‘From Praise to Practice:’

The vocal and musical expression of the Alleluia as

Gospel Acclamation in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration:

provenance, nature, and function

Giovanna Feeley

B. Rel. Sc., MTh, ARSM, DipRIAM

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Dublin City University

Supervisor: Dr Róisín Blunnie

School of Theology, Philosophy, and Music

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Signed: *Giovanna Feeley*

ID No.:   21267704

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To Ephrem, Lucy, Finian, and Stella:

you are the music in my life.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GIRM *General Instruction on the Roman Missal for the Diocese of Ireland*

LP *Liber Pontificalis*

OR *Ordines Romani*

PL *Patrologia Latina*

SC *Sacrosanctum Concilium (Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy)*

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GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Catechumen	A person undergoing catechetical instruction prior to Baptism
Divine Office	The Christian daily pattern of recited and sung prayer
Doxology	An expression of praise to God, usually in a liturgical context
Eschatological	Relating to the end of life or final events in the world
Gradual	A responsorial lection in the Eucharistic Liturgy of the Word
Masoretic	The authoritative text of the Hebrew Bible in Judaism
Melismatic	The singing of multiple notes on a single syllable in plainchant
Melody–type	A group of melodies sharing similar rhythmic and melodic contours
Mishnah	The foundation document of oral laws in Rabbinic Judaism
Paschal	Relating to the Jewish Passover or Christian Easter
Patristic	The writings of the early Church Fathers in the Christian tradition
Psalter	The collection of Biblical poetry forming a book of canonical Jewish and Christian Scripture
Sequence	A syllabic chant, usually occurring after the Alleluia in Eucharistic liturgies
Synoptic	The concurrence between the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke
Targum	The Aramaic translation and paraphrase of the Hebrew Bible
Tract	A chant sung between readings in Eucharistic celebrations during penitential seasons
YHWH	The name of God in the Hebrew Bible, transliterated from the Hebrew consonants
Neumatic	The singing of between two and four notes per syllable in plainchant

ABSTRACT

'From Praise to Practice:' **The vocal and musical expression of the Alleluia as**

Gospel Acclamation in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration: provenance, nature,

and function.

Giovanna Feeley

This study is concerned with analysing the vocal and musical expression of the Alleluia as Gospel Acclamation in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration from a liturgical, vocal, and musicological perspective. There is, as of yet, no single comprehensive body of work on the Alleluia as a discrete musical-liturgical item. Two articles which treat the Alleluia in some depth, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia' by James McKinnon and 'Acclamations: Our Ritual Voice of Faith' by Aidan Rossiter, both note the poverty of research carried out on the subject to date, and point to the unanswered questions in relation to its provenance, development, and import in the liturgical celebration.

I begin by consolidating and critique existing work on the historical origins of the Alleluia. This involves revisiting 'alleluia' in its original context, employing Biblical exegesis as an important methodology in examining the Scriptural origins of the Alleluia. Historical analysis forms a central role in tracing its retention from its original usage through to Byzantine, Gallican, and Roman liturgical developments. Contradictions regarding the assignment of the Alleluia as a Mass Proper and its controversial relationship with the *jubilus* of Patristic literature are presented and examined. This leads to a musicological analysis of Alleluia chant settings.

The study then moves to an exploration of the role and function of the Alleluia as an affirmatory acclamation in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration. This involves an examination of liturgical items and their place in the liturgy, along with an exploration of the nature of ritual, and the concomitant place of sound in ritual practices. Finally, a musicological examination of Alleluia settings currently used in Irish Roman Rite Eucharistic celebrations, through an analysis of those in the national repertory, forms the basis of a case study, which gives us an insight into the acclamation in practice today, and the musical and liturgical considerations which aid its efficacy.

INTRODUCTION

The Alleluia of the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration has attracted considerable musicological attention, partly because of the musical richness of its wordless *jubilus*, partly because of its mysterious early history, and partly because of its connection with the Sequence (which may or may not be an extended Alleluia). All these matters have been the subject of controversy, argument, and debate. Outside the remit of chant historians and musicologists, however, the Alleluia has received little attention. Questions concerning how the Alleluia became part of the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration, and the conditions and contexts informing its development, assimilation, and performance as a sung liturgical item, have not accrued significant study to date.

There is, as of yet, no single comprehensive body of work on how the Alleluia functions as a discrete musical–liturgical item. Two articles which treat the Alleluia in some depth, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia' by James McKinnon and 'Acclamations: Our Ritual Voice of Faith' by Aidan Rossiter both note the poverty of research carried out on the subject, and point to the unanswered questions in relation to its provenance, development, and import in the liturgical celebration.[1]

This study aims to illuminate our understanding of how this small word came to embody praise in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration. The topic is addressed by exploring early evidence of the use of *alleluia* in ritual practice, tracing its development and assimilation into the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration, critiquing the arguments cited by chant historians and musicologists to date, and debating the key question of how it became one of the principal dialogic musical acclamations in the sound world of the liturgy. The study is contextualised by an examination of the Alleluia in current Irish liturgical–musical practice.

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[1] James McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', in *The Temple, the Church Fathers and Early Western Chant*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Aidan Rossiter, 'Acclamations: Our Ritual Voice of Faith', *Music and Liturgy* (December 1991).

The research utilises a combinative methodology of an interdisciplinary and cross–disciplinary nature between the fields of Biblical theology, musicology, and liturgical theology, which are all seminal for this work. The Biblical exegetical methodology is rooted in the historical–critical tradition, employing literary criticism, form criticism, textual criticism, and redaction criticism to explore and discuss the Alleluia in its original context of the Hebrew Psalter.[2] Historical textual analysis assumes a central role in tracing the Alleluia's retention from its original Biblical and early Christian usage through to Byzantine, Gallican, and Roman liturgical developments. This necessitates a musicological analysis of chants in these traditions, employing form analysis and melodic analysis in a comparative study of common features shared among liturgical repertories.

A cross–disciplinary critical discourse on the phenomenon of sound, drawing on semiotic analysis methodology, explores the nature of the Alleluia as Gospel Acclamation, focussing on its dialogic and doxological qualities.[3] The national repertory for Ireland proposed by the Irish National Centre for Liturgy in the publication *Sing the Mass*, disseminated in the wake of the new English translation of the Third Edition of the Roman Missal, provides the material for a case study exploring alleluias in pastoral–liturgical usage in the Irish Church today. This is a mixed method, single case design study, providing qualitative and quantitative data on the Alleluia in contemporary liturgical usage.[4]

The research strategy, likewise, engages the substantive fields of theology and musicology, drawing on a multiplicity of sources across centuries of ritual worship. As a syncretic discourse examining the provenance, nature and function of one discrete liturgical

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[2] For more on forms of Biblical exegesis, see Keith D. Stanglin, *The Letter and Spirit of Biblical Interpretation: From the Early Church to Modern Practice* (Grand Rapids: Baker Publishing Group, 2018), also John H. Hayes and Carl R. Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2022).

[3] Jean–Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Towards a Semiology of* Music, trans. by Carolyn Abbate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); see also Jan Michael Joncas, 'Liturgical Music as Music: The Contribution of the Human Sciences', in *Liturgy and Music: Lifetime Learning*, ed. by Robin A. Leaver and Joyce Ann Zimmerman (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998).

[4] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996); see also *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

acclamation over an immense period of historical time, I include largely secondary sources, due to the removes of translation and the availability of extant manuscripts. As the Alleluia itself does not constitute a single field of scholarly enquiry in the literature across either field, much of the research is undertaken in order to provide contextual evidence and a rigorous academic underpinning for the musical and theological analysis. The case study methodology chosen for the fieldwork element of this dissertation, rather than ethnographical research, is chosen as an ideal nexus in this liturgical–musicological project, as it continues the examination of musical settings of the Alleluia from the chant traditions through to current practice, by way of analysis of the repertories, and is within the scope and remit of this project.

I begin this research journey by consolidating and critiquing existing work on the historical origins of the Alleluia. This involves, firstly, revisiting *alleluia* in its original context, employing Biblical exegesis as a key instrument in examining the Scriptural origins of the Alleluia. Chapter One examines the Hallel psalmody as the principal vehicle of entry for the Hebrew word *halleluyah* into the Christian liturgy; specifically, Psalms 113–118, Psalm 136, and Psalms 146–150. Evidence to indicate that the *halleluyah* superscription over this corpus of psalmody is the result of accretion is strong, indicating that these doxological additions served editorial functions within the structure of the Psalter as a whole, and liturgical functions within the use of the Psalter in communal Temple worship. The work of Biblical scholars David Mitchell, Gerald Wilson, Sigmund Mowinckel, and Louis Finkelstein is critiqued in this exegetical commentary, which reveals a consistent and important feature of the Alleluia that resounds throughout this study: its doxological import as the ultimate expression of liturgical praise.[5]

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[5] Louis Finkelstein, 'The Origin of the Hallel', *Hebrew Union College Annual (HUCA),* 23, 2 (1950); David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship Volume I*, trans. by A.P. Thomas (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1962); Gerald Henry Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (Chico, CA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1985).

Chapter Two debates the difficulties and contradictions which have faced historians and musicologists attempting to uncover the early history of the Alleluia within the context of Christian worship. Contradictions abound regarding the assignment of the Alleluia as a Mass Proper in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration, and its controversial relationship with the *jubilus* of Patristic literature, while difficulties arise from the challenge inherent in deducing liturgical practices from liturgical manuscripts which were produced as worships aids for a particular community at a particular time, and never as exact records for historical purposes.[6] The Jewish roots of Christian worship are examined, focusing on the evidence for liturgical continuity and discontinuity as the primitive Christian Church gradually defined itself over Judaism. A key concern of this chapter is tracing the use of the Hallel in Jewish worship and its relationship to early Christian liturgical practices. The importation of Jewish forms of blessing prayers used in domestic gatherings into the new Christian gatherings, as opposed to a direct link with the Hallel psalmody of Temple worship, indicates the likely introduction of individual words such as *hosanna*, *amen*, and *alleluia* into the early Christian liturgy. The work of Paul Bradshaw and James McKinnon is central to investigating the question of psalmody in Jewish liturgical practice at the time of the early Christian Church, and Christopher Page's seminal work, *The Christian West and Its Singers,* provides crucial insights into sung liturgical practices of the time.[7]

We must await the beginning of the eighth–century *Ordines Romani* for more information on Western liturgical chant in general, and on the Alleluia of the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration in particular. Chapter Three investigates the stages by which *alleluia*

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[6] Frank L. Cross, 'Early Western Liturgical Manuscripts', *Journal of Theological Studies,* 16 (1965), pp. 61–67.
[7] Paul Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), also James McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', in *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: from Ancient Greece to the Fifteenth Century,* ed. by James McKinnon (Cambridge: The Macmillan Press, 1990) and James McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', in *The Temple, the Church Fathers and Early Western Chant*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Christopher Page, *The Christian Western and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

came to be introduced into the Propers of the Roman Mass as an ecstatic chant between the readings, from its earliest unambiguous liturgical reference in the fifth–century *Armenian Lectionary*, reflective of the Jerusalem divine services which served as the pattern and model for practices throughout Christendom, to its definitive placement in *Ordines Romanus I.* A review of Eastern influences on Western liturgical life, with specific reference to instances of Alleluia usage, leads to an analysis of musicological and liturgical evidence of a Byzantine influence on the Roman Alleluia as a discrete liturgical item in the liturgy. The central argument for the adoption of the Alleluia into the Roman Liturgy from the Eastern pattern of a dual–psalm format in the Liturgy of the Word hinges on a comparison of Roman and Byzantine Alleluias in terms of melodic and textual concordances and includes a critique of Christian Thodberg's demonstration that three Alleluias in the Roman repertory with Greek verse texts and derived from Byzantine Alleluias.[8]

This confirmation of the arrival of the Alleluia into the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration leads into a robust discourse on the relationship of the Alleluia to the other discrete liturgical–musical items of the liturgy in general, and to the bodies of Propers and the Ordinary of the Mass in particular, in Chapter Four. This chapter aims to reconcile opposing theories in the field of chant studies, notably by Willi Apel and James McKinnon, in arriving at an understanding of the Alleluia's apparent lateness, and the attendant issues of its small repertory and instability of liturgical assignment.[9] This is achieved through an analysis of the Alleluia in the chant tradition we know as Gregorian, framed by a consideration of the prolific re–employment and adaptation of melody–types according to liturgical assignment and musical

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[8] Christian Thodberg, *Der byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus: Studien im kurzen Psaltikonstil* (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1966).
[9] Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 375–392; James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 249–280; see also Richard L. Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 55–57, 182, 193–194; David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 130–140.

features. With an impasse evident in scholarship to date in understanding reasons for the contradiction inherent in the Alleluia's antique pedigree yet apparently late addition to the Roman liturgy, I propose an original thesis in this debate, centring on the very nature of the Alleluia itself and the concomitant implications for the compositional process which, I propose, is a significant yet hitherto undiscovered factor in understanding the resultant small repertory.

Chapter Five continues this attention to the very nature of the Alleluia by exploring its inherent *raison d'etre* as an acclamatory shout, and situating it within the paradigms of logocentric Roman Rite worship music. A cross–disciplinary critical discourse on the phenomenon of sound, and how this informs our understanding of the phonic, symbolic, and textless nature of *alleluia* as a vehicle of praise, is enriched by insights from the work of the ethnomusicologist John Blacking and the semiotician Jean–Jacques Nattiez.[10] The role and function of the Alleluia as Gospel Acclamation in the liturgy, and its relationship with the other discrete musical items, is analysed in the context of the norms established by the Second Vatican Council in relation to the role of music in the praise of the worshipping assembly. The dialogic and doxological qualities of the Alleluia emerge as singular factors in its relationship to both text and music in liturgical worship.

Chapter Six seeks to contextualise our understanding of the Alleluia and to test the hypotheses advanced in the earlier chapters about its nature, import, and purpose in the liturgical celebration by grounding it in contemporary Irish Roman Rite liturgical practice. This necessitates reviewing conciliar and post–conciliar norms for requisite qualities in liturgical music and for the approbation of Alleluia musical settings for liturgical use. In undertaking a

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[10] John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973) and John Blacking, *Music, Culture and Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); Jean–Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Towards a Semiology of* Music, trans. by Carolyn Abbate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); see also Jan Michael Joncas, 'Liturgical Music as Music: The Contribution of the Human Sciences', in *Liturgy and Music: Lifetime Learning*, ed. by Robin A. Leaver and Joyce Ann Zimmerman (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998) and Rebecca Sager, 'Creating a Musical Space for Experiencing the 'Other Self' Within', in Suzel Ana Reily, ed., *The Musical Human: Rethinking John Blacking's Ethnomusicology in the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

critical analysis of Alleluia settings currently in use in Roman Rite Eucharistic celebrations in Ireland today, an essential starting point is ascertaining which musical settings are being used. Liturgical music collections published in Ireland for national dissemination are presented and critiqued, as a vital exploration of the landscape in which musical settings of the Alleluia within the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration in Ireland today reside.[11] Given its singular place in the national Irish repertory as the only collection of English–language settings in the new translation of the Third Edition of the Roman Missal, and its most recent publication status, the Alleluias in *Sing the Mass* provide a natural locus as a representative sample for a case study, which comprises of a musical–liturgical analysis of Alleluia settings currently in use in Eucharistic celebrations in Ireland today. Each of the Alleluia melodies is analysed according to the identification and analysis of its inherent musical elements. The analysis demonstrates both syntactic and semantic approaches, as the structure of the word *alleluia* and how it is treated musically is considered, along with the semantic question of how such musical decisions by the composer manifest a response to the underlying meaning of the text. This musical–liturgical Case Study, rooted in contemporary practices, resonates with my thesis in Chapter Four regarding compositional influences on Alleluia repertories, and affirms the Alleluia's doxological and proclamatory functions in the larger hermeneutical task of liturgical music. It completes the journey from Biblical psalmodic appellation to integral dialogic response in the liturgy of the worshipping community.

