set for SATB voices. The selection of settings, however, are still largely what would be considered congregational. The style of this piece is quite radically different. As its name would suggest, it is loosely based on a ‘Byzantine’ sound, though Ó Canainn admits that this sound is one he assimilated mostly through watching contemporary Greek satellite television. The final hymn, for example (which is included as an optional entrance hymn), ΤΥ περιοχος Στρατηγος, (Hymn to the Blessed
Virgin) is a well-known Greek hymn associated with the Greek struggle for liberation from Turkey, set by Ó Canainn in modern Greek. The style of this setting and most of the settings involves a strong melodic line with simple accompanying parts based largely on fourths and fifths. Two points are of interest here, both liturgically and musically. Firstly, though these are choral settings, the strong melodic line would allow for congregational participation, such as is also found in Byzantine chant. Musically, the settings offer a somewhat derived but interesting sound palette of Irish traditional and broadly Byzantine colour. While the Mass settings noted in the previous section might indicate a small but significant movement in the direction of an indigenous liturgical sound, this piece hints at something which will be addressed further in Chapter Seven: the emergence of a more cross-cultural sound in Irish liturgical music composition.

While much of Ó Canainn’s music was composed for bilingual choirs and congregations, Máire Ní Dhuibhir noted in an interview on July 16th, 1998, that most of her music is composed with a primarily Irish language community in mind. She notes that this is the case for most Irish language composers, with some of their work then filtering through to English language congregations. Ní Dhuibhir cites Aodán Glynn as an important early influence. Glynn, working then from Spiddal, provided liturgical context and information for Ní Dhuibhir:

... he would have been the person I would have gone to and [ask] what’s the significance of this piece and [he would] talk to me about the significance of the Preface ... but significantly, he was very much involved in the Irish Church Music Association, ICMA and the ICMA ran a summer school every year ... certainly there would have been one full day, you know, devoted to Irish, the Mass would have been in Irish, and would have been said in Irish and sung in Irish (Ní Dhuibhir, 1998).

Ni Dhuibhir notes that, over time, the Irish language dimension of the ICMA began to decrease:

"It's the first time [the 1998 summer school], very first time ever, they have no Irish Mass, no piece of Irish sung in the whole week, and no Irish liturgy section. And that has been coming now in the last number of years. (Ni Dhuibhir, 1998)"

Ni Dhuibhir also notes a lack of support for Irish language composers:

"I’ve paid for everything that I have published myself, except the one that was commissioned for Spiddal, which gave me great assistance. (Ni Dhuibhir, 1998)"

Other difficulties for the Irish language composer include the translation of revised texts. English language composers rely heavily on the translation work produced by ICEL, an international commission for English in the liturgy. Irish language composers have no such body to fall back on and must rely on their own resources in the midst of current re-translations of most of the liturgical books produced since the council.

Paradoxically, however, Irish language composers illustrate a very early sensitivity to the demands of the liturgical reform, perhaps, in part, because of this same reliance on a small group of people to provide translations, liturgical and musical knowledge. Ni Dhuibhir’s *Aifreann Mhuire gan Smal*, for example, illustrates the use of musical device to accommodate liturgical objectives. The introductory rite is conceived as a single liturgical unit, held together by a repeated choral and congregational refrain of ‘Miserere nobis, Domine’. This refrain forms the entrance hymn, followed by an entrance antiphon, sung by the cantor, but punctuated with the refrain. The Presider then sings the introductory blessing, again followed by a congregational / choral refrain, and concludes with a number of interpolated tropes, punctuated by the same refrain. The setting is musically interesting in its combination of solo chant and congregational / choral refrains.
and liturgically successful in treating the Introductory rite (up to the Gloria) as a single ritual movement.

A similar musical structure is used to emphasis the liturgical coherence of the Eucharistic Preface and acclamations. The Presider’s chanting of the preface is punctuated with a congregational response (‘Hosanna ní an harada’) which forms the primary motif of the subsequent setting of the Sanctus. The Eucharistic acclamation is based on the second half of this motif with the ‘Amen’, drawing on the first half. In this way, musical motifs are utilised to effect a sense of an integrated ritual moment.

Ni Dhuibhir notes the work being done by the Advisory Committee for Music in the Liturgy, of which Ni Dhuibhir is a member and representative voice for Irish language composers, as well as the Advisory Committee for the Liturgy in Irish. She notes the work done by Colmcille Ní Chonáin for this committee, as well as her compositions, including Aifreann Mhuire gan Smál, Aifreann in onóir do Mhuire and Aifreann Íosáigín. Ni Dhuibhir’s own liturgical compositions include Sancti Venite, Aifreann don Spiorad Naomh and Aifreann Mhuire gan Smál, noted above.

This corpus of Irish language liturgical music continues to represent textual borrowings from the repertoire of Irish religious poetry and from scripture, married to arrangements of secular tunes or newly composed music. While much of this music seeks to integrate an indigenous sound into its settings, little to no liturgical work has been done to integrate either the Irish or English language repertoire of authentic religious song into current liturgical practice. Because of its largely solo nature, and the almost exclusive emphasis on the necessity of promote congregational singing in liturgical reform, the role of solo song in ritual has been left relatively unexplored. This repertoire of authentic Irish religious song holds a number of ritual potentials. Firstly, the improvised nature of its character resonates with the ritual necessity for both the fixed and the flexible; tradition and spontaneity. With the rediscovery that liturgical ‘comprehension’; does not necessarily mean literal, linguistic understanding, the role of non-English language
repertoires such as Latin chant or Irish song in English language congregations is being re-evaluated. Finally, this repertoire, which developed largely to the side of formal liturgical practice, may hold a potential key to one aspect of the necessary bridging of sacred and secular expression in the journey towards an inculturated liturgy.

**English Language Composition**

While the dichotomy between English and Irish language composition assists in the illustration of important stylistic influences and varying liturgical conditions, it must be borne in mind that the separation of composers is somewhat false, as a number of composers wrote and continue to write for both languages. One such composer was Fintan O’Carroll. As mentioned, O’Carroll’s *Mass of the Immaculate Conception* was one of the first congregational mass settings commissioned by the music panel of the Irish Commission for Liturgy and published in 1977. As a musician, liturgist and founder editor of *Hosanna*, the journal of the Irish Church Music Association, O’Carroll was a composer intimately aware of, and involved in, the liturgical reform of his time. Early biographical details can be found in the memorial notes written by Sean Boylan in two issues of *Hosanna* (Vol. 4 nos. 1 and 2, 1982) following O’Carroll’s death in 1981.

O’Carroll was born in Wexford in 1922. Both his mother and father were involved in amateur theatre. In 1931, the family moved to Waterford and O’Carroll received his first violin lesson from a B. McSweeney, a band musician and tenant in the O’Carroll home. O’Carroll soon became involved in the Irish traditional music feiseanna, band and musical societies, all flourishing in Waterford at the time. In 1941 he auditioned for the new Orchestral society in Waterford and was offered tuition by Miss Maud Redmond, a violinist trained in Prague and Vienna, who provided O’Carroll with his first serious exposure to rigorous technique. This grounding opened the first door to composition and O’Carroll now began to study theory and harmony in earnest.
In 1944 he began to study with Herman Gebler trained in the Frankfurt conservatoire and a former member of the Frankfurt String Quartet. O’Carroll continued to compose and to perform as both a violinist and violist, forming the Waterford Orchestral Players in 1953.

O’Carroll’s association with church music began at an early age, singing as a boy soprano in St. John’s Church and in the Cathedral under Stanley Bower. This early exposure to plainchant and polyphony was to influence much of his later composition. In 1949, O’Carroll accepted a position in the Dominican church, but soon left, citing the choir’s lack of discipline as the reason. During this period, he wrote an unaccompanied setting of the Ave Maria for S.A.T.B. choir. After finishing his studies and gaining his diploma in 1967, O’Carroll was offered the post of choirmaster in the Franciscan church. O’Carroll immediately grasped the challenge of the liturgical reform, deciding to write a Mass which reflected this spirit and which he called Mass of the Angels, based, as it was, on themes from the Missa de Angelis. Written in 1969, it is an interesting example of an early attempt to write for the reformed liturgy, but with reference to the most popular Mass of the pre-conciliar church in Ireland. The sharp distinctions between pre-conciliar and post-conciliar music, which would characterise later years, are not yet evidenced.

Boylan’s commentary on O’Carroll’s liturgical instincts reflect something of this perspective:

His aim in writing for the Liturgy was not write for the ordinary people, not the elite. The musical vocabulary of the ordinary people is closer to 1660 than to 1960. The problem then, was to create a style which, while of our time would be readily comprehensible to the musically uneducated worshipper. (p. 4, Hosanna, Vol. 4, No.2)

In 1973 he composed his only Irish language Mass, Aifreann in Onóir Muire Máthair Dé, as well as his setting of Psalm 22, Sé an Tiarna M’aoire, one of the first through composed psalm settings in Ireland and still one of his most widely sung liturgical compositions. The Missa Salve Regina, originally composed for ladies choir and
congregation is based on the solemn *Salve Regina*, again, illustrating O’Carroll’s love of plainchant and determination to work this influence into his compositions.

O’Carroll was an early council member of the Irish Church Music Association and advocate of its work. His determination to facilitate a national awareness and implementation of liturgical music reform led to the launching of *Hosanna*, the journal of the association, with O’Carroll working with Joseph Walsh O.Cist. as editor. *Mass of the Immaculate Conception* was published in 1977. *Mass of the Annunciation*, completed in 1980, was published posthumously, as were the complete settings of responsorial psalms for Sundays and major feast days, published by the Irish Church Music Association in 1984. This work, which appeared in part, in each Quarterly of *Hosanna*, was completed shortly before his death. In a letter included in the 1984 publication, Michael Harty, Bishop of Killaloe noted:

Through the period of their composition, Fintan had as his guide the requirement that ‘the people as a body can give their response in song’. All the settings in the collection are the results of Fintan’s work with a congregation draw from a new development area in his home town of Waterford. His object was to compose responses which could be quickly taught to Cantor, Choir and Congregation. These settings proved so practical that the Council of the ICMA with the consent of his wife, Josephine, decided to publish the complete collection, along with a number of his ‘through-settings’ of psalms, in a single volume. (p.iii, 1984)

These psalm settings have also received international recognition and feature extensively in, for example, *The Collegeville Hymnal*, the 1990 publication of The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota. The index of metrical psalms and hymns based on psalms in this hymnal, includes 42 settings of 30 psalms. 26 of these settings are by Fintan O’Carroll.

*O’Carroll Publications*, a private publishing enterprise, run by Fintan O’Carroll’s son, Kevin F. O’Carroll and specialising in liturgical composition, continues to promote, publish and arrange Fintan O’Carroll’s music.
The liturgical commitment of composer’s such as O’Carroll is further exemplified in another composer of this first wave of Irish composers for the reformed liturgy, Margaret Daly. Daly’ work at the Pastoral Institute for Liturgy has already been discussed, as has her involvement in the Liturgy Commission and the Music Advisory Panel. Daly’s liturgical composition is prolific and widespread. A list of Daly’s compositions, produced in 1994, is illustrative of this liturgical diversity and breath. Daly has composed three settings of office antiphons and responsories, a Morning, Midday and Evening prayer for the Office of the Dead, in *Christian Burial* (1975, Irish Institute of Pastoral Liturgy, Carlow); music for Night Prayer, published in *Nunc Dimittis* (1991, Veritas, Dublin), as well as a complete setting of the Divine Office, commissioned by the Cistercian monasteries of Glencairn, Mount Melleray and Roscrea in 1990.

Music for Holy Week includes *The Good Friday Reproaches* (1993, Veritas, Dublin); the *Exsulter* (1993, Veritas, Dublin), and two works, unpublished as of 1994, *We Worship You O Lord* and *Song of Moses*.

Daly has composed four settings of the Ordinary of the Mass; the *St. Benedict Centenary Mass* (1980, Irish Institute of Pastoral Liturgy, Carlow); the *Kainos Mass* (1986, Irish institute of Pastoral Liturgy); a *Mass in Honour of Margaret Aylward*, commissioned in 1989 by the Sisters of the Holy Faith and a *Mass of Saint Clare*, commissioned in 1992 by the Poor Clare Federation.

Between 1991 and 1993, Veritas published three volumes of responsorial psalms for the Sundays of each of the three Sunday cycles by Daly, entitled *Cantate: Cantor-Friendly Responsorial Psalms*. In addition, Daly has listed 18 other composed psalm settings, 11 canticles, 18 songs, nine hymn tunes and four hymn texts. Daly also provided arrangements and accompaniments for several pieces in the *Alleluia! Amen* accompaniment edition, published by Veritas in 1982, the *Alleluia! Amen! Supplement*, published by the Irish institute for Pastoral Liturgy in 1980 and *Music for Your Wedding*, published by Veritas in 1991.
Daly’s work in liturgical composition has led to her increased awareness of liturgical text, and her work as an Irish representative to the International Commission on English in the Liturgy [ICEL] has been crucial both to her own work in scripture and to the presence of an Irish voice in English language liturgical translation. At a Composer’s Seminar held in Carlow on March 30th, 1996, Daly, reflected on the issues of text and translation for the liturgical composer. Using ICEL’s work on the revision of the Psalter as an example, she noted the guiding principles of this translation work as including a faithful rendering, inclusive language and singability. Daly notes that liturgical translation is not necessarily literal in its approach, dealing as it often is, with the translation of poetic texts, such as the psalms. She notes the use of dynamic (as opposed to formal) equivalence in translation, which allows for idiomatic translation of text.

Daly notes the compression of language in the ICEL translation of the psalms, comparing it to contemporary poetry:

> ... in contemporary English poetry, not a word is wasted, and each word carries a tremendous burden, a tremendous fright of meaning and significance, and I think that is what the ICEL Psalter has tried to achieve, basically to say as much as possible in very few words. (Daly, 1996)

The most significant point of the Psalter translation process for the composer, is that musical rendition was considered the norm and, therefore, musical considerations were intrinsically present as part of the translation process. Identifying the components of liturgy most properly sung within the liturgical celebration plays a crucial role in drawing up principles of translation.

The principle of inclusive language is the rock upon which the ICEL Psalter is presently floundering, with the removal of the *imprimatur* granted to the five year study text. Inclusive language has become a major consideration for compilers of hymnals and composers of liturgical music, with some editors and composers taking radical stands on
the issue. The 1989 GIA publication *Hymnal for the Hours*, for example, made an editorial decision to exclude all hymns, which were not open to sensitive, inclusive revision.

Daly’s contribution to the ongoing process of liturgical text translation represents a significant aspect of the awareness necessary to contemporary liturgical composition as revised rites and liturgical books are subject to still further revision and retranslation.

The composer’s relationship to text was also a central theme in the presentation of Colin Mawby at the Composer’s Seminar of March 30th, 1996. An internationally recognised composer of liturgical music, published primarily by Kevin Mayhew, Mawby represents a significant Irish contribution to liturgical music publication since the reform.

In the introduction to his presentation, Mawby noted his own early involvement with church music:

*I was brought up, from the age of nine, with the very highest traditions of Latin Church music. I was singing the plainchant *Te Deum*, it’s the first piece of music I ever sang … we spent four, five weeks learning this piece. This is absolutely sunk in my consciousness, this wonderful Latin music. (Mawby, 1996)*

Mawby’s initial reaction to the reforms of the Council were not enthusiastic:

*Now, when the Vatican council came about, I was instinctively extremely unhappy about the changes. Now I have come to the conclusion that what’s happened is perhaps the most important, or one of the most important things that has happened in this century, frankly. Now I think we have seen a renaissance in liturgical composition which is beyond my wildest imaginations. (Mawby, 1996)*

Mawby’s approach to liturgical composition is highly cognisant of text and word:

*Now, I think that as called liturgical musicians, the first thing we have to decide is what is more important, the words or the music. And there are many answers to*
this question. If you don’t answer that question consciously, you’re going to find it that much more difficult to compose. (Mawby, 1996)

As a liturgical composer, Mawby suggests that practical considerations are essential. He notes that there is no point in writing a pedal part for the organist if you are writing for an organist who cannot use the pedals. If one is writing for a congregation, Mawby suggests that one approach would be to familiarise one’s self with the congregation in question; their tradition, culture and identity. This aspect of liturgical composition differs sharply from a more generic approach to composition, which presents a musical composition as an entity in itself. Mawby’s approach suggests a composition, which interacts with its liturgical environment throughout the process of creation. This interactive approach provides an interesting musical response to, for example, issues of inculturation and the need for local communities to feel that their liturgical music expresses something of both their local and catholic identity.

In the forward to Mawby’s Mass of the Holy City (1993), contributed by Monsignor M. Francis Mannion and Gregory A. Glenn, respectively Rector and Director of Music and Liturgy at The Cathedral of the Madeleine, Salt Lake City, Utah, Mawby’s work is situated at the heart of liturgical music reform endeavour:

The Mass of the Holy City was commissioned to serve three interests: the reintegration of musical art and liturgy; the recovery of the cosmic and eschatological dimension of liturgy in an area of introversion; and the conscious development of the roman Catholic heritage of music.

In the decades since the second Vatican Council, art and liturgy have not enjoyed the more comfortable and familiar relationship that characterizes earlier periods in the church’s history. Indeed, a series of conceptual oppositions has been established recently which set them apart: congregation and choir are thought to be in competition; the functional and artistic are not easily aligned; popular taste and classical standards are regarded as lacking common ground. We think these oppositions false, unnecessary and of poor service to the worship of the church. This setting of the Mass is a robust exercise in the reintegration of what can and must belong together. (1993)
Liturgical composition in Ireland since the Vatican Council has spanned the full spectrum of 'popular taste and classical standards'. One Irish composer of liturgical music, who clearly identifies his musical roots in popular music is Liam Lawton. In an interview conducted on March 30th, 1996, Lawton noted his early musical influences as including Clannad, the Eagles and James Taylor. Lawton took piano lessons as a young child, performed in a rock band, and started to study voice when he entered the seminary. Lawton become involved with the musical society in Carlow and began producing musicals. Lawton noted that, at this point, he began to consider merging his work with commercial music and secular-based musicians, with his interest in liturgy:

...see a lot of my friends were going to the church, right, and they were very good musicians, so I wanted to try and use their talents as well and let them feel that they had something to offer as well, because all there is here is an organ and they would say, sure what I have, what I have to play nobody could ever use ... so I brought together a whole group of people in the recording Molaise who had never played in church before, a lot of young people as well, and that was fantastic. Because it was a new opening for them and for me also. (Lawton, 1996)

While Lawton's choice to use the Irish language in this work was a practical one, inspired by his participation in a weekly Irish language Mass, it also opened a door on his growing interest in Celtic spirituality and the compositional inspiration this could provide. Citing both Nóirín Ní Riain and Micheál Ó Súilleabháin as influences, Lawton views his working as seeking a distinctly Irish voice in liturgical composition.

Lawton's Mass settings have been broadcast twice across Europe. His collection Sacred Story, includes a commission for a Mass setting to mark the beatification of Edmund Ignatius Rice in Rome in 1996. It was performed in the Cathedral of St. Mary and St. Anne in Cork on November 22nd, 1997.

Lawton's music has an international following and has been promoted and published in North America by GIA. Light the Fire, published by Veritas in 1996 was premiered in the United States, at the 1996 National Convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernia in
Minneapolis, Minnesota. The work includes settings of Mass parts for congregational use, ‘The Darkest Hour’, composed to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Famine, and the title song, ‘Light the Fire’, an Anthem to St. Brigid.

His most recent collection, *The Cloud’s Veil*, including ‘Mass of the Celtic Saints’, is described by GIA in their web listing of sacred music publications as ‘ideal music for congregational singing’:

As Celtic music comes to more and more prominence, the name Liam Lawton is becoming very well known in liturgical music circles ...his work gives life to the great and beautiful history of his homeland, Ireland, using the ancient prayers and traditions as the main source of inspiration for his melodies and texts. *The Cloud’s Veil* embodies a great sense of joy with melodic tunes suitable for all congregations, mixing both contemporary and traditional instruments. (www.giamusic.com/sacred_music/Lawton)

While musicians, liturgists and historians will continue to argue about what ‘Celtic’ music actually is or represents, its current commercial value is far less speculative.

Lawton has worked collaboratively with Ian Callanan for a number of his publications, and *Songs of Life*, published in 1994 by Maelruain Publications contains work by Lawton, Callanan, Gavin Paul Byrne and John Casey.

A number of other composers of liturgical music are represented by O’Carroll Publications. Sue Furlong, for example, has 17 compositions included in the 1998 publication listings. This same listing includes *A Mass for Peace* (1994) by John Gibson and *Mass of Repentance* by Harry Hitching (1995), as well as two mass settings by Kevin O’Carrell himself, *An Advent Mass* and *Mass of the Resurrection*.

In an interview with Patrick O’Donoghue, Director of Music for the Dublin diocese, he noted John McCann and Ronan McDonagh as two composers making significant contributions to liturgical music composition in Ireland. McCann was born in London but
grew up in Dublin, studying music at University College, Dublin, before being ordained to the priesthood for the Dublin diocese. He studied liturgy at the Pontifical Liturgy Institute in Rome and lectures in Liturgy and Liturgical music at Clonliffe College, as well as working as Master of Ceremonies to the Archbishop of Dublin. McCann won first prize at the RTÉ Church Music Competition in 1997 with his ‘Festive Gloria’. This piece has been published by Veritas in a collection entitled Let Me Hear Your Voice. This collection also includes ‘Hymn to the Holy Spirit’, ‘Eucharistic Acclamations’ and the ‘Canticle of Simeon’. These settings, which include acclamations, music for the Liturgy of the Hours and hymn settings, represents an appreciation of liturgical breath and the diversity of liturgical music needs and possibilities.

Ronan McDonagh is organist and director of music at St. Teresa’s Church, Clarendon Street, Dublin. His publications include the Centenary Mass, commissioned to celebrate the fourth centenary of the death of St. John of the Cross. The work was published by Calmelite Publications in 1991 and was first performed by the Maynooth seminarians at a festive Mass in Clarendon Street.

The work of such composers is featured annually in the handbook of music produced by the Irish Church Music Association for use at its summer school. The school remains an important forum for the introduction and dissemination of liturgical music composition in Ireland.

Finally, The Contemporary Music Centre of Ireland houses the most comprehensive collection of music by contemporary Irish composers and includes numerous ‘sacred music’ compositions. In a listing of sacred music with approximately 80 entries, printed in 1995, 19 mass settings were included by composers such as Elaine Agnew, Seóirse Bodley, Frank Corcoran, Philip Edmundson, Aloys Fleischmann, Donal Hurley, Colin Mawby, Mary McAuliffe, Michael McGlynn, Martin O’Leary, A.J. Potter, Seán Ó Riada, Eric Sweeney, Gerard Victory and James Wilson.
While it is not the purpose of this chapter to include detailed musical analysis of all the music presented in this section, a number of summary comments may be made.

The music presented may be divided into two broad categories; music composed for congregational use and music composed for specialist vocal ensembles. Most of the music falls into the former category. Of the music composed specifically for specialist ensembles, most of it is published by the Contemporary Music Centre. This music is not generally available through larger, commercial publishers. While much of this music involves settings of liturgical music, its intent is not liturgical, or in line with the needs of the liturgical reforms suggested by the Council.

Just as there would seem to be a need to review the role of the soloist in liturgical music, so too would there appear to be a need to re-evaluate the role of specialist vocal ensembles. It is surely lamentable that several of Ireland’s preeminent composers are drawn to compose music which does not seem to wish to be included or, indeed, invited to be part of the liturgical context out of which its forms and settings have grown. There is surely a potential dialogue here, which could enrich the efforts of both sides. On the one hand, an adherence to the ‘correct’ use of music in liturgy would seem to have been made, at times, at the expense of musical creativity or challenge. Much of the congregational music reviewed is, at best, derivative and simplified to an extent that its ability to hold long-term musical interest must be questioned. If the liturgical reform was courageous enough to look to the creative impulse driving composers to source this repertoire, it could well be enriched in ritual beauty and subtlety.

Conversely, contemporary composers may, themselves, be seen to be facing a crisis on context. The unquestioned position of the concert platform as a performance context has been eroded through the renewed interest in community context and the sought after symbiotic relationship between a community and its musical expression. The ritual context is rich in potential for composers seeking an interactive and spiritually-informed, musical context.
Finally, it may be suggested that, while these first four decades of liturgical reform in Ireland may not be noted for musical or ritual excellence, they have highlighted the urgency of real dialogue between ritual context and musical composition. The reluctance, on both sides, to engage in the subtleties and rigorous demands of both music and ritual may be said to have impoverished both. While the importance of this interaction was at the heart of liturgical reform, the rational and fundamentally modernistic approach taken, choked much musical flowering at the very point of its creative, irrational source. A more mature understanding of ritual, coupled with a resurgence in musical confidence, only awaits a stronger theological commitment and recognition to enable this latent flowering.

The present reality, however, is less in line with this aspirational meeting of energies than it is an amalgam of the efforts made in the last decades. A window into this reality is provided by the *Seinn Alleluia 2000* publication. Edited by Patrick O’Donoghue for the Irish Episcopal Commission for Liturgy and the Advisory Committee on Church Music, the collection is recommended for use during the Jubilee year. In his introductory comments, O’Donoghue notes two prior moments for which a ‘core of sacred music’ was established in Ireland; the Eucharistic Congress of 1932 and the visit of Pope John Paul II in 1979. This collection is viewed as, ‘another step in the development of liturgical music in Ireland’ with a selection representing ‘the broad range of music available today’ (p.5, O’Donoghue, 1999).

A review of the music selected does reveal something of the diverse music viewed and valued as ‘liturgical’ in such a collection. Full Mass settings are not included, with the ‘Pastoral Notes’ suggesting that, ‘Mass settings by Seoirse Bodley, Fintan O’Carroll, Jean-Paul Lecot, Liam Lawton and Pat Aherne are well established in many communities’ (p.6). The Ó Riada first Mass is not included in the list.

The ‘broad range of music presented’ is almost exclusively congregational, with single line melodic settings, occasionally including descant lines or optional choral
accompaniments. None of the Mass settings reviewed above from the Contemporary Music Centre appear in this collection, though it does contain a Gloria by Donal Hurley.

The collection includes 48 notated pieces and an additional 20 pieces with text only. In all, there are seven Irish language composition, two of which (Ag Criost An Siol, and Sé An Tiarna M’Aoire) are included as text only. Irish composers include John McCann, Sue Furlong, Itie O’Donovan, Ephrem Feeley, Lian Lawton, Margaret Daly-Denton, Ronan McDonagh, Máire Ní Dhuibh, Donal Hurley and Paul Nash OSB. Of these, Liam Lawton has the majority representation with four pieces. Of the international composers represented, only Marty Haughen has multiple contributions. The high representation of Lawton and Haughen would seem to indicate an emphasis on this more popular style music.

The world of ‘pre-conciliar’ hymns is represented in the text only section with hymns such as How Great Thou Art, Holy God We Praise Thy Name, Holy Mary Full of Grace, and Lord of All Hopefulness. There are four chant entries; two of which include music (Kyrie (XVI) and Ubi Caritas) and two of which appear as text (Salve Regina and Ubi Caritas). The North American liturgical folk music movement is also represented in the text only section with pieces such as Be Not Afraid, Here I Am, lord, Make Me A Channel of Your Peace and On Eagle’s Wings. Three Taizé chants are included; Kyrie (notated), Eat This Bread and Jesus, Remember Me (text). Finally, a number of ICEL settings are included, such as The Lord’s Prayer and the Breaking of the Bread setting of the ‘Lamb of God’ with multiple verses.

In summary, this publication appears to be a collection of the more popular, congregational-style pieces to emerge from the various waves of liturgical music influence since the Vatican Council, to include a small remnant of chant and pre-conciliar hymns, as well as Post-Vatican Irish and Irish language composition, popular North American, ICEL and Taizé settings. It provides a reasonably accurate picture of the standard fare available to Irish parishes. Whether this fare should be mooted as the
aspirational sound of the new millennium is a more complex question. This work would suggest that such music, born in the first waves of reform, will give way in time to music capable of engaging more creatively and deeply with the subtler callings of ritual and creative composition.

Diocesan and Parish Resources

The assimilation of liturgical music at parish and diocesan level remains the most pragmatic challenge to liturgical music reform. Lack of resources, both financial and musical, leaves many parishes with little to no music at its liturgical celebration. Most parishes are without hymnbooks or other sources of musical repertoire and rely on diocesan music sheets or the limited musical suggestions contained in worship leaflets. Some leaflets, such as *The People’s Mass*, produced by the Society of St. Paul, contain no musical suggestions. Those printed in Dublin at Herbert Street for national distribution contain a notated psalm setting and hymn suggestions drawn, primarily from the hymnal *Hosanna*.

Other such resources include, for example, the hymn sheets produced by the Dioceses of Cork and Ross. These *Hymns for Worship*, produced for ordinary time and for liturgical seasons such as Lent and Advent, consist of a laminated sheet including the texts of approximately twenty hymns, drawn largely from the *Veritas Hymnal*, *Hosanna* and the *Glory and Praise* collection, published by Oregon Catholic Press in the United States.

Such resources do not represent the significant amount of liturgical music composed and published in Ireland, much less liturgical and sacred music such as that housed in The Contemporary Music Centre, much of which has never been used in liturgical celebration.

Diocesan efforts to promote music as integral to liturgical celebration formed the topic of an interview with Patrick O’Donoghue, Director of Music for the Diocese of Dublin, conducted on July 21st, 1997. O’Donoghue recounted his own initial exposure to the conflicts and tensions of the liturgical music reform:
I started in liturgical music in 1970 and at that stage in our parish, it was very interesting, there was a very obvious struggle between a priest who was trying to promote what at the time was called the ‘new music’, and the organist and choir of the day, and I can recall very particularly that it wasn’t that he was doing anything very folky or anything like that, it was, for us, singing things like ‘The Lord is my Shepherd’ which was not in our repertoire up to that, and I recall him one day calling for ‘The Lord is My Shepherd’ and this man doing something completely different ... eventually of course, the musician left and so my music teacher was asked to help out with the playing of the organ and she got me into it. And that’s how I started. (O’Donoghue, 1997)

O’Donoghue was ordained in 1980 and worked in a Dublin parish for three years before being sent to the Catholic University of America to complete a Masters in Liturgical Music. In 1985 he began working as Assistant Director of Music for the diocese and was appointed director in 1988. O’Donoghue described the brief of Director of Music as:

... responsibility for liturgical music in the diocese ... basically, it would be my responsibility to provide with the ongoing training of liturgical musicians, and I work with, I have a diocesan music commission, if you like, I am the executive branch of it, but there are about twelve people who are involved in music ministry throughout the diocese and over the years we have tended to bring on board people who, as well as having a strong musical background, have a liturgical background. ... so, while we teach music, or introduce people to new music, we will always show them the application of that. And that is a very strong principle.

O’Donoghue is also a member of the Diocesan Liturgy Commission, which has joined forces with the Music Commission to create a programme called ‘Litmus’, a five week programme for parish groups interested in music and liturgy. A newsletter of the same name is also produced twice a year, promoting both liturgical and music activities in the diocese.

Similar initiatives include the work of Raymond O’Donnell for Galway Diocese. In February, 1995, O’Donnell initiated a newsletter called *Cantate*, for distribution to church musicians in the diocese of Galway, Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora. Published bimonthly by O’Donnell, the newsletter has included a serialised introduction to ‘Church
Music Through the Ages’, as well as regular news on musical and liturgical events throughout the diocese, advise on musical selections for the various liturgical seasons and liturgical music articles of interest.

**Initiatives in Education**

The closing of the Irish Institute of Pastoral Liturgy in Carlow and the establishment of the National Centre for Liturgy in Maynooth in 1996 signaled a significant moment of liturgical and pedagogical reassessment. In an interview with Patrick Jones and Moira Bergin on March 30th, 1996, just before the move from Carlow, Jones spoke of the need for change and reevaluation:

... twenty-one years of a course - I think it’s time to assess it ... also it is a very new situation: the books are all out, the first generation of books. We’re into the second generation so it is a very different situation. I think that the issues are very different. The impetus for liturgy is more absent than present ... and I think there are lots of issues which are now part of this situation which were not part of it. I think inculturation will be one. The new culture that is Ireland. The lower number going to church ... I think we are facing a situation where in fifteen years time, we’re going to have very, very big gaps, you know, some religious congregations will have probably disappeared. Certainly the number of priests who are active will be less and they will be much older. So we will have a situation which we need to prepare for. I think our move would be a move where we would place ourselves within the new college and it will be open to lay and – what should I say? Lay and non-lay, is it? And to resident and non-resident. (Jones, 1996)

Efforts to address these needs took the form of a revision of the residential programme, to allow for full-time, part-time, residential or non-residential access, as well as the continuation of programmes conducted once a week, which had taken place in Carlow for two years. The continued efforts saw similar programmes offered in All Hallows College, Drumcondra, Dublin and Monaghan. Two series of liturgical music programmes, consisting of four nights each were also offered at Maynooth during this 1996-97 period. In 1997-98, these one night a week programmes spread to include a programme at the Creidim Centre, St. Kieran’s College, Kilkenny and a programme in Longford. The centre also worked with a programme in Charleville, Cork. In 1998 – 99, a 14 night
programme was offered at Kimmage Mission Institute, as well as an eight night programme in music and creativity in liturgy, offered by the Irish World Music Centre at the University of Limerick, in association with the National Centre for Liturgy and the Limerick Diocesan Centre. The National Liturgy Centre also continues to host single day events, workshops and seminars. At the opening of the 29th annual summer school of the Irish Church Music Association, Gerard Gillen, Professor of Music at the National University of Ireland (NUI), Maynooth, announced a proposal to establish a Diploma in Church Music at the NUI, Maynooth, in association with the National Centre for Liturgy.

Gillen’s early involvement with liturgical music in Ireland coincided with the initial thrust of liturgical reform. One of the founding council members of the Irish Church Music Association, Gillen recalled the early years of the association and the summer-school in his opening address to the school on July 6th, 1998:

Looking back on it, those years which saw the birth of the association and the summer school were extraordinarily productive and lasting in achievement … [O]n a pan-liturgical national level we saw the foundation of that most important national institute, the National Centre for Pastoral Liturgy by that late, wonderful, visionary liturgical scholar and pastor, Seán Swayne. (p.6 New Liturgy, No. 98, Summer, 1998)

Gillen also noted the work of the National Commission for Sacred Music in the foundation of the Schola Cantorum at St. Finnian’s College, Mullingar, and the commissioning of vernacular Mass settings for congregational use. He noted the important forum provided by the summer school for young composers of liturgical music.

A professional organist, Gillen has held the position of Titular Organist at Dublin’s Metropolitan Pro-Cathedral since 1976. He was founder and chairman of the Dublin International Organ and Choral Festival between 1978 and 1984, and artistic director since 1992. He is presently Chair of the Advisory Committee on Church Music. Gillen also represented Ireland in the production of the Snowbird Statement. The Snowbird Statement on Catholic Liturgical Music was the result of discussion and consultation held
at Snowbird and Salt Lake City, Utah in 1992 and 1993, involving representatives from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Ireland. In an interview conducted with Gillen on January 22nd, 1995, he noted that the statement represented a significant contribution to the articulation of a theology of music:

the whole theology of music is still lacking. It’s still not there largely, I mean, it comes back to a series of instructions and it relies on a few basic propositions like ‘to sing is to pray twice’ and that’s about it. (Gillen, 1995)

Gillen’s announcement of the Diploma in Church Music, projected to commence in October, 1999, represents a confluence of liturgical and musical energies at Maynooth:

In Ireland there are at present, precious few opportunities for developing skills in a structured way in the music industry of the church, but we here at the National University in Maynooth in co-operation with Father Jones and the National Centre for Liturgy here on campus intend to introduce a Diploma in Church Music … [W]e have enormous resources here as I have said earlier and it seems timely that we should harness these to give an opportunity for those who have the aptitude, talent and desire to equip themselves with a professional qualification in the area of church music in the interest of serving further the great worshipping community. (pp.10-11, New Liturgy, No. 98, Summer 1998)

Another aspect of liturgical music pedagogy on the Maynooth campus, involves the work of John O’Keeffe. As a lecturer in Sacred Music at the National Seminary, Maynooth, O’Keeffe sees recognition of the importance of the priest’s role as central to liturgical celebration in the spirit of the reform:

...we all have our own few hobby-horses, you know, in relation to the music in the liturgy, my own specific – and it’s related to my job here, of course – would be that Vatican II emphasis has been ... congregational participation and people have tended to focus on that, and the success or failure of it, failure mostly, a very important aspect has been left aside really, forgetting about choirs and forgetting about congregations and that is the actual chanted portions of the mass, in other words, the priest’s own contribution ...I think the sole emphasis on congregational singing has been a red herring, I mean we tried the congregational
singing, we failed, therefore, we are resolved of any other responsibilities, we just struggle along and do our best – there has been no real radical approach – to making music part of the Mass. (O’Keeffe, 1995)

O’Keeffe suggests that, as long as a celebrant does not engage musically with the liturgy, music is bound to be peripheral to the liturgical celebration, lacking an integral relationship with the central action and text of the liturgy:

...whenever a celebrant comes along and takes a grip on the celebration, I mean, for me, a celebrant chanting an opening greeting, chanting Kyrie, chanting the opening prayer, he is welcoming music to the Mass. [If] he doesn’t, then music is dancing outside the window, looking in at the proceedings, it’s outside. I’m not saying that he has refused to let it in – but it’s not getting in, and I think that, if it was to be done, it would have enormous implications for the music itself, the way music behaves in the liturgy. (O’Keeffe, 1995)

O’Keeffe directed a recording of Gregorian Chant at Maynooth in 1994 (Gregorian Chant from Maynooth) and worked with Gerard Gillen on a recording of the annual carol service in 1992 (Carols from Maynooth). Gillen’s own recordings include Baroque Splendour, an organ recital performed at the Rieger Organ, St. Michael’s Church, Dún Laoghaire, recorded in 1993.

In 1985, SDG Recordings was founded by Brian McIvor and Gerard Gillen to provide a production service for Irish classical musicians. Recordings produced by SDG include Shane Brennan in Tullamore (1997), a recital of organ music on the Frobenius organ in County Offaly, as well as a number of recent recordings of chant and organ music from Glenstal Abbey.

The presence of the National Centre for Liturgy on the Maynooth campus, as well as the liturgical music energies present in the Music Department of the NUI, Maynooth, and the National Seminary on the same campus, provides challenges and opportunities for the development of liturgical music pedagogy and practice in Ireland.
While other institutes offer programmes of study in liturgy, few of these have music as a central component. The Milltown Institute of Theology and Philosophy, a third-level Catholic college, founded in 1968 and expanding on the Jesuit faculties of theology and philosophy, established in 1889, offers an introduction to Liturgy as part of its Bachelor of Arts in Theological and Philosophical Studies, as well as a course in Liturgy and Spirituality as a component of its Graduate Diploma in Spirituality. Two liturgy components are included in the Bachelor of Arts in Theology and Philosophy, offered by All Hallows College in Drumcondra, Dublin. Mater Dei Institute of Education and Holy Cross College, Clonliffe are also involved in musical and liturgical endeavour.

In a paper presented at a Liturgy Gathering of the National Centre for Liturgy (May 30th, 1997) by Tom Whelan CSSP, Dean of Studies at The Kimmage Mission Institute, however, the lack of adequate liturgical formation in Ireland, particularly in seminaries, was noted:

...seminary course on liturgy, and may I suggest, as they are taught here in Ireland, seem, for the most part, to work with the minimum. Where the Liturgy Constitution asks that liturgy be considered among the compulsory and major courses, many Irish seminaries seemed to be content to leave it to the side...liturgy, says the Constitution, is to be thought under its theological, historical, spiritual, pastoral and canonical aspects. Liturgical theology is rarely if ever taught as a subject in Irish seminaries. What is taught is a type of introductory course to liturgy. (Whelan, 1997)

Whelan suggests that an essential component of liturgical theology is a recognition of the insights provided by the discipline of ritual studies and its attempt to grapple with rite and symbol. Emerging largely from cultural anthropology, ritual studies allows Christian liturgy to locate itself within the cross-cultural experience of ritual:

...respecting the lex orandi, lex credendi dynamic, we need to allow participants in the course to appreciate how liturgy is a ritual expression of our faith and of our paschal lives. An anthropological approach shows us an entry point into rite and symbol. We must now become students and take seriously ritual studies, or at least be aware that this very important discipline is emerging as something that
The Kimmage Mission Institute established in 1991, from a development expanding on the work of a smaller Faculty of Theology in existence since the 1970’s, describes itself as a school of theology and ministry. Developed, initially, by a number of missionary societies and religious congregations, ministry formation is explicitly cross-cultural. Among other programmes, the Institute offers a Bachelor of Arts in Theology and Anthropology, which includes the study of other faiths and cultures, as well as issues surrounding the inculturation of Christian faith and liturgical practice.

The common ground for inquiry and dialogue, provided by ritual studies, to the disciplines of anthropology and liturgical theology, has resulted in a growing awareness, among liturgical musicians, of the similar potential offered by an interaction with the discipline of ethnomusicology.

This awareness forms a central component in the development of ritual music scholarship and performance at the Irish World Music Centre. In 1994, Dr. Micheál Ó Súilleabháin was appointed to the first Chair of Music at the University of Limerick, where he established the Irish World Music Centre, a postgraduate centre for scholarship in the areas of Irish music and dance. The centre offers both taught programmes and postgraduate research opportunities in these areas. Central to the ethos of the centre is the recognition of both performance-based and academic scholarship, and the mutual benefit of offering both within a single centre.

In 1995, a five-year plan of programme development was proposed by the centre. This plan, which included programmes in Irish Traditional Music, Classical Strings, Contemporary Dance, Irish Traditional Dance, among others, also included a Masters
programme in Chant performance; the first such performance-based programme in this liturgical music repertoire offered in Ireland.

The centre’s criteria for programme development was based on the availability of local learning environments, for the music or dance genre proposed. In this instance, the Benedictine monastery at Glenstal Abbey was identified as the learning environment for this initiative.

The central role played by the Benedictine community at Glenstal, before and during the initial years of liturgical reform, has already been identified. In an interview on January 17th, 1995, Vincent Ryan OSB, described the origins of the liturgical congresses held at Glenstal:

It really came from Fr. Placid – he initiated the liturgical congress and it was 1954, Easter, 1954, and it took place in the second week after Easter for two days, Tuesday and Wednesday, usually of what we used to call ‘Low Week’, the second week – and that really was his idea but it had been suggested to him by a well known Dominican, Fr. Garde, who was provincial of the Irish Dominicans and he was very keen on liturgy and he suggested that we should start a congress here aimed at the Irish clergy, to interest them in liturgy and so, Fr. Placid, who was at the time superior at Glenstal because we weren’t an abbey then, we were a simple priory ... he was the Prior and he sent out invitations and the first liturgical congress got off to a good start – maybe about fifty priests – which I thought was very good. (Ryan, 1995)

In tandem with the liturgical gatherings, a number of liturgical music days were also organised by Paul McDonnell OSB. McDonnell discussed the organisation of these days at an interview in Kylemore Abbey, where he is now in residence, on July 16th, 1997:

Well, after Vatican II, everybody was worried about Church music, where we were going, Latin was finished, no more plainchant and so forth ...so it was a question you didn’t know who to ask, so largely, I think we wrote to the big churches, the big parishes in Dublin and so on, to the organists or choirmasters, asking them would they come to a day at Glenstal and Charles Acton, the music critic of the Irish Times, had written a very good article, I thought, on church
music and so on, so I thought he might give a general survey ... So, Professor Fleishmann, from Cork ... the man in charge of music up in Maynooth ... then Phil Coulter, who was doing pop music at the time, I thought he would represent that side. So at least we had these there, you know, and then we got a great response. A great interest among organists. It was an open day to everyone. And from that then, we moved onto the Irish Church Music Association. (O’Donnell, 1997)

The community’s daily singing of the Liturgy of the Hours formed the nucleus of its liturgical music experience. In an interview with Ciarán Forbes OSB, the community’s cantor at the time of the reform, on February 6th, 1995, Forbes noted that the community’s musical experience was as much one of oral transmission as it was of singing a notated repertoire:

... say within Glenstal, the chant tradition was passed on from ... the first chanter ... then down through the years there’s been Placid, Fr. Bede, Fr. Paul, Kevin, me, and this sort of stuff. And to a certain extent, it’s similar enough to the oral tradition, passing songs on, you pick them up ... I’d say I couldn’t have taken up the book exactly and read off a chant. I probably could now, but that’s only after years and years, because I know the melody. (Forbes, 1995)

This recognition of a musical relationship with oral tradition music may be suggested as one factor in the creative and musical relationship which developed between members of the community, Micheal Ó Súilleabháin and Nóirín Ní Riain. Ní Riain recounts the beginnings of this relationship in the acknowledgements section of her book, Gregorian Chant Experience:

... one of my earliest childhood memories takes me back to the church of the Benedictine Abbey of Glenstal, where in the fifties my family in nearby Caherconlish would go for worship at Christmas and Easter ... Twenty years later was to see me singing at a rural church opening celebration nearby in Caherline. On that day I sang my brand of plainchant then, which was sean-nós, at one side of the altar, and at the other, seven monks doted the Mass with their Gregorian Chant. Dom Paul McDonnell, the cantor and organist there, casually invited me to sing at Glenstal the following Sunday, and the Glenstal bond began. (p.176, Ní Riain, 1997)
Born in Limerick, Nóirín Ní Riain studied music at University College Cork, where she also gained a Masters degree for her research concerning traditional religious song in Irish. The repertoire collected for this research formed the basis of Caoineadh na Maighdine recorded in 1980 by Gael-Linn, with Nóirín Ní Riain and the Monks of Glenstal, and directed by Micheál Ó Súilleabháin. This recording of Irish religious traditional songs, was to become the first of a trilogy of recordings featuring Nóirín Ní Riain and the Monks of Glenstal. Vox De Nube was also produced by Gael-Linn in 1989 and Good People All, by Glenstal Records in 1992.

Nóirín Ní Riain has traveled extensively, performing individual interpretations of a repertoire, inspired by cross-cultural religious song traditions. She has sung with John Cage and Markus Stockhausen and in 1992, performed the role of Anima from Ordo Vurtutum, a morality play by Hildegard of Bingen, with the Schola Gregoriana of Notre Dame University, Indiana. She has appeared for several years as a guest singer at the Winter and Summer Solstice concerts at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City and performs regularly with the Paul Winter Consort. Additional recordings include Stór Amhrán, Soundings, and Celtic Soul. In 1997, she published Gregorian Chant Experience, a book and accompanying recording, presenting meditations on a selection of Gregorian chants.

The Monks of Glenstal Abbey have also produced a number of recordings of chant and organ music with the SDG label. Organ Music from Glenstal Abbey, featuring Andrew Cyprian Love, a member of the community, associated with Glenstal since 1983, was produced in 1996. The Monks of Glenstal Abbey (1997) is a selection of chants for Lent and Easter. Dancing before the Ark (1998) is a recording of organ improvisations by Andrew Cyprian Love.

Ó Súilleabháin’s own musical compositions includes a mass setting entitled Missa Gadelica, commissioned by the Irish Christian Brothers. The mass consists of settings of
the Ordinary, as well as several hymn settings. It was performed as part of the *Lumen* concert series, presented by the Faculty of Nursing of The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland in February, 1996. In the composer’s note from the concert programme, Ó Súilleabháin describes the origins and first performance of the Mass:

During the summer of 1994 I had completed a setting of the Mass entitled Missa Gadelica commissioned by the Irish Christian Brothers which received its first performance in August, 1994 in a live broadcast on RTE television. In Missa Gadelica I had integrated sean nós singers within the framework of a classical ensemble which included the Irish Chamber Orchestra, Evelyn Glennie the percussion soloist, and Kenneth Edge on soprano saxophone. (Ó Súilleabháin, 1996)

In 1995, Ó Súilleabháin was commissioned by RTE to write and direct the interval music, which he entitled LUMEN, for Eurovision ’95. In the same programme note, Ó Súilleabháin notes that:

Since the only musical stipulation was that the piece had to be primarily vocal, it was natural for me to turn to the main voices which surrounded me – those of Nóirín Ni Riain and the Benedictine Monks of Glenstal Abbey. (Ó Súilleabháin, 1996)

Since being appointed the first Chair of Music at the University of Limerick in 1994, Micheál Ó Súilleabháin has noted the musical and scholarly potential involved in the creative integration of the liturgical music energy and experience of Glenstal, with that of the developing centre. In 1998, the Irish World Music Centre initiated a Masters of Arts programme in Chant performance. Katarina Livljanić, a Croatian born singer and chant scholar, was appointed as first course director of the programme. Livljanić’s own musical interest involves aspects of improvisation in the performance and transmission of Gregorian Chant. In September 2000, the programme will initiate a second stream and be retitled as an MA in Chant and Ritual Song. Drawing on the centre’s strengths and expertise in ethnomusicology, ethnochoreology, Irish traditional song, choral music, liturgical theology and ritual studies, this second stream offers students the opportunity to
develop vocal specialisations with reference to the contextual study of cross-cultural ritual.

On January 26th, 1997, Micheál Ó Súilleabháin chaired a seminar at Glenstal Abbey, entitled *Spirituality Through Sound*. The seminar panel consisted of the poet-philosopher and gardener, John Moriarty, the composer, Gerald Barry, and the liturgical musician, scripture scholar, Margaret Daly-Denton.

The seminar explored music as sound, and sound as spiritual expression. Daly-Denton spoke to the national issues, drawing on her own experience in Ireland and attempts to form a musical and sound consciousness in contemporary liturgy. Barry spoke of the roots of sound, and their location in the local, the cultural, and the personal. Ó Súilleabháin noted the timeliness of the discussion, at a moment when both the arts and the sciences were beginning to recognise the transformative and healing powers of music and sound. Moriarty concluded his thoughts with the suggestion that, perhaps the spirit of sound was beyond physical hearing and beyond human creation, but within human grasp, through the door of silence:

The universe is music, the universe is in a sense a kind of oratorio ... if you like, it’s God’s oratorio. And I sometimes feel, Hindus say again, they say the universe is a net of jewels, like a fisherman’s net, except for they’re three dimensional. And every jewel and net mirrors every other jewel. Now we could think of it as a net of sound, so that every galaxy, and every star in every galaxy, and every planet in every galaxy ... expose sound, and sound is in harmony with the rest of the universe... so, I sometimes feel that out there now in the universe and around us here, there is music for which we do not have voices and for which we do not have the musical instruments. And if we want to bring down that music, we would really need to make new instruments. And we would need almost to grow spiritually ... so, that’s the sense I have, living in silence ... that the music is out there. (Moriarty, 1997)
Conclusion
In his work concerning nascent ritual', Ronald Grimes notes that; ‘Rites are events; they
have life spans. Only secondarily do they reside in texts, scenarios, scripts, or rubrics’
(p.62, Grimes, 1995). In the same way, liturgy, in its essence, is what happens. Liturgy is
not the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy or other conciliar directives. Liturgy is not the
revised texts of the liturgical rites, or the translations and re-translations of rubric and rite.
Liturgy, like all ritual and cultic action, occurs in time, and lives in the moment of
happening.

Likewise, liturgical music is the musical event of liturgy. Liturgical music is not the
notated composition or the recorded Mass setting. It is the liturgical realisation of these
artifacts, which render them liturgical. Liturgical music, like all liturgical action, must be
embodied, in order for this realisation to occur.

The starting point of any liturgical music exploration must, therefore, be the liturgical act
itself. One of the dangers of a reform such as that which was instigated by the Second
Vatican Council, is that the directives of reform may be viewed as the reform itself, or, at
the very least, as prescriptive manuals of change. Ritual, however, moves from act to
articulation, from embodiment to consciousness. The directives are, therefore, more
properly positioned as an informing voice; a voice which contends with other informing
voices, such as those of tradition, local expression, cultural interaction and social process.

It has been the purpose of this chapter to give ear to some of those other voices. The
exploration of these voices through interview, musical composition, recording, liturgical
and educational structure does not, itself, pretend to approximate the liturgical event, but
it does seek a wider presentation of its informing voices, beyond those of the written
directives of reform.

It is misleading, for example, to look at the implementation of the liturgical directives,
without an awareness of the liturgical environment into which they were introduced. The
interviews concerning this period of implementation, suggests that the reception in Ireland was not a neutral one. Hierarchical attitudes included quiet hostility and apathetic acceptance, while it is suggested that the majority of the worshipping congregation were indifferent and unaware of the impetus towards change. Attitudes towards music quickly polarised into those which championed the place of chant and polyphony in liturgy (though interviewees were quick to note that, in Ireland, this nostalgia was not based on widespread practice) and those which moved quickly into experimental mode, often justifying musical choices with reference to liturgical reform.

The emphasis on active participation, so prevalent in the liturgical implementation process, must also be cognisant of the particular inheritance, in Ireland, of a largely unsung liturgy. The impossibility of developing a sung liturgy during the enforcement of the Penal Laws, the appropriation of a liturgical hymnody in the 19th century without reference to the religious song tradition existent in Ireland and the lack of resources and musical expertise available to most parishes in Ireland, both before and after the reform, are all factors which must be reckoned with in any attempt to explain the often unsuccessful attempts at active musical participation in Irish liturgies.

While one reading of the review of musical composition and recording presented in the chapter might suggest that liturgical music is thriving, the compass of liturgical practice suggests otherwise. If liturgical music is rendered liturgical through its liturgical use, one might be led to conclude that liturgical music is barely alive in Irish liturgical practice, with the few exceptions of some monastic celebrations and those of the larger churches and cathedrals. The review of diocesan and parish material suggests that little of the music composed for liturgy is, in fact, being used liturgically. It is significant that a number of the Mass settings reviewed were commissioned to celebrate anniversaries or commemorations. Many of these settings have never been used again liturgically. Many of the Mass settings in the Contemporary Music Centre have never been used liturgically. While the Schola Cantorum may well be the beacon of light in 20th music education for boys in Ireland, such as Gillen suggests (New Liturgy, No. 98, Summer, 1998), it is
restricted in its ability to shed that light on liturgical celebration if its graduates cannot
find paid employment as church organists and musicians. Again, if liturgical celebration
itself is taken as the axis of evaluation, liturgical music formation is not translating well
into liturgical music practice.

Another question raised by the review of composition must include the question
concerning what is being selected for composition. As O'Keeffe noted in his interview,
the central sung text of the liturgy of the Eucharist, is the text sung by the Presider, yet
this is the text receiving least attention from composers. While the ordinary of the Mass
has been clearly identified as the proper expression of the worshipping communities, it is
still the most popular text selected by Irish composers for compositions more suited to
specialist musicians and vocalists.

Finally, the concept of composition itself must be questioned. Ritual expression exists on
the turning point of memory and moment. Ritual depends on the interplay of deep,
remembered expression, and the spontaneous manifestation of experienced rite. How
much lack of memory and constant change can a ritual event survive? How much new
composition can Irish liturgy hold, without the interplay of remembered song? On what
common well of experience and repertoire does the community draw? An awareness of
these questions must not lead to a lack of composition, but, perhaps, to a compositional
style which would redress this ritualistic imbalance, a style which would seek to identify
and incorporate memory voices; voices of chant, of Irish traditional religious song, of
Irish religious texts, which predate even our musical memory, but may well hold a key to
memorial, if not remembrance.

Ritual memory is dependent on ritual repetition. The pace of ritual change is essential to
the balance of play between repeated and spontaneous action. Repetition frees ritual from
the necessity of an overly conscious action and forms a firm foundation on which change
can occur, without rupturing the ritual action. A level of deep musical repetition,
extending, not only through years, but through generations, provides a ritual foundation

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for spontaneous musical expression and composition. In the rush of reform, liturgical music has accelerated change to a point of ritual imbalance. It is not possible, today, to speak of Irish liturgical music, and to have a corpus of music in mind. It is the creation of this source, rather than simply a new composition, which must be the liturgical musicians task.

Central to this, is an attitude to composition, touched on in the Mawby presentation. Liturgical composition has tended to emphasise the composition rather than the liturgy. In most of the examples reviewed, a composition usually involved a completed, notated score, for use at a liturgical event should the opportunity present itself.

Mawby’s approach is radically opposite. Mawby suggests that the composition should accommodate itself to the liturgy and not the liturgy to the composition. Viewed in this way, the musical composition immediately moves closer to the liturgical event, because, in its most radical meaning, the composition does not exist independently of the liturgical event. This implies, not composition for a liturgical abstraction but for located liturgical forces and conditions.

The model for this approach is much less likely to come from the tradition of Western Art composition, but from the composition expressed in oral traditions, within which the ‘composition’ cannot be separated from the musical event. Indeed, the chant tradition which developed as the primary musical expression of Christian liturgical practice, developed through a musical understanding which saw the musical expression as inseparable from its liturgical context.

The process of inculturation notes that cultural and local voices, if nourished and listened to, will suggest a diversity of musical expression and style. The liturgical composer, listening to these voices, will produce liturgical music answering to the needs and aspirations of that worshipping community. It will also listen to, work with, and aspire to, the musical resources necessary to create this liturgical music event. This may well
involve specialist vocal ensembles or pre-written composition. It may also look to non-specialist, non-notated music, particularly in those essential parts of the Eucharistic celebration sung by the Presider. Indeed, the liturgical event depends, not only on the ability of the composer to dialogue with the community but also on the ability of newly composed music to dialogue with existing repertoire.

This radical approach to liturgical music composition may well be uniquely positioned to develop in Ireland, drawing as it does on liturgical communities which may be forced to ask these questions, not having a ready tradition of liturgical music to access. The vitality of a traditional music based on improvisation and orality may also provide a well-spring of approach and inspiration. The separation of music from liturgy is not a problem unique to the post-conciliar church. It is, however, a problem which Ireland’s liturgical and musical inheritance and culture, may be uniquely positioned to address.

Two additional aspect of this vocal collage may contribute to the development of both a uniquely Irish liturgical voice, as well as a unique Irish contribution to the catholicity of liturgical endeavor. The first of these involves the search for a liturgical and spiritual root in Celtic Christianity. While the commercial enthusiasm for the Celtic enterprise has created a world of music, text and artifact, divested of anything Celtic but suggestion, this same drive has pushed to the surface, and provided an opportunity for, both existing and new endeavours, seeking to search out and articulate this inheritance. This search has included the publication of a significant number of Irish authors, exploring the history of Irish spiritual formation and attempting to frame ways in which this inheritance can be recognised and assimilated into contemporary spiritual and liturgical practice. Publications such as Irish Spirituality (Maher, 1981); Towards a History of Irish Spirituality, (O’Dwyer, 1995), Irish Catholic Spirituality: Celtic and Roman, (John J Ó Riordáin, 1998) reflect this scholarship, while the international success of John O’Donohue’s Anam Cara: A Book of Celtic Wisdom (1997) suggests that this inheritance, while rooted in an Irish experience, resonates with a wider spiritual search.
The search for a musical inheritance involves the complexity of an orally transmitted repertoire and a liturgical context, with which the Irish church can only claim a fractured continuum. While recreation may prove impossible, attempts to interact creatively with extant texts from the Celtic liturgy, as well as living traditional religious song repertoire, may result in a musical voice resonant with the liturgical and spiritual world, out of which it grew. If this voice is reflective of a spirituality which recognises both the transcendence and the imminence of God, the abundance of both the natural and supernatural world, and both the masculinity and femininity of spiritual expressions of grief, lamentation, joy and celebration, then it is a voice which may speak to the ruptured world of the sacred and the secular, the ecological imbalance of natural domination and the growing call to reevaluate gender and sexual polarity and discrimination.