James McKinnon recounts St Jerome's allegory that, at the funeral of his friend Fabiola, the Alleluia resounded so strongly that it shook the roof of the Church.[12] While the primary aim of this study is to illuminate our understanding of and insight into this ancient

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[11] As the publishing body of the Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference, collections by Veritas Publications form the basis for this analysis; namely, Jerry Threadgold, ed., *The Veritas Hymnal* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1973); Margaret Daly, ed., *Alleluia! Amen! Music for the Liturgy* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1978); Liam Lawton, ed., *In Caelo: Songs for a Pilgrim People* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1999); National Centre for Liturgy, *Sing the Mass: Anthology of Music for the Irish Church* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 2011).
[12] James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, p. 156.

liturgical element, a secondary aim is, ultimately, to promote a deepened interest in this short but powerful acclamation of faith in the past and present worship of Christians.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SCRIPTURAL ORIGINS OF ALLELUIA

The Psalter is the principal vehicle of entry for the Hebrew word 'alleluia' into its Christian context. The word *alleluia* is a Latinised transcription of two Hebrew words: *hallelu* (praise) and *yah* (an abbreviation of YHWH). It is superscribed over twenty psalms as a liturgical acclamation, occurring at the beginning and/or the end of the psalm, implying a call to communal praise.[1] These are, essentially, psalms of praise and thanksgiving. Of these, Psalms 113–118 have been designated as the Hallel, or the Egyptian Hallel, to distinguish it from Psalms 146–150, also called the Hallel. Psalm 136 is, in itself, known as the Great Hallel.[2] Each of the five books of the Psalter ends with a doxology, or short hymn of praise, and exemplifies one pole of a movement from lament to praise.[3] According to one rabbinic view, the Hallels refer to five core aspects of Jewish religious experience and belief: the Exodus from Egypt, the crossing of the Sea of Reeds, the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai, the resurrection of the dead and, 'the birth pangs of the Messiah'.[4] The final psalm, Psalm 150, with its repeated keyword *halleluyah*, serves as a splendid doxology to the entire Psalter.[5]

Outside the Psalter, the occurrence of the term is incredibly rare. The acclamation *halleluyah* is found in only one other Old Testament source, in the Book of Tobit (13:17). In this instance it references its provenance in the Psalter as it is situated within the closing refrain of a hymn of praise: that of the eponymous Tobit. In the New Testament, *halleluyah* appears only in the Book of Revelation. The acclamation is used four times in a liturgical context which

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[1] Paul Bradshaw, *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgical Worship*, (London: Macmillan, 1982), p. 282.

[2] Roland E. Murphy, 'Psalms', in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. by Raymond E. Brown (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968).

[3] The doxological or praising psalms in question are: Psalm 41 (Book I), Psalm 72 (Book II), Psalm 89 (Book III), Psalm 106 (Book IV) and Psalm 150 (Book V).

[4] This interpretation would seem to apply to Psalms 113–118, the 'Egyptian Hallel', with 113 serving as an introduction to the set and the five aspects corresponding to the remaining psalms. The interpretation is from the Midrash, the earliest rabbinic interpretative text on the Bible, specifically *Pesachim 18a*, as cited in Jonathan Magonet, *A Rabbi Reads the Psalms* (London: SCM Press, 1994), p. 4.

[5] The strategic placement of Psalm 150 as a doxological conclusion to the Psalter indicates a purposeful redactive process, just as Psalms 1 and 2 serve to introduce the entire Psalter. See Wilson, p. 261.

pays homage to the God Almighty (19:1–7) and, in each case, denotes a choral respond within a hymn of praise.

Psalms as cultic hymnody

The call to praise, epitomised in the word *alleluia*, is the inalienable characteristic of a hymn. While the Greek word *psalmoi* and the Latin *psalmi*, both referring to the practice of singing to harp or lye accompaniment, provide the basis for our appellation 'psalms', in Hebrew tradition the book was called *t'hillim*, which means *praises*.[6] The root word *hll* is reflected in the acclamation *halleluyah* which, in the Masoretic Text or Hebrew Bible, occurs only in the Psalter at the start or end of certain psalms. This Hebrew name for the Psalter, *t'hillim*, reflects the prominence of this kind of composition in the Psalter collection as a whole, especially towards its end.[7]

In undertaking a classification of psalms, a recognisable structure or pattern can be observed in those belonging to the category of the 'hymn'. They begin with a call, sometimes addressed by the psalmist to himself, to praise YHWH. The acclamation *halleluyah* comprises the most succinct form of this invitation/intention to praise. This is followed by actual praise of God along with reasons for worshipping him, often denoted with the prepositions 'for' or 'because'. Here the nature and providential rule of God are lauded and outlined. The psalmist's own relationship to God may also be articulated and clarified. The conclusion of the hymn often (though not always) leads back to the start and a renewed call to offer praise. This conclusion may not always appear as a distinct section apart from the *corpus hymni*, the main

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[6] Arthur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 20; also Michael D. Coogan, *The Old Testament: A Historical and Literary Introduction to the Hebrew Scriptures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 456.

[7] The imperative *halleluyah* is found as both superscript and postscript in each psalm of the final Hallel set, Psalms 146–150. See John J. Collins, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), p. 463.

body of the psalm, and may be denoted by the single *halleluyah*.[8] We shall see later in this chapter that the Hallel psalms all adhere to this pattern.

Biblical scholars have recognised this hymnic quality inherent in the psalms: Gunkel argued that the original psalms were hymns which were sung in Israelite worship and Mowinckel concurred that the Old Testament psalms were, in fact, cultic hymns and, on this basis, set out to reconstruct the festivals and cultic occasions on which they were sung.[9] Mowinckel describes two types of hymns within the Psalter. The first is a generic hymn which simply enumerates or recounts God's eternal qualities and glorious deeds, a form which may suit any cultic occasion, either daily or festal. The second is a more specialised hymn, which more fully depicts one particular feature of divine action. The second type appears to belong to one specialised genre of cultic festival and celebrates YHWH for salvation, or great work, which is to be remembered.[10] It was the cultic duty of the community of Israel to celebrate the memorial of the establishment of the Covenant in an unbroken tradition which to be passed on 'from generation to generation'. This is evidenced in the psalms' continually recurring concern that the praise of God and of his saving deeds may last forever.[11] Hymns of praise are naturally directed to YHWH in acknowledgement of his power: they are worship in its primary form.[12] Weiser states this point succinctly when he remarks,

> In the Old Testament cultus, the self-revelation of God and the hymn
> as its human correlate belong together like the two shells of a mussel.[13]

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[8] Weiser, *The Psalms*, p. 53; also Leopold Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning,* 2nd edn (New York: The Society of St Paul, 1974), pp. 176–77.

[9] Ibid., 56; also John Barton and John Muddiman, eds., *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 357.

[10] Mowinckel cites Psalm 136 as an example of the first type of hymn and Psalm 114 as an example of the second. *The Psalms in Israel's Worship Volume I*, p. 85.

[11] This recurring concern is evident in Psalms 34:1, 35:28, 44:8, 61:8, 63:4, 71:6, 75:9, 79:13, 102:12, 111:10, 115:18, and 145:2. See Weiser, p. 54.

[12] H. Wheeler Robinson, 'The Psalms and the Wisdom Literature', in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1937), p. 963; also Weiser, p. 53.

[13] Weiser, p. 56.

The 'everlasting hymn', the tradition of continual psalm-singing or hymn-singing, is a fundamental component of the YHWHistic festival, itself a cultic rite and part of the actualization of divine salvation which engenders the celebration of the feast.[14] The praising of the name of God in the congregation's hymnic response signifies the people's affirmation of fidelity to their God and points to the real independence and novelty of the Hebrew Psalter: its pervasive monotheism.[15] This reflexive, responsorial character is characterised by such congregational responses as *amen* and *halleluyah*, which occur throughout the hymnic psalms.

Halleluyah in the editing of the Psalter

Traces of the cultic use of psalms are also to be found in the liturgical superscriptions appended to individual psalms. The hymnic response *halleluyah* belongs to this category and may be regarded as a liturgical rather than a musical superscription.[16] The fact that the Septuagint (Greek) and the Vulgate (Latin) present a different textual tradition to that of the Masoretic (Hebrew) text indicates that the exclamation *halleluyah* is an addition, most likely liturgical in origin.[17] These superscriptions might properly be regarded as interpretation for each one dates at some remove from the time of its psalm's composition. Similarly, the doxological subscripts that separate the five books of the Psalter seem to have been added to their preceding psalms by a later redactor.[18]

This redaction points to an editorial function of the Hallel psalms separate from, and independent to, their liturgical contexts. The use of 'halleluyah psalms' to conclude segments in the Hebrew psalm manuscripts corresponds to an identical technique found in Sumerian

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[14] Weiser, p. 54.
[15] Robinson, p. 963.
[16] Weiser p. 22.
[17] Sabourin, p. 188.
[18] Mitchell suggests that Psalm 106:48 may possibly be an exception, citing Mowinckel's thesis that this doxology was already attached to Psalm 106 when in use in Temple service and may, therefore, be part of the 'original' psalm. See Mitchell, p. 16; also Mowinckel p. 196.

Temple Hymns.[19] Likewise, the Mesopotamian hymn catalogues employ praise and blessing to conclude documents or sections within documents. It is not surprising, then, to discover a similar technique in the Hebrew hymnic collections.[20] While the psalms known as 'Hallel Psalms' are brought together in several groupings, their actual position may be understood as a matter of function rather than genre. They serve an editorial purpose: to mark divisions within the last books of the Psalter.

Wilson highlights this editorial role of the Hallels within the Psalter as a whole. In considering the arrangement of Psalms 111–118 in the Masoretic Text and the Targum, and the distribution of the *halleluyah* superscriptions and postscriptions among therein, he finds that Psalm 114 stands without either addition. The Septuagint has rectified this anomaly by shifting the *halleluyah* postscript of Psalm 113 (which also bears a *halleluyah* superscription) to the beginning of Psalm 114, combining Psalms 114 and 115, and shifting the postscriptions of Psalms 115, 116 and 117 to the beginning of Psalms 116, 117 and 118. The Masoretic text is not concerned with producing such a balanced format and preserves Psalm 114 without superscript or postscript.[21]

The great acclamation of Psalms 146–150, sitting as a conclusion to the Psalter as a whole, also points to careful redaction by the original compilers. This is the only sequence of psalms in which each psalm features a double *halleluyah*, both superscript and postscript.[22] Wilson suggests this jubilant outburst is carefully placed in response to the last words of the previous psalm:

> My mouth will speak the praise of YHWH,
> and let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever. (Psalm 145:21).

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[19] Specifically, in their *abu salabikh* prototype. See Wilson, p. 128.

[20] In the manuscripts known collectively as the 'Dead Sea Scrolls', studies of manuscript 11QPsa have revealed the use of halleluyah psalms to indicate internal divisions within the scroll. See Wilson, p. 186.

[21] Ibid., p. 180.

[22] Both superscript and postscript *halleluyah* acclamations are present in the following non–sequential psalms: 106, 113 and 106.

This wish finds its fulfilment in Psalm 150:6 when 'everything that breathes' is exhorted to join in praise. The force and successful literary design of this closural arrangement again argues for the careful and purposeful redaction of the Psalter.[23]

The Hallel psalmody in ritual practice

Psalms were an integral part of the cult that ceased functioning with the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in 70 CE. The best–known instances were the Hallel psalms including, first and foremost, the Egyptian Hallel.[24] Each sanctuary or place of worship (pre–eminently but not exclusively,Jerusalem) and perhaps each priestly family would have had its own collection of hymns, and these different collections were subsumed, over time, into one collection or book.[25] The 150 canonical psalms, as we have them today, represent only a fraction of a much richer liturgical poetry, the post-exilic compilers being predominantly interested in the preservation of psalms which could be used in the changed conditions of the Second Temple community.[26]

Psalms and hymns were sung on a wide variety of occasions but were especially associated with the Temple and with the celebration of festivals. According to 1 Chronicles 16: 4–7, David appointed Levites as ministers before the Ark to invoke, thank and praise the God of Israel. The singing of praise seems to have been a prominent part of Temple worship throughout the history of Israel and Judah.[27] From the earliest of times, groups of psalms that praise God were allotted calendrically, the best–known instance being the custom of reciting the 'Egyptian Hallel' at the Passover Seder.[28]

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[23] Mitchell, p. 74.
[24] Laurence A. Hoffman, 'Hallels, Midrash, Canon and Loss: Psalms in Jewish Liturgy', in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical and Artistic Traditions*, eds. Harold W. Attridge and Margo E. Fassler (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), p. 34.
[25] Coogan, p. 458.
[26] Weiser, p. 101.
[27] Collins, p. 464.
[28] Hoffman, p. 35.

In the first several centuries BCE it became customary to recite psalms prior to the morning call to prayer; however, the psalms to be used differed widely from community to community. The second–century sage Rabbi Yose ben Halasta is cited as saying 'May my lot be among those who complete a Hallel every day'.[29]

The Palestinian Genizah fragments vary considerably, frequently having no complete psalms at all, favouring collections of verses from different psalms, grouped together without an apparent unifying theme.[30] The Rabbis of antiquity often framed discrete units of biblical citation with concluding blessings. The blessings' exact wording varied with the rites. Sabbath and festival eve psalmody were originally structured with opening and closing benedictions, the latter being a version of the standard closing benedictions for Hallels generally.[31]

As Israel's hymn writing flourished, Israel's composers of sacred music became less dependent upon Canaanite styles and motifs, which tend to focus on creation and the struggle of the gods and goddesses to overcome chaos and to secure order, at least for the year to come. Israelite poets began to complement the wonders of God as Creator with the wonders of God as Saviour. This latter perception was more distinctive to Israel, as the Jewish first commandment proclaims: 'I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery' (Exodus 20:2).[32] The tendency was to see Jerusalem and its Temple as the climax of God's action in Israel's history. Whatever happened up to the point of David's conquest of the city (2 Sam 5:6–12) and Solomon's dedication of Temple (1 Kings 8)

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[29] The psalms needed to 'complete a Hallel every day' are unclear. What is known now as the 'Daily Hallel' is invariably associated with Psalms 145–150, drawing on information from the first extant Jewish prayer book, the ninth–century Babylonian 'seder rav amram'. A Palestinian source calls for the recitation of Psalms 120–150. The common element appears to be the inclusion of the last Psalm, Psalm 150 thus, in this sense, 'completing a Hallel'. See Hoffman, p. 37.
[30] Jacob Mann, Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of Service', in *Contributions to the Scientific Study of Jewish Liturgy*, ed. by J.J. Petuchowski (New York: Ktav Publishing, 1970), p. 386.
[31] Hoffman, p. 42.
[32] Another of Israel's creeds reviews this social history more completely: see Deuteronomy 26:5–11.

was celebrated at the Temple and relived in its ceremonies. In this way the sacred history of Israel came alive in the ceremonies of the Jerusalem Temple.[33]

The psalms designated as Hallel: theophanic poetry in form, function, and content[34]

What follows here is a brief exegetical commentary on the Hallel psalmody, namely: Psalms 113–118, Psalm 136 and Psalms 146–150. Our interest in this undertaking centres on a number of key aspects of the psalms as belonging to the category of 'Hallel'. The first of these is concerned with identifying the pattern of praise or structure employed in each of these *halleluyah* psalms. The second relates to the nature and function of praise: how is it articulated and rendered to God in each case, and what we can deduce of the cultic context or liturgical situation. A third aspect focuses on the psalmist, both as an individual and as a representative of the community, and his relationship with God; specifically, in the self-revelation of God which engenders this human response and which the psalm affirms. Evidence detailing the compositional and redactive stages of the psalms and their groupings, where relevant, frames the exploration.

The 'Egyptian Hallel': Psalms 113–118

The term 'Egyptian Hallel' is properly applied to Psalms 113–118, most of which (but not Psalms 114 or 118) feature the term *halleluyah*.[35] The appellation is based on the reference to the Exodus in Psalm 114. This set of psalms was sung both at the slaying of the Paschal Lamb and at the Feast of Tabernacles. It also appears to have been chanted at the Feast of Weeks and

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[33] Carroll Stuhlmueller, *The Spirituality of the Psalms* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2002), p. 49.

[34] The term 'theophanic', meaning the manifestation or appearance of God to persons, is used here as an underlying principle governing the phenomenon of divine revelation in the Hallel psalmody. Elaine James views Biblical texts, including psalmody as poetry, and places them within the remit of discourse on the arts, arguing that they should be treated as such. See Elaine T. James, *An Invitation to Biblical Poetry.* Essentials of Biblical Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).

[35] Some commentators see Psalms 111 and 112 as introductions to the main Hallel collection, with Psalms 111–117 possibly forming a coherent unit. See Mitchell, p. 267; also Wilson, pp. 126–127.

the Feast of Dedication.[36] Originally, the Egyptian Hallel was chanted during the offering of pilgrims' sacrifices; on other occasions, it was chanted so that that the people of Israel should be delivered from any potential misfortune.[37]

The recitation of Hallel was included in the Passover Seder, Psalms 113 and 114 being recited before the grace after the meal with the remainder of the Hallel immediately following after it.[38] Psalm 114 seems to have been composed for the specific purpose of extolling the miracle of the Exodus, perhaps for use on Passover night, with Psalm 113 serving as an introduction to it. The remainder of the Hallel consists of pilgrim songs composed for a variety of occasions which were not, properly, part of the Passover service.[39]

Custom permitting even a partial celebration of the Passover liturgy outside the Temple of Jerusalem could only develop in a time of crisis (otherwise the Temple hierarchy would have denounced such ritual activity as a violation of its prerogative).[40] Pious Jews, prevented from observing Passover in the Temple, retained as much of the ceremony as they could in their homes. It would be natural that, in such a celebration, the songs which had been sung with such joy in the domain of the Temple should be repeated with equal energy against the tyrants who desecrated the Sanctuary. The hymns were united into a liturgy, which began with a denunciation of their persecutors, and which contained a prayer for vindication of Israel. When the Temple was purified this liturgy, developed during persecution, was combined with the psalms recounting Israel's delivery from Egypt into a single ritual of the Hallel, and was chanted at the Feast of Rededication.[41] Thus it came about that the complete Hallel of the

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[36] Mowinckel, p. 3.
[37] Elliot L. Stevens, 'Singing God's Praises: The Translation and Liturgical Uses of Hallel Psalms 113 and 114', in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical and Artistic Traditions*, ed. by Harold W. Attridge and Margo E. Fassler (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), p. 367.
[38] Finkelstein, p. 24. Finkelstein employs the term 'Complete Hallel' to refer to Psalms 113–118 to distinguish the set from the divided version used at Seder meals, which he calls 'the Passover Hallel', and the incomplete form used in the synagogue service of the New Moons, which he calls 'the Babylonian Hallel'.
[39] Ibid., p. 323.
[40] Presumably this crisis was the defilement of the Temple by Antiochus with the erection of the statue of Baal Shamem in 169 B.C.
[41] Finkelstein, p. 333.

Hanukkah celebration included both Psalms 113, 114 and the post–prandial ritual of the Passover eve. In further celebration of their deliverance, the Jews chanted this Complete Hallel at every synagogue service of the major festivals with which any part of the Hallel had been associated. These included Sukkoth (which originally only used Psalm 118 as its Hallel) and Shabuoth, which was the main occasion for the employment of pilgrimage hymns.[42] When the Fifth Book of the Psalter was compiled, this Complete Hallel was incorporated into it as a unit.

The fact that the complete Egyptian Hallel is recited on Hanukkah furnishes us with a *terminus ad quem* for its origin. The first Hanukkah or Week of Dedication was marked by the singing of Hallel and this custom has continued on the anniversary of the week until this day. This implies that the Hallel was already an established component of the ritual by the year 164 BCE, when the Temple was purified by Judah the Maccabee.[43] The Jewish biblical scholar Louis Finkelstein finds a *terminus ad quo* for the origin of the Egyptian Hallel to be determined by the theological views expressed in Psalm 115. This psalm contains what he considers to be one of the most forceful negations of the Hasidean-Pharisaic concepts of immortality to be found in Scripture. Verses 16–17 reject the growing belief that, upon death, one's spirit ascends to heaven, and that the dead praise the Lord. Such a vigorous denial of the Hasidean-Pharisaic view belongs to the period when this argument was at its height; namely, about the middle of the third century BCE, and it is to this time that he suggests we may properly ascribe the authorship of Psalm 115 in its present form. It would appear, then, that the complete set of Hallels which contains this passage developed sometime between the middle of the third century BCE and the year 164 BCE.[44]

The collection opens with praise of God who opposes human conditions by lifting up the needy and defenceless and humbling the proud and mighty (Psalm 113). Psalm 114 recalls

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[42] Finkelstein, p. 334.
[43] Ibid., p. 322.
[44] Ibid., pp. 322–23.

the Exodus as the manifestation of God's providence. Psalm 115 contrasts Israel's God with the gods of the pagans. A theme of death and the world of the dead links Psalm 115:17 with Psalm 116:3. Psalm 117 invites all nations to praise God. Each of these five psalms anticipates themes and motifs of Psalm 118,[45] and they provide a literary and liturgical context for understanding it as Israel's ultimate thanksgiving for the divine *hesed* which is manifested by God's delivery of his people from death.[46]

Psalm 113: in praise of the God who attends to the needy

Psalms 113 is a hymn of praise, opening with a thrice–repeated imperative to offer praise which is followed by ascriptions of praise to YHWH (verses 2–3) and further descriptions of his greatness (verses 4–9). This elaborate call to prayer exhibits both the imperatival and participial forms characteristic of the hymn.[47] In this psalm God is revealed to be both transcendent and immanent; exalted but also concerned with human beings and their individual needs. The great medieval Jewish commentator, Rashi, wrote that this psalm expresses Israel's gratitude for the restoration from Babylonian captivity.[48] Psalm 113 is apparently a cultic hymn, intoned by choirs of priests, perhaps antiphonally. The song is addressed to the 'Shem Adonai' (the name of God), a term which becomes the embodiment of the presence and power of God.[49]

Following the initial call to praise (verses 1–3), the poet of Psalm 113 acclaims God's majesty (verses 4–6) and mercy (verses 7–9). The word 'name' and the divine name (there are

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[45] Because of its brevity, Psalm 117 is sometimes combined with either Psalm 116 or 118. The sixth century monastic rule of Benedict joins Psalms 116–117 for reasons of economy in liturgical recitation. See Konrad Schaefer, 'Psalms', in *Berit Olam Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry*, ed. by David W. Cotter (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2001), p. 288.

[46] The term *hesed* does not correspond to any English term. It is variously translated as kindness, faithfulness, mercy, loyalty, benevolence or love. Some forms of periphrasis (committed love, covenant loyalty, bonded love, loving kindness) attempt to capture the content. The translation 'steadfast love', used by the New Revised Standard Version, may be the most acceptable approximation of the term.

[47] Murphy, p. 546.

[48] Hans–Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: A Commentary*, trans. by H. C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989), p. 367.

[49] Ibid., p. 368.

six occurrences of LORD) are prominent in the first half of the psalm, which culminates with the question, 'Who is like the LORD our God?' (verse 5a). The psalmist declares God's incomparability (verses 4–9), a theme focused in the question. Everything builds up to this question and the remainder of the psalm answers it, though without explicitly naming God. [50]

The praise of God is to be limitless, encompassing all time and space, 'from this time on and forevermore' and, 'from the rising of the sun to its setting'. Verses 2–3 are composed in chiastic parallel lines.[51] Sunrise to sunset reflects a spatial rather than temporal reality: God's greatness transcends human activity and the created universe (verse 4).[52] The repetition of the verb *rwm* is purposeful and meaningful: the exalted one bends down to raise up the lowly. God is praised because, in spite of infinite distance from the created world, God is not cut off from creation but, rather, is inclined towards it: God bends down to care for his creatures.[53] Similarly, the repetition of the verb *ysb* is significant, emphasising God's transcendence in essence and immanence in interest.[54] The metaphorical language of the seventh and eighth verses is borrowed from the song of Hannah, the mother of Samuel the prophet.[55] The psalm concludes, as it starts, with the exhortation 'Praise the LORD!'

Psalm 114: in praise of the God who transforms

Despite its narrative form, Psalm 114 is a hymn celebrating Israel's sacred history, spanning the time from the Exodus to the crossing of the Jordan. The phrase 'mountains skipping like

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[50] Schaefer, p. 280.

[51] May the name of the LORD be blessed (A: praise) both now and forever (B: time) / From the rising of the sun to its setting (B: time) praised be the name of the LORD (A: praise).

[52] Schaefer, p. 281.

[53] God's divine benevolence reaches down to those often relegated to the fringe of human society. This hymnic message recalls that of Isaiah 57:15: God's majesty and might are revealed in his mercy and his attention to the downtrodden. See Sabourin, p. 188.

[54] The verb is used to pose contrasts: God is seated (*ysb*) on high (verse 5) but raises the poor to seat them (*ysb*) with princes (verse 8); likewise, God gives the barren woman a home (*ysb*) or a secure seat (verse 9). See Schaefer, p. 281.

[55] See 1 Samuel 2:4–8. These verses appear in the Christian tradition as part of the Canticle of Mary, the Magnificat.

rams' is often understood to refer to earthquakes at the time of the revelation at Sinai.[56] Psalm 114 sings of the people's liberation, proclaiming the holy presence of God in the midst of Israel and his providential charge of them.

The psalm's structure is chiastic and the eight double–line verses are composed in synonymous parallelism .[57] The first doublet connects Israel's exodus from Egypt with Judah as God's sanctuary: it embraces both the foreign point of departure and permanency in the homeland. The second doublet charts the effect of the Exodus on the natural world. The third doublet summons the earth to convulse in the presence of God who turns, 'rock into a pool of water'. In this way the physical world, which seems so stable and reliable, is called to react to the divine presence. The doublets embrace opposite poles (merism): the Exodus from Egypt and settlement in the promised land; slavery and freedom; the receding waters of the sea and the Jordan; water and land; the LORD of the earth and the God of Jacob; universal and particular.[58]

From the psalmist's perspective, Egypt is a 'people of strange language'. While the Israelites are fleeing, God does not have a sanctuary other than the people among whom he dwells (verse 2).[59] The Jordan crossing is paralleled with the Red Sea crossing, forming a synthesis of liberation. Likewise, the earthquake is a response or reaction to the theophany (verses 4, 7) and appears as simultaneous with the water which sprung from the rock. In these select elements the poet encompasses the miracle of deliverance and all the difficulties and obstacles accompanying it.[60] The poet chants of God's glory and the magnitude of God's dominion over all creation.

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[56] Murphy, p. 546; also Stevens, p. 367.
[57] Verses 1–2 God's sanctuary connected with Israel, Jacob, Judah (A: God), verses 3–4 sea, Jordan, mountains and hills (B: nature) / Verses 5–6 sea, Jordan, mountains and hills (B: nature), verses 7–8 presence of the Lord, the God of Jacob (A: God).
[58] Schaefer, p. 282.
[59] The pronominal references to the divine in verse 2 lack an antecedent, unless the *halleluyah* of Psalm 113:9 accompanies Psalm 114, a reading supported by the Septuagint. See Schaefer, p. 282.
[60] Murphy, p. 546.

Psalm 115: in praise of the true God who reigns forever

Psalm 115 begins, unusually, with an emphatic and intense statement of denial. It effectively presents the reader with a riddle at the very outset of the psalm so that, throughout the rest of the text, he/she is looking for an explanation. If we read the opening as a kind of self-deprecation, it would seem that the psalmist, in a cultic context, is insisting that it is not the congregation being honoured by the ritual action, but God.[61]

Following a brief introduction (verse 1) and a satire on idolatry (verses 2–8), Psalm 115 embarks on a triple confession of trust (verses 9–11) and God's corresponding blessing (verses 12–14), expanded by the memory of creation (verses 15–16). The psalm leads in the final stanzas to the contrast between the silence of the dead and the present assembly's ceaseless praise (verses 17–18). These movements are linked to each other by repetitions.[62]

The use of different voices within the psalm can be understood in the context of a liturgical celebration.[63] The structure of the celebration might feasibly run as follows: the choir begins (verse 1), somebody questions (verse 2), somebody else answers (verse 3), three choirs are exhorted and respond (verses 9–11), the congregation is heard by the LORD (verses 12–13, 16–18) and the priest responds by asking for a blessing on the assembly (verses 14–15).[64] Triplets and multiples of three mark the psalm. Three groups trust in God, who is, 'their help and shield'. The triple act of faith corresponds to a triple blessing for Israel. The divine name YHWH, or its abbreviated form *yh*, occurs twelve times (not counting the final *halleluyah*). Counting 'God' (verses 2, 3), the sum amounts to fourteen. The universe is divided into three zones: sky, earth and underworld (verses 16–18). The first and the second belong to God while

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[61] Magonet, p. 33; also Barton and Muddiman, p. 397.
[62] Schaefer, p. 283.
[63] Anderson reads this psalm as a liturgical prayer with a strong theme of reassurance running throughout, rather than a hymn of praise, positing that the praise elements of the psalm may have been emphasised when it became part of the 'Egyptian Hallel'. See Anderson, p. 786.
[64] Schaefer, p. 283; also Barton and Muddiman, p. 397.

the third, the underworld, is the realm of silence and death. Between the sky and the abyss is, presumably, the present assembly.[65]

God's glory opposes the blasphemy of foreigners who deny God's power and presence (verses 1–2). The nations' ridicule is answered assuredly with a statement about 'our God' (verse 3) and the parody of ineffective idols. The resultant satire on idols constitutes an indirect praise of God: their impotence emphasises, by way of contrast, the power and majesty of YHWH.[66] The claim that those who trust what they make become like their handiwork touches on a profound truth (verse 8). The polemic is meant to instruct the assembly in support of the first two commandments: the worship of one God and the prohibition of idols.[67] The ultimate curse is that the idol makers also become mute, blind, deaf and inanimate, like the things they fashion. The curse is both cruel and rich with associations: just as God creates the divine image and gradually shapes his creations in the divine semblance, so idols reduce their adherents to nothingness.[68] Once the idols and their makers are rejected, the psalmist rallies the assembly and asks God for a blessing. God blesses his faithful ones who praise him (there is no such exchange between idols and their makers). In return, God, 'who made heaven and earth', receives praise and blessing from those who fear and worship him.

The liturgy centres on the crisis identified in verse 2, where the nations try to undermine Israel's confidence in God. The people face a perennial predicament as Israel seems to be powerless against the nations and so doubts arise. The assembly's identity and destiny is defined by their trust in a God who is called into question.[69] The use of the term 'heavens' converts cosmic space into theological meaning. In response to the nations' taunt, 'where is

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[65] Schaefer, p. 283.
[66] Anderson, p. 787.
[67] Mowinckel notes that the Psalmist here identifies the idols with the gods of the nations, without recourse to the possibility that these images may be merely representative of the gods; however, the exaggeration makes the futility of idolatry plain, especially from a monotheistic standpoint. See Mowinckel, p. 98.
[68] Schaefer, p. 283.
[69] Ibid.

their God?' the liturgy asserts, 'our God is in the heavens; he does whatever he pleases' (Verse 3). Heaven is not just above, in contrast to below; heaven is the limitless arena of the rule of God. God is related to, but transcends, all that exists, all of which is his creative work. Ultimately, the liturgy summons the assembly to trust in God, reminding those who praise him that God has always been their help and can be confident that God will, again, bless them with increase.[70] In turn, the assembly will 'bless the LORD from this time on and forevermore', and so the exhortation to praise is raised at the end of the psalm.

Psalm 116: in praise of the God who heals

Psalm 116 expresses the thanksgiving of one whose appeal has been heard and answered. The psalmist recalls an experience (verses 3–4, 10–11), acknowledges God as his rescuer (verses 1–2, 5–9, 15–16), and promises to fulfil his vows (verse 12–14, 17–19), thus weaving past and future deliverances into present gratitude.[71] The poem may be divided into two movements. The first incorporates dramatic elements of mortal danger, a cry for help and God's answer and these elements form the basis for the liturgy celebrated in the second movement. The address, 'O LORD', links the two parts, as does the phrase 'call(ed)on the name of the Lord' (verses 4, 13, 16–17), these being the only direct invocations to God in the psalm.

The opening 'I love the LORD' imprints the psalm with an avowal of love. The justification for this love is given: God listens to those who trust in him and responds to their needs.[72] Love in this context means to call on God by name, and this is done abundantly (fifteen times in the course of the psalm). The repeated phrase, 'call on the name', has double meaning – to invoke God's help and to offer thanksgiving sacrifices (verses 4, 13, 17). With the threat

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[70] Schaefer, p. 283.
[71] Ibid., p. 283. The Psalm illustrates the Old Testament device whereby individual experience and public worship are frequently merged into one whole profession of praise for the benefit of the entire congregation. See Anderson, p. 790.
[72] This declaration is unique, the only direct parallel being the opening of Psalm 18, where a different verb is used.

of death, the psalmist was plunged into anguish and, in his distress, called on God, who heard his cry. The recollection makes the experience present, and the poet affirms God's perpetual goodness and addresses the assembly accordingly (verse 5–6). In a soliloquy the poet bids the soul to rest in God (verse 7). The soliloquy may express the intention to visit the Temple where God's presence provides relief and security.[73] Release from death is illustrated in the tears and stumbling feet, replaced by walking with sure feet before the Lord (verses 8–9). The mention of feet prepares for the 'walk' and the metaphor aptly translates the poet's experience. What is initially an uncertain walk ends in a life with God and a proposition full of hope: 'I walk before the LORD in the land of the living'.

The final section of the psalm (verses 12–19) comprises a pledge to celebrate a thanksgiving liturgy. The rhetorical question admits that God's goodness can never be equally returned or repaid. The liturgy comprises of various rites which honour God.[74] The poet's dependence on God becomes progressively more emphatic, from 'servant' to 'the child of your serving girl'. The psalmist counts himself among those who do God's will and whose death is costly for God.