Finally, a word must be said concerning the infrastructure, both liturgical and educational, developing in Ireland, to support liturgical music formation. The separate formation of liturgists and musicians continues to divide liturgical music energies, between liturgists, often insensitive to the aesthetic concerns of the musician, and musicians, uninformed and indifferent to the ritual and pastoral demands of liturgy. Neither liturgical theology, nor Western musicology or musicianship, has provided a point of departure from which both the liturgist and the musician can formulate shared concerns and issues.

The development of the discipline of ritual studies has provided an opportunity to develop this common ground. The primary contribution of anthropology to theology, and of ethnomusicology to musicology and musicianship, has been the recognition of context. The shared context within which both the liturgist and the musician function, is the ritual context. Liturgists can speak to this context as the embodied moment of the prayer event. Musicians can locate their music as a symbolic component of this same rite. A shared language allows shared concerns to be framed and addressed from perspectives of mutuality.
The implications of this dialogue potential are not only pertinent to the resolution of the rift between musician and liturgy, but to the framework it provides, in addressing the unresolved questions of liturgical inculturation. The only obvious answer to questions concerning a theology of music, or criteria for music in liturgy, is that the answer will not be singular. The answer must recognise the diversity of Christian liturgical realities and the concomitant realities of diverse musics. The answer must grapple with the formulation of a theology, a liturgy, a music and a prayer, which is truly catholic, truly universal.

In his article on Eucharist and Catholicity, from Being as Communion, John Zizioulas notes that:

It is not an accident that in adopting the term ‘catholic’ from Aristotelian language the early Christians did not conceptualize it, but instead of speaking of ‘catholicity’ as we do today, they spoke of a ‘Catholic’ church, or even – and this is more significant – of ‘catholic churches’ in the plural. This means that we cannot speak of ‘catholicity’ and ignore the concrete local church. (p.143, Zizioulas, 1985)

Zizioulas suggests that the mystical union, the eschatological unity, the prayer ‘that they may all be one’, (John 17:21), to which the entire Body of Christ strives, is embodied in the Eucharistic community. Liturgical theology is, therefore, called to recognise that the universal; the catholic, is realised in the local community at prayer. Similarly, a theology of music must recognise that the local voice, called forth from the singing community, in all its immediacy and diversity, is the eschatological voice of all creation.
Chapter Six: Towards a Theology of Liturgical Music

Part Three: In Front of the Text

Chapter Six and Seven of this work represent that moment of propulsion, flattening ahead and in front of the work's contained representation of the encounter between music and liturgical reform since the Second Vatican Council.

This chapter takes the particular form of two questions, each of which will be addressed in the subsequent chapters. In one case, the question will be raised as to whether the encounter between a liturgical and music has occurred, or shown signs of spawning, an emergent liturgical theology as liturgical music. The concluding chapter will then operate as reflection on considerations of this encounter as found suggests an Irish encounter with a particular interest in Ireland and as a possible Irish contribution to a question of prayer in the postconciliar

Chapter Seven will address the first question with reference to a number of primary processes both historical and emerging from the encounter between music and liturgical reform. The relationship between concepts of art and concepts of religion, both at once dynamic and interacting paradigms has become a central point of departure for this discussion. Part on the basis of this, is the assertion that both are located within the
Chapter Six: Towards a Theology of Liturgical Music

Introduction
In *New Horizons in Hermeneutics* Thiselton notes that the importance of the hermeneutic enterprise lies not in the ‘text’ or the ‘reader’, but at the point of encounter between the two and in the process set in motion through such an encounter. The critical hermeneutic action, therefore occurs, as Ricoeur notes, ‘in front of the text’, propelling both the reader and the text in a forward movement of encounter, interpretation and the development of new horizons (Thiselton, 1992).

Chapters Six and Seven of this work represent this moment of propulsion, thrusting ahead and in front of the work’s contained representation of the encounter between music and liturgical reform since the Second Vatican Council.

This thrust takes the particular form of two questions; each of which will be addressed in the subsequent chapters. In the first instance, the question will be raised as to whether the encounter between music and liturgical reform has spawned, or shows signs of spawning, an emergent or nascent theology of liturgical music. The concluding chapter will then speculate as to whether the manifestation of this encounter in Ireland suggests an Irish response, both as particularly relevant to Ireland and as a critical Irish contribution to a question of global, catholic significance.

Chapter Six will address the first question with reference to a number of primary processes, both influencing and emerging from the encounter between music and liturgical reform. The relationship between concepts of art and concepts of religion, both as complimentary and conflicting paradigms has become a central point of departure for this discussion. Fast on the heels of this, is the assertion that both are located within the
sphere of cultural expression and, as such, cannot be engaged without reference to processes of inculturation. The role of music as a symbolic expression of culture leads to a related discussion of symbol as bearer of culture, and its concomitant manifestation in ritual, the primary context for religious musical expression.

As well as concepts of art, religion, culture, symbol and ritual, concepts of gender represent a primary influence on the colour and shape of contemporary reflections concerning emergent liturgical music practice and theological reflection.

Finally, the elusive concept of postmodernity has also turned its attention and insights to this encounter and forms part of the articulated response which continues to form, process and create new horizons.

Each of these perspectives may be viewed as primary influences on the concluding suggestion that the emerging theology of music should be formed on a five-fold theological foundation, conceptually expressed as voicing the dispossessed, voicing prophecy, recognition of the gift of creation, offering service and hospitality, and expressive of the fundamental relationship of love at the heart of the Christian enterprise.

Concepts of Art; Concepts of Religion

Any dialogue between music and liturgy will inevitably draw on the long and complex relationship existing between concepts of art and concepts of religion. Reference to two texts will assist in opening up a discussion on the spectrum of convergence and conflict existent in this dialogue; a spectrum already revealed in the two titles and their respective reference to conflict and bonding. Religion and Art in Conflict, a 1980 publication by Samuel Laeuchli, and Creativity and Spirituality: Bonds Between Art and Religion, published in 1998 by Earle J. Coleman, both provide foundational insights into the nature of this relationship. In keeping with Ursala King’s characterisation of postmodernity as ‘a condition that calls everything into question’ (p.2, King (ed.), 1998), it is perhaps useful to begin with Laeuchli’s reminder that, ‘[N]either religion nor art is a concept on
which there is universal agreement as to meaning’ (p.9, Laeuchli, 1980). Theology, philosophy, and the social sciences, for example, will all assign various definitions and qualities to concepts of ‘religion’. While theology considers matters of revelation and faith as key indicators, the social sciences might see these as secondary to the manifestation of ‘religion’ as a social phenomenon, existing with or without these conditions. Anthropology suggests that the generic notion of ‘religion’ is itself suspect and not always capable of housing culturally specific manifestations. Even within the theology of a faith system such as Christianity, significant differences in understanding are revealed. Paul Tillich’s proposition, for example, in *A Theology of Culture*, suggests that the concept of ‘religion’ refers to an unnatural and transitory division of the sacred and secular one, and one which, through a deeper understanding of culture, one should aspire beyond:

If religion is present in all functions of the spiritual life, why has mankind developed religion as a special sphere among others, in myth, cult, devotion and ecclesiastical institutions? The answer is, because of the tragic estrangement of man’s spiritual life from its own ground and depth. According to the visionary who has written the last book of the Bible, there will be no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, for God will be all in all. There will be no secular realm and, for this very reason there will be no religious realm. (p.8, Tillich, 1959)

This would seem to contradict the position postulated by David Power in *Worship: Culture and Theology*, in his assertion that:

*[T]he Christian symbol system, in its kerygmatic proclamation, its mythical presentation and interpretation (as contained in the Scriptures), its community order, its sacramental celebration and its ethical demands, points to the fact that faith and beliefs cannot be imparted and cannot survive without religion. (p.27, Power, 1990)*

Similarly, the very concept of art as an aesthetic category capable of sustaining universal characteristics, is both championed and challenged. The contemporary debate engaging the world of music education philosophy provides an interesting example of both
positions. *A Philosophy of Music Education*, by Bennett Reimer, posits music education as aesthetic education, viewing aesthetic experience as the ultimate value of music and the arts. In his description of this experience, Reimer suggests that it ‘...is not a means towards non-aesthetic experience and serves no utilitarian purpose. It is the experience for the sake of the experience in and of itself, unlike practical experience, the value of which is that it procures something other than itself’ (p.103, Reimer, 1989, 1970).

*MUSIC MATTERS: A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC EDUCATION*, by David Elliott, provides a direct challenge to this view of music as ‘art’ or ‘aesthetic experience’. Elliott suggests that this view of aesthetic experience as disinterested and detached from practical reality is supported by the 19th century, European development of a philosophy of aesthetics, itself, in no way disinterested and highly influenced by the socio-political position of the ‘artist’. Bound itself, by cultural influences, it cannot be posited as a valid foundation for other cultural realities and norms:

To listen aesthetically is not to connect musical sounds to other human concerns ...[A]s Sally Markowitz suggests, the aesthetic doctrine directs listeners to act like musical microbiologists by placing the musical objects against a blank background before focusing clinically on its structural properties alone. In addition, the MEAE ['Music Education as Aesthetic Education’] philosophy insists that all music everywhere - all musics across all cultures - ought to be listened to in the same narrow way. (p.33, Elliott, 1995)

These conflicting views of aesthetics and the cultural repercussions of formulating an aesthetics of religious art, are central to the current debate concerning Post-Vatican liturgical music, and will be returned to again in the specific reflections on liturgical music reform and attitudes towards art, following this general exposition.

The conceptual ambiguity of both ‘art’ and ‘religion’, Laeuchli suggests, bears directly on the volatile nature of their relationship. A number of significant ‘divorces’ seem to indicate the problematic nature of the relationship. Historically, the relationship seems to
gravitate between processes of secularization of art and a reintegration of the religious. Laeuchli notes that,

The two can take place simultaneously; while there was a strong tendency towards secular, even nonobjective art, in the third and fourth centuries, as witnessed for instance in the grandiose mosaics in the Museum of Timgad, there were also taking place, as we all know, the simultaneous emergence of Christian symbolism. (p.9, Laeuchli, 1980)

This vacillation can even be seen as co-existing within discreet traditions. The eighth century tension between the iconodulic and iconoclastic perspectives of the Eastern Christian churches, for example, reveal conflicting attitudes to art even within a single, temporal manifestation of a single denomination.

Finally, Laeuchli notes this ‘divorce’ in the theory and practice of both art and religion. Drawing again on Christianity by way of example, he notes the difference between theology (as reflection) and liturgy (as worship). In the same way, a university programme in English literature will rarely allow a poem to be submitted in lieu of a dissertation.

Laeuchli concludes his presentation of the problematic relationship between art and religion with the suggestion that, ‘Religion and art are no longer “safe” categories’ (p.13, Laeuchli, 1980), and that admitting and accepting their volatility brings us closer to their nature and manifestation than the futile attempt to categorise them, theoretically or practically. Central to this admission, is the concomitant admission of inevitable emotional, subjective involvement in either domain:

A description and reenactment of the interaction between religion and art must admit that such an interaction can hardly be void of personal involvement, of conviction, opinion and perspective. Perhaps in this one task of a cross-disciplinary enterprise, at least, we might admit of hermeneutic tension. (p.14, Laeuchli, 1980)
Following Laeuchli’s lead in taking this relational stance, Earle Coleman suggests five such relational considerations between art and religion in *Creativity and Spirituality: Bonds Between Art and Religion* ((1998). Firstly, Coleman notes the long historical evidence of relationship, both in terms of common growth and demise. Quoting the Islamic scholar, Seyyed Hossein and his suggestion that a decline in Islamic spirituality has always been reflected in a decline in the quality of Islamic art, Coleman notes that, ‘[C]ross-culturally, art reflecting religion, energized by religion, or in the service of religion has frequently prevailed’ (p.1, Coleman, 1998).

Coleman’s second relational suggestion links artistic and religious inspiration and revelation. The authority given to, or claimed by religion, to access revelation has often been looked to by art, to give weight to its search for truth and remove it from the mere realm of the ornamental. Tolstoy’s view of art, for example, saw art, in isolation, as only capable of revealing partial or conditioned truth, while religiously inspired art has access to the possibility of unlimited compass. In this sense, the journey of the artist bears similar overtones to that of the saint.

If art looks to religion for revelation, Coleman also suggests that religion looks to art for articulation: ‘[G]iven its elusive nature, religion inevitably turns to art as a chief means of self-expression’ (p.9, 1998, Coleman). While philosophy and theology may articulate the sense of religion, the arts are frequently called upon to render its experience. While one might argue that direct experience of God needs neither theology nor art, Coleman suggests that the voice of art opens up religious dialogue between humans themselves, as well as providing a creative voice derived from its self-recognition as creation and created.

The fourth relational point suggested by Coleman involves the ‘commingling’ of both in moments of profound experience. It is in the arena that it is most difficult to separate one from the other: ‘[T]he awe and sublimity felt in beholding a mountain may be equally aesthetic and spiritual ... [G]iven such cases of profound interpenetration between art and
religion, it is perhaps not surprising that some, like Coomaraswamy, identify the two’ (p.11, Coleman, 1998).

Finally, it is suggested that both art and religion share an ethical dimension. Both are looked to, to provide and reflect standards and values. It is perhaps not coincidental that, at a time when art claims the right to represent nothing but itself (positing modern overtones of Romantic aesthetics) that the ethical dimension of art remains the least explored in contemporary liturgical considerations. It is, therefore, from these general considerations of art and religion, that we shall now turn in a specific consideration of the weight of the debate within Roman Catholic liturgical music reform.

That there is a recognised connection between Roman Catholic Liturgy and artistic expression is a position affirmed by the 1999 Letter of His Holiness Pope John Paul II to Artists. In the Post-Vatican context, he notes the possibility for this relationship to be developed within the aesthetic and pastoral considerations address by the council:

The Second Vatican Council laid the foundation for a renewed relationship between the Church and culture, with immediate implications for the world of art. This is a relationship offered in friendship, openness and dialogue. (no.11, 1999)

The Pope’s letter makes clear that while Christianity has always been influenced and shaped by the aesthetic values of its surround, this has not been a process of uncritical acceptance, but one in which a discernment based on faith was brought to bear on expression and integration (no.7). While art was, therefore, viewed as central to the symbolic articulation of the Christian message (no.12), its aesthetic was inextricably linked to the demands of a faith context. It is within this context that the letter speaks of ‘Christian artists’:

Mine is an invitation to rediscover the depth of the spiritual and religious dimension which has been typical of art in its noblest form in every age. It is with this in mind that I appeal to you, artists of the written and spoken word, of the theatre and music, of the plastic arts and the most recent technologies in the field
of communication. I appeal especially to you, Christian artists: I wish to remind each of you that, beyond functional considerations, the close alliance that has always existed between the Gospel and art means that you are invited to use your creative intuition to enter into the heart of the mystery of the Incarnate God and at the same time into the mystery of man. (no. 14, 1999)

While the letter notes the ‘close alliance’ between Christianity and the arts, in its attitude of critical discernment it also reveals overtones of the long history of tension which exists between the two. In terms of Post-Vatican liturgical music, this tension has been most significantly revealed in what Gerard Kock refers to as ‘the history of the dilemma between the altar and the choir loft’ (p.11, Collins et. al., 1989). Kock uses these two images to symbolise the conflicting demands of the world of liturgy (the altar) and the aspirations of the world of art music (the choir loft). Kock locates the post-conciliar articulation of this tension in article 112 of the Constitution on the Liturgy where the ‘holiness’ of music is evaluated in terms of the closeness of the musical expression to the liturgical expression: ‘[F]rom this decision on the preference for church music as liturgy, all kinds of practical consequences follow’ (p.13, Collins, et. al., 1989). The implementation of this alliance in Post-Vatican liturgy has often resulted in a music being deemed liturgically suitable (and therefore ‘good’ liturgical music) with little or no reference to its musical structure or composition. Furthermore, music which included a liturgically suitable text was also often included in this category of ‘good’ liturgical music based on textual rather than musical considerations.

The perceived decision in favour of ‘the altar’ was, according to Kock, a fear articulated by musicians even as the constitution was being developed. The necessity of ten drafts of the subsequent instruction of Church music (Musicam Sacram, 1967) was also an indication of the lack of consensus between musicians, fearing the disintegration of a historical tradition of ‘sacred music’, and liturgists (as well as musicians) who welcomed the opening up of music to inculturation and new (particularly vernacular) voices.
This tension is also manifested in the development of two European-based societies devoted to liturgical music, Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae (CIMS) and Universa Laus (UL). CIMS was established in by Paul VI in 1963 to spearhead the reform and development of liturgical music. As an official ecclesiastic association, it admitted only professional musicians. UL was formed shortly before in 1962 by an informal group of priests and lay people also committed to the reform and with a particular interest in the implementation of the vernacular.

In Kock’s evaluation of the two groups, he suggests that church music, for CIMS was primarily ‘music’ while, for UL, it was primarily ‘church’. For CIMS, music was, above all else, an artistic concern, dedicated to the gloria Dei. For UL, it was primarily a pastoral concern, dedicated to the gloria Dei, through the Body of Christ (the assembly members of the faith’. Kock concludes that,

[I]n itself, even differences in subjects of concern (for example Latin or vernacular) and approach need not have been divisive; both groups could have complimented and enriched each other. But this did not happen. Instead each distanced itself even more from each other to the extent that one can rightly talk of a controversy. (p.17, Collins, et al., 1989)

A similar split along ‘artistic’ / ‘pastoral’ lines may be evidenced in the two American publications, Sacred Music and Pastoral Music. Sacred Music is published by the Church Music Association of America and represents an amalgamation of Caecilia (published by the Society of St. Caecilia since 1874) and The Catholic Choirmaster (published by the Society of St. Gregory of America since 1915). In the summer issue of 1998, the editor Kurt Poterack noted that the ‘new liturgical movement’ called for by Cardinal Ratzinger and repudiating many of the efforts at liturgical reform since the council was exhibiting;

...hopeful signs: a number of organizations and publications have formed recently calling for an authentic reform of the liturgy in the light of tradition; and the liturgy club is beginning to lose the nearly exclusive grip it has had on the liturgy for the last thirty years. But this hopeful development is in its early stages - very
early stages. Much damage has been done. (p.4, *Sacred Music*, Summer, 1998, Vol. 125, No.2)

By contrast, Virgil Funk, founder of the National Association of Pastoral Musicians, reflected on the twenty years of the association’s existence in the October-November issue (1996) of *Pastoral Music*, the bimonthly publication of the organisation. Funk noted that one of the most significant developments in liturgical music since the council was the development and deepening of the concept of ‘pastoralism’, particularly in its application to music. Funk viewed this as closely linked to the ministerial function of music identified at the Council and noted the commitment of the association to continuing the reform, even in the face of opposition from the ‘new reform’:

Thirty years after any ecumenical council of the Church, there is bound to be some type of reaction. How you name it depends on your point of view: a correction, a backlash, a re-entrenchment. As an Association our challenge is to continue to teach the power of music in faith. (p.19, *Pastoral Music*, October-November, 1996, Volume 21:1)

While the tensions illustrated above may be seen as rooted in music or liturgy, it is perhaps more accurate to note that they are often located more in ideological attitudes towards one or the other, rather than in ‘art’ or ‘liturgy’ itself. An interesting example of this from the world of visual arts was related in John Cook’s description of the commissioning of a William de Kooning Triptych by St. Peter’s Lutheran Church in New York City. The commission was offered by the church’s Art and Architecture Review Committee, which quickly came under attack from parishioners who felt under-consulted in the commission process. Cook noted that, as tensions mounted a ‘them and us’ situation developed with the committee feeling under attack from those they perceived as not appreciative of the major coup such a commission represented, while many parishioners, including the liturgical scholar Gail Ramshaw objected to the commission on liturgical grounds. In writing to the committee, Ramshaw noted that, ‘seldom in the history of Christendom has a church been improved as a worship space by the addition of a great piece of art, (p.5, Cook presentation, Salzburg Seminar, 1999).
Cook notes that, at this point in the debate, neither side had actually seen the work of art in question. The conflict, therefore, did not centre around the artwork itself, but around various ideologies related to it. By the time the work was completed and on display Cook suggests that very few people were actually in a position to be influenced by the work on its own terms:

'The strongest supporters fell back on clichés about great art, great artists, the importance of having a de Koonig, and being culturally authentic. Many of the supporters of the triptych had little to say about what it is that the painting actually does ... The opposition seldom articulated a clear negative position concerning the painting. They resorted too often to name calling and negative phrases in order to discredit the work. In an overwhelming sense, the supporters and those who opposed the work dealt with issues other than the work of art itself' (p.19, Cook presentation, Salzburg Seminar, 1999).

A similar example drawn from the world of music is presented by Peter Jeffrey in his contribution to *Music and the Experience of God* (Collins et. al., 1989) in his article entitled *Chant East and West: Toward a Renewal of the Tradition*. Jeffrey notes a number of factual inaccuracies often used to support an ideological resistance to, for example, the vernacularisation of chant. The proposition that chant should not be translated, for example, because of the intimate relationship between the Gregorian melodies and the Latin text, poses a number of such inaccuracies. Firstly, Jeffrey notes that contemporary scholarship in this area recognises the use of 'formulaic' patterns in chant composition, built from melodic cells which are highly flexible and often re-used with a number of different texts. In many cases, it is, therefore, simply false to conceive of individual melodies composed for the exclusive use of particular texts.

Furthermore, the claim that Gregorian melodies are particularly suited to Latin accentuation is another supposition which does not hold up well under close scrutiny; 'Renaissance humanists found the melodies so deficient in this regard that they thoroughly revised them, producing the truncated and altered melodies that ultimately appeared in the infamous Ratisbon editions of the late nineteenth century' (p.24, Collins, et. al., 1989). Jeffrey suggests that the strength of opposition to the liturgical, vernacular
reform of music was such that factual scholarship was often sacrificed to the ideological claim for the retention of Gregorian chant.

In an article from the same edition of Concilium, entitled *Music and the Experience of God*, Hoffman’s treatment of the musical tensions in American Synagogue worship suggests that the Christian tension between music and liturgy may well have roots in the ambiguous attitude of Judaism to its own embrace of music:

> The fact is that Jewish tradition has always been ambivalent about music, favouring it as angelic in essence and the only proper way to reach the Creator, but fearing it also, an attitude going back, possibly, to the rabbinic reservations about music’s centrality in pagan rituals. (p.31, Collins, et. al.,1989).

The depth and extent of the tension may therefore be seen as deeply entrenched in Christian origins, tradition and current practice.

One of the more significant developments, however, in the contemporary understanding of liturgical music has involved an interesting attempt to address this divide, not by rejecting the concept of ‘aesthetics’ on the one hand, or through an abdication of the pastoral responsibilities so clearly identified in the Constitution on the Liturgy, but through the development of a Christian aesthetic, founded on the twin pillars of creativity and service.

One document largely responsible for contributing to this development in the English speaking world is the Snowbird Statement. The document, addressed in some detail in Chapter Three of this work, was issued in November, 1995 as the result of two meetings, one held at Snowbird, Utah and one at Salt Lake City, of a group of liturgists and composers from countries using English-language liturgies. While previous documents, such as the Universa Laus and the Milwaukee document had mentioned the importance of aesthetics to ritual, the Snowbird Statement was a seminal document in addressing this as its central point of concern. It is also unique in its approach which does not join the
‘opposition camp’ of musicians, dismissing concerns which are more liturgically or ritually based, rather than purely musical, but appeals for the inclusion of notions of beauty and aesthetics in this understanding, noting that, ‘the theory and practice of ritual music is often inadequately attentive to the beautiful and the artistic’ (No.5)

Taking the Snowbird Statement as a point of departure, two liturgical musicians have contributed significantly to the development of this Christian aesthetic of liturgical music, which attempts a synthesis of the beautiful, the creative and the pastoral.

In his article, ‘In the Beauty of Holiness’: Key Questions about Liturgical Music Aesthetics’, Jan Micheal Joncas responds to the direct call of the Snowbird statement for musicians and liturgists to give a more central role to the question of aesthetics in liturgical music considerations. As with the Snowbird statement, Joncas begins his article by affirming the importance of aesthetics through an affirmation of the importance of beauty. He notes the impoverishment of liturgy when it is reduced to pragmatism, ideology or indoctrination, through the reduced integration of creative, artistic expression.

In formulating an aesthetic response to the Snowbird statement, Joncas suggests that it is first imperative to recognise its threefold context. Firstly, there is the creative context, within which a number of processes, including imagination, intuition and expression may be explored. The second context involves the work of art ‘in itself’, while the third includes its reception by the liturgical assembly.

This tripartite model poses many foundational challenges to the formation of any aesthetic. One might ask, for example, to what extent the first must be in dialogue with the last? Does the creative process have to answer to something demanded by the greater assembly? Does it have to answer to a specifically Christian call? Must the imagination be informed by a faith context? Is it possible to imagine this process in complete independence of the other two?
The model also raises questions about the traditional ‘players’ in liturgical music; the ‘composer’, the ‘performer’, the ‘congregation’. In the August - September, 1997 issue of Pastoral Music, for example, two articles reveal very different attitudes to the role of the liturgical composer. In an article entitled ‘I Am Not the Composer of Liturgical Music: The Assembly Is’, John Foley makes a strong case for an understanding of ‘composer’ in a liturgical context as a responsive listener to the needs, self-expressions and representations called for by the assembled community. Liturgical composition and, therefore, liturgical aesthetic, cannot exist independently of these considerations. In a second article in the same edition by Leo Nestor, music director at the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington DC, he suggests a more traditional model for the liturgical composer, one in which the development of a competent pedagogy, a sense of personal style, idiomatic writing for voices and instruments, the importance of text and the differenciation between Gebrauchtsmusik and Kunstmusik is recognised (Pastoral Music, August- September, 1997, Vol.21:6).

Returning to Joncas’ model, other problems arise. The ‘work of art’ context, for example is always a problematic one for music, as is, Joncas suggests, the location of its ontological status. Where does music reside? Is it in the composer’s mind? The performer’s body? The listener’s ear? Where does it locate its being? In certain forms of oral music, even the differenciation of composer / performer / listener is not always easily defined, with roles shared and often fluid.

Far from retreating in the face of these complexities, Joncas suggests that these questions are at the heart of a Christian liturgical music aesthetic. Whatever ‘beauty’ or ‘holiness’ is achieved, it can only be achieved within the complex of relationships forming the full Body of Christ.

Joncas concludes with a final cautionary note. In the development and evaluation of a Christian liturgical model, he notes the long history of, and need for, engagement with secular aesthetic models, but also suggests that these models must always be shaped and
secular aesthetic models, but also suggests that these models must always be shaped and referenced within the Christian faith concept; ‘[A]bsent such vigilance, we may import evaluative criteria into our conversation that are quite foreign to faith and authentic Christian worship’ (p.40, Pastoral Music, June-July, 1996, Vol.20:5) The building of a cathedral of enormous beauty, for example, may be acclaimed aesthetically, but if this is done through the exploitation of an impoverished workforce, the Christian aesthetic must recognise a contradiction. In the same way, the consistent use of music which isolates the assembly from any sense of belonging to the Christian community, must also be a concern for a Christian aesthetic.

In a similar attempt at synthesis, Edward Foley suggests in ‘The Ritual Function of Beauty: from Assisi to Snowbird’, that the ritual use of music and its aesthetic development need not be incompatible. In the adoption of categories of ‘function’ from anthropology, Foley suggests that ritual music has tended to see beauty as non-functional and, therefore, not relevant. Not only does Foley contend this false dichotomy, but he also defends beauty itself as purposeful ‘[T]o exclude the beautiful as a function of ritual music is to risk the very art of the music itself’ (p.20, Pastoral Music, February-March, 1997, Vol.21:3).

In both the Snowbird statement and the commentaries of Joncas and Foley there is an assumed parity between notions of aesthetics and beauty. While the thrust of all this documentation reaches for a strong Christian influence on the aesthetics of liturgical music, it is surprising to see this so directly related and, perhaps limited to, the beautiful. Given the centrality of suffering, betrayal and the disenfranchised to the Christian message, one is tempted to speculate, for example, on the role of ugliness in a Christian music aesthetic. Is beauty always the most appropriate vehicle for lamentation? Might not the voice of the disenfranchised include anger? Is beauty a large enough aesthetic concept to house all these voices? Is the Paschal Mystery, ultimately, beautiful?
This section will conclude with the reflections of Rembert G. Weakland OSB in *Themes of Renewal* on these questions and the suggestion that a true Christian aesthetic must look to a number of models, capable of housing the full Body of Christ in its artistic and musical expression.

Central to this, Weakland suggests, is the shift of emphasis from the music to the person. ‘Music’ as a product or ‘work of art’ has little liturgical meaning outside of its connection with the creator of the music, the performer and the congregation which embraces it liturgically. Two primary influences have and may continue to mould this perspective; the influence of the psychological and the sociological / anthropological on art, aesthetics and Christianity.

A psychological perspective, Weakland suggests, has brought the question into a new intimacy, an intimacy which involves personal expression, personal relationship with the creative process and personal interpretation. This personal dimension is not a rampant individualisation of the experience but a recognition that the aesthetic is relational, subjective and viewed through the lens of interpretation.

The second stream, that of sociological / anthropological influence recognises that while experience is personal and subjective, it is also communal and influenced in shape and expression by the culture, values and ethics of the community. Art is neither absolute nor disinterested but a medium through which cultural values are affirmed, opposed or brought into contact with others.

Both these approaches radically shift the aesthetic emphasis from a product to a person-based perspective. Immediate overtones of the pastoral message, initiated through John the XXIII and brought to bear on the conciliar documentation and ethos are evident here. It would seem that the re-investigation of the intimacy between aesthetics and the people from whom this expression is birthed, must form a central remit in the search for a Christian aesthetic.
Inculturation

If a Christian aesthetic posits, not an art for art's sake, but an art intrinsically linked with the community it serves, than the nature and context of that community becomes a central consideration. To this extent, it becomes impossible to discuss a theology of art or a Christian aesthetic without reference to issues of inculturation.