Curiously absent from this psalm are the enemies, confession of sins or protestation of personal innocence normally found in such psalms. Instead, the poet narrates how he called on God and was heard. He offers a reason why God should, and did, intervene: God always proves to be just, compassionate and tender, a protector of people.[75] Psalm 116 plays a distinctive role in the liturgy: the ritual use of a cup and a sacrifice are determinative for its application to the

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[73] Schaefer, p. 286.
[74] Two ritual actions are singled out: offering the cup of salvation (verse 13a; see also the 'drink offering' in Numbers 28) and a thanksgiving sacrifice (verse 17a). The cup is either to drink or to offer a libation (see Exodus 29:40–41 and Numbers 15:5–7). My 'vows' refers to the promised liturgy (possibly in the Temple as a public testimony) and it was made when the psalmist was praying for deliverance (see Psalm 66:13–15).
[75] Ibid.

Passover celebration.[76] The jubilance of the thanksgiving liturgy being offered dovetails into the final call to praise.

Psalm 117: pure praise

Psalm 117, the shortest psalm in the Psalter, expresses the perfect form of a hymn of praise, with the call to praise (verse 1), the motivation for that praise introduced by 'for' (verse 2a and 2b), and a repeated call to praise (verses 2c). It calls for global recognition of God.[77] After the initial invitation, the motive and content of the praise is given. The psalm begins and ends with the invocation *halleluyah*. The reasons for the praise, God's twin attributes of *hesed* and faithfulness are described in chiastic parallelism.[78]

The psalmist depicts an eschatological horizon when differences of nationality are eclipsed by unanimous praise of God. The theological motive for all peoples praising God is salvation and hope for the future. The present assembly, presumably, is the recipient of God's kindness. If 'toward us' refers to Israel, the psalmist invites all humanity to praise God for the *hesed* and fidelity shown to the chosen people. If 'toward us' is not exclusively Israelite, the poet testifies to God's faithfulness and *hesed* embracing everybody. In either case, the thought of Psalm 117 is in harmony with the universalistic current of the Hebrew Scriptures.[79]

Psalm 118: in praise of the God who delivers his people

The concluding psalm in the Egyptian Hallel, Psalm 118, is a thanksgiving liturgy which celebrates deliverance. It has two movements (verses 5–18 and 19–28) framed within choral

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[76] Schaefer, p. 257.
[77] Barton and Muddiman, p. 398. Kraus notes that the universalism of this psalm draws on the old cultic traditions which exalt YHWH as the 'high God' who is King and Lord of the entire world. Kraus, p. 798; Anderson, p. 796.
[78] Great towards us (A: all–encompassing) is his *hesed* (B: fidelity) / and the LORD's faithfulness (B: fidelity) is forever (A: all–encompassing). These attributes typify God's relationship with his followers.
[79] Schaefer, p. 288.

praise of God's *hesed* (verses 1–4, 29). The alternation of individual and choral voices, the repetitions, the refrains and explicit references to liturgical actions (the entrance into the Temple and the procession (verses 19–20, 27)) make it somewhat difficult to follow the internal dynamics, but suggest a liturgy on the occasion or anniversary of a major victory.[80]

To begin, various groups intone the classic formula 'his *hesed* endures forever'.[81] The presider narrates the experience and accompanying rescue. A choral response follows, as in a victory song (verses 15–16). When the procession arrives at the gate, a verse and response are chanted (verses 19–20). The liturgy culminates around the altar (verse 27).

The first movement of the psalm is woven together by recurrent motifs attesting to the victory. The distressed poet called for help to God, who rescued him (verse 5: the drama is summarised in verses 13 and 18).[82] The presider expresses trust in God and concludes that it is better to take refuge in God than in powerful persons (verses 6–9; 29:7, 146:3–5). Doublets contrast reliance on God with threat from, or trust in, mortals (verses 6, 8). The moral 'take refuge in the Lord' is broadcast (verses 8–9). The motifs of the besieging nations and their defeat are grouped together and culminate in the affirmation that God has granted salvation (verses 10–14).[83] The psalmist converts what may have been a victory against national enemies into a cosmic fray. The attack is intensified with each repeated phrase but is always revoked by the unvarying refrain which represents God power, help, and salvation – in a word, the LORD (verses 10–11).

The motif of salvation is embedded into the following movement of the psalm in the phrase 'songs of victory'. The songs are repeated three times and serve as a prelude to the

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[80] Schaefer, p. 23; also Barton and Muddiman, p. 398.
[81] The formula appears in Psalms 106:1; 107:1 and 136:1.
[82] It is accepted practice to precede and contextualise praise and thanks of God with an account of past misfortunes from which one has been delivered. See Anderson, p. 798.
[83] The Exodus tradition informs the language of Psalm 118. The pivotal declaration, 'The LORD is my strength and my might; he has become my salvation', (verse 14) is the theme of the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15:2). Other motifs of the song are God's right hand (verses 15–16 and Exodus 15:6, 12), exaltation of the LORD as 'my God' (verses 28 and Exodus 15:2b) and *hesed* as God's motivation (verses 1–4, 29 and Exodus 15:13). See Schaefer, p. 289.

triumphant entrance into the Temple (verses 15–16). The motif of death indicates the degree to which God has intervened (verses 17–18): to be said to be near death can serve as an image for any affliction in Hebrew anthropology.[84] Individual and choral voices alternate in this second movement. The motif of thanks is reintroduced with a request for entry. The presider makes the request and announces thanks (verses 19, 21, 28); attendant ministers respond with conditions for admission, blessing, and various declarations (verses 20, 26–27). The porter's response gives the condition for entrance: 'this is the gate of the LORD; the righteous shall enter through it' (verse 20). The condition is righteousness, a condensation of the entrance examinations in Psalms 15 and 24.[85] Mercy and righteousness are intimate correlates in this psalm: they complete each other and work consistently as one. The basis for mercy is righteousness, as it distinguishes the eternal ethical character and transcendence of God.[86]

Framed by the presider's utterances of thanksgiving (verses 21, 28), the assembly acknowledges salvation as God's wondrous act (verses 22–24). The victor, who now enters, is blessed (verses 10–12, 26). Acclamation is joined to ritual procession as the faithful approach the altar with branches in their hands (verse 27).[87] The presider again summons the assembly: 'O give thanks to the LORD, for he is good', to which the assembly responds 'for his *hesed* endures forever'.

The divine name LORD occurs twenty–eight times and 'God' occurs twice in the psalm. The cornerstone image represents the righteous remnant or nucleus of the new Israel. Though deemed unimportant by its neighbours, Israel plays a distinguished role in the architecture of God's reign. 'The builders', the nations' rulers, despised Israel and sought its

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[84] Schaefer, p. 290.
[85] A plaza inside the gate of a Near Eastern city was a gathering place for civic assemblies (see 2 Chronicles 32:6; Nehemiah 8:1). Commercial transactions were effected there and the designation 'gates of righteousness' alludes to the fact that legal proceedings were conducted there (see Deuteronomy 21:19, 22:24; Ruth 3:11, 4:1, 10, 11). See Schaefer, p. 290.
[86] Ibid., p. 102.
[87] The 'horns of the altar' were the projections of the four corners and were regarded as the most sacred parts of the table. To grasp or cling onto the horns of the altar was tantamount to a claim for divine projection, a gesture echoed in I Kings 2:28. See Anderson, p. 805.

annihilation. But, with the dawn of redemption, all nations will realise that Israel is the 'cornerstone' of their redemption.[88] The reference to procession and branches in verse 27 recalls the Feast of Tabernacles.[89]

Psalm 118 marks the grand finale of the liturgical service of praise in the Temple. The choir sang it when the Passover Lamb was about to be slain. It was also sung at the Feasts of Pentecost, the Feast of Tabernacles and, latterly, at the Feast of Dedication. The Hallels could be chanted during the day up to eighteen times but were only chanted at night during the Passover, as the Passover Lamb was slain at night in Egypt.[90]

The 'Great Hallel': Psalm 136

Psalm 136 is a hymn of praise which may also be classified as a historical psalm.[91] It is unique in its antiphonal pattern, with a refrain following each colon. Like the Pentateuch, it combines the traditions of YHWH as creator with his saving deeds for Israel.[92] Psalm 136 reviews Israel's history and resumes the *halleluyah* theme introduced in Psalms 111–118.[93] The poet opens with a liturgical formula: 'give thanks to the LORD, for he is good'. This formula is associated with the Levitical guilds of singers who sang it on various occasions and liturgies.[94] The poet states God's wonders as the theme of the psalm (verse 4) and launches into a recital which includes the design of heaven and earth (verses 5–6), the lights' specific times of governance

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[88] Schaefer, p. 291; also Murphy, p. 547. The metaphor alludes either to one of the large cornerstones which bind two rows of stones together, especially in the foundations of a building, or to the keystone which completes an arch or structure. The actual function of the stone in question is less important that the surprising change in its significance. See Anderson, p. 803.

[89] The Mishnah records that a bunch of palm, myrtle and willow branches was shaken at the beginning and end of the recitation of the psalm and that willow branches were set up over the altar. See Murphy, p. 547; also Barton and Muddiman, p. 398.

[90] Thomas Torrance, 'The Last of the Hallel Psalms', *Evangelical Theological Quarterly,* 28 (1956), p. 101; also Finkelstein, p. 319.

[91] Murphy, p. 549.

[92] See also Psalm 135:6–12.

[93] Psalm 136 follows on from Psalm 135 and they are partners: both review Israel's history and the order of events is the same in each. In the Septuagint, the final *halleluyah* of Psalm 135 is affixed to 136. See Schaefer, p. 319.

[94] See 1 Chronicles 16:34, 2 Chronicles 5:11–14, 7:1–3, 20:21, Ezra 3:11. This formula is also heard in the introductory and/or concluding frames of Psalms 100:4–5; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1–4, 29.

(verses 7–9), the smiting of Egypt, freeing Israel and dividing the Red Sea (verses 10–15), guiding the people, removing human obstacles to the gift of the land (verses 16–22). Schaefer describes the psalm succinctly when he remarks: 'History unfolds like a series of photographs arranged in a gallery of divine interventions'.[95] Each succeeding episode is new, but the refrain holds to what is unvarying. By the end of the psalm the refrain has been charged with the content of all the acclamations, as God's eternal *hesed* is expounded throughout the litany.

The cosmological picture (verses 5–9) can be compared to Genesis 1: in both, creation serves as a prelude to salvation history.[96] The heavens are proper to God, whereas the earth is the arena of divine providence. The poet breaks off the narration after the fourth day (verses 9). Once the immutable elements of creation are in place, the poet recounts the people's history. God's *hesed* is trustworthy and vigorous, as illustrated by the narrative which moves through history to the present. Each divine act follows preceding ones, which makes the transition to 'us' at the end of the psalm natural and reasonable.[97]

The unvarying refrain 'for his love [*hesed*] endures forever', which is sounded twenty-six times, illustrates the content of the phrase and invites the assembly to assimilate its meaning. Through its use the congregation is urged to thank God ceaselessly.[98] The refrain employs the introductory particle *ki* which can be translated as 'indeed!' *Ki* is almost equivalent to an exclamation mark, a symbol of excitement or wonder. Because anything of such importance usually induces repercussions, *ki* came to be translated as 'for' or 'because'.[99] In its paean of praise to God, the Great Hallel may be regarded as the Jewish predecessor of the Christian Te Deum, as the ultimate hymn of praise.[100]

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[95] See Schaefer, p. 319.
[96] Barton and Muddiman, p. 402.
[97] Psalm 137 'By the rivers of Babylon' has no link with the psalms which precede and follow it. Linguistically, the mournful, imprecatory tone and the theme set it apart from its context. See Schaefer, p. 320–321.
[98] Ibid., p. 321.
[99] Stuhlmueller, p. 47.
[100] Ibid., p. 43.

The 'Final Hallel': Psalms 146–150

The great acclamation of Psalms 146–150 serves as a final, fulsome doxology to the Psalter. Mitchell applauds what he calls, 'the literary design of this closural arrangement' and highlights the architectural merit of such a design.[101] Wilson posits that this whole Hallel group is liturgically motivated and finds its motivating force in the final verse of Psalm 145:

> My mouth will speak the praise of the Lord,
> And all flesh will bless his holy name forever and ever. (Psalm 145:21)[102]

In this context, Psalm 146 represents the response of the psalmist himself to the first half of this exhortation. In Psalm 147 Israel and Jerusalem join the response.[103] The praise spreads further in Psalm 148 when the angelic hosts and the whole of creation breaks forth into song.[104] In Psalm 149 the focus returns to the people of God as Israel praises the Lord for the accomplishment of his purposes. In the final psalm, Psalm 150, we hear the hymnic response to the second half of Psalm 145:21, toward which the whole Hallel has been building:

> Let everything that breathes praise the LORD![105]

A doxology typically asserts, without any substantiating reason, praise of God or of God's name, forever. Bruegemann speaks of praise as a 'doxological act', the dialectical alternative to self-assertion: a self–abandonment in which God becomes everything.[106] The doxological act of self–abandonment is the culmination of a series of events or experiences in which there has been testing, risk and resolution. It is an act of joyfully relinquishing all of life in gratitude to a faithful God. Bruegemann places this theology of doxology in the context of the psalms:

> Having fought through the struggles, doxology now freely utters the name, gladly speaks a joyous 'you', gladly sounds the adjectives, attributes and characteristics of this

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[101] Mitchell, p. 74.
[102] Wilson, p. 189.
[103] Psalm 147:2, 12, 19–20.
[104] Psalm 148:2–3, 11–12.
[105] Psalm 150:6. See Wilson, p. 194.
[106] Walter Bruegemann, *The Psalms and the Life of Faith*, ed. by Patrick D. Miller (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), p. 116.

God, and gladly credits God with all the goodness of life. Thus Israel's doxology is a massive, comprehensive, determined *halleluyah*.[107]

This doxological act of praise is, at the same time and inevitably, a polemical act: the exclusive celebration of this God constitutes a necessary refutation of any rival. Doxological speech credits all to God in a way that is persuasively monotheising.[108] In this way, the doxological concentration of the final Hallel group in the Psalter, culminating in Psalm 150, underscores the pervasive monotheism characteristic of the Psalter as a whole.[109]

Psalm 146: in praise of the God who keeps faith forever

Psalm 146 inaugurates the last group of Hallel psalmody. Usually described as a hymn of praise, this psalm has several unusual features. Instead of a call to praise (verses 1–2), leading into a description of God's greatness, the psalmist introduces an individual, wisdom–style warning against reliance on human help (verses 3–4). This is followed by a beatitude (verse 5) which leads into the expected description of YHWH as Creator and Protector (verses 6–9).[110]

The psalm consists of two praising sections: verses 1–6a praise God as Creator and verses 6b–10 praise God as Redeemer of the oppressed and helpless. It shows a preference for God's name (YHWH) which occurs eleven times throughout. The appearance of God, *elohim* (verses 2, 10), forms an inclusion; another *elohim* (verse 5) brings the total of direct divine references to fourteen. A solo voice introduces the hymn (verses 1–2), counsels against trusting in humans who are powerless to save (verses 3–4), and reflects on reasons for placing one's trust in God (verses 5–9). The transition from the introduction to the wisdom reflection is unusual: the underlying theme is that trust in God, rather than reliance on the powerful, wins

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[107] Bruegemann, p. 118.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Robinson, p. 964.
[110] Barton and Muddiman, p. 404; also Magonet, p. 141.

beatitude. After recalling creation, the poet references deeds which constitute God's governance.[111]

The poem has an instructive flavour: the admonition about human mortality (verses 3–4) contrasts the praise of God, who can be trusted in every crisis (verses 5–10). The catalogue of divine attributes is typically concrete and contrasts with the incompetence of human governors.[112] God's character is epitomised in a key phrase: he 'keeps faith forever' (verse 6c), and the ensuing verses illustrate this. The final verse is a doxology reminiscent of the end of the Song at the Sea (Exodus 15:18) and an acclamation of God's eternal sovereignty addressed to Zion concludes the hymn with the customary 'praise the LORD!'

Psalm 147: in praise of the God who restores Jerusalem

Psalm 147 is a communal hymn, generally dated to the post-exilic period.[113] It begins with the praise of praise which is 'good', and 'fitting', before turning to praising God for universal power and providence. A division of three movements can be detected in Psalm 147 and each of these movements comprises a self–contained hymn.[114] The tripartite division is praise of God, the restorer of Israel and the caretaker of the stars (verses 1–6); nature, provided for by God who does not delight in human exploits (verses 7–11) and God's power over nature and care Israel (verses 12–20). Each movement encompasses both the natural and human orders. The repetition of 'Israel' frames the psalm (verses 2, 19). The term 'LORD' occurs seven times and also frames the third movement, completing the cycle of praise.