The recognition of the primacy of cultural context marks one of the significant watersheds of the Second Vatican Council. From a preconciliar position, in which liturgy and its artistic expression was seen as largely prescriptive and homogeneous, postconciliar documentation recognised the necessity for liturgy to dialogue with local and contemporary cultures. In one of the most significant postconciliar documents on inculturation, *The Roman Liturgy and Inculturation*, published by the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, (1994), the conciliar document *Lumen Gentium* is quoted in its recognition that human cultures, in all their diversities, may be put to the use of religious expression. The document notes that:

> the liturgy of the Church must not be foreign to any country, people or individual, and at the same time, it should transcend the particularity of race and nation. It must be capable of expressing itself in every human culture, all the while maintaining its identity, through fidelity to the tradition which comes to it from the Lord. (No. 18, 1994)

This attempt to honour local community voices in the universal expression of Catholicism is at the heart of present liturgical concerns of inculturation. As a primary local, cultural ‘voice’ is that of music, it is an issue at the heart of any discussion concerning a theology of music of a Christian musical aesthetic.

Before embarking on this aspect of current thought concerning a theology of music, it is necessary to note that the concept of ‘inculturation’ is a relatively new one in Roman Catholic liturgical parlance and is used in this work to denote a cluster of terminology...
which has attached itself to this issue in the years following the council. In *Liturgical Inculturation: Sacramentals, Religiosity and Catechesis*, Anscar J. Chupungo provided an interesting history of this terminology and its current usage.

Chupungo notes that each wave of terminology assimilation illustrates new attempts to grasp the complex and subtle relationship between culture and liturgy. The term ‘indigenization’ was introduced in the 1970’s by D.S. Amalorpavadass, referring to, ‘the process of conferring on Christian liturgy a cultural form that is native to the local community’ (p.14, Chupungo, 1992) Referring primarily to the ‘indigenization’ of Christian liturgy in India, Amalorpavadass suggested three stages in the process. The first involved the inclusion of symbols ‘indigenous’ to Indian culture. The second included the translation of liturgical books into the vernacular while the final stage involved the incorporation of Indian sacred books, such as the *Rig Veda* into Christian liturgy. Within the Phillipines, Chupungo noted that this process also included an attempt to revive interest in ‘native’ cultural heritage. The composer B. Maramba, for example, composed music for the Ordinary of the Mass, influenced by the music of the Ifugao, Kalinga and Maranaw. A similar thrust can be recognised in the liturgical music of Seán Ó Riada and its attempts to bring features, idiomatic of Irish traditional music and song to bear on his liturgical compositions.

Chupango notes three difficulties in this approach to culture and liturgy. Firstly, the idea of an ‘indigenous’ Roman Catholic liturgy is oxymoronic to most Christian communities beyond Western Europe. Secondly, the identification of ‘indigenous’ cultures in any community is difficult in a world where most contemporary communities are characterised by the historical existence of several different cultures and a contemporary cultural diversity. Finally, Chupungo suggests that an ‘indigenous’ liturgy may be historically interesting or carry the political flag for a cultural heritage agenda, but may not actually serve the needs of a diverse, contemporary Christian community.
was incarnated into a particular society and culture, taking on the norms and codes of that world, so to must the Church be able to ‘incarnate’ itself within various cultures and societies around the world. Just as Jesus was both of the Judaic world and yet also a challenge to it, Christianity is called to be both of a culture and, when necessary, to form a counter-culture of challenge.

Adaptation as incarnation, however, is not without its critics, especially among theologians who view the Incarnation of Christ as a mystery without parallel and are cautious of using this terminology for any other reason. Chupungo suggests that the concept be better used as a foundational theology for an understanding of liturgy, than as a term to explain the processes involved when that liturgy encounters culture.

Chupungo credits the World Council of Churches with the introduction of the notion of ‘contextualisation’ representing, ‘the Church’s continuing concern to be relevant to the contemporary world’ (p.21, Chupungo, 1992). This interest in the concerns of the world within which liturgy resides has made the term particularly attractive to liberation theology, in its attempt to locate oppression, poverty and need at the heart of liturgical expression.

The use of the term ‘revision’ within the conciliar and post-conciliar world would appear to have a double agenda. On the one hand, the revision of liturgical texts was to update language and render the texts appropriate to contemporary needs. As such, they were also to provide a model, to which local inculturation could look, as a point of departure.

But the revision of liturgical texts also included an attempt at the restoration of the Roman liturgy. Those more interested in a ‘return’ to the old rather than revision for the sake of the new, tended to emphasis the ‘classical’ nature of the restoration. This may be one reason for the failure of liturgical reform, in many case, to truly grow beyond the initial stage of text revision and translation. In a hard hitting article entitled Facing the Hard Issues, Mary Collins notes:
It is no secret that many of our brothers in that Roman body had no commitment to the project; they embraced neither the basic reform of the ritual books nor what the constitution called cultural adaptation. Many in fact had a basic dislike for the very premises of the project. And they have acted effectively in the past decade to turn procedures on their head. (p.1, Funk (ed.), 1991)

The use of *adaptatio* and *accomodatio* in the Constitution on the Liturgy is translated by Chupungo as ‘adaptation’. He notes however that, following the council, the two concepts took on two separate meanings, with ‘adaptation’ referring to official adaptations recognised by the council of bishops and ‘accommodation’, to the less formal changes a local pastor may introduce, based on the needs and composition of his community.

In the conclusion of his survey of terminology, Chupungo notes that within contemporary notions of ‘enculturation’, ‘acculturation’ and ‘inculturation’, Christian liturgical use has fallen firmly on the side of ‘inculturation’, as a concept capable of expressing the need to, ‘keep the Christian message intact throughout the course of cultural exchange’ (p.25, Chupungo, 1992). The current use of this term reveals a concern on the part of the Christian community that, while it engages with and respects the worlds of human communities within which it resides, its residence carries with it a clear message, ethic and fundamental, non-negotiable belief. It is in this sense that Michael Paul Gallagher speaks of ‘clashing symbols’ in his publication of the same title. Gallagher notes that, as well as its mandate to form its identity within the expressive world of local communities, the Christain church will also, at times, form a strong counter-culture within that community. With reference to the post-conciliar document *Evangelii nuntiandi*, he notes that:
the evangelization in question will seek to change the cultural assumption of people: the implication is that the dominant criteria of common sense are often in silent conflict with the gospel. (p.45, Gallagher, 1997)

As ‘inculturation’ is now the dominant terminology for Christian dialogue between liturgy and culture, it is important to use it with reference to both this historical development of the term and the clear Christian mandate at the heart of its understanding of cultural encounter.

If the conceptual foundation for the interaction between liturgy and culture can be traced to conciliar and post-conciliar documentation, the theological foundations pre-date the council. The most significant theological work concerning Christianity and culture is that of the theologian, Paul Tillich. His seminal publication *Theology of Culture* continues to exercise widespread influence in contemporary liturgical models of inculturation.

Tillich’s central premise, most explicitly expounded in his essay ‘The Two Types of Philosophy of Religion’, argues that the perceived divide between religion and culture involves two concerns, ‘which are not strange to each other but have been estranged from each other’ (p.29, Tillich, 1959). Tillich roots this unnatural separation in the historical supremacy of cosmological over the ontological type of philosophy of religion. An ontological perspective, he suggests, roots all belief and knowledge in the existence of God. This is an existence which is recognised as a *veritas*, a truth beyond argument, propounded in Augustinian theology: ‘God can never be reached if he is the object of a question, and not its basis’ (p.13, Tillich, 1959).

Making God the object of a question marks the fundamental shift away from this ontological world view. From the time of scholasticism, God became an object of enquiry. The *veritas* of God was not in direct experience of God but in knowledge of God. For Aquinas, faith was a kind of degenerative belief which lacked the strength of knowledge or evidence.
Tillich suggests that this changing perspective marks the beginning of the division between religion and culture. As long as God was the point of departure for all human activity, God (or the liturgical celebration of God) was also the point of departure for all cultural constructs. For Tillich, notions of God or of religion refer, most fundamentally to, ‘the aspect of depth in the totality of the human spirit’ (p.7, Tillich, 1959). When we speak of God, we refer to that which houses our deepest concerns. In this sense, Tillich argues that all of culture, which is involved in the expression of deep concern is essentially religious. To recognise this, is to recognise that;

...the religious and the secular realm are in the same predicament. Neither of them should be in separation from the other, and both should realise that their very existence as separated is an emergency, that both of them are rooted in religion in the larger sense of the word, in the experience of ultimate concern. (p.9, Tillich, 1959)

The extension of ‘religion’ beyond denomination, to include all cultural expressions of ‘ultimate concern’ is, one may suggest, highly significant to any discussion on a theology of music. If, as Tillich suggests, any cultural expression of deeply held concerns or beliefs has a religious dimension, then Tillich’s view is highly resonant with a view of the arts as expressing, challenging or affirming human beliefs and behaviour. To the extent that the musician or composer attempts to put his / her music at the service of this expression, Tillich suggests that, this music is religious. Through this radical liberation of religion from denominations, this perspective allows the non-Christian musician or artist the right to religious expression, even within a Christian context. Indeed, it even suggests that ‘Christian’ music may be considered irreligious if not bent to these same ends! This position is intrinsically linked to a service model, whereby all of religion is seen to be at the service of something inexpressible, but essential to the human spirit.

This concept of religion, the service it seeks to render, and the expression it looks to for this rendering, will form one important component of the theology of music suggested at the conclusion of this chapter.
In his article on the local realisation of the church after the Second Vatican Council, Joseph Komonchak noted that this realisation involved several complex cultures and localities.

Two primary cultures, Komonchak suggests, have dominated post Vatican attempts to come to terms with inculturation. These include the church’s concern with the contemporary culture of the Western world and the emerging ‘local’ voices of non-Western Christian communities. Through John XXIII, the voice of aggiornamento sought the long overdue engagement of the church with the modern world; with industrialisation, urbanisation, and a concomitant secularisation of society. The church’s attempt to ignore or distance itself from the perceived threats of modernity, led to a pre-conciliar trend towards centralisation of both ecclesiastic power and liturgical form:

The Catholic church ...was a church that for the previous century and a half had been marked by an increased emphasis upon uniformity and by the centralization of all authority in Rome. It had practically defined itself by its suspicion of modernity, in response to which it created a world of its own, distinct in world view and ethos, expressed in its own language and symbols, and defined and legitimated by a distinct mode of philosophy and theology. It retained, almost as a normative memory, a more than nostalgic affection for an idealized medieval Christendom, prior to the separations that Protestantism, philosophism, liberalism, and secularization had introduced. (p.80, Albergio, et. al., 1987)

Musically, this attitude was reflected in a reluctance to engage with popular or contemporary idioms, remaining, ‘too aloof, too alien to our mainstream of general culture’ (p.50, Weakland, 1995). The reversal of this position in the post-conciliar clime, led to a relaxation of this central hold. Attempts to embrace modernity, then, also opened the doors to a growing diversity.

The most obvious liturgical expressions of this new diversity emerged in the young Christian churches around the world. The Second Vatican Council took place at the concluding stages of a long period of global decolonisation. The emergence of new nation states or the re-emergence of long repressed cultural identities impacted the assimilation
and interpretation of the Vatican directives in ways often radically different to their assimilation in the older, Western churches. These interpretations cannot be separated from the attempt of many former colonies in Third World Regions to come to terms with an inheritance of poverty, disempowerment and oppression. In Latin America, for example, the most characteristic examples of post-Vatican two interpretation may be seen in the emergence of liberation theology and the associated base ecclesial communities. Louis de Laucelles’ comments on this development resonate strongly with Tillich’s view when he suggests that:

[W]hatever the future may bring, the postconciliar evolution of the Church in Latin America will have strongly emphasised the impossibility of separating faith from social responsibility. (p.49, Albergio, et. al., 1987).

Using Subsaharan Africa as an example, Vaucelles notes another challenge facing the inculturation process in many post-colonial countries. A characteristic legacy of colonisation is the destruction or oppression of local culture. Ireland bears witness to a long tradition of this attitude and its enforcement. In her publication, Passing it On, Marie McCarthy notes this attempt at cultural genocide, enacted legally from as early as the 14th century Statutes of Kilkenny (McCarthy, 1999).

What happens, Vaucelles asks, when the church itself has been a perpetrator in this annihilation of pre-Christian culture? How does a church engage in the processes of inculturation with the very culture it was instrumental in suppressing? What happens when these cultures are in radical opposition to the dominant, Christian, Western culture? For example, how does Roman Catholicism engage with an African concept of marriage in relation to its policy on celibacy? Musically speaking, how does it engage with instruments and sounds associated with other gods and other beliefs? Quoting the Cameroon theologian, Jean-Marc Ela, Vaucelles concludes that Catholicism has to, finally, begin to become truly catholic, not only in its encounter with the non-Western but in its encounter with contemporary Western culture which is, in many ways, as isolated from
encounter with contemporary Western culture which is, in many ways, as isolated from this Roman, traditional norms, as are many of the young, non-Western Christian communities.

Included in the concerns of inculturation are not just the encounters between the religious system of Christianity and other cultures, but also between Christianity and other religious systems. In his publication *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, Mungello reminds us that this encounter is not a new one or one originating with the Vatican Council (Mungello, 1989). Mungello’s explanation of the first attempts by the Society of Jesus to introduce Christianity into mainland China, primarily through the efforts of Matteo Ricci provides an interesting example of early accommodation in the encounter between Christianity, Confucianism and Buddhism.

One important point raised by Mungello involves the level of commitment involved in this early encounter. The early Jesuit missionaries arrived in the country of their destination with the full intention of spending the remainder of their lives in that place. The missionary thrust was not that of a short term infiltration, but of a life commitment to a place and a community. While all efforts at Christian inculturation do not necessarily require this scale of commitment, it certainly played a role in the extent to which the Jesuits became involved in the culture of the communities they served.

On the other hand, the missionary attitude of this period was essentially one of introducing Christianity in the same form in which the missionaries had, themselves received it, with all its incumbent Western trappings and cultural expression. It is in this respect that Ricci was exceptional.

Ricci’s fascination with China involved a desire to understand its geography, history, philosophy and cultural systems. In his extensive writings, he praised Chinese printing as far superior to those of Europe, as well as its extensive system of rivers and canals. He criticised Chinese architecture as inferior, but took pleasure in the novelties of tea and
lacquer. His great love for, and long study of Chinese philosophy, led to his paraphrase and commentary on 'the Four Books' of the nine Chinese Classics, attributed to Confucius, as author or compiler.

Ricci’s great love for Chinese philosophy and culture informed his essential approach to Christian accommodation. On the one hand, Ricci honoured Confucianism for its emphasis on respect and morality. On the other, it was clearly of non-Christian origin. Mungello notes;

... for a Christian the fact remains that Confucius was a pagan, even if a virtuous one. Consequently, we find Ricci handling this delicate situation by choosing his words carefully ... Ricci noted that the learned Chinese revered Confucius as their common master and dared not question any of his statements, he did not treat Confucius as a competitor to Jesus. Ricci explained that this was because the Chinese philosophers had honored Confucius as a mortal, but not revered him as a god. (p.57, Mungello, 1989)

Ricci approached the Confucius practice of ancestor worship in a similar way. He viewed rites performed to honour the memory of ancestors, not as a worship act, but as an attitude close to the Christian emphasis on filial respect.

It is significant that Ricci’s attitude towards Confucius philosophy did not extend to Buddhism and Mungello notes that, '[H]is harsh criticism of Buddhism was due largely to his perception of it as a competitor to Christianity' (p65, Mungello, 1989). Ricci’s approach to accommodation reveals much of the potential and challenge still faced in Christian inculturation. On the one hand, Christianity seeks to understand, celebrate and become part of the larger cultural context within which its communities reside. On the other, Christianity will often reject aspects of that culture which are perceived as in conflict or competition with Christianity. One might suggest that this tension corresponds with the tension at the heart of liturgy or of the ritual experience. Ritual provides a space within which cultural beliefs and practices may be espoused and expressed, but also a
space within which they may be challenged or subverted. To this extent, liturgy may be the forum most capable of negotiating the ongoing encounter between faith and culture.

Once again, this work draws from such a general liturgical proposition, a related musical point. If liturgy is proposed as a forum within which the tensions of inculturation may be addressed, then what role does liturgical music play in this same process? In a paper presented at the Societas Liturgia Congress in Turku, Finland, 1997, Fr. Poulose Maniyattu addresses this question with reference to the influence of music used in Hindu worship on Christian liturgical music in India. Maniyattu addresses the spectrum of response and attitude to inculturation throughout the numerous waves of Christian influence in India, suggesting that music always formed a primary component in expressing this process. The earliest Christians in India, the St. Thomas Christians, for example, shared a common culture with their Hindu neighbours, but adopted the Eastern Syriac liturgy and liturgical music. Both Christians and Hindus, however, shared similar instruments for religious festivals and processions, honouring Christian saints or Hindu manifestations.

From the 16th century and the introduction of the Latin Rite, a spectrum of attitudes towards Hindu culture was experienced;

At first the missionaries could not appreciate the Hindu influence. The condemnation of many Hindu customs in the Diamper Synod is evidence for this. However, this attitude undergoes a thorough revision. Some of the missionaries learned Sanskrit, and became authorities concerning the Hindu religion. Poets like Amos Padri wrote spiritual hymns in imitation of the Hindu spiritual hymns.

(p.16, Maniyattu, 1997)

With the introduction of the vernacular in liturgy, Christian liturgies began to look to Indian classical music and Vedic chant for liturgical music inspiration. Hindu musical forms such as the mantras and bhajans were introduced. While this process of Indianization may seem to celebrate the inculturation process, Maniyattu is cautious in his evaluation. Just because liturgical music in India cultivates clear connections with
Indian musical forms, this does not necessarily make it ‘good’ liturgical music. He also voices a similar question to Chupungo in the liturgical search for cultural roots:

While striving for an indigenous music in liturgy one cannot ignore the question whether the St. Thomas Christians should discard their Syriac music which has persisted in India for almost 17 centuries and turn to the so called Hindu music style. (p.17, Maniyattu, 1997)

Clearly, liturgical or musical inculturation has not achieved its job merely through the introduction of some ‘ethnic’ perspective, style or attitude to its composition or use. In this way, inculturation can be seen as needing to avoid the same danger as aesthetics, in not simply adopting an existing notion of this context and applying it uncritically to a Christian context. The Christian context itself must inform one’s understanding of the concept. In this way, ‘inculturated’ Christian music must answer to the demands of both culture and faith. While an inculturated Christian music may be an indigenous music, or an ‘ethnic’ music, it is also possible that it may be an ‘imported’ music which fulfills a pastoral function in liturgy. In this way, Western plainchant, as with the Syriac music of the St. Thomas Christians, may be seen as an ‘import’ within many cultural contexts. This, in itself, however, should not place an automatic bar on the consideration of this repertoire within the call for an inculturated liturgy.

Whatever the challenges of inculturation, the Second Vatican council put culture firmly on the theological agenda. A growing number of voices would seem to indicate that music may form one of the most significant expressions of this theology. Eugenio Costa suggests that music forms the essential point of contact between faith and culture of contact. In an interesting inversion of Tillich’s position he suggests that all things are, essentially, secular, but all can be put to the use of faith. Secularity, for Costa, simply means of a place, of a time and of a culture. This secular world provides the ‘raw materials’ of expression. Liturgy, like all ritual, absorbs these materials but within the context of the faith system it wishes to express. The ‘raw material’ of music, for example, must be drawn from cultural expression, but cannot simply be included, ad hoc, into
liturgical practice. The raw materials of style, form and colour must be put to the service of the ritual expression, and encounter the challenges imposed by this space. In this sense,

...music truly finds itself at the crossroads between liturgy and culture. Any crossroad may mean danger and generate tension and must be approached with great care; but it can also become a place for encounter and sharing. (p.73, Funk (ed.), 1991)

When this essential encounter happens, a deeply hermeneutic change occurs. The fusion of horizons between music and liturgy creates a liturgical music. Liturgical music, in this sense, cannot exist independent of the cultural community or communities from which its expression has grown; neither can it exist without reference to the Christian faith within which it forms an essential voice.

It is at this essential point of encounter that one may speak of a theology of music. This theology is clearly Christian but also clearly musical in its expression. Two examples may assist this assertion.

Drawing on the work of Dimitrije Stefanovic, a theology of liturgical music within the Orthodox tradition may be suggested. Stefanovic notes that orthodox services are inconceivable without music. Liturgies are always chanted or sung; never recited or read. The musical director must have an intimate, liturgical and theological knowledge of the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great. Both these theologians noted the singing of psalms as capable of united people in God, fostering a spirit of love, praising God for the wonder of creation and facilitating God’s access to our innermost hearts. The Orthodox liturgy is essentially a liturgy of service; so to, is its attitude to music. Music, in this sense, is inseparable from liturgy and inseparable from the theology that liturgy exists to express. Stefanovic concludes that, ‘Singing church music with faith and understanding helps to make contact with the unseen but always present God’ (p.11, Stefanovic, 1997).
A second example may be drawn from the work of James Cone concerning the theology of black spirituals. Cone notes the amount of attention devoted to the music and the poetry of this repertoire, but also a lack of critical reflection on the theology this music expresses. Culture, he suggests, is critical to an understanding of this theology; a culture of oppression with deep and sustained suffering. This culture honed the experience and interpretation of Christian assimilation and the music it created grew out of secular sound and Christian theology. Drawing especially on the theology of eschatology, Cone suggests that spirituals formed the prime expression of hope for this community; hope, not only for a future world, but for a better future in this world. Black eschatology, Cone writes,

...was primarily a theological perspective on the present which enabled oppressed blacks to realise that their existence transcended historical limitations. This emphasis is, perhaps, the most important contribution of black religion as reflected in the spirituals. (p.50, Collins et. al., 1989)

In summary then, what has culture and the processes of inculturation to say to a theology of music? The reflections in this section suggest a number of points.

Culture grounds reflection in experience. Culture involves, indeed, exists, within the forum of human expression. To this extent, an emphasis on a cultural expression, involves an emphasis on the experienced. Cultural studies has played a significant role in the reclamation of experience as a valid point of departure in the face of historical emphasis on written narration and literacy as the point of reflective departure. A theology of culture is a theology of what happens. Music happens. Music is a prime carrier of culture. An emphasis on a theology of culture cannot, therefore, avoid an engagement with music.

Liturgy, as ritual expression, is also a happening. Liturgy is also experience. Indeed, anthropology has a long historical tradition of looking to ritual as a space within which culture is inclined to reveal its many voices. A theology of culture, therefore, also moves theology away from a narrow textual interpretation, and closer to liturgy as the theologia
prima. Once again, such a move cannot occur without a consideration of music as a primary component of liturgy.

Both these points illustrate a repositioning of music, closer to the heart of what Christianity means when it speaks of theology.

A salient thread running through all the reflections in this section, is the tension existing between the need for faith to embrace culture and the demands and challenges put on culture by particular faith systems. Once again, music may be suggested as a carrier, both of this tension and its expression. This tension is not necessarily negative; indeed, it is the tension which informs the critical nature of ritual, in allowing ritual deep expression of community identity and community challenge. This tension may also be seen as a highly creative force within music, as it attempts to give voice to these conflicting demands.

Music, it may be suggested, is also capable of carrying the prophetic voice of Christian theology. In *Worship: Culture and Theology*, David Power reiterates the importance of prophecy in the Church’s self vision (Power, 1990). The church is always drawn forward into the mystery of existence, beyond the limits of dogma or reason and only accessible through the prophetic voice of the mystic or of ritual. The potency of ritual voices, including musical ones, is electric to the Christian consciousness.

Finally, numerous examples exist of the fusion of musical expression with religious belief, to the extent that music becomes a primary expression of those belief systems. Orthodox liturgical chant, Western plainchant, Zen Buddhist chant or black spirituals may all be pointed to as primary carriers of theological intent. To this extent, it is no longer sufficient to speak of a theology of music. This culturally rooted, spiritually transformed music is now, itself, theology.
Symbol and Ritual

Closely related to a theology of culture, are the conceptual fields of symbol and ritual, and their emerging prominence in post-conciliar theological reflection. Once again, their growing primacy of place has impacted the re-evaluation of music as theological expression.

Chapter One has introduced the conceptual worlds of symbol theory and ritual studies and the effect these have had on contemporary theological thought. Symbolic interpretation and ritual context are seen as primary contenders in theological transmission and experience. The following section will look to how this re-evaluation of symbol, as theological carrier, and rite as theologicus locus, has contributed to the emerging primacy of music as a legitimate theological voice.

There is no question of the existence and potency of symbolic systems within the context of Christian liturgical practice. Light, incense, the cross, the holy books, water, oil, bread, wine, ashes, music, icons and symbolic architecture have always played a role in the world of Christian symbols. While traditional theology, through its use of biblical typology and allegory might be viewed as highly symbolic, the historical development of theology has tended to grow along the lines of the systematic approach of the Thomistic tradition; a highly text bound and textually derivative tradition. Contemporary theological thought is characterised by an attempt to re-evaluate the theological importance of symbols, a position perhaps best illustrated with an example from the epicentre of Christian theology, that of Eucharistic theology. It is significant that in a contribution to Theological Studies, the Jesuit Edward Kilmartin, a renowned Eucharistic scholar and theologian, locates the source of Eucharistic theology not just in text, but also in symbol:

The best access to the more authentic traditional theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice is the classical Eucharistic prayers and accompanying symbolic activity. (p.443, Kilmartin, 1994)
Contemporary theology may be said to be reaching a renewed understanding of just how powerful and influential symbolic carriers are in the creation, mediation and growth of any theological system. There is also a recognition of the particular nature of music as a symbol and the unique characteristics it brings to symbolic expression. In *Music and the Emotions*, Malcolm Budd outlines a number of philosophical theories concerning the connection between music and emotional expression. One thread running through all of these theories is the almost paradoxical nature of musical symbolism. Because music may be said to be non-propositional and non-representational, one may also say that, while music is symbolic, we can never be quite certain, as to what it symbolises. To this extent, music is the most ambivalent of symbols. Susanne Langer’s theory of music suggests that every piece of music is symbolic. While this symbol may have no discursive or presentational characteristics, it is capable of symbolising the ‘form of a feeling’ (p. 106, Budd, 1985). This is not to say that music ‘symbolises’ emotions, but that music is capable of transmitting the underlying feelings which form emotional response. This response may be affective, cognitive or even spiritual.

The ability of music to be symbolic and yet also ambivalent may be suggested as one of its primary uses to ritual. Ritual is always in the business of using the materials of the expressible to render the inexpressible. To paraphrase Anselm’s *fides quaerens intellectum*, (p.43, McGrath, 1997), theology may also be viewed as an attempt to understand the incomprehensible. If music is the symbolic expression of the ever-ambiguous, it is perhaps not surprising that it has a long association with the ritual expression of God, or that it is gaining a new understanding as a theological expression of that same mystery.

If symbolism is gaining a new foothold in theological thought, then theology may also be said to be engaging with the contemporary crisis of symbolic representation. This crisis revolves around the question as to whether contemporary society is capable of sustaining meaningful symbols. In a world where society is characterised by accelerated change,
rejection of the past, fragmentation, and technological media which absorb and discard symbols at such a rate that one can speak of ‘disposable’ symbols, the question has been raised as to whether such symbols are capable of housing deeply held beliefs or shared, sustainable values. This question is particularly critical to belief systems. Weakland notes that, ‘some anthropologists doubt that our age is capable of again creating a religious symbol system’ (p.19, Weakland, 1995). In his article ‘Assembly: Remembering into the Future’ Mark Searle notes the importance of shared memory to symbolic understanding. Symbols are utilised to house the memory of a community and, in their expression, to unite the physically present community with its past and its future (Funk (ed.), 1991). But what if that physical community rejects the memory of the past and its symbolic expression? What is the significance, for example, of the widespread rejection, in practical liturgy, of plainchant and the memories housed in its expression? If a community rejects a symbolic voice, how does it create a new one? How do symbolic voices emerge within the context of accelerated change and experimentation? Again, music examples these issues in the recent history of post-conciliar experimentation, where no stronghold of repertoire has emerged as a voice of permanence. Accelerated change has also led to ‘quick’ music composition, where accessibility is viewed as key. This same music has become the fodder of a growing liturgical music commercial industry, which thrives on the ‘new’: new releases, new compositions, new publications. It is these values of fast-paced change, immediacy and commercialism which leads the Irish Jesuit theologian, Michael Paul Gallagher to ask whether this world is actually clashing with the religious world of symbolic expression. Referring to Lonergan’s claim that the crisis of contemporary faith is not a crisis of faith, but of culture, Gallagher raises some interesting questions. If the culture within which a faith system resides seems incapable of sustaining symbolic meaning, can that faith system survive, when its existence depends on that expression? Is Western contemporary society fated to secularism if it continues down this road, characterised by modernity and post-modernity?
Again, music provides interesting examples which support this question and also challenge it. The last thirty years of liturgical music reform in the Roman Catholic church would seem, on the one hand, to concur with this inevitability. This history has seen a landslide rejection of plainchant and Latin song, in favour of new vernacular composition. The same period has witnessed thousands of liturgical compositions, many of which disappeared almost as quickly as they were written. It has also identified itself with a growing commercial industry, within which one might claim commercial values are prioritisised over musical or liturgical ones.

On the other hand, paradox prevails. The re-emergence of plainchant has not occurred to any great extent within liturgical practice but within the world of commercial recordings. 'Secular' composers continue to be attracted to the liturgical and musical forms of the Roman liturgy. In a paper presented for the Maynooth International Conference of 1995, my own research noted that in 1995, the Contemporary Music Centre of Ireland had a listing of seventy-eight compositions under the category 'sacred music'. Few of these compositions had ever been used liturgically, but had been performed for public broadcast or the concert platform. Despite the secular setting, the composers were obviously drawn in some way to the liturgical form for their musical compositions (Devine; White,(eds.), 1995). Early music groups, such as Anonymous Four look to liturgical structure to frame concert performances. It would seem that the secular world and, even the commercial world, may not always be the enemy of symbolic, liturgical expression but may, indeed be the carrier of the last traces, or new emergence, of liturgical symbols.