In the first movement of Psalm 147 the restoration of the city and people and the arrangement of the stars are ranged side by side, illustrating the parallel between how the world is ordered and how human history unfolds (verses 2–6). In verse 4 the naming process, which in the

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[111] Schaefer, p. 340.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Murphy, p. 551.
[114] Anderson, p. 944.

Biblical world implies intimate knowledge of the named thing's essence, is more specific than counting.[115] The themes of God's wisdom and power appear as correlates, as God knows the stars individually and cares for the humble. [116]

The second movement begins with an invitation to play music to God and from the macroscopic view of the universe the scope narrows to daily sustenance for people and animals. The poet admires God's marvellous command of nature. Material advantages are of no account here: what pleases God are those who reverence him and wait for his kindness. As with the first movement, the recital of God's blessings includes a wisdom reflection.[117]

The invitation of the third movement references verse 2 by mentioning Jerusalem.[118] The poet praises God because he protects and provides for his people (verses 13–14). God controls winter's arrival and passage (verse 15–18) and reveals his statutes and ordinances to Israel (verses 19–20). The psalmist again moves from the general to the particular: the strength of the city's gates and the people inside, the prosperity of the nation eating, 'the finest wheat'. Nature is domesticated by a series of comparisons: 'snow like wool', 'frost like ashes', 'hailstones like crumbs'. The frozen landscape of winter is melted by the divine Word. As in the first two movements, God is presented as attentive to every detail of creation, but the divine Word also has another dimension: it reveals God's will to an elect people in order that they may justify their lives (verse 19). God's Word expresses the exercise of divine sovereignty: it is sent to do God's bidding in the world.[119] This divine action leads naturally into renewed praise.

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[115] In the ancient near East stars were regarded as deities: it was believed that they determined the destinies of mortals. In this way, the Psalmist asserts God's omnipotence by simply stating that all the stars are but servants of YHWH. See Anderson, p. 945.
[116] Schaefer, p. 41.
[117] Ibid., p. 342.
[118] In the Greek and Latin versions this third section (verses 17–29) constitutes a separate psalm in which Jerusalem is invited to praise her benefactor. See Sabourin, p. 193.
[119] Schaefer, p. 342.

Psalm 148: in praise of the God who creates

Psalm 148 is a late communal hymn of praise to the Creator.[120] The psalmist invites all in the heavens and on earth to praise God. The motives are clear: all beings owe their existence and permanence to God's creative action because God has favoured Israel (verses 5–6, 13b–14).

The structure of the hymn is interesting: the call to praise is expressed in imperatives (verses 1–4, 7) and with jussives ('let them praise') in verses 5a and 13a, while what is normally the main content of hymns of praise, the description of YHWH's nature and deeds, is limited to verses 5b–6 and 13b–14a.[121] The psalm is presented in two corresponding movements, in which heavenly and earthly theatres of praise are ranged similarly, as demonstrated below:

> *Halleluyah!*
> Invitation to the heavens 'Praise the LORD'. (seven times)
>> Verse 5a 'Let them praise the name of the LORD',
>> Three–phase motive: he commanded, established, and fixed (verses 5b–6)
> Invitation to the earth 'Praise the LORD'.
>> Verse 13a 'Let them praise the name of the LORD'.
>> Three–part motive: exalted name, glory, people (verses 13b–14a)
> *Halleluyah!*

The two movements are presented symmetrically. After the opening line which designates the heavenly realm (verse 1), the leader signals the entry of seven voices in a fugal style (seven imperatives 'praise'). Then, following a single imperative, twenty–one earthly choirs join one another in unison.[122] In each movement the refrain 'Let them praise the name of the Lord' closes the enumeration of voices, thus totalling, with the eight imperatives, ten invocations to praise. The motif 'all' or 'every' punctuates the litany of praise and designates an inclusive, universal orchestra, encompassing all heavenly and earthly reality. The poet concludes that God's glory 'is above earth and heaven', which summarises the content of the two movements.[123]

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[120] Murphy, p. 551.
[121] Barton and Muddiman, p. 404. Anderson sees this Psalm as a development of what he calls the 'visual type of hymn', in which the hymnic introduction forms practically the entire Psalm. See Anderson, p. 948.
[122] This systematic listing of creatures and natural phenomena adheres to a pattern also found in Job 38.
[123] Schaefer, p. 343.

The created world is rearranged in this psalm. Where we might expect three distinct realms or zones (heavens, earth and underworld), this poet presents two, with the 'deeps' or oceans included in the terrestrial zone. Humans form a separate choir to creatures and plants in the symphony and are named according to office, gender and age, yet all are equal in God's sight.

The poet's attention narrows from the heavens to the earth, then to the peoples and, finally, to Israel. The climax of the summons is 'all his faithful' and 'the people of Israel who are close to him'. 'He has raised up a horn for his people' is an idiom for the bestowal of dignity and strength.[124] In this psalm a clear relationship exists between prosperity, power, and praise; those who are on intimate terms with God can praise him and, in this way, articulate all creation's praise.[125]

Psalm 149: in praise of the God who empowers his faithful

Psalm 149 is a communal hymn of praise in two parts. The reference to the 'faithful' frames both movements of Psalm 149 along with the acclamation *halleluyah* (verses 1, 9). In the expected hymnic pattern the first summons to praise (verses 1–3) is followed by the justification of praise (verse 4). The second summons (verses 5–6) is followed by infinitives which define a course of action (verses 7–9a). The term 'glory' or 'honour' forms an inclusion in the second movement and defines its theme: the glory of the faithful.[126]

While God is present in every clause of the first movement by name, title or pronoun, the faithful characterise the second. God is identified, without exception, in relation to Israel. God is presented as the maker and king of Israel who delights in his people and adorns them with victory. In the second movement the poet describes a ritual dance in which enthusiasm is displayed with shouting and brandishing of swords. The dance pantomimes the execution of

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[124] The reference to the horn in this context also occurs in Psalms 18:2, 75:10, 92:10, 112:9, and 132:17.
[125] Schaefer, p. 343.
[126] Ibid., p. 344.

the divine justice and points to a feature of the relationship between God and his people: the faithful are glorified by their readiness to carry out God's will.

God's faithful are summoned to praise and they cooperate in the defeat of godlessness, heralding the final judgement and punishment of God's enemies. With praise in their mouths and swords in hand, God's faithful army avenge nations, punish peoples, arrest rulers and execute judgements.[127] The imagery illustrates that praise is mightier than worldly power.[128] The image of people reclining on couches and praising God with their mouths contrasts sharply with their powerful sword-wielding activity. This lends an eschatological, almost apocalyptic, tenor to the contrast between the kingdoms of this world and God's reign.

As the penultimate psalm in the Psalter, Psalm 149 corresponds to the location of Psalm 2 which announces that, through the royal messiah, God will claim rulers and nations. In Psalm 149 the assembly of the faithful functions as a messianic community through whom God achieves what was assigned to the Davidic king.[129]

Psalm 150: let everything that lives praise God

Between its introductory and concluding *halleluyahs*, the call to praise in Psalm 150 is tersely structured, with nine 'praise him' phrases following the initial 'praise God'. This imposes a definite rhythm on the poem and seals Book Five and the whole Psalter with a doxology. It is also, however, a joyful hymn in its own right, distinguished by the dominance of the call to praise throughout.

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[127] This invitation to praise evokes a tradition similar to that of Nehemiah 4:18, which recounts the second–temple builders working with swords girded to their sides, and the Macabees who prayed in their hearts while they fought with their hands (2 Macabees 15:27). The pairing of weaponry with prayer may also suggest that this psalm was prayed in the religious assembly on the eve of a battle against heathens. See Sabourin, p. 194–195.

[128] This praise corroborates the testimony or Psalm 82, infants who mysteriously confound God's enemy avenger. See Schaefer, p. 344.

[129] Ibid., 345.

The object of praise is the Lord's greatness and mighty deeds (verses 1b–2). Seven different instruments play in the orchestra of praise (verses 3–5).[130] The enumeration of the wind, string and percussion instruments express God's praise with the body, the hands and the throat. This grand finale, with full orchestra forces, crowns the collection of psalms offering unbridled praise to the God of Israel.

The last line of the Psalter, which is addressed to all creatures, invites simultaneity of praise with life. The earthly Temple reflects God's heavenly dwelling, the pavement of which is the 'mighty firmament' encompassing the cosmos. The psalmist makes no distinction between earth and heaven and the Temple liturgy imitates the heavenly celebration. The motive for praise of God is summarised in this last psalm of the Psalter: 'for his mighty deeds, his surpassing greatness'. (verse 2) God is praised as Sovereign Creator, the one who gives people victory over their enemies, all embraced in the phrase 'mighty deeds'.[131]

Psalm 150 closes the Psalter with liturgical and cosmic praise and underlines praise as the basic human attitude toward God. Praise is the joyful recognition that someone who loves without limit and on whom we depend for life is greater than us. Praise rejoices before the mystery of being and before the divine mystery. Praise, ultimately, looks to God rather than just to God's gifts. As Schaefer summarises: 'In praise, the person loses him or herself in God'.[132]

Biblical sources of *halleluyah* outside the Psalter

Tobit's hymn of praise

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[130] The shofar or horn was usually sounded by priests and leaders in liturgical settings. The lute and harp were said to have been strummed by David and the Levites, also in liturgies. The tambourine, strings and flutes were instruments which enlivened secular festivities: the tambourine, which accompanies dance or processions, was played by women. Thus the praise embraces liturgical and secular settings and everybody participates. See Shaefer, p. 345.
[131] Ibid., p. 346.
[132] Ibid., p. 345.

Outside the Psalter, the only other Old Testament usage of the term *halleluyah* occurs in the Book of Tobit. The deuterocanonical book was not included in the Hebrew Bible but was originally written in a Semitic language.[133] The book is best preserved in its Greek translation and, in that version, was included in the Christian canon until the Reformation debates. It is dated to the early Hellenistic period, in the fourth or third century BCE, before the persecutions of the early second century BCE.[134]

The narrative setting of the book is the Diaspora, specifically the exiles deported by the Assyrians from the northern kingdom of Israel in the late eighth century BCE. The book incorporates two interlocking plots: the story of the eponymous Tobit, a pious Jew living in the Assyrian capital of Nineveh and that of Sarah, his distant relative. Both are so heavily burdened and afflicted by their lot in life that they entreat the Lord to release them from their miserable lives into the bliss of death. In response to both Tobit's and Sarah's prayers the angel Raphael (whose name means 'God has healed') is sent to them. When Tobit's misfortunes have been transformed by the counsel of his companion angel he bursts into praise of God, envisioning a Jerusalem in which the houses all cry out Halleluyah!:

> The gates of Jerusalem will sing
>   hymns of joy,
> and all her houses will cry,
>   'Halleluyah!
> Blessed be the God of Israel. (Tobit 13:17)

Tobit's Song of Praise imitates Exodus 15:1–18. The song has two parts: verses 1–8 laud God's sovereignty and mercy, while verses 9–18 announce the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Tobit's song also echoes the vision of the new Jerusalem in Isaiah 54:11–12.[135]

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[133] Fragments of a Hebrew manuscript and four Aramaic texts have been found in the collection at Qumran. See Collins, p. 544.

[134] Coogan, p. 533; also Barton and Muddiman, p. 626.

[135] 'O afflicted one, storm-tossed, and not comforted, I am about to set your stones in antimony and lay your foundations with sapphires / I will make your pinnacles of rubies, your gates of jewels, and all your walls of precious stones'. (Isaiah 54:11–12).

The *halleluyah* acclamation occurs within a hymnic prayer of praise to God, an insertion into the narrative text which highlights the explicit piety of Tobit.[136] This piety, however, involves a strange mix of elements. On the one hand, Tobit affords the reader a rare glimpse into popular Jewish piety in the Second Temple period, with its penchant for angels and demons and superstitious cures. One of Tobit's manifestations of piety is his concern for burying the dead, a concern which has a pivotal role in the Greek tragedy *Antigone*.[137] In many variants of this motif in world literature, the 'grateful dead' reward the person who buried them, often by reversing a spell or banishing a demon. This motif is modified in the book of Tobit, probably to avoid attributing powers to the dead, with the angel Raphael replacing any ghostly visitor.[138]

On the other hand, there are repeated references to the law of Moses as strictly interpreted in the Deuteronomic tradition. Tobit is a model Jew who followed the Mosaic Law (1:8). Before his exile from the northern kingdom of Israel, he worshipped in Jerusalem, as the book of Deuteronomy commands (14:23), rather than at the idolatrous shrine of Dan, home of the golden calf, although it was geographically closer. Even in exile Tobit followed the Law of Moses: he was generous to the poor and needy, observed the dietary laws, urged his son to marry his own kinswoman rather than a foreigner, and celebrated the prescribed festivals. His final testament at the end, envisaging the coming desolation and restoration of Jerusalem, also has a distinctively Deuteronomic flavour. As a faithful and pious Jew, then, the observance of festivals and the duty to praise God find appropriate expression in the acclamation '*Halleluyah*!' which can only occur in the context of a redeemed and restored Jerusalem and, as per its Psalter provenance, is rendered within the context of a hymn.

Revelation: the song of the heavenly liturgy

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[136] We can see close parallels between Tobit and Job: both are pious individuals who lose their wealth and are reproached by their wives (see Job 2:9 and Tobit 2;14), but their piety is rewarded by God in the end.
[137] Collins, p. 545; also Coogan, p. 535.
[138] The many folkloric elements in Tobit are modified in order to maintain the religious orthodoxy necessary for the portrait of a truly pious Jew. See Coogan, p. 535.

In the New Testament, the word *halleluyah* occurs in only one source. The acclamation appears four times in a passage from the Book of Revelation which marks the downfall of Babylon and the victorious triumph of the redeemed. It is used specifically within the song of the heavenly liturgy, which is divided between three choirs. The first choir, which sings *halleluyah*, is made up of all the heavenly beings: this group apologises for the judgement that permitted the deaths of all the martyrs slain for the Lord. The second choir is that of the twenty-four elders and the four living creatures: the quartet of angels who form the divine court and who oversee the government of the world. The final choir is that of the great multitude of the redeemed who, by their *halleluyah*, celebrate the inauguration of the reign of God:[139]

> After this I heard what seemed to be the loud voice of a great multitude
> in heaven, saying,
>> 'Halleluyah!
>> Salvation and glory and power to our God,
>>> for his judgements are true and just.
>> Halleluyah!'
>> And the twenty–four elders and the four living creatures fell down
> and worshipped God who is seated on the throne, saying,
>> 'Amen. Halleluyah!'
>> And from the throne came a voice saying,
>> 'Praise our God,
>>> all you his servants,
>> and all who fear him,
>>> small and great'.
> Then I heard what seemed to be the voice of a great multitude, like the sound
> of many waters and like the sound of mighty thunderpeals, crying out,
>> 'Halleluyah!
>> For the Lord our God
>>> the Almighty reigns.
>> Let us rejoice and exult
>>> and give him glory,
>> for the marriage of the Lamb has come,
>>> and his bride has made herself ready'. (Revelation 19:1–7)

Deriving from the Greek word *apokalypsis*, meaning 'disclosure', or 'revelation', the apocalyptist writes out a conviction that God is the divine author of creation and will intervene

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[139] Lucien Deiss, *Visions of Liturgy and Music for a New Century*, trans. by Jane Burton (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1996), p. 138.

at the appointed time to execute judgement and establish a new divine order. The structure of the Book of Revelation involves a series of parallel yet ever-progressing sections which bring the reader, in climactic form, to the victory of God over the world and all its struggles. The *halleluyah* exclamations are reserved for the section when victory has been achieved and celebration is at hand.[140]

Although parts of the Book (such as Chapter 11) may have been written before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, it is probable that the author structured the book in its present form toward the close of the reign of the Emperor Domitian (A.D. 81–96). It was during this period that Domitian began to demand that his subjects address him as 'Lord and God'.[141] The use of the acclamation *halleluyah* underscores the author's fidelity to the one true God and to naming this God alone as the deity worthy of praise. The author frequently alludes to the Greek Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures; of the 404 verses in Revelation, 275 of these include one or more allusions to passages in the Old Testament. In the heavenly liturgy where *halleluyah* is employed, one of the Hallel psalms is recalled. Verse 5 references Psalm 115, itself a choral hymn set in the context of a liturgical celebration, with choral responds structuring the psalm.[142] The song of rejoicing on this occasion is sung by a great multitude, but the worship has already been prepared for by the twenty-four elders, the four living creatures and even a voice direct from the throne.[143] This scene focuses on the relationship between Christ and the Church. In a book which deals predominantly with judgement, it is striking that so happy an event as a marriage should be celebrated at its close.[144]

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[140] Beckwith considers that 19:1–5 belongs to the preceding chapter and not to the following. In other words, the 'Halleluyahs' are to be linked with God's act in destroying Babylon. See Ibson T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John: Studies in Introduction with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1979), p. 721.

[141] Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), p. 346.

[142] See my exegesis of Psalm 115 in Chapter One..

[143] Donald Guthrie, 'The Lamb in the Structure of the Book of Revelation', *Vox Evangelica,* 12 (1981).

[144] It must be noted that this is mentioned before the *parousia*, after which another kind of supper is to be celebrated – that of judgment. See Revelation 19:17 ff.

In Chapter 19 the atmosphere is one of exultant worship and not lamentation over Babylon's fall. The silence of the ruined city is replaced by the shouts of voices raised in joy.[145] The great multitude referred to in this passage is generally understood to be a throng of angels.[146] The passage praises God for both attributes and actions which include salvation, glory and power. In this way, the song of the heavenly liturgy is, patently, a hymn of worship. The word 'because' in verse 2 introduces the reason for the great outburst of praise: God has executed a fitting and deserved judgement on 'the great Harlot', that is, Babylon.[147] While *halleluyah* can be understood as the triumphant worship of the reigning King, such as is seen in Revelation 19:6, the praise here is of the equally triumphant rejoicing over the downfall of evil at the hand of God.[148] In verse 4 the twenty-four elders and the four living creatures, who featured in Revelation 4:6–7, reappear to add to the praise.[149] The marriage referred to in verse 7–8 speaks of the relationship between Christ and his Church as that of husband and wife. The high praise given to the Lamb in this and the other worship passages in the Book of Revelation attests to the inevitable and final triumph of the Lamb. The title 'Lamb', which is used to refer to the bridegroom, has deliberate resonances with the sacrificial lamb: Christ is posited as a Passover, celebrated by the singing of the Hallel psalms.

Inferences of *halleluyah* in the Synoptics

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[145] Martin Kiddie, *The Revelation of St. John*, Moffat New Testament Commentary (New York: Harper, 1940), p. 375.

[146] Earlier songs of thanks in Revelation involve angels (see Revelation 4:8–11, 5:11–14). However the same expression is used in revelation 7:9 to describe the martyrs of the Tribulation, so the 'great multitude' may equally refer to this group. See Kiddie, p. 74.

[147] Ibid.

[148] The very first occurrence of *halleluyah* in the Hebrew Scriptures occurs in Psalm 104:35, where the context is, also, judgment, see Ethelbert W. Bullinger, *The Apocalypse* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1984), p. 584.

[149] The identity of the twenty-four elders is one of the great interpretative problems of the Book of Revelation. For a summary of seven views on their identity, see David Anne, *Revelation 1–5* (Dallas: Word, 1997), pp. 288–92.

It could be said that the Alleluia as a Proper of the Mass had its beginnings in the very first celebration of the Eucharist: the Last Supper.[150] The Gospels of Matthew (26:30) and Mark (14:26) both conclude their descriptions of the meal with an identical verse: 'And when they had sung the hymn they went out to the Mount of Olives'.

At the time of Jesus, it had become customary at domestic paschal repasts to sing the psalms that were used in the Temple festival liturgy. Psalms 113–118, the Egyptian Hallel, were sung in homes at the Passover festival, with 113–114 sung before the meal and 115–118 after the meal.[151] The Mishnah underscores the importance attached to the Hallel psalms, some associated with the general Passover celebration, including preparation for it, and some at these specific points during the meal.[152]

The identification of this hymn as, conclusively, a Hallel depends entirely on the assertion that the Last Supper was, in fact, a Passover meal.[153] The discrepancy emerges from the Gospel accounts themselves: the Synoptics state clearly that it is a Passover meal, while John indicates that Jesus died before the Passover meal.[154] The explicit nature of the references to Passover, and the evidence Biblical and liturgical scholars have found in attesting to its being a Passover meal, suggest that John employed a differing account of the meal for kerygmatic reasons. However, the debate among liturgical and biblical historians alike remains inconclusive so, while the hymn sung by Jesus and the disciples before his death will have been a Hallel (if they had just celebrated the Passover meal), this cannot be proclaimed with enough

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[150] Obviously, as McKinnon points out, this idea only applies in a poetic sense: it is an anachronism in terms of descriptive liturgical history. See *The Advent Project,* p. 19.

[151] Mowinckel, p. 107, 195; also Wilson, p. 179. Mowinckel makes his remarks in the context of a debate regarding the use of psalmody in private and domestic liturgies.

[152] See *Pesachim* 9.3, 10.6–7. *The Mishnah: A New Translation*, trans. by Jacob Neusner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 185–86.

[153] The account of the Last Supper in Luke is analogous to the structure of the Jewish festive meal, after which ritual hymns (*Zemirot*) were sung. See Enrico Mazza, 'The Eucharist in the First Four Centuries', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies III: The Eucharist*, ed. by Anscar J. Chupungo (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 21.

[154] See Matthew 26:2–5, 17–19, Mark 14:12–16, Luke 22:7–13 and John 13:1, 18:28 and 19:14.

certainty to warrant further investigation here.[155] If, as the Synoptics indicate, the Last Supper took place on the first evening of Passover, the hymn sung by Jesus and his apostles would then, in all probability and in keeping with Jewish Passover custom, have been one of the Hallel Psalms. In this way *halleluyah*, along with the acclamation 'blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord', (Psalm 118:26) is among the most ancient songs of the Christian Eucharistic celebration.[156]

The origin of *halleluyah* in the Jewish Scriptures, its indubitable praising nature, and its editorial function in the Psalter all point to its vintage and its significance in the Judaeo-Christian canon. An exploration of early Christian liturgy is needed to determine if it transferred into the liturgical practice of the first Christian communities.

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[155] For debate on the evidence of Passover ritualism in the Last Supper, see Robert W. Funk and Roy W. Hoover*, The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1993), p. 118; W. Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1977), pp. 76–77; Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, trans. by Norman Perrin (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), p. 101; Bernard Klappert, 'The Lord's Supper', *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, Volume II* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), p. 522; Howard Marshall, *Last Supper and Lord's Supper* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1980), p. 89.
[156] Deiss, p. 137.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ALLELUIA IN EARLY CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

Difficulties and contradictions have faced historians and musicologists attempting to uncover and understand the early history of the Alleluia within the context of Christian worship. Willi Apel summarises the dilemma: on the one hand, there is the apparently late characteristic of the Alleluia as a Mass Proper and its renowned instability of liturgical assignment. On the other hand, there is purported literary evidence of the Alleluia's antiquity: its appearance in fourth–century patristic literature as the melismatic *jubilus* and Gregory the First's late–sixth–century letter, in which he admitted to extending the use of *alleluia* beyond Paschaltime.[1] These contradictions need to be presented and examined within the larger picture of the emergence of Christian worship and the developing role of psalmody, hymnody, and liturgical chant therein, in order to ascertain the place of the Alleluia in the development of Christian worship.

Such a presentation carries a number of inherent challenges. Firstly, liturgical manuscripts are not manuscripts of a historical kind. They were composed in order to provide immediately relevant liturgical information as an aid to a worshipping community; they did not aim to produce an exact record of an existing model to satisfy a historical interest.[2] Liturgical manuscripts are also more prone to emendation than literary manuscripts and can go on being copied long after the practices they detail have ceased to be used.[3]

Secondly, there is a wealth of literary references to liturgical chant from the fourth and early fifth centuries but few from the earliest years of the church's existence. In the first two centuries we can only discern what Jungmann calls 'the shadowy outline of the shape of Christian worship'.[4] During an interim period, corresponding roughly to the third century, there is a relative scarcity of references: but they provide enough detail to suggest broad patterns and

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[1] McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', p. 213.

[2] Cross, pp. 61–67.

[3] Liturgical manuscripts also run the risk of carrying what might be termed, 'excess liturgical baggage', of copying primitive and venerable texts into later collections even when they are no longer in practice. See Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship,* p. 75.

[4] Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy: to the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. by Francis A. Brunner (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1959), p. 52.

general tendencies in liturgical song.[5] By the mid-fifth century, once the era of the great Church Fathers is over, the commentary on liturgical chant wanes. This applies especially to the West, where there is a gap in the sources contemporaneous with the period of the so–called Dark Ages.[6] We must await the beginning of the eighth–century *Ordines Romani* for more information on Western liturgical chant in general, and on the Alleluia of the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration in particular.

The Jewish roots of early Christian worship

Early Christian worship is, itself, a witness to Jewish worship,[7] even though the New Testament gives no systematic description of the original Christian liturgy. We have already seen that, appearing identically in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the Last Supper was concluded with the singing of a hymn, generally agreed to be one of the Hallel (Alleluia) Psalms.[8] This singing by Jesus and the Apostles at a Jewish ceremonial meal, whether it is the Passover Seder or not, affords a link with Jewish musical practices and the Christian practice of the early Church.[9]

Paul Bradshaw advises that there is a need to be cautious about affirming what would have been the Jewish liturgical practices with which Jesus and his followers were familiar. [10] The fundamental issue is that the extant relevant liturgical texts are of such a late date. He is

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[5] McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 71.

[6] McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 171.

[7] Roger T. Beckwith, 'The Jewish Background to Christian Worship', in *The Study of Liturgy,* 2nd edn, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 68.

[8] See Chapter One of this dissertation.

[9] The practice of singing psalms and hymns in connection with meals is certainly very ancient. The Jewish writer Philo of Alexandria, recounting the customs of a community known as the Therapeuatai, recounts their mealtime singing, in which responsorial refrains were common. See Peter Jeffery, 'Philo's Impact on Christian Psalmody', in *Psalms in Community,* ed. by Harold W. Attridge and others, pp. 176, 185; also Birger A. Pearson, 'Christians and Jews in First-Century Alexandria', in *Christians Among Jews and Gentiles: Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl on His Sixty-fifth Birthday,* ed. by George W.E. Nickelsburg and George W. Macrae (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), p. 216; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, p. 9.

[10] The earliest comprehensive prayer book is that compiled by Amram Gaon in the ninth century, in addition to some liturgical fragments from the Cairo Genizah which may antedate Amram by a century or so. Amram's text is also Babylonian in origin, whereas it is the less easily discernible Palestinian tradition which is of most immediate relevance to the search for the roots of Christian worship. See Bradshaw, p. 1.

also wary of a corpus of Jewish liturgical scholarship which centred on assumptions of a single *Urtext* of Jewish liturgical forms, necessarily evolving from simplicity to greater complexity.[11]

Another important question is that of liturgical continuities and discontinuities as the primitive Christian Church gradually defined itself over Judaism. Barrett phrases the situation as follows: 'There was a continuing relation between Christianity and Judaism which involved both attraction and repulsion'.[12]

It is untenable to believe that the early Christian Church became overwhelmingly Gentile in number with great rapidity, leading to an early parting of the ways between the fledgling community and its Jewish family. The history of Christian negotiations with music is not necessarily a story of influence followed by independent Christian development: we need to consider instead an evolving relationship in the matter of ritual singing. It is highly unlikely that Christians would have set out to create a tradition of ritual music which consistently set them apart from the Jews and other cultic groups in terms of musical style, idiom and sonorities.[13]

Initially, the primitive community of Jerusalem gathered with their fellow Jews in the Temple for the traditional periods of prayer. The Jewish religion which emerged in the period after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE was indelibly and radically changed. With the loss of the Temple, the former sacrificial activities were metaphorically transferred to the daily life of the Jewish people – to the act of Torah study, to the faithful adherence to the commandments, to prayer in the synagogue. Consequently, many things which had earlier been exclusively part

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[11] Bradshaw, pp. 3–5. This body of Jewish scholarship was based on the classical philosophical methodology originating with Leopold Zuns (1794–1886). In the 1960s Joseph Heinemann challenged the fundamental principles of that approach and set forth a completely different model of liturgical development, positing the origin of individual Jewish liturgical texts on the basis of particular stylistic features they displayed. See Joseph Heinemann and Jacob Petuchowski, *Literature of the Synagogue* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2006).

[12] C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel of John and Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1975), p. 69. Elledge posits that it is premature to even use the terms 'Christian' or 'Christianity' in the sense of a distinctive world religion at this stage in church history, as Jesus and his followers were not the only movement to challenge and contend the existing beliefs and practices of the Jewish community. See C.D. Elledge, *Early Jewish Writings and New Testament Interpretation*, Essentials of Biblical Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 5-6

[13] Page, p. 44.

of Temple liturgy gradually came to have a place within the daily life of the ordinary Jews and within the worship of the synagogue.[14]

However, the Temple was not the only place of liturgical gathering for Christians: homes of believers were central in the liturgical life of the early Church. Original poetry and, perhaps to a lesser extent, biblical psalms were sung at common evening meals during the first three centuries.[15] Such domestic gatherings feature in a number of New Testament passages (Acts 2:46–47, 20:7, 1 Corinthians 10:16, 11:17–24): these encompassed both fraternal *agape*s and eucharistic meals.[16] Central to these assemblies was the praise of God and prayers of petition. It would have been natural that Jewish forms of prayer, such as the *Berakoth* (blessings and prayers of praise) and individual words such as *amen, hosanna* and *alleluia* should be employed by the early Christians in their worship.[17] The exhortation of the Seder meal states that every Jew should

> Thank, praise, laud, glorify, exalt, honour, bless, extol and adore Him who performed all these miracles for our Fathers and for us. He has brought us forth from slavery to freedom, from sorrow to joy, from mourning to holiday, from darkness to great light, and from bondage to redemption. Let us then recite before him a new song: Hallelujah![18]

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[14] However, we have very little literary evidence which provides reliable details of the cult at this time of Temple worship. See Bradshaw, p. 11, 15; also Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and Its Development* (New York: Courier Dover Publications, 1995), pp. 48–50.

[15] James McKinnon, 'Early Western Civilisation', p. 10. McKinnon posits that, in Christianity, the destruction of the Temple took place at too late a date to have much bearing on its early music history.

[16] Bradshaw regards the whole concept of the *agape* as a dubious one. claiming it has served as a useful vague category in which to gather any evidence for meals that scholars did not treat as Eucharistic, whether the text itself described the meal in question as an *agape* or by some other title. Significantly, there is no evidence, except perhaps in the case of Tertullian, for early Christian communities that practiced both a eucharist and something else called an *agape*; where the latter word is used for a meal, it seems to be the name of the only form of Christian ritual meal existing in that community, albeit possibly the equivalent of what other Christian groups might call 'Eucharist' or 'the Lord's Supper'. See Paul Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins* (London: SPCK, 2004), pp. 29–30.

[17] Adolf Adam, *Foundations of Liturgy: An Introduction to its History and Practice* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), p. 13.

[18] Sofia Cavaletti, 'The Jewish Roots of Christian Liturgy', in *The Jewish Roots of Christian Liturgy*, ed. by Eugene J. Fisher (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), p. 19.

These words mark the start of the recitation of the first part of the Hallel Psalms (113 and 114) in the ritual meal and bear undeniable resemblance to the form of our prefaces in the Eucharistic prayers of the modern Roman rite.[19]

Other broad strokes of similarity can be recognised. The earliest reference to a specific Christian pattern of daily prayer prescribes prayer three times a day, a pattern that has Jewish antecedents among pious groups such as those at Qumran. The *Didache*, probably compiled toward the end of the first century,[20] directs the Lord's Prayer to be said followed by the rubric 'Pray thus three times a day' but does not specify any particular times.[21] Some scholars consider this a deliberate Jewish–Christian substitute for the thrice daily recitation of the *Shema*.[22] The Christian liturgy emphasises praise and thanksgiving, as does Jewish prayer. The *kedushah* or 'holy, holy, holy' remains an essential prayer in the Christian liturgy.[23] Indeed, the singing of the Hallel or Alleluia Psalms is a close link between Jewish and Christian custom, the Hallel being sung at the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter. There are some forty references to the Hallel in the *Mishnah* and the Babylonian *Talmud*. Roughly one quarter of these refer to its

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[19] For example, Preface of Sundays in Ordinary Time I: 'Father, all–powerful and ever–living God, we do well always and everywhere to give you thanks through Jesus Christ our Lord. Through his cross and resurrection he freed us from sin and death and called us to the glory that has made us a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people set apart. Everywhere we proclaim your mighty works for you have called us out of darkness in your own wonderful light. And so, with all the choirs of angels in heaven, we proclaim your glory and join in their unending hymn of praise'. The hymn that follows is the *Sanctus*.

[20] The *Didache* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* is commonly thought to be a very early Christian text, perhaps as old as the canonical Gospels. The text was first published in 1883 from a manuscript previously discovered by Philtheos Byrennios in a library in Constantinople. Written in 1056, this manuscript is the only form of the *Didache* complete in Greek. The work appears to be a very early form of church Order. It is generally accepted as having originated in Syria, while estimates of its date have varied widely: some place it second century, others assign it to the first century, and some argue that it antedates many of the New Testament writings. See Paul Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship* (London: SPCK, 2009), pp. 4–5; also Harold W. Attridge and Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), pp. 139–167; Frank Hawkins, 'The Didache', in *The Study of Liturgy,* 2nd edn, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others, pp. 84–86.