Finally, conflicts in symbolic expressions do not necessarily signal their demise. In a final word from the great Benedictine advocate of liturgical music reform, Rembert Weakland, one is reminded that conflict is generated, not by apathy but through passion. If liturgical music is struggling to find a voice with contemporary integrity, the extent to which we fight about it is an indicator of its survival. In his reflection on his own life, Weakland notes that:
When I was head of the Benedictine Order and would return home from a long trip to visit monasteries, inevitably someone would ask me how, in those times of turbulent change, I could tell a Benedictine community from any other. My reply would always be that you could tell by the things people were fighting about. Our concerns are shown in the things we discuss with passion. Benedictines always argue about the liturgy - from quilismas to ictuses. In any questions and answer period with a Benedictine community, I found that almost all the inquiries would center on liturgy and liturgical renewal. Whenever I would visit, by chance, a Jesuit community, I can assure you no one asked about such liturgical fineries.

I open with this assertion, namely, that we argue about the things that are dear to us, to show that liturgy and liturgical music are still very much alive these thirty-some years after the publication of the first document on liturgical renewal of Vatican Council II. (p.59, Weakland, 1995)

Turning then from theological considerations of music as symbol, to music as component of ritual, is to move to a new consideration of the performative within theology. Not unrelated to the claim that symbolic expression is a carrier of theology, performance studies would also claim that ritual performance is a prime carrier of ritual expression. While performance theory has exerted a strong influence on anthropology through the work of Edward Schieffelin and Pierre Bourdieu, it is only recently that it has become a theological consideration, entering Christian theological thought primarily through the influence of ritual studies. In her article, Ritual Studies and the Eucharist: Paying Attention to Performance, Margaret Mary Kelleher argues for the theological necessity of attending to performance within her reflections on Eucharistic theology. The nature of liturgy as an activity, she suggests, makes it impossible to fully understand from the merely theoretical. Describing liturgy as ‘ecclesial activity’ (p52, ), and the Eucharist as the prime ecclesial activity, she asks, ‘how can we ignore liturgical performance as a source for theological reflection about what we are becoming? (p.53, Austin (et al), 1997). Performance, she suggests is constitutive of liturgical identity and, therefore, also of theological identity.
Engaging theologically, and not just phenomenologically with liturgical performance presents a number of theological challenges. Firstly, the very impermanence of performance and the local nature of its existence characterises it as highly subjective and interpretative. In her reflections on ritual for the *Journal of Ritual Studies*, Elizabeth Collins notes that even the definition of ritual is highly ambivalent and changeable. The issue of meaning in ritual is also an important theological and performative question. Must all liturgical performance be theologically meaningful? Must this meaning be overt and explicitly theological? What of performing music or utilising art which is not overtly Christian? Collins also notes that rituals function both as structures and agencies. In other words, rituals frame expression while they are themselves also capable of being agents of change. Collins suggests that;

... the interpreter of ritual needs to employ both the hermeneutics of suspicion and the hermeneutics of agency. Taken together, these opposed perspectives alert one to the contradictions that are often at the heart of the symbolic acts that constitute ritual. (p.4, Collins, Summer, 1998)

Grimes’ reference to the drastic nature of ritual metaphor describes this same attempt of ritual to embody these contradictions. In this sense, the overt and the explicit are not always the most valuable forms of ritual expression. As theology has, historically, tended to reside in dogma and doctrine, it is easy to imagine the theological challenge such an engagement with performance suggests. Once again, however, this challenge may be viewed as an opportunity. The rejection, for example, of indigenous religious music in many traditions, has been on the grounds that it is doctrinally inaccurate. Indeed, the repertoire of traditional religious song in Ireland takes myth and story, as much as doctrine, as its point of departure. If however, one views theology as inclusive of the contradictory, the subjective and the implicit, it is possible to see the ritual and theological value in a religious repertoire with deep cultural and symbolic significance, however weak it may appear to be in traditional understandings of theology.
In effect, this approach asks theology to incorporate the unpredictable nature of performance and artistic expression. The greatest pendant may achieve doctrinal accuracy and yet not stir any soul, while the poet’s language may verge on the blasphemous and yet touch the heart of the Christian enterprise. Such is the challenge presented to any theological discussion of performance and, in this case, music.

Such an approach to theology brings another aspect of performative expression to bear: the significance of the human body. Referring to the work of Chauvet in sacramental theology, Judith Marie Kubicki notes the body as the ‘primordial place’ of all symbolic expression. In her article for Worship on the role of music as ritual symbol in Roman Catholic liturgy, it is suggested that, ‘such a premise is important for a theology of the sacraments since the ritual symbolism which constitutes them has the body for its setting. Furthermore, such a premise is important for a theory of music as ritual symbol since music-making, more than any other artistic enterprise, involves the body in an intimate and integral way’ (p.431, September, 1995). Whether or not one agrees with Kubicki about music as the primary expression of the body, it is certainly a significant one. If music may be seen as a performative carrier of theology, then the body is the carrier of the performance. Performance, expression and human physicality all form a nexus of ecclesial activity which theology cannot afford to ignore.

If performance may, therefore, be viewed as a source of theology, it is also of interest to note that theology may inform ritual performance. Traditionally, this has taken the form of what Aidan Kavanagh suggests is the interpretation of orthodoxy, not as ‘right worship’ but of ‘correct doctrine’ (p.81, Kavanagh, 1984). In this sense, theology was seen as dictating practice ‘from on high’, with liturgical performance being forced to conform to this doctrine.

In his article concerning the congregation’s active participation, a long standing bone of contention between liturgists and musicians, Lawrence Madden suggests a different interpretation of theology as a source of performance information. Madden suggests that
theology, in this case, is not the discussion of doctrine, but an awareness of Christian ritual demands. Ritual has specific requirements if its performative elements are to be effective. These demands involve, for example, both a certain communal familiarity with repertoire, as well as the ability to be spontaneous. It involves deep communal memory and innovation. It involves activity, repose, gesture and silence. Madden suggests that these requirements evolve through the attempt of ritual to express deep meaning; in the Christian context, deep theological meaning. In addressing the particular question of congregational participation in liturgy, Madden suggests that we miss the point if this comes down to a debate between choirs, soloists, liturgists and congregations. Continuing to frame the question as a musical one or as a ‘theological’ one in the doctrinal sense, will not bring us closer to the answer. The question is best answered through the deep theology of ritual itself. Effective ritual, he suggests, will yield up effective musical practice. Paying attention to ritual will quickly reveal poor ritual and poor musical practice:

Underlying this viewpoint there’s a hunch that if we can change our perception of what constitutes the major symbols and symbolic actions of the liturgy and if we pay attention to the spirited performance of all these symbols, a balance between the activity of the choir, instrumentalists, readers, ushers, dancers, and ‘ordinary’ members of the assembly will naturally and more frequently be found. (p51, Funk (ed.), 1991)

The deep theological foundation of Christian ritual, therefore, forms a point of reference for liturgical performance, just as performance, in turn may be considered a primary locus of Christian theology.

This perspective is also rooted in another primary theological and bodily metaphor; that of the church as the Body of Christ. In *Being as Communion*, we have already seen Zizioulas’ contention that the church of God is essentially local because it is always manifest in local, communal, Eucharistic celebrations (Zizioulas, 1985). Jesus, the presence of God on Earth, continues to exist in communal, sacramental prayer. In the same way, Margaret Mary Kelleher writes in *Louvain Studies* of the sacraments as the
‘ecclesial meditation of grace’ (p.180, No. 23, 1998). Once again, the performative is seen as central to the continued existence of God’s presence in the world and the mediation of his grace.

In conclusion, then, music both as symbol and ritual performance, may be viewed as a central carrier of Christian theology. Symbolically characterised as ambivalent and multivalent, it is particularly suited to the expression of the mysterious and the inexpressible. It reflects the challenge posed by modernity to all symbol systems, and particularly those in the service of a belief system. As a performance practice, it is a constitutive element of the primary theological expression of the Christian church; the Christian liturgy. Its absence, or its presence in a ritually insensitive guise, leads to what Grimes refers to as ritual pathology (Grimes, 1995), or a liturgy insufficiently expressive of its theological mandate.

**Gender and the Body**

The primordial metaphor of the Body of Christ calls on those present in the Eucharistic community to be aware of themselves as the continued presence of God on Earth. This body metaphor lies at the heart of the Christian community, informing its symbols and expressions.

One of the most powerful configurations of body is the configuration of gender. Once again, the emergence of gender studies has been absorbed by theology to reflect a wide spectrum of theological thought including feminism, attitudes to homosexuality, and the use of music to affirm or challenge traditional, Christian, gender images.

Two articles from *Faith and Praxis in a Postmodern Age*, one tracing the development of feminism and the other, Christian attitudes towards homosexuality, may be used to initiate this discussion on the emergence of a new Christian theology of gender and sexuality (King (ed.), 1998).
In ‘Gender Equity and Christianity: premodern roots, modern and postmodern perspectives’, Rosemary Radford Ruether, notes that the first century Christian church was one influenced by the patriarchal society within which it grew, but also one open to female leadership, prophecy and patronage. The essential fixing of the female position was the result of the gradual Greco-Roman fixation of the order of the cosmos. Reaching its height in Medieval Europe, this cosmic hierarchy created the social hierarchy, within which women were firmly positioned below their male counterparts. Christian theology saw the maintenance of this order as divinely ordered and immutable. Ruether concludes that only an entire change of the cosmic perception could bring about a change in the female, social and religious perception.

Such a change was initiated by the Enlightenment and the growth of democracy, though it would not be until the 19th century that women were considered worthy of the same rights afforded to free-born men. Ruether notes that early feminists, such as Susan B. Anthony were universalists in seeking human rights across all race, class, gender and religious divides. Later feminists, however, developed a dualistic theory, whereby women were seen to be, anthropologically superior to men, in being naturally more prone to altruism and maturity. Interestingly this stage of feminism, itself began to discriminate against the ‘uneducated’ masses of black and immigrant Catholic women. Many contemporary feminists, Ruether notes, are searching ‘for a way to go beyond the one nature / two nature debate and to sketch an inclusive humanness which included for both men and women the full range of human qualities from which each has been excluded by assigning some to men and some to women’ (pp. 69-70, King (ed.), 1998).

In his article ‘From Dualism to Difference: Christian theologies of human sexuality and the quest for wholeness in a postmodern age’, Sean Gill states that, ‘in no other area [than that of sexuality] has the impact of postmodernism been so visible and contentious’ (p.75, King (ed.), 1998). With reference to Christian attitudes to homosexuality, Gill notes the historical basis for heterosexual Christian morality in the importance given to procreation and communal, familial, life, as necessary to survival. The primary impact of postmodern
epistemology has been the claim that, contrary to traditional theological views, this position is not located in natural, divine or universal Law, but in a social and historical construct, the foundation of which is questionable or simply inaccurate. Gill notes, for example, the basis of Aquinas’ moral theology in Aristotle’s view of the male as the primary generative force in conception; a biological falsehood. The postmodern challenge to the very foundation of Christian moral and sexual ethics has led to a spectrum of reaction, from an obstinate re-entrenchment of position, to attempts to develop a Christian sexual ethic cognisant of human and social constructs.

The postmodern position faces, however, a primary challenge. In its own rejection of any form of universal system, Ruether notes its rejection, not only of the constructs of ‘male’ and ‘female’, but even of the universal ‘human’, to the point of what she describes as ‘infinite particularity’ (p.70, King (ed.), 1998). The pragmatic danger of this position, however, is that, in the interest of diversity and the particular, the postmodern world is often loath to be seen to ‘interfere’. Ruether notes the use of the postmodern card in decisions to ‘respect’ cultural differences in situations infringing on what she claims are basic women’s rights. Gill makes the same point when he claims that,

Gay liberation movements have faced the same dilemmas, rejecting not only traditional Christian sexual ethics, but also liberal appeals to universal frameworks of human rights, on the grounds that the latter grant toleration to lesbian and gay minorities without challenging the notions of polarized and immutable gender and sexual hierarchies which have helped to create discrimination and exclusion in the first place, and which downplay crucial differences of class, race and culture in the creation of justice. (p.86, King (ed.), 1998)

The point of encounter between postmodern sexual theory and Christian theology, then, would appear to be the ethical dimension of sexuality and gender. Ruether concludes with the suggestion that postmodern and Christian sexuality must search for an ‘open-ended understanding of commonality in diversity’, locating that commonality in ‘good humanness’ (p.71, King (ed.), 1998), while Gill concludes that Christian sexual ethics,
cognisant of postmodern thought, demands, not the rejection of morality, but its location, not in sexual acts or orientations, but in relationship:

[From a Christian perspective the call to love God and neighbors as ourselves implies that relationality, of which our sexuality is a profound part, is at the heart of our being, and that its use or misuse has social implications which the individualism of much contemporary thinking about sexual ethics tends to ignore. Grounding the Christian sexual ethic upon the primacy of love … may lead to a re-evaluation of that significance in ways which are far more able to embrace difference and diversity. (p.86, Gill, (ed.), 1989)]

Given previous assertions as to the ability of music to act as a potent symbolic, ritual and cultural carrier, it should not be surprising, again, to note music as both a carrier of traditional, Christian gender roles, as well as its potential to challenge these same controls.

Access to ritual music, for example, is often reflective of access to both spiritual and secular power. Ellen Koskoff’s contribution to Music and the Experience of God deals with women’s musical roles in ritual life and gives the example of the Iroquois, today consisting of six tribes; the Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga and the adopted Tuscorora. Within the Iroquois, women have traditionally held significant status and power. As a matrilineal society, descent was calculated from the mother’s line. Women were not viewed as superior, but as essential to the social balance of the tribe.

Koskoff notes that, with the demise of traditional economic ways of life resulting from the loss of hunting grounds, ritual life became increasingly important to the Iroquois as a means of expressing identity. Women’s ritual roles, as ‘faithkeepers’ and ‘deaconesses’, taking part in ceremonies at which women and men may dance, play instruments and sing. Access to ritual power, and musical ritual power is seen as central to the community’s identity and the balance between the two sexes (Collins et. al. (eds.), 1989).
Conversely, Mary Collins notes the lack of access to ritual power afforded Roman Catholic women, in their inability to become ordained ministers of the church:

The Roman Curia has promulgated a revised rite of presbyteral ordination which will be available in vernacular translations shortly. This 1990 revision, it should be noted, is not the result of the numerous requests from various episcopal conferences about the need to reflect deeply on the ordained ministry in the light of pastoral reality. Rather, the ‘new’ ordination rights, heighten a clerical understanding of church office. This clericalized viewpoint takes male profession of celibacy as the radical qualification without which nothing further is possible, and then simply reasserts the theologically vulnerable symbolic theory that only male Christians can image the risen Christ in the church. (p.32, Funk (ed., 1991)

Inadmissibility to clerical ordination also bars women from singing or chanting the many chants designated to the ordained. It bars women from reciting or chanting the words of Eucharistic consecration, locating this ultimate spiritual power beyond their grasp.

When controls are placed against a yearning of the human or musical spirit, creative subversion is often the result. In *The Eucharistic Mystery*, Power refers to the work of Carol Bynum concerning women mystics and Eucharistic devotion in the thirteenth century. She notes the significant number of women mystics during this period and their comparatively fewer male counterparts. Deprived of the right to consecrate, indeed, deprived entirely of Eucharistic celebration unless a male priest was available, female monasteries and female religious become the greatest practitioners of Eucharistic devotion. With or without a priest, a woman could gaze wholeheartedly at the Eucharistic sacrament, losing herself in ecstasy and adoration. No clerical control could regulate her prophetic song, vision, or wonderous consumption of Christ. Bynum concludes that such experiences might be described as substitutes for priesthood. Eucharistic ecstasy allowed women to claim their own ‘power’ within the Eucharistic experience, by-passing and, perhaps implicitly offering a critique of male clerical authority. It also served to elevate the status of the non-clerical, lay participant in the Eucharistic experience (Power, 1992).
One may suggest a resonance between the access ‘beyond control’ sought by the woman mystics and the theology ‘beyond control’ demanded by the ambivalence of music. Indeed, both ecstasy and prophecy are often described in musical terms, such as the musical visions of the Book of Revelations.

If music and women find common ground in their attempt to express or experience that element of religion which defies structural control, a second area of common ground may be suggested in the role of mediation. Returning to Koskoff’s work, her reflections on the orthodox Lubavitcher Jews include some interesting conclusions. Koskoff notes the strong exclusion of adult, female Lubavitcher’s from overt, ritual music making. On the other hand, when the Rebbe seeks to receive and communicate a spiritual message, a spiritual speaking or trance, lasting several hours, will be punctuated by ritual songs called nigunim. These songs allow those present to achieve the emotional states of simhah (joy) and hitlahavut (enthusiasim); states essential to spiritual fulfilment.

Music and singing, Koskoff concludes, are essential to both male ritual life and male spiritual fulfilment. The nigunim form the vocal bridge between the physical and spiritual worlds. Music, therefore, acts as an essential mediator.

But what of the women, denied this mediation? Koskoff’s suggests that Lubavitcher women ‘regard their exemption from many of the commandments and their lack of musical activity as a sign of superiority’ (p.86, Collins, et. al., 1989). The freedom women have from the necessity to participate in ritual life allows them to interact more freely with the secular world surrounding their Lubavitcher way of life. In many ways, they are the negotiators for their men between the two worlds. Koskoff concludes that, ‘both music and women serve a mediating function’ (p.87, Collins, et. al., 1989). In this way, one might suggest that, in order to gain access to a music deprived them, women became this music, or at least fulfil a similar role in an ability to mediate between worlds.
With both music and human sexuality so expressive of the created and creativity, it should not be surprising to see one metaphorising the other. In this way, it is also probable that, a new Christian theology of sexuality, will carry its own musical expression and a related music theology.

Postmodernity

Ursala King’s introduction to Faith and Praxis in a Postmodern Age notes Lyotard’s The Postmodern Condition, as a crucial publication in defining postmodernity as representing:

a radical break with the recent past, a condition which calls in particular the nature of modern knowledge and its effects on contemporary culture and consciousness into question. The changing status of scientific knowledge, the exponential growth of information, the new means of communications have all led to a dissolution of long-established certainties and thus created a crisis of legitimation and representation. (pl, King (ed.), 1998)

The postmodern perspective is one which erodes all positions of certitude, universal truth and absolutism. This position developed largely in reaction to modernity and its inflated claims for science as capable, not only of revealing the laws of the universe, but in using this knowledge to contribute towards human progress and well being. In a century of two world wars, unprecedented genocide and ecological destruction, the modern hope has been considerably discredited.

Not only would postmodernity claim that humanity did not achieve progress or scientific advances in the way it hoped, but that this very hope was based on a fundamentally flawed premise. This premise involved the absolute nature of truth. The contribution of postmodernity to the contemporary world has been the erosion of this truth and the proposal that all truth, if truth exists at all, is socially constructed.

It is not surprising that, theology, as a discipline based on the pursuit and promulgation of an absolute, universal and irrevocable truth, has found itself somewhat
disenfranchised within the contemporary world. Indeed, all canonical disciplines, from history to philosophy, to canons of literature came under the scrutiny of postmodernity as simply promulgating a perspective, not the truth. Literary criticism suggested that ‘history’, for example, was often simply the history of men, or the history of colonisers. Other ‘histories’; local histories, female histories, oral histories also exist, but have simply been excluded from the canon of what is accepted as history. Immutable religious law, such as that of celibacy, was seen, from this perspective, to represent the ‘truth’ of a male-dominated, power base, weakly defended by dubious theology.

With this loss of historical certitude, the postmodern world has witnessed the development of new disciplines, representing new attempts to provide frames of reference, understanding and dialogue. Symbol theory, cultural studies, ritual studies, performance studies, gender studies, popular studies and feminism have all emerged from this postmodern crisis of identity, each attempting to redefine modes of thought and behaviour. Each can be seen to represent pertinent aspects of the postmodern position. Postmodernity, for example, sees every position as an interpretation. Nothing is; everything exists through interpretation. Here, the development of symbol theory has assisted this understanding, down to the recognition that language itself is both symbolic and interpretive.

Postmodernity also rejects the primacy of the written text or the literate record. Championing interpretation, it suggests that every text may be radically transformed in its use or appropriation, and has expanded the notion of text to include that of performance. By embracing ritual studies as an aspect of liturgical theology, Christian theology is recognising ritual performance as significant to theological thought or interpretation.

Postmodernity has emphasised the concept of constructs. Gender constructs, for example, are not seen as immutable realities but positions supported or denied by social communities.
Postmodernity has been the champion of relativity and diversity, and, as such, views culture as one of the prime carriers of infinite variety, change and difference. In an article from the Times Higher Education Supplement, describing a group of academics calling themselves the ‘radically orthodox’, it is noted that, ‘[if] these theologians employ the tortuous language of critical theory it is because they wish to engage with it, to give it a theological reading. Radical Orthodoxy contains essays that give a theological spin to modern art, music and gender studies’ (THES, July 2nd, 1999).

In this reflection concerning a theology of music, the worlds of symbol, ritual, gender and culture were not selected at random, but rather as primary contexts of discourse in the postmodern world. It has been illustrated that music can and does function as a carrier of any of these contexts. King also suggests that postmodernity is not necessarily the enemy of religion or faith:

for postmodernism can also be seen positively as a challenging task, an opportunity, even a gift for religion in the modern world... The modern and postmodern world seems haunted by the absence of God, and yet in some curious way this absence can at the same time become transparent for a new kind of presence. In criticizing the individualism and dualism of modernity, postmodernism makes room for a more holistic and organic understanding of human existence with its personal, communal and ecological dimensions linked to the sacredness of life. (p.7, King (ed.), 1998)

That this state of flux and change and emergence of new identities can in some way be housed and expressed by both religion and music, is the thesis of Philip Bohlman’s article ‘Pilgrimage, Politics, and the Musical Remapping of the New Europe’ in Ethnomusicology. Through a survey of contemporary pilgrimage practice in central Europe, Bohlman suggests that the revival of pilgrimage is part of Europe’s attempt to reshape itself politically and culturally, and that the musical aspect of pilgrimage is a central mediator of this journey.
Far from viewing religion or religious music as irrelevant to this contemporary world, Bohlman illustrates its power as a agent of change, journey and identity. The pilgrim group forms a liminal community, a group with no fixed abode and only a temporary identity. Their *communitas*, however, is real, and is formed through a shared repertoire of songs, but also a flexibility of repertoire open to influence from the various cultural groups involved. An example of this can be seen in the assimilation of Fintan O’Carroll’s ‘Alleluia’ as part of the pilgrimage repertoire of Lourdes. Bohlman notes that, ‘Pilgrimage is on the rise in Europe, and we are led to ask, why? And why now?’ (p.396, Bohlmarl, Fall, 1996). One reason suggested by Bohlman is that pilgrimages can mediate between the sacred and the secular. They may exist for religious reasons, but they move through secular worlds, and are not hidden or housed away from that world as are many other aspects of religious expression. He notes the assimilation of contemporary technology, for example, in the distribution of songs, pilgrimage texts, homilies and prayers.

Music also represents this ability to move between the secular and sacred:

> [E]ssential to the power of song texts in pilgrimage is their non-liturgical character; pilgrimage songs do not fit easily into the usual services of the religious calendar or within its dominant institutions. Not only do pilgrim songs fail to lend themselves to use within liturgy, but they may challenge the power and order of liturgy to serve as the text for central ritual’ (p.391, Ethnomusicology, Fall, 1996).

While Bohlman’s intent is more ethnomusicological than liturgical, his work raises some interesting questions for the future of liturgy. How is one to understand the increase in popular pilgrimage at a time when Christian liturgical attendance is in decline? Using Eliade’s categories of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’, is it possible that the postmodern world resonates more strongly with the ‘peripheral’ pilgrimage than with the centrality of liturgy? Is it possible that the ability of the peripheral to move away from the centre, allows it to engage with those disenfranchised, in a way that the ‘official’ liturgy cannot? Again, does the popularity of non-liturgical, religious expression, as seen in both
pilgrimage and the popularity of commercial religious music, have something to say to liturgy as it continues its struggle to find a musical voice?

Perhaps, postmodernity has signalled the decline of the centre. If so, the theologian David Power suggests that this decline represents a rare and Christian opportunity; the opportunity to reengage with the dispossessed. His contribution to Sung Liturgy: Towards 2000 AD challenges contemporary liturgy with its failure to be inclusive and welcoming of significant marginal groups. The groups he suggests are radical in their spectrum. ‘Religiously Minded Youth’ (p.44, Funk (ed.), 1991), he describes as young people wishing to live a life in Christ and yet, finding little in contemporary liturgy, which fulfils this need. Here, he is referring to both the young person who feels that liturgy is dominated by older cultural norms, as well as the young person aware that contemporary liturgy has, to some extent, divorced itself from certain traditions. He notes the growing fascination with the Latin Mass, and devotions such as Stations of the Cross, pilgrimage or holy medals, particularly among those who did not grow up with them.

The second group Power mentions are ‘Life-Cycle Practitioners’ (p.45, Funk (ed.), 1991). By these, he means those who are drawn to celebrate primary ‘life-cycle’ moments, such as birth or marriage or death, within a Christian liturgy, but are not drawn to regular liturgical attendance. Power suggests that contemporary liturgy fails to respond to these ‘seasonal’ Catholics, by failing to recognise a need, however inarticulate or unconscious, to mark these moments in a spiritual way.

Powers third category would seem to resonate with Bohlman’s article, in what he calls ‘devotees of popular rituals’ (p.46, Funk (ed.), 1991). He notes the number of Christians who will receive ashes on Ash Wednesday or Stations of the Cross on Good Friday, or celebrate Midnight Mass at Christmas. Again, these popular devotions, though often also liturgical, seem to answer to moments of ritual need or expression.
The marginal or alienated, are those Power describes as residing in communities which are perceived as alien to the Christian liturgical community. This might include women’s groups, which practice rituals not recognised by the Catholic church, lay-led communities celebrating sacraments without ordained clergy, or the homosexual community, not welcome to participate in the sacraments if perceived as ‘living in sin’. It includes unmarried partners, unmarried parents, ecological groups which have abandoned a specifically Christian orientation. All of these groups are, in some way, marginalised from the liturgy of the church.

Finally, Power notes the culturally marginalised, such as Hispanic, Afro-American, Vietnamese or Haitian Catholics living in the United States. Despite some musical efforts, ‘despite the existence of gospel choirs and Mariachi Masses, the repertory and the people’s stories are largely marginal to Roman Catholic liturgy’ (p.48, Funk (ed.), 1991).

The greatest challenge to the contemporary church, however, may not lie only in the challenge to reintegrate its dispossessed, but to heal the vast gulf developing between so-called reformed Catholics, loyal to the reform of the Second Vatican Council, and those calling for a ‘reform of the reform’, disenchanted by what they perceive as illegitimate reform and determined to restore much pre-Vatican practice.

This divide, while present since the time of the council, has experienced significant hardening on both sides in recent years, to the extent that Lawrence Hoffman claims that, ‘reformation Catholics, Jews, and Protestants of all confessions have more in common with each other than with counter-reformation forces in their own denominations’ (p.3-4, Funk (ed.), 1991).

One of the primary forums within which this two-sided struggle is being staged, is liturgy, with liturgical music carrying both ideological flags. The Lefebvre movement, as well as other groups objecting to the conciliar reforms but remaining within the church, such as the Fraternity of Saint Peter or the Priestly Fraternity of Saint Pius X, hold a
return to the pre-conciliar Latin rite and its accompanying chant as one of their main objectives. While those in favour of liturgical reform have always held chant as a primary repertoire of the reformed rites, they have also been advocates of a vernacularised liturgy and inclusive translation. As we have seen, liturgical music publications and liturgical music societies have formed in support of either one position or the other, placing music at the heart of the debate.

Part of the dilemma of reform, and indeed, of the postmodern perspective, is the dilemma of identity. If nothing is certain, how can one be certain of who one is or what one believes about one's self? How can a community's self-identity survive such overwhelming relativism, subjectivism and diversity? In an article for Ritual Studies, concerning the survival of the early Christian church in the Rome at the end of the second century, Thomas Finn suggests that the church's survival was directly linked with its ability to create an identity for itself as 'other'. Through an analysis of initiation rites during this period, Finn notes that entry to the Christian faith was long, dangerous and difficult. The intensity of the experience and the total reliance of the catechumen on the Christian community forged a strong and virtually irreversible identity, depending heavily 'on the development of an effective catechumenate, a powerful ritual process' (p.80, Winter, 1989).

Finn's work would seem to suggest that the level of diversity and fragmentation which characterises the contemporary world and contemporary Christianity creates a challenge to the formation of identity. That the very lack of a central point of reference is part of the contemporary liturgical dilemma.

One might conclude this reflection on postmodernity by suggesting, once again, that music may provide a possible answer to this challenge. For while music may be viewed as a strong carrier of identity, its demarcations appear permeable and always open to outside influences. Just as it is impossible to actually close the ear, it seems impossible to keep music impervious to other musical influences around it. One might take
contemporary expressions of Irish music as a case in point. Traditional repertoires continue to engage with popular music, Western classical music, jazz, African music, Indian music and plainchant. The identification of this spectrum as ‘Irish’ may be controversial, but would appear to be highly coveted. It is possible that music is capable of carrying a sense of identity which recognises change, diversity and multivalency. If this is the case, music may be suggested as a potential carrier of Christian identity in the postmodern world.

Towards a Theology of Music

It has been suggested in the previous sections that music may be viewed as carrying symbolic, performative and constructed significance in the contemporary world. This has also been illustrated as theologically significant.

This final section will address two issues. Firstly, the question of how music functions effectively in liturgy as a theological agent will be examined. Finally, a five-fold theological mandate for music will be suggested.

In Why Sing?, Miriam Therese Winter provides one of the earlier post-conciliar attempts to address the issue of music theology. Rooting her work in the conciliar and post-conciliar directives, she suggests that the basis exists for the theology of music, but that this was not deeply explored in the face of the immediate and practical concerns of composition and translation, which beset musicians and liturgists in the council aftermath. In an attempt to address this theological foundation, Winter notes a number of theological indicators found in the Vatican directives.