[21] *Didache* 8, 2–3.

[22] See Richard S. Sarason, 'Communal Prayer at Qumran and Among the Rabbis: Certainties and Uncertainties', in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. by Esther G. Chazon (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2003), pp. 151–72; also Bradshaw, p. 102; Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and Western: The Origins of the Divine* Office *and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), p. 13.

[23] Sharon Burns, 'The Beginnings of Christian Liturgy in Judaism', in *The Jewish Roots of Christian Liturgy*, ed. by Eugene J. Fisher (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), p. 44.

performance in the Temple and another quarter to its recitation at the Passover Seder.[24] From a musical perspective, *Rosh Hashanah* is interesting as it states that even ten people may read the Hallel together. It would seem that the Hallel may have been treated less as a discrete musical item in the liturgy than as a scripture reading. It is probable, then, that the Hallel did not engender the elaborate melodic treatment it attracted centuries later in the Roman schola but was read or proclaimed by an ordinary member of the assembly – an adult or even a minor from the congregation, not necessarily a cantor or a skilled officiant of any sort.[25]

It is unlikely that the Christian Eucharist became appended to a service of the word modelled after the Jewish synagogue service, as it is doubtful that a Sabbath liturgy in the sense in which it was later understood was a characteristic of synagogue worship before the third century. Instead, it seems to have been a lengthy meeting for the principal purpose of reading and studying a portion of the Torah on every Sabbath and festival that was a regular feature of the synagogue from the outset, probably constituting the fundamental reason for the emergence of that institution. McKinnon posits that, while the reading of Scripture and discourse upon it took place in the synagogue prior to the destruction of the Temple, it was not a place for formal, communal worship until after the necessary creation of a substitute centre for worship.[26]

The assumption that later Christian Eucharistic rites were formed by the combination of two originally distinct elements: a service of readings, preaching and prayer which may owe its origin to the Jewish synagogue and the stylised remains of a community meal which, similarly, seems to have its roots in Jewish practice, cannot be asserted categorically.[27] While this may be the case, the Jewish meal tradition itself seems to have included a custom of

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[24] James McKinnon, 'The Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue', in *The Temple, The Church Fathers and Early Western* Chant, Varorium Collected Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).
[25] Ibid., p. 185.
[26] McKinnon argues largely on the basis of a total silence in early sources with regard to the practice of prayer in relation to the synagogue. See 'The Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue', p. 185; also Pieter van der Horst, 'Was the Synagogue a place of Sabbath Worship before 70 CE?' in *Jews, Christians and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue: Cultural Interaction during the Greco–Roman Period,* ed. by Stephen Fine (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 180.
[27] Bradshaw, p. 137.

surrounding the repast with religious discourse and the singing of hymns: what might be called an informal ministry of the Word. Hence the first half of the later Eucharistic rites may be as much an outgrowth from that tradition as a legacy from the synagogue tradition in its own right.[28]

The question of psalmody in Jewish liturgical practice

As any discussion of the Alleluia is necessarily rooted in its Psalter provenance, the question of the role of psalmody in the ancient synagogue is of central relevance here. James McKinnon points to one significant group of scholars who have failed to claim an important role for psalmody in the synagogue tradition: Jewish liturgical historians. They have little to say on the matter, he concludes, because the primary sources provide no occasion to discuss it.[29] This lack of documentary evidence is at the heart of the argument against psalmody in the ancient synagogue. This is not to assert categorically that psalms were never heard. The argument for psalmody is, conversely, an assumption based on its supposed appropriateness.[30]

Paul Bradshaw, likewise, is reluctant to assert unequivocally that psalmody was a standard part of the early synagogue liturgy, particularly as part of a triennial cycle of some kind for the Psalter at the Sabbath afternoon service.[31] He concurs with McKinnon on an almost total lack of documentary evidence for the inclusion of psalms in synagogue worship. The *Mishnah* lists a psalm for each day of the week, sung by the Levites at the Temple sacrifices and, at the important festivals, the Hallel accompanied the sacrifice. However, while the Hallel seems to have been taken into the domestic Passover meal at an early date and also into the

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[28] Bradshaw, pp. 139, 158.
[29] McKinnon, p. 182. McKinnon argues that, if it had been customary to recite the daily Temple psalm in the synagogue, the immense body of Jewish literature from the time of the New Testament to the final production of the *Talmud* (late fourth/early fifth century) would, surely, have mentioned it.
[30] McKinnon, p. 190.
[31] Bradshaw, p. 22.

festal synagogue liturgy, the first mention of the adoption of daily psalms in the synagogue does not occur until the eighth century.[32]

Both Scriptural and Talmudic literature vividly demonstrate that an elaborate form of instrumentally accompanied psalmody was performed in conjunction with the Temple sacrifice.[33] But a critical review of the evidence reveals nothing analogous for the synagogues. While Scripture was regularly read and discussed in the synagogue at the time of Jesus, it is unlikely that there was already a formal service of the Word in place that could be adopted by the first Christians. Such a synagogue service began to take shape only after 70 CE, while its psalmodic element was introduced much later, perhaps not until the eighth century. There was a genuine inhibition in ancient Judaism to duplicating the psalmodic practices of the Temple in overtly liturgical situations outside its sacred precincts: the sense that its psalmody was intimately related to the act of sacrifice inhibited the establishment of daily synagogue psalmody.[34]

The psalmody that accompanied sacrifice in the late Temple was music in the fullest sense, but any psalms recited in the synagogue and in the early Christian gatherings as well were more Scripture than song. They were probably recited with some sort of cantillation, as was all Scripture: it would take several centuries in each of the religions before psalmody as a genre became music in a self–conscious sense.[35] It would seem that the Psalter was a book for

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[32] The reference appears in the eighth-century *Sopherim* (18, 1), which cites the incipit of the seven daily psalms in the synagogue. See McKinnon, p. 180 and Tzvee Zahavy, *Studies in Jewish Prayer* (London: University of America Press, 1990), pp. 103–109; also Bradshaw, p. 23.

[33] John A. Smith, 'Which Psalms were sung in the Temple?' *Music & Letters,* 71 (1998): pp. 167–186.

[34] However, such an inhibition need not apply in less formal situations, whether family meals or other circumstances. Early Christians would have no reason to feel similarly, once they had ceased to look upon the Temple as the centre of their worship. See McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 69; also McKinnon, 'On the Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue', *Early Music History,* 6 (1986), p. 183; Smith, pp. 1–16.

[35] An additional difficulty arises from the fact that the distinction between music and singing did not obtain in the cultural milieu of the early church. Neither Hebrew nor Greek have a separate word for 'music', the frontier between singing and speaking being far less delineated. Public proclamation and ceremonial speaking presumably, by their very nature, incorporated rhythmic and melodic features that today would be classified as music or, at least, pre–musical. See Joseph Gelineau, 'Music and Singing in the Liturgy', in *The Study of Liturgy,* p. 498; also McKinnon, 'Early Westernern Civilisation', p. 10.

reading in the synagogue but a book for singing in the Temple.[36] The *Mishnah* testifies to the singing of at least two groups of psalms in the Temple, and the six psalms of the Hallel were sung during the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb.[37] However, the Temple use of the Psalter as a quasi–hymnal and the status of the Davidic psalms as part of the Biblical canon must have been elements in their eventual acceptance as a type of Christian hymnal, but these were more preconditions than active causal factors in the unprecedented popularity that the singing of psalms would achieve in Christian liturgical practice in the later decades of the fourth century.

The question of the *jubilus*

The *jubilus*, as it features in the writings of Augustine of Hippo (354–430), is frequently cited as early evidence of the Alleluia of the Mass. It is a Latin term appearing to derive from a root found in many languages: 'io' serves as an exclamation of varied meaning, presumably because of its acoustical properties. The Alpine yodel, the modern 'yo!' and the cries of boatmen on the river Volga are all derivatives.[38] Today we sing it in the sixteenth-century French carol translated as *Ding Dong Merrily on High*:

> E'en so here below, below, let steeple bells be swungen,
> And io, io, io, by priest and people sungen.[39]

The term *jubilus* had a conspicuous development in Latin literature.[40] In his romance *The Golden Ass*, Apuleius (d.170) described how farmers set their dogs on intruders with 'the accustomed jubilations', indicative of a shout of triumph and delight.[41] Silius Italicus (d.101) gave it a lyrical connotation in portraying the Cyclops delighting in the *jubilus* of the Siren.[42]

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[36] McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, p. 30.
[37] *Pesachim* 10:5 and 10:6. For more on the Hallel in the Jewish Passover liturgy, see Smith, p. 173; also Baruch M. Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder: The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 31–45.
[38] McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', p. 215.
[39] Reginald Jacques and David Willcocks, eds., *Carols for Choirs 1: Fifty Christmas Carols* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961)
[40] McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', p. 215.
[41] *Metamorphoses* viii, 17.
[42] *Punica* xiv, 475.

The most common association of the word is agrarian. The *jubilus* was a sort of wordless chant employed by farm workers as an aid to their labours. It was first observed in a letter of Marcus Aurelius (d.180) in which he wrote to his tutor Fronto from his country estate: 'Then we gave ourselves to the task of grape–gathering; we sweated and we jubilated!'[43]

The term enters Christian literature with the Old Latin version of the Psalter: based not on the Hebrew, but the Greek of the Septuagint. The Latin versions used *jubilus* to translate quite a different Greek term αλαλαγμοζ, which was a shout of victory in battle.[44] Hilary of Poitiers (d.367) commented on the discrepancy:

> According to the conventions of our language, we give the name *jubilus* to the sound of a pastoral and rustic voice . . . But among the Greeks the term αλαλαγμοζ means the cry of an army in battle, whether when it routs the enemy or else proclaims a victorious outcome in a shout of joy . . . For the purpose of translation, however, since a proper term for αλαλαγμοζ is not available, it is rendered by what is called *jubilus*![45]

Augustine, not being a fluent Greek speaker and not being interested in exegetical technicalities, is credited by McKinnon with establishing the meaning of the term *jubilus* as it would endure in Christian liturgy for a millennium.[46] Augustine ignores other associations and focuses on the harvesters' chant and, particularly, on the connotation with joy and celebration:

> Happy in the abundance of harvest and gladdened by the very richness and fecundity of the earth, sing in joy![47]

He augments this notion of joy into something which exceeds the capacity of verbal expression:

> A man delighting in his joy, from some words which cannot be spoken or understood, bursts forth into a certain voice of exultation without words, because filled with too much joy, he cannot explain in words that in which he delights![48]

Finally, Augustine sees this jubilation as a symbol of the soul's speechlessness in the face of God:

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[43] *Ad Marcum. Caesarem* iv, 6.
[44] McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', p. 215.
[45] *Tracatus in psalmum lxv,* 3; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 273.
[46] McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', p. 216.
[47] *In psalmum xcix,* 4; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 361.
[48] Ibid.

If you cannot speak him, yet ought not to be silent, what remains except that you jubilate.[49]

A term which gains similar currency in patristic literature is the *celeuma*, the boatman's cry. Jerome (c.341–420) makes use of it within a maritime metaphor for his skills in discourse,[50] while Paulinus of Nola (d.431) uses the term in relation to a hymnic form of secular singing:

The cheerful sailors will sing the accustomed *celeuma* in the rhythmical verses of hymns.[51]

Once again it is Augustine who relates the term to *alleluia*, as he depicts the Christian life as a journey to heaven by ship:

May our protection, the grace of Christ, be present; let us sing our sweet *celeuma*, *Alleluia*, so that joyful and secure we might enter the eternal and most blessed homeland.[52]

Patristic authors invoked the term *jubilus* in their allegorical exposition of biblical words such as 'jubilate' and 'jubilatio', but never spoke of it in connection with the ecclesiastical singing of *alleluia*. Jerome reports a curious custom of farmers in Bethlehem singing *alleluia*, but still within the agrarian context and not in the sphere of worship or liturgy:

Wherever you turn, the farm hand grasping the plough handle sings *alleluia*, and the vine dresser sings something of David as he prunes the vine with his curved knife. These are the lays of this province, these, to put it in common parlance, its love songs.[53]

Crucially, none of the documentary evidence explicitly links the *jubilus* with the Alleluia of the Mass. Later psalm commentators from Cassiodorus in the sixth century to Gerhoh of Reichersberg in the twelfth century simply repeat the basic idea of textlessness at each occurrence of the word 'jubilate'.[54] The first author to make an explicit connection was Amalarius of Metz in the ninth century, who applied the term *jubilus* not just to the Alleluia of the Medieval Mass but to various melismatic passages in the chant repertory, including that of

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[49] *In psalmum xxxii,* S. I, 8; Ibid., p. 56.
[50] Epistle xiv, *Ad Heliodorum monachum,* 10; Ibid., p. 317.
[51] *Carmen xvii,* 109–110; Ibid., p. 394.
[52] *De cantico novo* 2; Ibid., p. 380.
[53] Epistle xlvi, *Paulae et Eustochiae ad Marcellam* 12; Ibid., p. 318.
[54] McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', p. 217.

the Alleluia.[55] While in chant musicology the term *jubilus* is accepted to denote the rhapsodic vocalisation on the concluding syllable of the medieval Alleluia of the Mass, there is no hint of such identification in the sources themselves.[56]

The role of *alleluia* in early Christian liturgical usage

At this stage we will focus our interest in the Alleluia more directly on the forms in which it was employed: as a general exclamation of joy and praise, as a psalm refrain or response, or as an acclamation reserving its own place as a discrete musical item in the Eucharistic liturgy.[57]

Tracing the evidence for the role and usage of *alleluia* in early Christian worship necessitates engagement with material relating to two streams of liturgical development: the Liturgy of the Hours and the Eucharistic celebration. Both attest to the growing prominence of psalmody in the Church's worship, culminating in what is often called the 'psalmodic movement' of the fourth century. The sources also raise the question of the nature of the relationship between the use of *alleluia* and the liturgical season of Paschaltide. Finally, the search for evidence of *alleluia* often involves noting its absence in important documents as much as it does in referencing examples of it. These subjects are most lucidly approached by a broadly chronological presentation and examination of the sources. Where relevant to the argument, contextual information is given on a particular author, document or liturgical situation.

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[55] McKinnon and Thodberg, 'Alleluia', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Volume I*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001), p. 385.

[56] See, for example, David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 130–132; also Richard L. Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 182–184; Apel, *Gregorian Chant,* pp. 383–387.

[57] For an examination of exclamation in the New Testament, and the relationship between recitation and written text in sacred contexts, see Tommy Wasserman, 'Liturgical Influences on the Text of the New Testament', in *Why We Sing: Music, Word, and Liturgy in Early Christianity. Essays in Honour of Anders Ekenberg's 75th Birthday. Vigilae Christianae*, Supplements, 17, ed. by Carl Berglund, Barbara Crostini and James Kelhoffer (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 49–80.

<u>The first three centuries</u>

As previously noted, sources for the liturgy in this early period of the Church's worship are relatively sparse and ambiguous in furnishing details of the exact nature, pattern and form of liturgical celebration. We do not find a single consistent apology for the Christian use of psalms, nor an unchanging practice in their employment, in the traditions of the early Church.[58] We have no way of knowing whether the psalms might have had a place in a formal ministry of the word alongside other prophetic readings from the Old Testament in the first three centuries, or whether they were only used occasionally in place of such readings, or whether indeed they only featured once a year in connection with the paschal celebration.[59]

The terms 'psalm' and 'hymn' when used in early Christian literature do not necessarily denote a biblical psalm and a newly composed hymn, respectively. The terms are completely interchangeable in patristic usage, and it is often unclear from the context which is being referred to.[60] This makes the task of establishing if the Christian sacred song of the first three centuries was more a matter of biblical psalmody or original hymnody very difficult.[61]

The *de facto* praising nature of the Alleluia Psalms also places them squarely in the hymnic category and obliges us to consider the relationship between *alleluia* and songs of praise. Paul Bradshaw suggests that the use of psalms as hymns has its roots in the use of psalms as prophecy. First–century Christians used selected Old Testament psalms in worship to demonstrate that Christ was the long–awaited Messiah and the community would have responded with an acclamation of praise.[62] The acclamation *alleluia* would have fulfilled this function eminently.

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[58] Bradshaw, p. 117.
[59] Ibid., p. 119.
[60] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 23.
[61] Some of the fragments of hymns that have survived from the first three centuries of the Church emanate from Gnostic circles (e.g. The Hymn to Jesus, the Hymn of the Soul). See Gelineau, p. 498; also McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 70.
[62] Bradshaw, p. 123.