Musica Sacra is the most common description of music used in the Vatican documents. As has been noted, the conciliar concept of ‘sacred’ music was not always a clear or consistent one, sometimes appearing to refer only to the music of liturgy and sometimes used for all music of a religious function. Whatever the case, Winter suggests that the
designation of music as ‘sacred’, indeed, of anything as ‘sacred’ is an indicator of theological content.

Pars integrans is the conciliar description of the role of music in liturgy. Its part is integral and efficient. Music may not be considered as superfluous or an additional, aesthetic frill, but as necessary. Music is indicated as adding greater efficacy to text. Chant is indicated as holding pride of place. Having developed with the liturgy and grown out of its expression, it is seen as particularly capable of liturgical expression. Again, if contemporary theology views liturgy as theologia prima, it follows that music, if integral to liturgy, must be constitutive of this same theology.

Finally, music is described as a munus ministeriale. The concept of ministry in the post-conciliar church is a significant one. In an attempt to move liturgy closer to its reality as community expression, of worship by the community, and not for the community, the Council reclaimed the notion of ministry as any number of services which members of the community may render. By regarding music as a ministry, it positioned music as servant to liturgy and servant to community. This is clearly a theological position, and one which effects the role, function and use of music in liturgy.

Winter mentions two principles as informing the theological foundation of Vatican Council II, that of actuosa participatio and sensus communitas. She notes that, ‘the principle of actuosa participatio is so deeply rooted in the decisions of Vatican II that it can be said to be constitutive of all post-Conciliar reform and renewal’ (p.219, Winter, 1984). The extent to which music has taken these theological principles on board may be illustrated by the level of tension surrounding various interpretations of this position. For many liturgists, ‘active participation’ is not being achieved unless the entire congregation is doing most of the singing most of the time. This position has radically effected the nature of liturgical composition since the council, with, for example, elaborate or complex settings of the ordinary of the Mass being rejected in favour of congregationally friendly approaches. In the immediate aftermath of the council, several choirs were
disbanded, feeling either irrelevant to the new approach or unchallenged by the music they were asked to “lead” not ‘perform’.” While a more subtle approach to *actuosa participatio*, to include, for example, participation through silence or participation through listening is now accepted it is still the case that the success of music in liturgy is largely evaluated on the number of people singing. The field interviews referred to here clearly resonate with this position where a ‘weak’ musical liturgy was one where people did not seem to participate in singing when required.

Winter notes here also that while music is viewed theologically, primarily because liturgy has reclaimed its theological mandate, music and liturgy do not always exist in an easy partnership. As indicated in Fellerer’s historical study of Catholic church music, this tension is often manifested in the ritual demands of liturgy and the aesthetic aspirations of music. If, as noted by Joncas in the first part of this chapter’s discussion, this aesthetic is not a Christian or liturgical one, a tension will always exist between the two.

In a presentation to the *Universa Laus* study group in Birmingham, 1998, Michael Joncas presented ‘Ten These on Music in Liturgy’ which may be seen as the bases of a theological foundation. These relate closely with a similar proposal for a ‘Sound Theology’, emerging in the work of Edward Foley.

Both Joncas and Foley locate theological considerations of music within the broader canvas of sound. The demarcation of music from spoken language, for example, would not seem to accurately represent the very close relationship between the two in the liturgical development of chant, residing between the spoken and the sung. Nor does it do justice, they would suggest, to the important intimacy between text and its ritual presentation. To consider a theology of sound, is to consider the whole spectrum of spoken, chanted, sung, instrumental, environmental and accidental sound.

Joncas notes that sound, as an aspect of the created universe is a divine gift, granted humankind through our capacity to hear and experience vibrational stimuli. Humanity
receives and structures sound according to a multiplicity of cultural codings. These codings, in turn, influence the religious interpretation of sound.

Joncas suggests sound as a ‘root metaphor’ of the self-revelation of God in biblical accounts; ‘Narratives of divine manifestations in the Old Testament privilege auditory over visual, tactile, oral or olfactory imagery: the proclamation of God’s word (dābar) orients and completes theophanies’ (Joncas, UL presentation, 1998). The revelation of God has continued in the world through sacramental celebration, of which sound and music play a significant, symbolic role.

Joncas continues with a series of attributes defining the way in which music assists his revelation. Music contributes to the glorification of God and the sanctification of humanity. It supports liturgical text, ritual action, and is a strong symbol of the harmony between the human and the divine. It is inherently communal and, as such, facilitates the communal expression of the Body of Christ. Finally, it signifies the eschatological hope of Christianity which seeks fulfilment in the final and perpetual reign of God.

Unlike Joncas, who presents music as ‘fundamentally logogenic’ (Joncas, UL presentation, 1998), Foley’s ‘Sound Theology’ suggests that music may have particular sound qualities above and beyond its ability to present text. In Ritual Music, he presents a series of ‘sound attributes’ followed by what he considers the essential characteristics of Judeo-Christian Revelation. By suggesting a corollary between the two, he concludes that sound, and particularly musical sound, is eminently suited to manifest revelation.

Sound phenomena, according to Foley’s list of attributes involves an experience of impermanence. Sound exists in time and therefore, cannot be located as an artefact, but as an occurrence. Sound involves an experience of the intangible and an experience of activity: sound is something which happens. This happening usually involves some level of engagement, either between the hearer and the sound, or between the sound maker and
the listener. This engagement is highly personal and can create an intimacy through its sharing.

Like sound, the God of Judeo-Christian revelation is also impermanent. As an incarnate being, he existed in time, as a historical presence. At the same time, it is an elusive presence, existing out of time. This presence is dynamic in that it is always deeply involved and concerned with its creation, in constant engagement. Finally, the God of Judeo-Christian revelation is a personal God, in that this relationship is one of intimacy and love.

Foley’s conclusions are twofold. Firstly, sound is seen to share attributes with revelation and, therefore, may be suggested as a powerful symbolic representation of God revealed on Earth. Secondly, he suggests that musical sound may be particularly suited to carry this revelation because of its symbolic nature. Unlike the more fixed nature of linguistic symbolism, the ability of music to symbolise non-discursively may suggest its primary attribute as a symbol of the Divine. In his opening address to the sixteenth international congress of Societas Liturgia (1997), Irmgard Pahl identifies what he considers the primary expressive abilities of music in liturgy, including expression of the proclamatory, doxological, dialogical, Incarnational, communal and festive aspects of liturgical celebration. All of these suggest music not just as an arbitrary carrier of theology, but as a carrier particularly suited to these mandates.

In conclusion then, one might suggest that the indicators of music as a carrier of theology exist both in conciliar and post-conciliar documentation, as well as in ritual practice. This work suggests that the theology of music should resonate, generally, with Christian theology and should also include those aspects which music is ideally suited to carry. A fivefold mandate is, therefore suggested as fulfilling both these requirements.

Firstly, a theology of music should require that a liturgical music include the voice of the dispossessed. No one should feel excluded or marginalised from the body of Christ. In his
famous analogy of the body, Paul reminds all Christians that, ‘We were baptised into one body in a single Spirit. Jews as well as Greeks, slaves as well as free, men, and we were all given the same Spirit to drink’ (Romans:12, 13-14). If music carries this theology of inclusivity, it must manifest of voices of the whole community, being open to the negotiation between the centre and the peripheral, in repertoire, composition and performance. This does not call for unbridled experimentation and change, but rather a constant recognition of the flux and fusion of musical horizons, permeating a non-static experience of liturgy, one capable, as D’Costa says of the Holy Trinity, of gesturing ‘loving différence’ (p.28, King (ed.), 1998).

For all the reasons mentioned by Foley and Joncas, music may well be one of the prime carriers of the mystic tradition and the prophetic voice. Least easy of theological carriers to control, fix or mould into presentational symbol, music will always be, theologically speaking, at the edge of control. It may, therefore, be well positioned to speak out the prophetic voice of the church, confirming or challenging held beliefs, enshrined in immutable language or to mediate between rigid voices and provide the voice closest to the great mystical silence of unknowing, unspeaking and being. This is a voice often lost within the world of documented directive and reform, and perhaps one of the few voices capable of speaking the great paradox of all human initiation, ultimately springing, not from the creation (humanity) but from the creator to which it directs its efforts.

Music is a theological expression of gift. Pre-conciliar theological thought demonstrates an emphasis on sacrifice which often seems to preclude the recognition that offering starts with God and not with humanity; that all of human offering is less a giving than it is a ‘giving back’. von Balthasar notes that,

No other thought is so persistent and so penetrating in the roman Canon as the idea that the Church offers a sacrifice to God the Father, presents it and recommends it to him, asks him to accept it, urges it upon him and gives many reasons for this, urgently and almost anxiously, as if the all-decisive question for her salvation and for that of her children were that God should accept this sacrifice of hers. (p.185. von Balthasar, 1993)
Similarly, in an article for *Louvain Studies*, Power notes that contemporary anthropology has questioned the entire premise of gift giving, emphasising the elements of reciprocity, trade and exchange, concluding, as Derrida has, that gifts are not free. Feminist writers have challenged this position as a male construct, where gift is usually barter and has an implicit price. Women, connected in such a primordial way to the essential gift of life, may have a stronger sense of gratuity in gift giving. Power suggests that the Divine gift might be closer to the feminine, in this sense:

The ‘impossible’ gift, or the ‘eschatological gift’, or the ‘womanly gift’, is one that gives the gift of freedom. That is, it opens up possibilities of free action for the recipient, who is impaired neither by the nature of the gift nor by the expectations of the giver, but who acts purely out of an appreciation of the gift in itself and out of what it opens up as possible ...It is when gift is imaged and thought along these lines (or outside these lines!), that it provides a true image of divine giving and of sacramental gift. (p.15, Power, 1998)

The theology of gift is in need of Christian reclamation, as is sacrifice in need of redress. Music, as activity, may well be viewed as always ‘giving’ of itself, wanted or not. The *happening* of music is a giving. Music is always a creation and always being created, again, imaging the creative gift of the cosmos.

If liturgy has, to some extent, lost sight of its nature as gift, it is also in need of reclaiming its nature as service. Service is where the heart of the liturgical enterprise lies. If a liturgy is not serving its participants it is defunct, irrelevant or badly conceived. This service is achieved through hospitality. Again, if music is to serve as handmaiden of liturgy, it must form the hospitable voice of the liturgy. Through its repertoires and action, it must recognise cultural identity and cultural diversity.

Finally, music as a source of theology must be capable of expressing the essential love relationship of Christianity. This love is inevitable and constant, an unavoidable reality from the Christian perspective. Paul’s hymn of love affirms this inescapable fate,
‘nothing already in existence and nothing still to come, nor any power, nor the heights nor the depths, nor any created things whatever, will be able to come between us and the love of God, known to us in Christ Jesus our Lord’ (Romans: 8: 38-39). Yet, this love can be hidden from view and clouded by suffering, isolation and human weakness. The essential task of music is to nourish this love; to avoid contributing, through ideological conflict or an aesthetic not rooted in this Christian directive, to any diminishment of the effect of this love. There is no greater mandate for Christianity, Christian theology and Christian music.

**Conclusion**

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the position ‘in front of the text’ is the critical place for the hermeneutic enterprise. In front of the contemporary encounter between Christian theologies and the world, lies the temporal and eschatological future. *Orbis, A Journal of World Affairs* published its Spring issue of 1998 on ‘Religion in World Affairs’. John Langan, the Jesuit Rose Kennedy Professor of Christian Ethics at Georgetown University, contributed an article on the Catholic vision of world affairs. Looking toward the future, he predicted that:

...what remains indisputable is that Catholicism will be highly visible as an international reality, that the internal balance of its elements will inevitably shift and evolve, and that it will continue to experience the distinctive tensions and graces of a faith that is both politically active and spiritually creative. It will bring to the shaping of world order a store of knowledge that comes from its unparalleled experience of human diversity and folly in all ages and cultures and social and political systems, a knowledge born of failure as well as accomplishments, a knowledge won by sinners as well as by saints, a knowledge profoundly relevant to a fallen world hungry for justice, freedom, and peace. (p261, Langan, Spring, 1998)

If this prediction proves true, it is possible that music may play a primary role in the shift and evolution of that ‘internal balance’; that, as the church looks for new ways to grapple with its own credibility and fallibility, it will cease to do so with only legalistic and canonical frames of reference. It is possible that, in its attempts to combat poverty and
violence, it will look to music as a creative release from deprivation, or as a unitive force in the face of division. It is possible that, in its relationship to creation and the cosmic ecology, it will look to creativity for a new and less arrogant voice. It is possible that music, theologically grounded and creatively free, still grappling with concerns of culture, aesthetics, identity and reform, will find creative force in serving this theology and, in turn, offer back the prophetic and the ecstatic to the church.

In order to do so, it must look to contemporary attempts and scholarship and its attempts to re-construct knowledge, belief and being. Five of these perspectives have been suggested in this chapter as foundational in the search for a proposed theology of music. These include contemporary perspectives on the relationship between art and religion; the issue of inculturation; the conceptualisation of music as symbol and liturgy as ritual; attitudes to embodiment developed in gender and performance studies; and the impact of the postmodern condition. These five considerations are used to propose a five-fold theological mandate for music. This mandate calls on religious ritual music to be a carrier of radical inclusivity; a prophetic and imaginative voice; an acknowledgement of creativity as a gift of creation; a disposition of service and hospitality; and an expression of cosmic as well as human relational love.

In the Bull of Indictio of the Great Jubilee of the Year 2000, Incarnationis Mysterium, John Paul II looked to the future of the church on earth as a great and unending hymn of praise:

[T]he Holy Year must therefore be one unceasing hymn of praise to the Trinity, the Most High God. At this point, the poetic words of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, the theologian come to our aid ... May this hymn to the Trinity for the Incarnation of the Son rise with one voice from all who have been baptized and share the same faith in the Lord Jesus. (Art.3-4)

The earthly theological voice of music is, finally and ultimately, the closest Christianity may come to the eschatological union with all heaven and her heavenly hosts.
Chapter Seven: *Laus Perennis*: Ireland and a Theology of Music

**Introduction**

The previous chapter suggested that a significant shift from enlightenment to postmodern thought has resulted in a reclamation of ritual as central to humanity’s sense of meaning, identity and, therefore, survival. The progressive promises of modernity rested on the foundations of empiricism and rationalisation; ‘[M]odern men and women born of the enlightenment had dismissed rituals as pertaining only to a primitive state of consciousness …Indeed, the enlightenment could almost be defined as the process of freeing people from the religious and civil rituals that had kept them in bondage for centuries’ (Drumm, 1998).

Postmodernity, as already noted, exists as both a continuation and reaction to the claims of modernity. While postmodernity has on the one hand, deconstructed many of the universalist claims of modernity, such as the inevitable progress of science, it has also continued to champion the enlightenment interest in the destiny of humankind. Part of this interest is expressed in the growth of new modes of thinking and disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and cultural studies. All of these recognise human behaviour and expression as their point of departure.

This same shift has led to a deconstruction of the written ‘text’ and its claims on any universal truth, as well as a reclamation of ‘text’, to include human activity and not just the human word. As noted in Chapter Six, this movement has led to a renewed interest in non-verbal expression, seen in the chapter’s exploration of emerging constructs of symbol, ritual, culture and the body.
The implications of this paradigmatic sea-change for disciplines such as theology or philosophy cannot be overemphasised. Theology, as a word-dominated discipline can no longer ignore the erosion of its theoretical foundations and the demands to look to the culturally informed, performatively articulated symbols of its contemporary, living context;

One of the key emphases of contemporary theology is context. With the importance now attached to hermeneutics and given the decontextualised nature of earlier theologies, theologians today clearly write and want to write from differing perspectives. (p.38 Drumm, 1998)

Primary expressions of these voices are to be found in the living, ritual activities of the church. In this sense, ‘...we have begun to probe the nature of communication in the liturgy, especially at the non-verbal level and to pay attention to symbol, ritual and imagination’ (p.33, Bredin, 1994) ... The total experience of the liturgical celebration itself, and not merely the texts of the rites, was now seen as a theological locus (some would say the theological locus) (p.158, Bredin, 1994).

These performative voices are also carried in artistic, creative expression, such as musical expression. It is interesting, therefore, to note that art and religion have met in a new way in the postmodern world as significant media of performative, symbolic experience. If theology is seeking to reclaim something of this voice, it cannot do so without looking to two of its primary carriers, art and ritual expression.

It is in this sense, then, that we speak of a new theology of music. This theology is based in human, ritual expression and views this expression as intrinsic to human identity. Chapter Six concluded that such a theology was capable of carrying a five-fold mandate of radical inclusivity, prophecy, recognition of creation as gift, service and hospitality and finally, relational love.
This final chapter examines the contribution Ireland has made, or may potentially make, to this proposed theology. It does so through an examination of contemporary Roman Catholicism in Ireland and contemporary theological thought. It also suggests that Ireland has experienced a long and unique religious ritual history, capable of speaking to contemporary contexts and challenges. Finally, it examines ways in which music has shaped this mandate in the past and may continue to do so.

**Contemporary Context of Church in Ireland**

There are few current reflections on the Catholic church in Ireland which do not refer to a church in crisis and decline. Enda McDonagh’s 1996 publication, *Faith in Fragments* opens with the contention that the contemporary western Christian churches have fallen into a darkness, which the Irish church is also experiencing:

> Church and society globally and locally, in the world at large and in Ireland, are beset by new and improved violence, division and despair. Ireland and the Catholic church in Ireland might well be paradigm cases of how the darkness and fragmentation prevail and are yet qualified by fresh or persisting elements of light and connectedness. (p.7, McDonagh, 1996)

In his case-study analysis of the contemporary Irish church, McDonagh suggests that understanding the particularities of the Irish story may also reveal particular contributions which the Irish church may make to the church at large, noting that ‘the church’ manifests itself, not in the abstract, but through local communities and local histories.

In *Keeping Faith in a Changing Society: Religious Practice and Belief in Ireland in the Light of Vatican II*, Martin Convey draws on the work of three Irish writers and their analysis of contemporary Irish Catholic faith. The first of these, theologian Michael Paul Gallagher notes contemporary faith in Ireland, not as disappearing, but as becoming increasingly shallow. Drawing on his experience in University College Dublin, he suggests that religious practice was perceived by the young people he worked with as boring, dull and irrelevant. Religious education seemed more intent on teaching
conformist behavior than promoting creative searching. Religious ritual was impoverished to a point of sterile and routine unimportance. Drawing also on the research of Bernadette McMahon (1981), he noted that most young people had a limited and hazy conceptual understanding of their avowed faith system and little clear sense of its ritual import. The high level of mass attendance in Ireland, long considered the barometer of faith is, in Gallagher’s view, more an indication of residual social conformity than ritual action erupting from deeply held convictions.

Liam Ryan agrees with Gallagher’s analysis and cautions an over-simplistic view of ritual attendance. Ryan notes that, Irish Catholic ritual attendees illustrate an attitude toward ritual and faith, which situates these to the side of ‘real life’ and its decisions. He notes that Irish Catholics demonstrate the highest levels of belief in Church teachings (such as the dogma on the Assumption of our Lady, or the Trinity) which have the least pragmatic impact on their daily lives. Church teachings on divorce or contraception are much more likely to be ignored by Catholics, even while they continue to attend Catholic ritual activities. Ryan suggests that a new type of Irish Catholic is emerging; one which retains an appreciation for (or habitual practice of) Christian ritual, but sees this as unrelated to issues of morality or pragmatic life choices.

Finally, Convey refers to the scathing criticism Peadar Kirby has directed at the failure of the Irish Church to create new strategies capable of responding to the changes in Irish social and cultural life since the Vatican council. The half hearted commitment of the Irish hierarchy to the conciliar reforms left the Irish church to come to terms with the changes indicated by the council, as well as the changes in Irish society in the 1960’s through the impact of modernity, without effective church leadership or direction:

Kirby’s central thesis is that the Irish Catholic Church has failed to evolve a successful pastoral strategy to respond to the twin challenges of the last twenty five years - the economic and social reforms that have changed Ireland from a predominantly rural society to an urban one and also the violent renewal of the old conflict in Northern Ireland. This failure, allied to the subtly corrosive attacks of
the consumer society on the Irish Catholic ethos, has resulted in a decline in the strength and depth of the Christian faith. (p.17-18, Convey, 1994)

All of these positions would seem to indicate that the quality of Catholic faith in Ireland is in decline, even while its rituals are still experiencing a residual life.

Examining this from the perspective of historical ritual practice in Ireland, however, may not reveal such a clear-cut picture. To view Irish adherence to ritual - even ‘bad’ or severely impoverished ritual, such as one might experience in Irish Catholic worship today - as only a residue of social conformity is to miss the importance placed on ritual celebration in Irish history. In the preface to his 1981 revised edition of The Personality of Ireland, E.E. Evans remarks that, ‘One of the most obvious differences between England and Ireland today is the high level of Sunday observance in Ireland’ (p.xi, Evans, 1992). The Shaping of Sunday, an exploration on Sunday and Eucharistic celebration in Ireland by Vincent Ryan OSB, recounts the historical importance of Sunday Mass to Irish Catholics, particularly when this practice was forbidden. When no political voice seemed possible or permissible, saying Mass became that political protest. The martyrs of that period, such as the Augustinian William Tirry, were described as ‘heroes of the Mass’. Ryan notes the saying ‘it is the Mass that matters’ and the Irish admonition, ‘An tAifreann nà tugaidh ar aon phioc, nil ar bith sa saol níos fearr’ - ‘Abandon not the Mass for anything, nothing in the world surpasses it’. (p.58, Ryan, 1997). However impoverished the rite, it represented a primary Irish expression of Catholic and Irish identity.

It is difficult to remember this history and not speculate as to its potential ritual impact. Though not for reasons of political persecution, Irish Catholic ritual may today be viewed as equally impoverished in all its outer manifestation as it was during the Penal period. Contemporary liturgy reveals a musical impoverishment, for example, which would seem to contradict the global recognition and Irish growth of almost every facet of Irish musical expression. Is the lack of music in Catholic ritual simply another sign of a dying
ritual, or is it also a symbol of a more complex history? Is it possible that ritual impoverishment itself, has been utilised as a symbol of challenge and identity?

This is the point hinted at in Thomas Day’s provocative text, *Why Catholics Can’t Sing*. Day suggests that the Irish Catholic ritual experience was one which turned its enforced silence into a badge of faith, with its impoverishment transformed into its source of pride:

> From the sixteenth century, until the nineteenth, whenever they heard a bell, it was a sound coming from a Protestant church. Church bells were something they associated with Protestants. And also, when they heard hymns, pipe organs, and choral anthems, they heard them coming from behind the doors of Protestant churches. What must have sustained the Catholic Irish through these years of persecution was the knowledge that they did not need these things (bells, hymns etc.) … In their opinion, the courageous and the strong kept the faith, while the weak, lured away by music and other niceties, became apostates. (p.20, Day, 1990)

Day’s point suggests that the interpretation of the lack of music in Irish Catholic ritual as ritual impoverishment or decline may be too simplistic. The lack of music may be a strong indicator of exactly the opposite, of a ritual adherence to a way of ritualising dating from a time when Catholic ritual was forbidden. If this is the case, the marked lack of enthusiasm for ‘active participation’ through singing in Irish Catholic ritual must be understood, not just as ritual in decline, but as a ritual with deeply suffering roots and one which may, therefore, not be able to simply sing on command.

In the same way, the view of Irish Catholicism and its ritual as ‘in decline’ may also be an overly simplistic interpretation of the present context. An examination of two recent research surveys reveals a number of seeming contradictions, which may assist in the disclosure of a church less in decline than in a state of deep-rooted transformation.

In February, 1996, a survey was sent to 578 priests in the Diocese of Dublin. The 323 completed questionnaires formed the basis of a commentary by Desmond Forristal. The questionnaire examined situations and structures which priests viewed as supportive, as
well as those which caused distress and anxiety. It also addressed both possible plans and challenges for the future.

The issues of distress noted in this survey reveal a church, which has, to a large extent, lost faith in its leadership and institution. The greatest source of stress was identified as a lack of general Church leadership. In addition, three of the top ten sources of stress were directly related to this. They included the issue of clerical scandals, the general image of the Church, and the media. In the section concerning challenges, priests noted the difficulty of coping with the perceived irrelevance of the Church and of bringing about the transformation sought by the Second Vatican Council in the light of so little leadership and vision.

It is significant that the issue of authority in the contemporary Catholic Church is the subject of the first publication of the 'Columba Explorations' series, in which Columba Press sought to explore issues of contemporary concern to the church and society. In her personalised contribution to the publication, Mary McAleese notes the growing call for dialogue among the laity, women, and many Catholics who no longer feel represented or led by the institutional authority of the church. In the face of the hierarchy's resistance to such exchange, she suggests that a growing number of Irish Catholics simply ignore what they feel is unreasonable. Lack of dialogue no longer means an unquestioning and accepting church. Increasingly, it means a church making decisions in spite of its leadership.

McAleese does, however, also note that the older generations of the Irish church are still living with the wounds inflicted by this authority, from a time when such questioning was unthinkable:

The implausibility of comprehending the central message of the gospel, the message of love, when those entrusted with its transmission were themselves caught so irredeemably on the hook of authoritarianism rather than authority, lodged deep in the psyche of many of us children. Our fight for faith, our struggle
to believe in a loving God, was ironically often subverted by the very agencies whose function it was to transmit the faith and witness to it in a special way. (pp.16-17, Mac Réamoinn, (ed.),1995). This same resistance to any voice of challenge has led to disciplinary action being rendered against leading Catholic theologians such as Hans Küng, Leonardo Boff and Charles Curran. Louis McRedmond addresses the issue of the appointment of bishops, which would seem to ignore the voice of the local community. In the 1970’s, the Catholic Church in the Netherlands, a community, which exerted significant theological leadership and support of the Vatican reforms, received a number of conservative and deeply unpopular appointments. In the 1990’s, the Austrian church, which, unlike the Dutch church, had a history of conservative Catholicism, erupted in protest over the appointment of bishops to St. Pölten, Salzburg and Vienna. In 1995, 200 members of the laity offered an official protest to Rome over the appointment of a bishop to the See once occupied by Romero, bypassing a local candidate committed to justice in El Salvador. Finally, McRedmond notes ‘the rejection by Rome of local wishes regarding some Irish appointments in recent years’ (p.54 Mac Réamoinn, (ed.), 1995). In *No Lions in the Hierarchy*, Joseph Dunn notes the power of Rome’s eyes and ears in Ireland, the Papal nuncio, stating that Gaetano Alibrandi, nuncio to Ireland for twenty years, ‘Once said to a friend of mine in an unguarded moment that his recommendations were always accepted by Rome’ (p.28, Dunn, 1994).

While identifying issues concerning authority in the church as a primary cause of stress and challenge, the priests surveyed in the diocese of Dublin noted prayer as the primary source of support. What is of interest here is that, in the face of this reality, the support reached for was consistently more spiritual than pragmatic. The first three sources of support were identified as God, the Mass and personal prayer. Only after these did priests look to a network of family and friends for support, while the support of the official church occupied three of the four lowest positions.
Forristal's commentary on these results once again cautions against an over-simplistic reading of the contemporary crisis of church. It suggests that the crisis may be more institutional than spiritual. This survey reveals a strong grasp towards spiritual support in the form of ritualised and personal prayer. It also reveals the deep hurt of those who have chosen to minister within a faith system, which lacks both moral and institutional authority. In his foreword to the published survey, Desmond Connell, Archbishop of Dublin, made a statement, which may be prophetic, as it concerns both the power of the spiritual and the future of the church as lying, not in the institution, but in its prayer:

The survey shows that prayer is at the heart of the lives of priests and I am moved and consoled by this finding. Because of the priest’s commitment to prayer, I know that the future is secure. (p.vii, Lane (ed.), 1997)

In 1996, Mater Dei Institute hosted a series of events related to the theme of Faith and Culture, resulting in the publication *Faith and Culture in the Irish Context*. In this publication, Christopher T. Whelan and Tony Fahey, both researchers at the Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, published a paper concerning religious change in Ireland from 1981-1990, based on evidence from the European Values Surveys of these same years. While these statistics show that Irish people continue to have a higher rate of weekly Mass attendance than the majority of European countries, they also note significant decrease within certain population groups. These groups include younger people, the urban-based and, most dramatically, the urban poor. Whelan and Fahey note that the weekly Mass attendance figures for the urban unemployed are half the average figure for Ireland.

The explanation suggested by Whelan and Fahey is not simply an issue of contemporary ritual decline, but what they view as the inability of the ritual to be inclusive of this marginalised group. The compensatory theory of religion, which suggests that those with fewer material possessions tend to cling to the promise of spiritual ones, is clearly not the case here, where the religious ritual would seem to hold little promise for this group:
The results of the ESRI Poverty Survey show that the unemployed are substantially more likely to think of themselves as worthless and less likely to participate in community rituals such as church attendance ... Exclusion from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities is a standard way of defining poverty. (p.105, Cassidy (ed.), 1996)

What do all these statements say about religious ritual life in contemporary Ireland? Firstly, they suggest that deep ritual may be happening in what appears to be impoverished ritual or ritual in decline. This ritual is still coming to terms with a complex history of deprivation and suppression and a history, which turned this same deprivation into its symbol of resistance. This is strongly exemplified in its ambivalent attitude towards music and other aesthetic expressions of ritual. Furthermore, they suggest that religious rituals still exist as a source of support in a changing Ireland grappling with the impact of modernity, but that this ritual is struggling on several fronts. It is still struggling to emerge from historical hurt and resistance, while also struggling to meet the needs of the newly marginalised in Ireland, the urban poor and unemployed, as well as the young.

In his interpretation of Whelan’s and Fahey’s analysis, Joseph Dunne, lecturer in philosophy in the Education and Human Development programme at St. Patrick’s College, Drumcondra, offers some interesting reflections. He suggests that it is precisely these marginalised groups who may illustrate the greatest signs of transformation in the church. Groups of people who are exceptionally exposed and made vulnerable through their life-experiences are, he suggests, most likely to disclose new community rituals, answering their needs and experiences:

These groups seem post-traditional in that they arise as the traditional parish structure goes into decline; one might say they are engaged in ‘the construction of new forms of community’ or that they anticipate ‘another - doubtless very different - St Benedict’. By the same token, however, it is perhaps through them that the tradition is now most alive. (p.136, Cassidy (ed.), 1996)
In other words what appears to be a ritual in decline may be a ritual struggling to emerge from its past and those who appear at its farthest remove may be contributing to the deepest searchings for this emergent voice.

What role might music play in these emerging ritual voices? Drawing on Charles Taylor’s work, Dunne suggests that poverty, or poverty of spirit, when it does not lead to despair and nihilism, may often be epiphanic. It can push the spirit to a point otherwise inaccessible and incomprehensible and reveal the unbelievable. Dunne points to the similar experience of artists such as James Joyce, who borrowed the Christian concept of Epiphany to speak of the sometimes necessary journey through the desert to find the King. He notes that the church’s poverty of spirit must involve an acknowledgement that it may not possess the voice to, ‘speak adequately to those whose spirits have been chastened in the journey through modernity’ (p.135, Cassidy (ed.), 1996), but that this knowledge need not lead to despair, but to wonder. For it is through this knowledge that a new voice may be born. And it is possible that that voice will not be the modernist voice of artless dogmatism or unemotional reason. It may not be the voice of a legalistic, formulaic church, or of doctrinal authoritarianism. It may well be a voice, which has grown up outside the margins of power, recognising the unquenchable need to express the inexpressible and to find voice beyond reason. In this way, it may well be the voice of art; the voice of song.

Contemporary Context of Theology in Ireland
The context explored above would seem to indicate that an effective ritual must relate in an intrinsic way to the community owning the ritual. This relationship must be cognisant of historical roots, tradition and the demands of a changing, contemporary context. Ritual and its expression, musical or otherwise, becomes redundant when it loses that essential connection.

In this sense, one may speak of ritual as being the result of necessity. Ritual emerges from life contexts, which cannot be born well without recourse to the heightened expressiveness intrinsic to ritual. Death rituals, for example, make the reality of death
more bearable. Birth rituals allow expression to form itself around the inexpressible mystery of created life.

Much of the contemporary context of theological thought takes a similar point of departure. Just as ritual may be viewed as residual when it no longer connects with the reality of human need, so too may theology be seen as redundant when it no longer articulates the deep longing for meaning, which is part of the human experience.

Chapter Six has suggested that this reclamation of theology is not dissimilar to a reclamation of our understanding of ritual. In other words, both are seeking a reconnection with their life-force, which resides in relationship to common life experience.

An examination of contemporary theological thought in Ireland reveals two trends. One involves a resistance to this thrust, seen in the continued emphasis on, for example, Systematic, Scriptural or Moral Theology as discrete areas of theological thought, taught in the tradition of abstraction and theory, with little or no relation to contemporary life experience. A second trend involves an attempt to critique this approach. This latter approach views ritual and ritual expression as primary tools in this reclamation of theological relevance.

One Irish theologian involved in this reclamation is Enda McDonagh. As already seen in his text *Faith in Fragments*, his work illustrates a high level of awareness and concern for the contemporary church in Ireland, as well as a conviction that transformation is both necessary and possible. While *Faith in Fragments* is a relatively recent publication (1996), the foundations of his approach can be seen in earlier works such as *The Making of Disciples*, published in 1982. In the light of previous indications that the loss of authority in the Irish Catholic Church is rooted in a loss of confidence in the morality of the church, it is interesting that, in both texts, McDonagh grounds his critique of contemporary theology in the concept of morality.
McDonagh’s opening remarks in *The Making of Disciples* suggests that Moral Theology, as it exists, is a discipline without broad relevance, deep understanding, or the ability to move beyond its theoretical territory;

It is not entirely frivolous to suggest an end to moral theology and moral theologising, even in the renewed forms in which it has been practised from the 1950s through the 1970s. There are of course too few moral theologians, too few perhaps to keep it alive. And the interests of that few are still too limited to formal questions of Christian autonomy and heteronomy, of specificity, of consequentialism and its alternatives, or to substantive questions which range little beyond sexuality, bioethics, and a touch of war. With such limited obsessions the verdict might well be suicide. (p.1, McDonagh, 1982)

McDonagh’s suggestion is that such a suicide may not be a bad thing, if it led, as Dunne noted, not to a nihilism or a lack of morality, but to a new epiphany in theology; the birth of a more integrated approach to theology, reclaiming its relevance to the pressing moral issues which surround all human communities, and not least pressing for the contemporary community in Ireland, still coming to terms with massive moral change and choice.

McDonagh notes that some of this reclamation is already happening. Liberation theologians, such as Gustavo Gutierrez or Leonardo Boff, demand of theology the same life challenge that the original message of Christ presented to the first communities to encounter Christianity. This challenge involved the questioning of isolation, alienation, poverty and disenfranchisement. Feminist theologians, such as Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza and Rosemary Ruether propose a theology which is inclusive at its root and which involves a move away from dichotomous world views, towards holism and integration.

What is of interest to this work, however, is the role McDonagh suggests liturgy may play in this process of theological re-integration. The heart of the moral enterprise, as McDonagh describes it is relational. Morality only exists through the effort of the ‘I’ to
encounter the ‘thou’. It is the essential recognition of otherness, which allows for morality. Without this recognition, morality is unnecessary and without function. For McDonagh, the primary function of liturgy is to recognise divine otherness. This otherness is not separate from life - indeed, one might suggest that life depends on this otherness - but liturgy allows us to recognise and celebrate this intrinsic connection:

Moral behaviour in its typically interpersonal form has at its core some recognition of the other, in his irreducible otherness, in his mystery and, according to Christian understanding, in his embodiment and revelation of the ultimate and divine other. (p.41, McDonagh, 1982)

McDonagh critiques the tendency to view Christian ritual as contemplative and gifted, and morality as action-driven and full of struggle, and instead suggests that the ritual must also express the struggle and that morality must recognise that action is God-gifted and dependent on spiritual strength and nourishment. In this sense, all liturgy is called to serve the moral reality of recognising and rejoicing in otherness. The point of encounter between liturgy and morality is then, paradoxically, at the most other-worldly of junctures, that of ecstasy. If morality is a call to recognise the divine in otherness, then ecstatic expression, most often articulated in song or silence, may bring us closest to this recognition and to its consequential actions:

It is this mystical awareness, which we have already noted as part of Christian liturgy, if not always a recognised part, which offers the deepest insight into the relationship of liturgy with moral behaviour, moral virtue, moral formation and moral character. (p.40, McDonagh, 1982)

One might suggest that the connection between prayer ritual and moral action, or well-being in the world, is one which would be expected of a theologian. It is of interest, therefore, to see a similar conclusion reached by the American pragmatic philosopher, Philip Hallie. Hallie’s philosophical journey was highly influenced by the experiential knowledge accrued as a young Jewish boy, growing up in a Chicago tenement, in a
largely Polish, anti-Semitic community, and then as a soldier in the American army fighting in World War II. Hallie’s questions revolved around the instinct, which made him physically fight back and assault other children when they attacked him, and led him to kill other human beings as a soldier. His questions involved the urge to do harm, the need to do harm, and the justification of harm.

Much of his early work explored the harmful impulses of human nature and the problem of human evil. *The Paradox of Cruelty* was published in 1969. In his foreword to *Tales of Good and Evil, Help and Harm*, published posthumously by Hallie’s widow, his friend and colleague, John J. Compton, relates a watershed moment in Hallie’s life:

By the Spring of 1975, Hallie felt himself near depression from years of immersion in accounts of cruelty, torture, and death, many of which now focused on the Nazis’ destruction of the Jews. One day he happened on a brief account of the tiny French village of Le Chambon in World War II. There, during the German occupation, under the leadership of its two pacifist Protestant pastors, a handful of ordinary people had conspired to save thousands of Jews, many of them children. Hallie was so moved by this amazing life-risking, life-saving resistance to evil that he vowed to pursue the story behind it. He could not believe what he had read. Evil had come to seem almost inevitable in the human condition. He had to try to understand how such goodness could have happened. (p.xviii, Hallie, 1997)

Hallie’s pursuit of this story was published as *Lest Innocent Blood be Shed* in 1979 and later revisited in *Tales of Good and Evil, Help and Harm*. Hallie’s contention is that right and wrong do not exist as theoretical constructs, but are manifest in the harm we do others or the help we render. In this sense, the ‘good’ found in the village of Le Chambon was good, not because the pastor and his wife spearheaded a movement based on their religious convictions, but good because it saved lives. The conviction behind this action, however, was the impetus, and intrinsic to their ability to continue with this work.

Hallie pursued this impetus to a seamless connection between belief, spiritual expression of this belief, and day-to-day reality. He relates a number of anecdotes concerning the
sermons delivered by Pastor Trocmé which stated again and again that all Christians were called to live as Christ and that any other action than the one they took would be impossible; about the arrival of the first Jewish refugee and the delight in the village that they had been blessed with the presence of one of God’s ‘Chosen People’; about the bewilderment expressed by Madame Trocmé when he suggested that she was a ‘good’ person, as she saw her own actions as simply unavoidable.

What Hallie suggests he encountered was what Eastern Brahmins might call ‘ahimsa’, or the complete lack of desire to do harm. As a pragmatic philosopher, searching for the source of goodness, or at least of ‘helpfulness’, he did not go in search of a spiritual or ritually nourished attitude, nor did he see this as necessary. What he found, however, led him not to a theory of human morality, but back to a memory, hidden in the roots of his childhood:

...Friday evenings I used to spend with my mother. After sunset as my mother prayed over her mother’s brass candlesticks, her prayers became part of me ...she drew me into a mystery that was not a problem to be solved, not the mere absence of understanding ... the shadow mystery in which my mother prayed was something positive and comforting. It was full of peace and it was as real as the candlelight. The peace we felt circulating in and around us like the air we breathed. That peace was God... In the story about the villagers [of Le Chambon] surrounding the khaki-colored bus with Steckler, I saw a lucid instance of human communion. Reading it I suddenly felt the kind of joyous comfort I had felt on those Friday nights. (p.28, Hallie, 1997)

Hallie’s anecdotes, stemming from pragmatic philosophy, illustrate the same connection McDonagh proposes between liturgy and morality. Liturgy, or prayer, is seen as the expression of a world-view, which provides the nourishment necessary to translate that view into action. In other words, good ritual nourishes the grappling of human endeavour.

If ritual action may be viewed as a fundamental source of human well-being and expression, it is profoundly ironic that, with the Second Vatican Council, ‘the Roman
The Catholic Church undertook to renew ritual forms without studying the nature of ritual (p.158, Bredin, 1994). The more recent opening of theology to anthropology and cultural studies raises some serious questions as to the nature of ritual change since the council. What seems to have emerged from an attempt to grapple with the demands of modernity is often a ritual available to rational comprehension, but containing little else required to make the ritual a profound moment of life articulation. Through a preoccupation with translation and revision of books, the liturgical renewal may be accused of having forgotten or not recognised the primary value of ritual, not as a liturgically correct act in itself, but somehow able to express divine otherness, and the incomprehensible mystery of the life to death experience. Symbol theory reminds us that this experience is best experienced through symbolic mediation; through music, performance, gesture or visual articulation. Karl Rahner called this new understanding of ritual and the Christian sacraments a Copernican revolution in Christian thought. The Irish theologian, Eamonn Bredin describes Rahner’s belief that this:

...new approach could more easily address the difficulties that even dedicated Catholics had in experiencing Mass as the ‘summit and source of the Christian life’ (S.C.). Those difficulties derived partly from the tension between the rhetoric of desiring to live authentically and the profound level at which that free disposition of themselves had to be enacted; partly from the fane/profane dichotomy in their interpretation of life, which tended to see sacraments as isolated, discrete discharges of grace in an otherwise profane world. (p.156, Bredin, 1994)

According to this reclaimed theology, efficacious ritual emanates from a seamless connection between liturgy and life, brought about, not through a rationally imposed sense of relevance, but springing from deeply symbolic forms of ritual, not least of which is musical expression.

It may be suggested, therefore, that the issue of music as ritual expression, both within Catholicism in general, and, more particularly, in Irish Catholicism, is not primarily a musical problem, but a ritual one. This ritual problem has multiple roots. One such root is
the schism which has developed between ‘real’ life and ‘ritual’ life. Christian ritual is often no longer called on to act as a primary mediator of life experience.

The encounter between the Second Vatican Council and modernity may be suggested as a second root. This encounter occurred, perhaps ironically, at the moment when much of the world was already discovering the problematic aspects of modernity with its overemphasis on rationality and on science as the new panacea. In his essay *Pastoral Power and Political Reason*, published in 1979, Foucault stated that, ‘[P]hilosophy gave up trying to offset the impotence of scientific reason long ago; it no longer tries to complete its edifice’ (p.133, Carrette (ed.), 1999). Similarly, Jeremiah Newman, Bishop of Limerick, noted that, ‘there was a time (not too long ago at all) when books were written by modern Catholics looking at their outdated Church, now the Church perennial is looking at outdated modern Catholics’ (p151, Newman, 1990). Post-Vatican liturgical reform often took on the clothing of modernist rationalism, thereby lacking the fundamental irrationalism of efficacious ritual. Those aspects of ritual to suffer most from this purge were the performative aspects of music and other aesthetic expressions.

The loss of recognition concerning the efficaciousness of ritual shares a related loss with the concept of the aesthetic. Just as ritual may be viewed as lacking in scientific empowerment as an agent of transformation, so too has the aesthetic been increasingly relegated to the periphery of human necessity. Aesthetic expression, far from maintaining its early philosophical links with ethical expression, has become increasingly associated with the medium of entertainment. It is in this sense that the Snowbird Statement provides an important statement on the nature of the aesthetic:

> It often seems to go unnoticed that aesthetically high quality music has the ability to make rituals more powerful and more engaging. Unfortunately, much ritual music in the Catholic church today is hampered by an excessive academicism and an artless rationality. In this regard, the concept of ritual music in the liturgy is very much a product of modernity and, as such, is already showing its age and transitional character. (Art.5, 1995)
If ritual and aesthetic expression are viewed as little more than moments of entertainment or peripheral, residual expression, than it is small wonder that they are not viewed or experienced as powerful agents of change. The modern tools of power are seen to reside in political, financial and legal control, exerted through rational discourse or brute force. It is the contention of this work that any reclamation of the power of ritual expression will, of necessity, include a reclamation of both secular and sacred aesthetic expression, beyond the singular mode of entertainment value.

While ritual music may, therefore, be viewed as caught in the double disempowerment of ritual and aesthetic expression, a third factor has also added to the complexity. This factor involves the hijacking of certain forms of ritual music expression for ideological ends. One notes, for example, the role played by Gregorian chant in the initial period of the contemporary Liturgical Movement. Within the reform work of Solesmes, in many ways the founding father of the movement, liturgical reform and chant reform were two aspects of the same journey. Following the Vatican Council, however, a strongly conservative voice began to emerge, one which was critical of the extent to which the council had moved in liturgical reform. This movement looked with nostalgia to the Pre-Vatican liturgy and to its musical voices of chant and sacred polyphony. In the years since, these musics have become increasingly associated with the ideological right. In the same way, however, those committed to the reform show a similar pattern of ideological divide, through an implementation of the vernacular to an extent never imagined at the council. In this way, ritual music is not chosen for its ritual efficacy but for the ideology it is seen to represent.

The complexities facing music as ritual expression are, therefore, serious and many. The disempowerment of ritual disempowers ritual music. The disempowerment of aesthetic expression often relegates music to a limited entertainment appeal. The tension between those committed and opposed to liturgical reform has turned ritual music into an expression of ideological position. Finally, the particular historical journey of liturgical
music in Ireland has led both to its suppression, the use of this suppression as a symbol of resistance, and contemporary confusion as to its role and importance, receiving little clarification or support from the church’s leadership.

Chapter Six has noted a number of trends, including a reclamation of ritual, symbol and culture through postmodernity, which may contribute to the formation of a theology of music, capable of addressing these complexities. Part of this emerging theology recognises the importance of local and particular voices in this articulation. The following section explores the particular contributions which Irish Catholicism may be in position to make to a reclaimed understanding of music as ritual and music as theology.

**The Irish Contribution to an Emerging Theology of Music**

If, as previous sections suggest, the fate of ritual music depends on the fate of ritual, then the Irish experience and tradition of ritual must be a central consideration.

Returning to *The Shaping of Sunday*, Ryan notes the strong culture of ritual expression in Irish history, a culture which linked religious ritual expression to every aspect of human experience. With reference to the ‘culture of Sunday’ (p.8, Ryan, 1997), for example, he notes the heightened awareness of every aspect of the day’s expression from such basic considerations as dressing and eating. The culture of Sunday which emerged from the post-Penal Irish community involved wearing one’s best clothes and gathering for ‘Sunday lunch’. It included abstinence from any unnecessary work and was associated with social gatherings and sharings. The heart of the day was the celebration of Sunday Mass but this was inextricably woven into the attitude and actions surrounding the rest of the day.

The culture of ritual described above is a culture, which merges the sacred and the secular in a seamless thread of experience, rendering the division almost meaningless. This aspect of Irish ritual expression is at the heart of one of the most significant contributions
the Irish church may be in a position to offer to an emerging theology of ritual and of ritual music.

The primary challenge facing contemporary Christian ritual and one might suggest, one of the primary failings of the Vatican reform, involves the failure of contemporary ritual to speak to contemporary experience. Many reasons for this have already been suggested. While ritual reform involved a strong commitment to textual translation and revision, this same commitment did not always follow through in local implementation. The influence of modernity on the reform led to a rationally based logic of change which was not always informed by a deep understanding of the irrational and performative aspects of ritual expression. Ritual reform, therefore, often ceased with the revision of texts and failed to negotiate authentic change with local traditions.

The resulting sterility of much contemporary Catholic liturgy has led to an increased perception of the irrelevance of this ritual to life and a growing separation of secular and religious expression. It is one of the tragedies of the contemporary church that the church capable of the vision, which produced *Gaudium et Spes*, or the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, has been unable to translate this vision into meaningful, contemporary liturgy.

Through its exposure to contemporary thought in anthropology and ritual studies, there is evidence that the church is beginning to recognise that ritual efficacy is dependent on ritual relevance and its ability to negotiate with the reality of human experience. As Michael Aune notes in his essay, *The Subject of Ritual*, 'the defining character of experience is overbearing practical relevance' (p.161, Aune, DeMarinis (eds.), 1996).

The legacy of the Tridentine church and its fear of any secular exposure or contamination has left the church ill-equipped to deal with this recognition. It would seem that the attempts of the Second Vatican Council are also proving less than successful, with their overemphasis on the letter of textual revision and translation, not always worlds away from the rubric-centred approach the council sought to redress.
The particular story of the Irish Catholic experience, however, may have something of great value to contribute to this recognition. Of necessity, the Irish Catholic story is one, which based its survival on its ability to merge with secular culture and discover new forms of spiritual expression beyond that of the Church's central liturgies. Within this context, a rich tradition of 'popular', 'folk' or 'traditional' religion developed in Ireland. In Passage to Pasch, Michael Drumm describes this approach to religion in Ireland as,

...that matrix of beliefs, practices, rituals and customs that constitutes a living, incarnate religion. Such a religion functions in a very practical way as an interpretative model of human existence and brings together in an apparently 'unholy alliance' the residue of archaic fertility rites, land-based rituals, orthodox Christian beliefs and a broad notion of the sacramentality of life. (pp. 39-40, Drumm, 1998)

The earliest Christian experience in Ireland not only assimilated aspects of the secular culture surrounding it, evidenced in vernacular Irish poetry, elaborate metal work and textual illumination, but also showed an imaginative and creative way of assimilating the prevailing ritual and religious culture it encountered. This same ability to assimilate and adapt led to a flowering of non-liturgical, religious poetry and song in Penal Ireland, drawing form and inspiration from secular tradition. Even the post-Famine attempt of the church, led by Archbishop Cullen to:

...turn Irish Catholics into a chapel-going population' (p.51) ...could not ultimately succeed. The one thing it could not control was the imagination and its capacity to revisit these ancient wellsprings. Cullen's reforms crept westward through the country slowly but surely. Yet they never managed to completely extinguish the old traditions. One hundred and fifty years later we can inhabit the same spaces as our forebears at station Masses, funeral wakes, patterns, holy wells and pilgrimages. (p.53, Drumm, 1998)

Something of this legacy is captured in The Magic Mountain, a chapter of Colm Tóibín’s The Sign of the Cross: Travels in Catholic Europe describing his visit to Croagh Patrick in July, 1991. Tóibín's narration begins the night before the pilgrimage in a pub in
Westport, outside of which, a group of travellers are jockeying for space to sell wooden staffs for the climb. His estimations suggested that twenty to sixty thousand pilgrims would climb the reef on that last Sunday in July. Tóibín relates the legend of St. Patrick’s fast of forty days and nights on the mountain, as well as the belief that the tradition was an older, pagan ritual, assimilated into Christian custom and practice.

The climb described by Tóibín includes bare-footed pilgrims and boot-shod hill-walkers, some there to do penance, some there for the walk and others, like Tóibín himself, drawn to the ritual but unsure as to why. He describes the gradual difficulty of the climb, the incessant rain and the ‘fierce Catholicism’ of the same traveller involved in the pub brawl the night before, climbing bare-footed up the reef. He notes a narration of the climb related by William Makepeace Thackeray in 1842, describing the ‘stations’ visited by the pilgrims as they climbed. The same stations were visited one hundred and forty nine years later, carrying instructions, ‘…at the first station, for example, to walk ‘seventimes around the mound of stones saying seven Our Fathers, seven Hail Marys and one Creed’ (p.58, Tóibín, 1995).

Tóibín describes a rescue team passing him with an empty stretcher. A man heading down from the mountain gives him a smile and words of encouragement. At one moment, the fog lifts and the crowd pauses to see Clew Bay appear as in a revelation. His final ascent to the summit is described as unexpectedly physical and emotional and spiritual;

Nothing had prepared me for the last part of the climb. The rise was sheer and there was nothing to hold on to. At every step I sank into a bank of large slippery stones. I moved slowly on my hands and knees in the wind and the driving rain. I stood back to let the stretcher pass, as the injured man was carried down.

Everyone concentrated on each step, and on making sure not to fall and knock other people over. We clambered forward. It was impossible to see how close the summit was. At times progress seemed impossible; there was no foothold and if you moved, you displaced rocks and stones and still there was no foothold. Men and women walked down as best they could, pushing the staff into the ground ahead of them, letting it sink in between the stones, then sliding gingerly down. If
they caught your eye, they smiled in encouragement. People kept telling you that you would reach the summit soon.

When I got there, I was exhausted and exhilarated. Mass was being said and everybody, including all the young people, were paying attention. Later, huge numbers went to confession and communion. I felt so well, so happy to have made it that I was half-tempted to tell all my sins to the priest and then receive communion. But I sat back, instead, and watched. (p. 58-59, Tóibín, 1995)

Though not perhaps intended as such, this narration provides an excellent ethnographic insight into the complexity and efficacy of this ritual. Firstly, the preparation for the pilgrimage happens in the secular context of the pub and is characterised by drinking, gathering and commercial enterprise. In this way, the ritual is positioned among common-place human activities. Though it is recognised as an important event, set apart from everyday activity, it is not so removed from these activities as to illustrate no commonality or relevance.

Tóibín’s comments on the participation of the travelling community are also worth noting. This marginalised community is present in its stereotypical role of trader and pub-brawler during the ritual preparation. What is of interest, however is the ritual inclusion of the marginalised, symbolised in the equality of bare-feet. During the ritual of pilgrimage, everyone becomes a traveller and the social distinction is rendered meaningless.

The description of both the mixed legends and the station prayers illustrate the layers of ritual meaning and interpretation assimilated into the practice. Part of Tóibín’s discovery seems to suggest that the inclusion of the non-Christian throws the Christian into a new and more powerful light, best illustrated by his own admission of a moment of longing to join the droves of people at communion and confession, as if, for that moment, the Catholic sacraments were re-enfranchised for him by their inclusion in the wider ritual.
His narration notes the breakdown in the traditional divides between young and old; the impact of the physical journey, the real danger of injury, the solidarity of the group seen in smiles and words of encouragement, as well as the essential loneliness of climbing the mountain in the driving rain.

This profound experience of ritual brings him to ponder its source and strength for the conclusion of the essay. He wonders at the survival of Catholicism in Ireland, of its atypical continued hold on a significant portion of the younger population. He speculates as to its organic, early development, and the greater difficulty of dislodging something, which has grown through assimilation rather than force. Watching the pilgrims climbing in 1991, he writes;

I assumed that people had also come here on the appointed summer’s day in the time before Christianity. And I imagined that the pre-Christian rituals may have continued after its arrival. There seems to have been no battle between the rival religions, no year noted in chronicles when the big day on Croagh Patrick was turned over to the Christians. It is possible that both pagan and Christian rituals were carried on as a part of the same thing, and then gradually the pagan disappeared. (p.61, Tóibín, 1995)

The essay’s conclusion reveals something of the ambivalent attitude of the church’s hierarchy to this inheritance. Dr. Joseph Cassidy, Bishop of Clonfert is positioned at the bottom of the mountain to greet the pilgrims descending, ‘from their quasi-pagan encounter with rain and a holy mountain’ (p.62, Tóibín, 1995). Significantly, he does not climb the mountain himself, because his heart is too weak. Dressed in full episcopal robes, Tóibín describes him as an incongruous figure, somewhat to the side of the event. One is left with the impression of a hierarchy happy with the evidence of Catholic fervour but somehow not fully in control, and knowing it.

A profound irony lies at the heart of the reaction of the contemporary Irish church to this complex and layered inheritance. On the one hand, the official Irish church has a history of reluctance in claiming this past, viewing it as uninformed, contaminated with residual
pre-Christian practices and beliefs, and beyond the control of officially sanctified spaces and personages. On the other, a number of contemporary developments have brought about the late recognition that this may be one of the most valuable and unique assets of the Irish church.

These developments are numerous and divergent. They include, for example, the resurgence of interest in all aspects of Celticism, and a contemporary exploration of what is meant by and valued in ‘Celtic’ spirituality. Central to this is what Ó Riordáin refers to as the ‘sense of God’s immanence in his creation’ (p.24, Ó Riordáin, 1998) and the close relationship between the natural and supernatural world. This sensibility is increasingly viewed as a model for rediscovering the connectedness between religious expression and contemporary realities.

A second voice causing the Irish church to re-evaluate its interpretation of its own historical development is that of cultural studies and the emergence of culture as a primary voice in revisionism, interpretive anthropology, historical and textual deconstruction, philosophy and theology. The recognition that inculturation is at the heart of the Christian enterprise is one of the most creative voices contributing to contemporary liturgical theology. Within this climate, the church is thirsty for cultures capable of engaging imaginatively and creatively with liturgy. The rich history of creative dialogue between Irish Catholic spirituality and its more secular environment is being rediscovered as a potential model for this enterprise.

Finally, this resurgence of interest in both Celticism and culture cannot help but impact on a primary carrier of both, namely, Irish music. Once again, the church is being led to a re-evaluation of a religious musical legacy which, though largely non-liturgical, has the potential to articulate these reclaimed values of a broadly Celtic, but particularly Irish spirituality through the cultural embodiment of music.
None of this has occurred independently of the concomitant thrust towards a
commercialisation of spirituality, Celticism, culture, and music. In terms of music, there
is evidence of both this commercial drive as well as a deep-rooted searching to give voice
to this inheritance. It is difficult to evaluate the commercial success of Liam Lawton’s
Light the Fire (Veritas, 1996), for example, without recognising the strong appeal of its
avowedly Celtic inspiration. The introduction to the publication leaves us in little doubt
as to the composer’s intention;

In this collection of songs I have tried in some small way to celebrate the beautiful
rich tradition of our people. As I begin to uncover the untold beauty of our Celtic
heritage I feel compelled to share my songs with others. (Introduction, Liam
Lawton, Light the Fire, Veritas, 1996)

However, an examination of the first piece of music in the collection, Could it Be?
reveals little textually or musically which identifies itself clearly as ‘Celtic’.

On the other hand, a number of contributions to In Caelo, the most recent hymnal
publication from Veritas (1999), edited by Liam Lawton and significantly sub-titled,
‘Songs for a Pilgrim People’, would seem to illustrate an emerging liturgical voice, self­
consciously Irish and rooted in a broad Celtic inheritance. The collection includes a
number of Irish language songs, many of which incorporate adaptations of traditional
prayers or poetic settings, such as Máiire Ní Dhuibhín’s A Íosa, Seán Ó Riada’s A Íosa
Bháin and Is Beannaithe Teach Dé, or Seán Óg Ó Tuama’s An tAiséiri and Gabham
Molta Bhride. English language compositions include three contributions from Micheál Ó
Súilleabháin. Ever, Evermore, Everlastingly and The River and the Ocean are based on
Alexander Carmichael’s Carmine Gadelica, while The Sacred Child is based on an early
17th century text by Aodh Mac Aingil.

It is perhaps too early to evaluate the actual value of this potential Irish contribution,
either to liturgical music or to an emergent theology of this music; to predict whether this
flowering will ultimately turn on market values or, in fact, reveal something intrinsic and
forgotten at the heart of spiritual and ritual expression. The inheritance of a cultural expression capable of broad ritual assimilation, however, remains one of the primary potential contributions the Irish church may yet make to any emerging theological thought concerning the ritual use of music.

If music provides a juncture of expression, wherein culture and ritual meet, it also provides a second such potential juncture between two other equally powerful forces; those of sexuality and spirituality. As mentioned earlier, the reclamation of the performative in ritual has involved a re-evaluation of the body and related ritual embodiment. Much of this discourse emerged from the speculative worlds of gender studies and feminism, wherein the body is viewed as a prime carrier of the sexual. The centrality of the sexual is such that every discipline has been called to a recognition of its importance. Theologically speaking, the question arises as to how and where the sexual meets the spiritual.

Once again, this questioning is one to which Ireland may be in a unique position to contribute, but the roots are deep and have been well hidden by contemporary attempts to deny them. The immanent aspect of early Irish spirituality has already been discussed and there are several examples of the close connection between the spiritual and the sexual to be found in early Irish religious poetry. What is of particular interest, however, is the use of the language of music to express this bond. An example of this is to be found in the poem A Chrinóc, cubaid do cheol, attributed to the 11th century poet, Maoliosa Ó Brolcháin. One interpretation of this poem is offered by Kuno Meyer in Ancient Irish Poetry, in which he describes ‘crinog’ as what was known in early Christian literature as conhospita or virgo subintroducta. This referred to, ‘a nun who lived with a priest, monk or hermit like a sister or ‘spiritual wife’ ...[T]his practice, which was early suppressed and abandoned everywhere else, seems to have survived in the Irish church till the tenth century’ (p.112, Meyer, 1913).
A more intriguing interpretation, however, is to be found in the recent publication *Towards a History of Irish Spirituality* by Peter O’Dwyer. Based on the work of James Carney, O’Dwyer suggests that *crinóc*, is, in fact, a term of endearment for a psalter which accompanied the narrator through his early life, was then used by four other men and eventually found its way back to the original owner. If Carney’s interpretation is accurate, than the combination of both sexual and musical imagery to describe this spiritual relationship is particularly striking. The narrator and the *crinóc* are described as having slept together, ‘as man and womankind’, after which, the narrator relates, ‘each in his turn, four lay where I have lain’. The *crinóc* is described as a ‘lady of measured melody’; one with whom, ‘the way is found, following the mighty melodies that with you throughout the pathways of the world resound’; one who is ‘not ever silent’ and who came to the narrator when he was ‘a gentle lad of seven melodious years’ (p.90, O’Dwyer, 1995).

This interlacing of spiritual and erotic love with musical imagery is not unique to religious poetry of this period. As with the early development of Christian ritual through the assimilation of existing ritual, however, this practice was also one which came to be viewed with suspicion by the Catholic church which emerged in post-Penal and then post-Famine Ireland, determined to bring its followers into line with Roman norms:

... the ancient ascetic spirit, so well manifested in the pilgrimages to Croagh Patrick and Lough Derg, was reduced to little more than atonement for sexual sins. In the context of the famine it wasn’t difficult to link sexual behaviour, guilt, sin and death in the minds of these people for, all too obviously, there had been too many mouths to feed. The spirit of the people was broken by the famine and the new spirituality assumed the high moral ground of the respectable middle-class, rejecting the raucous religion of an earlier time in the embrace of individual rigour, personal scrupulosity and sexual abstinence. Nowhere was this spirit more manifest than in the great symbol of post-famine Irish Catholicism – the sacrament of confession. (p.52, Drumm, 1998)

A number of factors have merged in the call for a re-evaluation of this suppression. The recent revelations of clerical and religious involvement in sexual abuse and paedophilia in
Ireland have most radically dealt the death-blow to the righteous image of celibacy or sexual abstinence. The emerging interdisciplinary dialogue between theology and psychology has also led to an increased understanding of the powerful unconscious thrust of humanity towards deep spiritual and sexual expressions of love.

Of particular interest to this work is the emerging suggestion that music may have a unique role to play in this expression. The Irish counsellor and social psychologist, Diarmuid Ó Murchú, a member of the Sacred Heart Missionaries, touches on this topic in his publication *Reclaiming Spirituality*. In his chapter concerning the erotic power of spirituality, he notes ‘the re-emergence of the androgyne’ as a phenomena of post-patriarchal spiritual expression (p.132, Ó Murchú, 1997). The androgyne, he suggests, represents the re-emergence of one of the deepest archetypes, older than male/female dichotomies, representing a primordial way of being related to the essential manifestation of human holism. One of the primary indicators of the androgyne thrust is the impulse towards creativity:

...the androgynous development tends to be much more subconscious rather than conscious and, consequently, whether in a man or a woman, will often veer towards a more creative way of being, perhaps in some quite esoteric area of work or lifestyle. (p.132, Ó Murchú, 1997)

If creativity is a central impulse of a deep sexual and spiritual movement towards a more holistic and integrated lifestyle, it is not difficult to imagine the influence the creative expression of music might have on this development. Once again, the integration of the three energies of sexuality, spirituality and musical creation evidenced in Irish cultural inheritance suggests that Ireland may have a unique contribution to make to this emergent aspect of theology.

In summary then, the renewed interest in early Irish and Celtic culture, coupled with the interdisciplinary dialogue now surrounding theology, ritual studies, cultural studies, gender studies and psychology, has revealed aspects of Irish spirituality which speak to
the role and function of music as ritual and spiritual expression. Two of these have been suggested here. Firstly, music is capable of expression across the secular and spiritual divide. Both the contemporary crisis of ritual relevance and the recognition that culture, in the deepest sense, does not recognise this divide, would suggest that this bridge is both desirable and necessary. Secondly, a renewed interest in the shared *habitus* of sexuality and spirituality, has led to a re-evaluation of embodied performance and human creativity. Again, music is a capable agent of both. Finally, Irish spirituality and ritual expression has demonstrated an ability to work through processes of assimilation and to blend the immanent with the transcendent; the natural with the supernatural. To this extent, it may be concluded that both Irish religious ritual and musical expression are fertile sources of creative thought and theological, musical expression.

*Contemporary Context of Liturgical Music in Ireland*

While one of the more significant claims of the disciplines referred to thus far must be their contribution to the reclamation of context, at some stage one must turn from context to substance or, in this case, from liturgical context to liturgical music itself. The difficulty in separating the two has already been addressed, but a second complexity also appears in the Irish context. While much may be said theoretically about liturgical context and liturgical music, the reality is relatively threadbare. Simply put, there is little evidence of a thriving liturgical music reality in Catholic Ireland and only little more of a growing consciousness concerning the emerging theological perspectives surrounding the consideration of music in ritual. As mentioned, therefore, in the section above concerning an Irish contribution to this discourse, the evidence would indicate significant potential but little to date by way of realisation. The potential mentioned, however, is not simply aspirational, but based on a small number of disparate musical trends, which have emerged in the decades since the Second Vatican Council. In many of these cases, it is appropriate to speak of a second or third wave of development, beginning to emerge as the church moves into a Post-Vatican II community. This is best illustrated through an examination of two of these; composition and education.
At the turn of the Millennium, as the church moves through its fourth decade since the Council, liturgical music composition in Ireland may be described as entering a third phase. While none of these phases have been experienced as discrete or monochromatic, they do represent variable energies and trends. The initial phase of this development coincided with the first rush of enthusiasm following the Council’s reform of liturgy and liturgical music. Unlike much of Europe and the Western world, where advocates of liturgical reform and advocates of ‘sacred’ or ‘high art’ music quickly moved into disparate camps, it is significant that a number of pre-eminent composers in Ireland were not only committed to, and interested in, composing for liturgy, but also interested in facilitating the suggested liturgical music reforms. One of the great failings of the Second Vatican Council liturgical music reform, in general, must be its failure to convince contemporary composers of their welcome or relevance to liturgical music composition. In Ireland, however, in the years immediately following the council, a number of such composers were involved, not only as musicians but as liturgically informed ones. The participation and liturgical interest of composers, educators and performers such as Seán Ó Riada, Aloys Fleischmann, Gerard Gillen and Seoirse Bodley was unique and significant within the early years of liturgical music reform. The commissioning of Mass settings by the Advisory Committee on Church Music from a number of pre-eminent composers of the time, including T.C Kelly, O'Carroll, Bodley and Victory was a simple and excellent idea which has never been repeated. Indeed, such is the change of social and religious climate, that one wonders if many of the pre-eminent composers of contemporary Ireland would even accept such a commission were it offered.

Of equal significance was the recognition that music had a valuable role to play in liturgical reform. Sean Swayne has already been mentioned as personifying this belief and in putting music in such a central position both at the Irish Institute for Pastoral Liturgy and in Irish liturgical reform in general. It is significant that much of the most enduring Irish music composed since the Vatican Council dates from this period. Evidence of this can be found in the high proportion of the music from this period represented in In Caelo, Ireland’s most recent hymnal publication.
The 1980's represent a second and much less promising wave of liturgical music reform in Ireland. With the inevitable wane of initial enthusiasm, the failure of the Irish hierarchy to bring any lasting conviction to the enterprise, and the loss of many of the persons involved in the initial thrust of reform through death or new appointments, the initial impetus of liturgical and liturgical music reform began to decline even before any lasting developments took root. Two trends, already noticeable in much of Europe and North America began to make inroads into Irish liturgical music. Increasingly, those talking about music and making musical decisions for liturgy, tended to be first liturgists and then musicians. It is significant, for example, that the only two journals devoted exclusively to liturgical music considerations in Ireland, *Hosanna* and *Jubilus*, both ceased publication in the 1980's (1985 and 1987 respectively), while *New Liturgy* has continued publication and become the umbrella voice for all aspects of liturgical development.

This same period witnessed the gradual influence of the North American liturgical 'folk music' movement, which also spearheaded the growing liturgical music industry. In an earlier examination of hymnal publication in Ireland, the shift from Irish and Irish language compositions in earlier hymnals such as *The Veritas Hymnal*, to the strong North American influence in the hymnal *Hosanna!*, has already been noted. A number of factors may be suggested as influencing this trend. Firstly, the lack of any significant financial commitment to liturgical music in Ireland by the Catholic hierarchy led to a high proportion of amateur choirs and folk-groups, led by amateur musicians. Even while the church supported such initiatives as the *Schola Cantorum*, which trained young musicians as organists and choral directors, this was not consistently carried to the logical conclusion of providing professional and paid positions for these musicians within the Irish diocesan infrastructure. The folk music imported from North America was often simple and accessible and geared towards amateur performance. A similar lack of financial commitment to liturgical music publication in Ireland also meant that North American liturgical music, produced through the growing commercial success of GIA,
Oregon Catholic Press and North American Liturgy Resources, was often both cheaper and more accessible than Irish liturgical music composition.

This lack of vision and support for liturgical music reform has been further exacerbated in the 1990’s by a wide-scale disillusionment with church leadership in Ireland and disenchantment with the official institution of the church, as well as its liturgies. This loss of faith is coupled with a growing recognition within the wider Catholic church that the initial phases of liturgical reform were, in many cases, over-simplistic and, at times, involved fundamental misinterpretations. The emphasis on active participation, for example, was often interpreted as participation at any cost, and participation only in the form of active, vocal involvement of any kind. Participation was also often viewed as dependent on comprehension, resulting in the most literal of translations and one-dimensional perspectives on understanding, sacrificing the more subtle forms of ritual comprehension to cruder and more immediate forms of rational understanding.

Both this wider sense of a need to develop a more subtle understanding of the aspirations of liturgical music reform in general, and the particular dilemma facing the Irish contemporary church, has led to a sense that simplistic solutions or answers are no longer adequate. A more sophisticated response is being called for. It is the few but important responses to this call which may be said to form the heart of the emerging third wave of liturgical music composition in Ireland.

One of the primary characteristics of this wave is its more sophisticated sense of liturgy and its demands. While the first wave of composers for the reformed liturgy in Ireland may be described as musicians and composers interested in liturgy, we can, perhaps for the first time now speak of liturgical composers. One example of this new group of musicians would include John McCann. McCann represents composers educated both as musicians and liturgists, graduating as a music student from University College, Dublin and studying liturgy at the Pontifical Liturgy Institute in Rome. While sensitive to the subtler needs of liturgy, he also brings a musical competence and expertise to its
Let Me Hear Your Voice is a Veritas publication including four 1996 compositions by McCann and may be used to illustrate this point.

The four compositions include a Festive Gloria, a Hymn to the Holy Spirit, Eucharistic Acclamations and Canticle of Simeon. These four pieces include music appropriate to a number of different liturgical events including the Mass (the Festive Gloria and Eucharistic Acclamations), the Liturgy of the Hours (Canticle of Simeon) and sacramental rites such as those of Confirmation or Ordination (Hymn to the Holy Spirit). This illustrates a liturgical breath of vision in a country where Catholic liturgy has become synonymous with the Mass for many practitioners. His performance notes for the Festive Gloria also show an awareness of the principles of liturgical involvement and of musical realities. The composition is designed to facilitate optional resources, with the instrumental descant for trumpet and the opening fanfare for trumpet and organ being noted as optional (Performance Note 1). In addition, simplified versions of the organ part are supplied at a number of points in the score and, while organ pedals are scored, it is possible to perform the entire piece with just the manuals (Performance Notes 5 and 6). In this way, the piece is scored with musical competence as well as a creative approach to the realities of the musical limitations existing in several parishes which may wish to access this music. Liturgically the composition is sensitive to the involvement of the congregation but not in a slavish fashion. The piece is designed to include a cantor or a small choral group, with each refrain being first sung by the cantor or choral group and then repeated by the whole community (Performance Note 4). The vocal line is in unison, surrounded by an instrumental descant and organ accompaniment.

Similarly, an examination of the Eucharistic Acclamations reveals a liturgical and musical sensitivity. It is significant, for example, that McCann did not choose to set the 'Holy, Holy' in isolation here, but included it, under the title of 'Eucharistic Acclamations' with the 'Memorial Acclamation' and the 'Great Amen'. While these three acclamations are collectively housed within the Anaphora and form the most significant moments of congregational acclamation in the Liturgy of the Eucharist, musical
composition has traditionally treated the ‘Holy, Holy’ without reference to the other acclamations. McCann includes all three, with a note that the Doxology before the ‘Great Amen’ will use the formula from the Roman Missal. Musically, the two acclamations following the ‘Holy, Holy’ are based on the musical motif used for each repetition of ‘Hosanna in the Highest’, forming a musical thread between the three acclamations punctuating the Anaphora.

There is a second and related aspect to this third wave of liturgical music composition. Just as it is now possible to talk about liturgical composers, it is perhaps also possible to talk of ritually informed and ritually sensitive musicians. Part of the acknowledged limitations of earlier reform processes involves the recognition that the reform was too insular, looking inward to Christian theology and liturgy for its models. The growing recognition that Christian liturgy is part of a wider family of cross-cultural ritual practice has led liturgists, theologians and musicians beyond the frameworks of theology and historical musicology, so informed by Western, Christian foundations, to the broader domains of anthropology, ritual studies and ethnomusicology. Again, perhaps for the first time, the ethnomusicological, ritual composer is beginning to emerge. Such a composer may be less rooted in the particular demands of Christian liturgy, but informed by a deep understanding of its ritual context and the creative potential of music in ritual. Characteristically, such composers have a sense of context, which includes both secular and sacred ritual, thus being in a position to contribute to the essential ritual bridge between these two worlds. One example of an Irish composer with both an academic grounding in ritual, through his early research in ethnomusicology, as well as a practical sensitivity to its needs is Micheál Ó Súilleabháin. Significantly, Ó Súilleabháin, would not be identified primarily as a ‘liturgical’ composer, but as a composer who has, at times, crossed the bridge into the ritual domain. Missa Gadelica, a Mass setting commissioned by the Irish Christian Brothers, may be viewed as such an example. The setting includes, for example, a ‘Meditation before Mass’ entitled Templum, referencing the move from ‘real’ time to ‘ritual’ time. The performance notes identify the vocal ensemble (‘Vox Gadelica’) as ‘a group of sean-nós singers’, which, in the first
performance, consisted of four men and four women. The four male singers, identified as M1, M2, M3 and M4, are noted as representing regional styles from Donegal, Connemara and Munster. Both these performance notes, as well as the inclusion of traditional versions of Mass parts would seem to indicate that a sense of the local, and of indigenous sound was an important characteristic of the vocal colour. That this sound is blended with a palette of colour including an Indian strutti box, cymbals, tubular bells and Tibetan bowls, as well as improvisations requested ‘in Gregorian Chant style keeping within the mode’ creates a sound texture both Irish and catholic.

The setting also includes a significant amount of improvisation. The Offertory setting, for example, Templum 2, is a percussion improvisation, based on a short text, referencing again the movement of time or ‘templum’ at this second moment of liturgical and ritual transition. While coming from very different points of departure, both McCann’s Festive Gloria and Ó Súilleabháin’s Missa Gadelica feature improvisation; the former, from the tradition of organ improvisation and the latter, from traditional, oral music improvisation. Improvisation is one of the essential characteristics of ritual and one most lost in fixed-music composition, unable to respond as flexibly to the subtleties of ritual movement.

Finally, Missa Gadelica contains a number of hymn settings which are characterised by the repetition of refrains and the movement between solo or small group verses to congregational-style repeated sections. As noted with McCann’s settings, this allows for a subtler interplay between community-based singing and more elaborate and musically challenging solo or small group work. This exchange of energy between the various musical ‘roles’ allows for both ritual inclusivity and musical interest. As mentioned above, three of the hymns from Missa Gadelica have been included in the newest Irish hymnal, In Caelo. In so far as such publications are often mooted as the basis of a ‘national’ repertoire, it will be interesting to note the extent to which hymns such as these become assimilated.
Turning from composition to education illustrates similar trends. The most significant contribution of the initial phase of liturgical reform in Ireland must include the development of a liturgical consciousness and a reclamation of the centrality of liturgy to the Church’s identity and expression. The contribution of both the Benedictine community at Glenstal Abbey and the Irish Institute for Pastoral Liturgy to this development cannot be overemphasised.

The significance of music, however, within this liturgical reclamation was very much a secondary issue. As already mentioned, music played a relatively minor role in the themes and topics addressed throughout the Glenstal Liturgical Congresses, even in relation to other ‘liturgical arts’ such as art and architecture. While music was incorporated into the work of the Liturgy Institute, many of the articles, attitudes, workshops and seminars noted in New Liturgy would seem to suggest that ‘liturgical music’ was viewed firstly as ‘liturgical’ and, only then, as ‘music’.

Two significant trends in education characterise the contemporary development of liturgical music in Ireland. Firstly, it is recognised that while liturgical composers and musicians need to be liturgically informed, they also need to be competent musicians. While the liturgy curriculum designed by the Irish Institute of Pastoral Liturgy provided strong liturgy training, musical training, of necessity, was less emphasised. Similarly, initiatives such as that of the Schola Cantorum provides excellent musical formation but is also intentionally non-directive in terms of liturgical application.

Two programmes of study have emerged at the end of the 1990’s which carry the potential to bridge this divide. The relocation of the newly named National Centre for Liturgy to Maynooth brought it into close geographic contact with the Music Department of the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, sharing the same campus. The musical energy on the campus already possesses a strong liturgical commitment, represented by both the Professor of Music, Gerard Gillen, and faculty such as John O’Keeffe, a lecturer in Sacred Music at the National Seminary in Maynooth. The result of this combined
energy has been the initiation of a new Diploma in Church Music, the first of its kind in Ireland to offer both liturgically informed musical training and musically informed liturgical competence. The programme commenced in October, 1999 with seventeen students.

A second such development has also occurred at the Irish World Music Centre, University of Limerick. In 1998, the centre introduced an MA programme in Chant Performance. This programme offered students a comprehensive foundation in chant scholarship, performance, interpretation and liturgy. While dealing with a more specialist aspect of liturgical music, its approach is similar to the Maynooth programme, in recognising the importance of both liturgical and musical competence.

This first trend in education involves a recognition that both liturgy and music make separate but equally valuable demands on expertise and a concomitant development of programmes to meet these requirements. A second educational trend involves the expanded consciousness of both liturgy and music. With liturgical theology opening its doors to ritual studies and historical musicology incorporating the paradigms of ethnomusicology, musical / liturgical education is also beginning to reflect this trend. In terms of liturgy, for example, the Bachelor of Arts in Theology and Anthropology at The Kimmage Mission Institute has already been noted. Similarly, the Masters programme in Chant performance at the University of Limerick has been extended and re-titled as a Masters in Chant and Ritual Song. While the programme will retain its specialist focus on religious vocal repertoires, it is expanded to include both liturgical theology and ritual studies.

With both these developments in their early stages, it is difficult to evaluate the potential impact they may have on liturgical music composition or liturgical music experience in the wider Irish church. Both have the potential to carry something of the aesthetic mandate necessary to the spiritual efficacy of ritual prayer. It is a question of the receptivity of the soil.
Conclusion

The concluding comments of this chapter refer to both the particular brief of this chapter as well as the more general endeavour of this thesis. The thesis has concerned itself with the emergence of a theology of music with particular reference to the Irish Catholic Church such as it has emerged in the decades following the Second Vatican Council. It proposes, therefore, a general set of potentials grounded in, but not exclusive to, the Irish experience. This grounding allows for both the particular needs and potential contributions of a local manifestation to the more general constructs of music and theology.

As was mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, any interdisciplinary work must begin by noting that its formation is the result of a number of dependencies. It is, indeed characteristic of several of the disciplines utilised in this work’s articulation to admit their interdependency and interdisciplinary nature. Disciplines such as ritual studies, cultural studies, performance studies and gender studies are not simply open to interdisciplinary approaches but take this dependency as a point of departure. Even the vocabulary of symbol, culture, rite, ritual, body and performance is housed within a permeable semantic field, capable of framing any number of discourses. The discourse of music and liturgy, in this context, exists within this framework of interlocking dependencies.

One such dependency is that which exists between the local voice and an attempt to address universals (such as ‘a theology of music’). Indeed, an interdisciplinary approach will resist any universal not grounded in and dependent on local expression. It recognises that, to speak of a ‘theology of music’ is meaningless, unless it refers to particular histories, traditions and stories.

Paradoxically, this dependency is not the dead-end of particularity it may appear to be. Instead, this grounding in event and experience is viewed as providing a firm foundation from which one may speak more generally. The strength of the general statement, however, rests in its ability to substantiate its claims with reference to experience.
This recognition is part of a contemporary and, quintessentially postmodern paradox involving the increased celebration of the local, directly related to a growing global awareness. To speak of an ‘Irish’ voice, in this sense, is not to invoke parochial or nationalistic imagery, but rather to celebrate the diverse voices forming the catholicity of the world community, one of which may be termed ‘Irish’. The importance of this distinction is two-fold. Firstly, an Irish voice (or voices) has an intimate, inborn familiarity with its own cultural identities and occupies a strong position of knowledge in the discourse of inculturation. The foolishness of excluding or ignoring this voice is one of the uglier legacies of both secular and religious colonialisation.

Recognising an Irish voice in this dialogue is also an admission of hermeneutic prejudice, an admission that the local community is precious and of value to its members and that writing from an Irish perspective is an admission of care, perhaps similar in character to familial concern. Such concern does not negate care beyond the family, but positions it in relationship to these strong and primary ties. In a similar way, the recognition of the local is a recognition, not of exclusivity or superiority, but of attachment.

Finally, recognising a local voice not only empowers the local community, but allows it to offer a contribution to the broader community: one, which its particular history and story may make unique and irreplaceable. The Christian church itself represents a history of such diversity and an examination of a particular voice is offered in the spirit of its ability to offer its uniqueness beyond itself.

In this sense, the emphasis on the ‘Irish’ church in this work is a dependency. It allows the work to carry a three-cornered thesis: a thesis postulating a general theology of music, grounded in the substantive reality of the Irish Catholic experience; a thesis postulating the necessity of recognising the particular needs and sensitivities of the Irish church and the ways in which historical experience has shaped contemporary liturgical music practice; a thesis which suggests that this particular history allows the church to make a
unique contribution to an emerging Catholic theology of music. These three aspects form their own *perichoresis*, a paradoxical interpenetration, where need and opportunity meet.

A second dependency addressed in this work is that of context and substance. So much of what needs to be explored concerning the development of liturgical music is dependent on liturgy. So much of ritual music is ritual. Part of the tension in liturgical music history as noted earlier by Fellerer has involved the attempts of music to move in disregard of this reality (Fellerer, 1961).

The dependency on context in this work has positioned the fate of liturgical music in the middle of several, interlocking variables. The fate of liturgical music is dependent on a reclamation and recognition of the importance of ritual in the contemporary world. It is a recognition that every aspect of life is pervaded by ritual attempts to grapple with life's mystery. It is a recognition that the deepest meaning attached to the notion of the aesthetic shares a bond with the ritual thrust. It is recognition that this ritual aesthetic expression, including musical expression, is at the heart of the human enterprise.

The fate of liturgical music is dependent on the fate of the church. A church unknowing of its own identity and direction is a church unable to grasp the deep necessity of its own rituals. It is unable to transform them into meaningful, relevant and inclusive moments of deep identity. Such a church cannot sustain ritual or its expressive agents. The hinge on which the fate of the Catholic church turns is the hinge of its own identity. Central to this discovery is a re-discovery of its voice; the voice of prayer. Only when the church incorporates this voice into its identity in the world will it reclaim its musical voice. Only when it lifts its ritual and its prayer to the heart of its dialogue with the world, when it recognises it as its primary carrier of justice, of peace and of community, will it heal and find its deepest voice.

It is not the pragmatics of this move which form the stumbling block. It is the leap of faith involved in trusting the creative, spiritual, aesthetic voice, over and above the
rational, legalistic and political one. It is the leap of faith on which religion has been birthed and, the lack of which is now perpetuated by religious traditions themselves.

Musically, the pragmatics are set forth in Sacrosanctum Concilium with a startling simplicity. The document calls for a commitment to train ‘at least one or two properly trained singers’ (Art.21) for every church. While such a commitment is utterly underrepresented in the Irish context, it would not take much to imagine the immediate impact or repercussions of undertaking its fulfilment. In the first instance, the undertaking would involve a powerful public statement on the value placed on music and ritual in the Irish church. This would not be a simple matter of lip-service as the undertaking would also involve considerable financial commitment. This commitment would involve not just initial training but the provision of professional employment for musicians at the parish level.

Such a commitment has always been placed against the backdrop of the church’s obligation to the poor, the underprivileged and those suffering from physical and spiritual need. In the face of this endless chasm of need, how can the church justify such expense? The answer of course, is that the church cannot afford anything that detracts from this central call to unconditional and constant acts of love. The church can only afford this commitment if it, itself, forms part of that act of love. In other words, ritual music is, indeed, ‘no more than a gong booming or a cymbal clashing’ (1 Cor.13:1) if it is not part of the church’s deepest mandate to love. If it is not part of the church’s housing of the dispossessed, its inclusive hospitality, its constant act of service to creation, then it is a moment, perhaps, of music, but not of prayer. As prayer, music is an act of love and an act of eschatological hope.

To understand this is to accept not just the rightness of spiritual and financial commitment to ritual and its music, but the deep, spirit-filled, human thirst for it. This seeming contradiction is illustrated by the paradox of the anointing at Bethany (Matthew 26: 6-13). When the woman at Bethany brought a jar of costly perfume to anoint Jesus’
head, his disciples grew indignant and righteous, suggesting that it would have been better to sell the perfume and give the money to the poor. The reply that the poor will always be with us, from the champion and lover of the impoverished, must have sounded harsh. The next words, however, perhaps provide some clue as to their ultimate meaning. While prophesising his own death, Jesus called the anointing a memorial, not of the death, but of the good news it encompassed. Perhaps the earthly condition will always include impoverishment and death, as well as the endless struggle to survive it. But perhaps part of that same survival calls for both memorial and hope. Memorial, to mark the struggle and hope to deny its futility. In this sense, hope and the agents of its memorial are as essential as food to the hungry. If music and ritual are agents of the memorial, they are agents of hope and agents contributing to the survival of the human capacity to love. As such, no price, not even the costliest of perfume, is too high.

It is only this recognition which allows for the deep justification of a commitment to music and ritual. It is because of this that music needs a theology and that music may be named as prayer.

The stumbling block then, is that we have lost sight of the deep power and price of the perfume. Sometimes this is for reasons of wishing to feed the poor, or of bringing peace to Northern Ireland, and not seeing how the perfume or music can possibly contribute to this end. Sometimes, it is simply because one wishes to sell the perfume, or not commit money to music, not to feed the poor, but to keep the money for reasons of greed or insecurity, or simply the expense involved in maintaining the mammoth infrastructure of a global church. Mostly, it is lack of faith in the memorial and lack of hope in its promise.

The laus perennis called for in this proposed theology of music is the same state of perpetual inclination towards love present in the mandate to 'pray constantly' (I Thes.5:17). The monastic imagination of Columbanus translated this call into the perpetual praise of relays of choirs. The contemporary call to laus perennis is, perhaps, a call to the continuum of life in its lived reality and its powerful moments of ritually
enhanced prayer. The relay of choirs may be transformed into the continuous, transformative thread of music, throwing its bridge of sound across life's joys and tragedies at both their crudest and most real, as well as their most intensely ritualised expressions. This thesis has attempted an indication of this necessity, as well as the role Irish Catholicism may be poised to play.

Ultimately such a theology of music houses the final, most unavoidable and most vulnerable of dependencies: the dependency at the heart of the Christian enterprise. This is the dependency of love upon its need for expression. As already referenced in *Music in Catholic Worship*, it is noted that love, not expressed, does not deepen: that love, not expressed, dies (Art.4). The Christian call is the call for the perpetual expression of love; love of the creator for the created, the created for the creator and the created for its own God-given ability to create. A theology of music demands of music this creative relationship as an expressive agent of the *perichoresis* of love; ‘We have recognised for ourselves, and put our faith in, the love God has for us. God is love, and whoever remains in love remains in God and God in him’ (1 John 4:16).
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March 30th, 1996, Karl Seeldrayer (home, Carlow)

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March 30th, 1996, Liam Lawton (Irish Institute for Pastoral Liturgy, Carlow)

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July 25th, 1997, Margaret Daly (Bewley’s, Dublin)

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January 26th, 1998, Jerry Threadgold (home, Dublin)

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‘The Exultet: A New Translation and a New Text’ by Patrick Jones
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‘Liturgical Formation’ by Tom Whelan
‘Memorial to Sean Swayne’ by Margaret Daly
‘The Experience of a Year in a Catholic Church in North Dakota’ by Julie Kavanagh
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