In the New Testament, Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians includes a psalm among the verbal contributions that individuals might bring to a Christian ministry of the word:

> When you come together each one has a psalm, has a teaching, has a revelation, has a tongue, has an interpretation.[63]

Paul makes these remarks in the context of attempting to restrain the Corinthian tendency to rely excessively upon inspired gifts. This makes it more likely that the 'psalm' mentioned here is a spontaneous creation rather than an Old Testament psalm.[64] Ephesians 5:18–20 and Colossians 3:16–17 speak of believers addressing each other in 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs', provided they are intelligible and filled with the Spirit. Other New Testament texts reflect this lyricism. The canticles in the opening chapters of Luke witness to the lyrical creativity of the early Christian communities and the Letter to James encapsulates this: 'Is anyone cheerful? Let him sing praise'.[65]

A non-Christian source from the early second century confirms this picture. Pliny the Younger, in 111–112, reporting subsequently to Trajan, recorded that the Christian prisoners brought before him had given an account of their meetings. They said they convened before dawn on Sundays, when they were accustomed to sing a hymn of praise (*carmen*), and that they met subsequently to share a common meal:

> They were wont to assemble on a set day before dawn and to sing a hymn among themselves *(carmen . . . dicere secum invicem)* to the Christ, as to a god, after which it was their custom to separate and to come together again to take food.[66]

The psalms in the pre–Eucharistic service of the second and third centuries were, essentially, regarded as biblical readings rather than independent items of liturgical song.[67] The earliest reference to a service of readings appears in the anonymous *Letter to Diognetus,* possibly compiled c.200 in Alexandria, which recounts the conduct of catechumens undergoing

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[63] 1 Corinthians 14:27.
[64] McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 15.
[65] James 5:13.
[66] *Letter* x, xcvi; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 41.
[67] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 37; also Gelineau, p. 499.

instruction prior to baptism and includes details of a list of elements in the pre–Eucharistic ceremony to which they were admitted.[68] The Office of lector is first traceable in Western sources to around the same period, approximately the time when the fourfold gospel canon can first be traced, through papyrus fragments, as a coherent scribal project.[69] Since the earliest lectors were entrusted with the task of reading the Scriptures, the rise of their ministry owed much to the gradual synthesis of a biblical canon in the late second century, and there is no clear evidence for the existence of the Office of reader before the third century.[70] The function could have been performed by various members of the congregation in turn, as was the Jewish practice where the individual was handed the scroll to read from.[71]

Psalmody in the Sunday Eucharistic gathering: Justin Martyr (c.100–c.165)

It would appear that the shape of the Eucharist was substantially formed by the middle of the second century and that it is described aptly by Justin Martyr in his *First Apology*,[72] yet his detailed account is marked by the absence of any reference to liturgical song and, more significantly, to psalmody:

> And on the day named for the sun there is an assembly in one place for all who live in the towns and in the country; and the memoirs of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets are read as long as time permits. Then, when the reader has finished, he who presides speaks, giving admonishment and exhortation to imitate those noble deeds. Then we all stand together and offer prayers. And when, as we said above, we are finished with the prayers, bread is brought. And wine and water, and he who presides likewise offers prayers and thanksgiving, according to his ability, and the people give their assent by exclaiming Amen. And there takes place the distribution to each and the partaking of that over which thanksgiving has been said, and it is brought to those not present by the deacon.[73]

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[68] Page, p. 67. The so–called 'Letter to Diognetus' is one of the most puzzling of ancient documents: there is little agreement as to its authorship and exact date. See Cyril C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers* (Westminster: Knox, 1953), pp. 205–25.

[69] Ibid.

[70] McKinnon, 'Early Western Civilisation', p. 10; also Page, p. 10.

[71] Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary,* ed. by Harold W. Attridge (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), p. 74. See also Stephen M. Wylan, *The Seventy Faces of Torah: the Jewish Way of Reading the Sacred Scriptures* (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2005), p. 179.

[72] McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 69. McKinnon acknowledges Gregory Dix's memorable phrase, 'the shape of the liturgy'.

[73] *Apology* I, 13; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 25.

The systematic nature of the description and the attention to detail preclude the possibility of accidental omission or oversight by the author. In particular, the inclusion of the information that the people used *amen* as an assenting acclamation to the ritual action also, effectively, establishes the non-existence of the use of *alleluia* in Justin's experience as a discrete liturgical item, or else why would he not also include detail of this equally ancient exclamation in his account?

Qualifications apply in reading the document as an authoritative guide to second–century liturgical practice in Rome. Justin's *Apology* is addressed to the emperor Antonius Pius and was intended to explain Christianity to those outside the Church. Two problems of interpretation thus arise: firstly, there is the difficulty of deciding whether Justin is here recounting the specific form of worship practices in Rome at this time or whether he is offering a more generic description of the sort of worship which might be encountered by his readers in various parts of the world. Secondly, since he is writing for non–Christians, we must question how far this has affected his attention to detail.[74] Justin's *Apology* is not a liturgical ordinal designed to give a definitive account of liturgical actions: it is a record of how he wishes the Roman authorities to regard Christians.[75] Also, the idea that there was a single church in Rome at this period seems to be anachronistic: instead, there appears to have been a loose collection of worshipping communities of significant ethnic and liturgical differences.[76]

While Justin's account, therefore, may not be the definitive record of the pattern of Eucharistic celebration of his time, two facts bear note. Firstly, there is no comparable evidence to contradict his description of the Eucharist. Secondly, the absence of psalmody, including the

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[74] Bradshaw, p. 111.

[75] Justin wished to reassure the Romans that Christians were not members of a secret society marshalling themselves towards political uprising; however, Page is doubtful of the influence such a document would have had on the powerful rulers of the Empire. See Page, p. 66.

[76] Since Justin himself was Syrian in origin, and had been baptised at Ephesus, he would have belonged to a community at Rome that was primarily Eastern in membership and would not necessarily have been very familiar with what went on in other Christian assemblies in the city. See Andrew McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists: Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp. 154–55.

use of *alleluia* in connection with psalmody or as an independent acclamation, remains in what is otherwise a detailed account of the liturgy. It is reasonable to assume that psalms were read at least occasionally as scripture selections, and it is not improbable that their inherent lyricism might have caused the lector to render them in a somewhat more overtly musical fashion than the other readings. But what the evidence fails to suggest is a discrete liturgical event that would have prompted Justin to single it out and would have necessitated the establishment of a class of clerical Officers to perform it.[77]

Psalmody in the Sunday pre–Eucharistic service: Tertullian (c.170–225)

There is only one other surviving description of an orthodox pre–Eucharistic service from before the later fourth century: in the *Apologeticum* of Tertullian from North Africa. The same three elements of Justin's pre–Eucharistic service are present here: readings, discourse, and prayer, but psalmody is not mentioned:

> I myself shall now set down the practices of the Christian community. We come together in an assembly and congregation to surround God with prayer. We gather together to consider the divine Scriptures. And at the same time there is encouragement, correction and holy censure.[78]

It is, again, possible that psalmody may have taken its turn in the selection of readings from Scripture: but there is no direct evidence of it and, as with Justin, no apparent musical treatment to warrant its mention. Likewise, affirmative acclamations such as *amen* and *alleluia* may have constituted some of the prayer to God, but these are not cited.

Our only explicit reference to psalms in a formal ministry of the word during the period also comes from Tertullian. In *De anima*, Tertullian describes how a charismatic woman finds inspiration for her visions in the content of the pre–Eucharistic service, which apparently includes psalmody:

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[77] See McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 72.
[78] *Apologeticum xxxix,* 1–4; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 73.

> There is among us today a sister favoured with gifts of revelation which she experiences though an ecstasy of the spirit during the Sunday liturgy. The material for her visions is supplied as the scriptures are read, psalms are sung, the homily delivered and prayers are offered.[79]

There are several major difficulties with interpretation of this reference. *De anima* is a late work after Tertullian had become an adherent of the Montanists, a heretical group characterised by an excessive regard for individual spiritual gifts.[80] While the same practice may also have taken place in the wider Church community of the time, we cannot guarantee that it existed. It may have been common custom to begin the service with a greeting and a response of some sort, or to include a psalm between the readings in the second or third century, but we do not know that this was so. Christopher Page adds an interesting perspective to these reservations: he emphasises the pluralism and diversity of early Christian assemblies, cautioning against the temptation resisting to view the nascent mainstream church of the second century in relatively consolidated fourth–century terms. He emphasises the extent to which Tertullian could have migrated within the Church of Carthage without passing outside its limits. Page also distinguishes between *legere* (to read) for the Scriptures and *canere* (to chant) for the psalms in Tertullian's text to indicate that the latter were sung, not recited (but the manner of this remains unknown).[81]

We also have the usual ambiguity of the term 'psalms' as used in early Christian literature. The context described above does not specify biblical psalms and, within the ecstatic charismatic setting described, are as likely to be non-biblical. The following reference from another work of Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionum*, in which he challenges the leader of a rival heretical sect to produce the fruits of genuine inspiration, including a 'psalm', is relevant:

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[79] *De anima ix,* 4; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 82.

[80] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 26. Also see the work of Barnes and Trevett regarding Tertullian and Montanism, respectively. See Timothy D. Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study, Second Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) and Christine Trevett, 'Montanism', in *The Early Christian World Volume II,* ed. Philip E. Esler (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 929–51.

[81] Page, p. 68–69.

> So let Marcion display the gifts of his god . . . Let him produce a psalm, a vision, a prayer: only let it be of the Spirit, while in ecstasy that it, a state beyond reason, when some interpretation of tongues has come upon him.[82]

This suggests that the 'psalms' of the Montanist pre–Eucharistic service might also be newly created songs, rather than biblical psalms.

Alleluia psalmody in the Apostolic Tradition

The clear and repeated citation of the use of *alleluia* in connection with a psalm of its origin in a second/third century Christian liturgical setting would appear fortuitous and incontrovertible: were it not for the dubious nature of the document it appears in. At one time called the *Egyptian Church Order*, the work now referred to as the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus has divided scholars on questions of its provenance, authorship and integrity. Long believed to be a work of the third-century bishop Hippolytus, the *Apostolic Tradition* is now widely regarded as a composite text whose history begins as early as mid–second century and continues into the third or fourth.[83] There are also versions of its material in three other church orders: the *Apostolic Constitutions* (probably Syrian, 375–380), the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus* (extant only in Arabic) and the *Testamentum Domini* (surviving only in Syriac). Its text transmission is extremely problematic: it exists in Latin, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic translations, while the original Greek is almost entirely lost.[84] The only section which mentions liturgical music, in a description of the *agape* attended by the bishop, exists only in a complex passage of the Ethiopic, itself a translation from the Arabic:

> And let them arise therefore after supper and pray: let the boys sing psalms, the virgins also. And afterwards let the deacon, as he takes the mingled chalice of oblation, say a

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[82] *Adversus Marcionem v,* viii, 12; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 81.

[83] Gregory Dix and Henry Chadwick believe that, on internal evidence alone, there is much to relate the document to early third–century Rome rather than to any other Christian milieu; however, Bradshaw regards it as a notably unreliable guide to early Christian worship, especially as there is uncertainty as to its provenance and what its original text actually said, as all we have extant are various translations and reworkings of it. See Bradshaw, p. 72; Henry Chadwick and Gregory Dix, eds. *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome: Bishop and Martyr* (London: The Alban Press, 1991); also Cheslyn Jones, 'The Apostolic Tradition', in *The Study of Liturgy,* 2nd edn, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others, pp. 87–89; Page, p. 50.

[84] McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 47.

psalm from those in which Alleluia is written. And afterwards, if the presbyter so orders, again from these psalms. And after the bishop has offered the chalice, let him say a psalm from those appropriate to the chalice – always one with Alleluia, which all say. When they recite the psalms, let all say Alleluia, which means, 'we praise him who is God; glory and praise to him who created the entire world through his work alone'. And when the psalm is finished let him bless the chalice and give of its fragments to all the faithful.[85]

The passage is interesting from a number of perspectives. Only the instruction calling for children and virgins to sing psalms has any counterpart in another redaction of the *Apostolic Tradition* dossier.[86] The passage is particularly clear on differentiating between those psalms which are Alleluia Psalms and those which are not, the context suggesting that the latter are still taken from the biblical corpus. The differentiation points to an intimate relationship between the Alleluia Psalms and the oblation: the Alleluia Psalms are the only ones 'appropriate to the chalice'. The passage is also clear that, not only is the psalmody taken from the Hallel repertory, but that the term *alleluia* is used as a response or acclamation of the people, albeit in conjunction with a psalm of its origin. The exegesis on the meaning of the term is conspicuous as a departure from the narrative and highlights the significance of the use of *alleluia* in the ritual being described.

The omission of any other Scriptural texts indicates that the nature of this sacrificial ritual is intrinsically bound up with the recitation of Alleluia Psalms, two or three of which are employed in the ceremony. The exclusion of other texts in favour of specifically Alleluia Psalms, while possibly appropriate in connection with the Jewish Passover celebration or the Christian Paschal feast, seems unwarranted. The only such concentration of Hallel psalmody in close succession occurs in the morning prayer service in the fourth century, but this ritual is clearly evening time. However, the impossibility of claiming this document as being typical of a particular ritual in any specific time or place, along with the absence of any corroborating

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[85] *Apostolic Tradition 25;* McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, p. 89.
[86] The parallel instruction appears in the *Testamentum Domini:* originally composed in Greek, this document survives only in Syriac and may date to the late decades of the fourth century or to early fifth century. See Page, p. 50; also Bradshaw, p. 48.

evidence or similar citations, means that only the most general of deductions can be made from it: that *alleluia* as an acclamation or response, and as a genre of psalmody, was known to Christian writers and their audiences in the early centuries of the Church.

Psalmody and alleluia in non–Eucharistic settings

Occurring as it does within the context of an evening meal, the passage from the *Apostolic Tradition* accords with second– and third–century sources which point to common meals – whether an *agape* or a less clearly defined gathering – rather than Eucharist as the principal context for Christian song.[87] Evening communal meals remained popular throughout Christian antiquity and McKinnon proposes that singing was not essential to the Eucharist itself but to the evening meal.[88]

A number of references bear this out. Tertullian describes singing at the *agape* and *lucernarium* from their biblical or non–biblical sources:

> After the washing of hands and the lighting of lamps, each is urged to come into the middle and sing to God, either from the sacred scriptures or from his own invention.[89]

Cyprian of Carthage (d.258) also recommends singing psalms at the evening meal; while the suggestion is patently for material of a religious nature over secular or pagan songs, the status of the psalms in question as biblical or non-biblical is not made explicit:

> Let us spend what remains of the day in gladness and not allow the hour of repast to go untouched by heavenly grace. Let a psalm be heard at the sober banquet, and since your memory is sure and your voice is pleasant *(vox canora)*, undertake this task as it your custom. You will better nurture your friends if you provide a spiritual recital *(spiritalis audito)* for us and beguile our ears with sweet religious strains *(religiosa mulcedo).*[90]

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[87] McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 9.
[88] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 31; see also Gelineau, p. 499.
[89] *Apologeticum xxxix,* 1–4; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 74. Tertullian goes on to say that this practice is a good way of discerning how drunk a participant might be: this line of thought recalls a similar connotation in Ephesians 5:18 where Paul admonishes those who over–indulge at the feast: 'And do not become drunk with wine, for that is debauchery, but be filled with the spirit, speaking to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs'.
[90] *Ad Donatum xvi;* McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 94.

A passage from the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, an early third-century church order, advocates the choice of biblical texts over non-biblical, including the choice of biblical psalms as songs, although the context of their usage is not specified:

> If you yearn for songs, you have the Psalms; if antiquities, you have Genesis; if laws and precepts, you have the illustrious Law of the Lord.[91]

Written texts on the Divine Office seem to have been virtually unknown in the early centuries. From the evidence available, it appears that praise and thanksgiving leading to petition and intercession were the main elements: a structure that corresponds to early Jewish patterns of prayer.[92] We have seen that the earliest references to a specific Christian pattern of daily prayer are not to twice but three times a day. The fact that Christians also faced East when they prayed, like some Jewish groups, suggests that the foundation of their regular prayer times lay in constant eschatological readiness.[93] The first indication of times of the day comes from Clement of Rome (c. 96), who assigns symbolic values to certain periods of the day:

> Day and night make visible to us a resurrection. Night goes to sleep, the day arises; the day departs, the night follows.[94]

A century later Clement of Alexandria (c.160–c.215) also reveals familiarity with a threefold pattern of daily prayer that he says some Christians observe:

> Converse with the Scriptures before the banquet, psalms and hymns at the banquet and before bed, and prayers again during the night.[95]

His compatriot Origen (c.185–c.251) speaks of prayer not less than three times a day and again in the night,[96] and the multi-layered text *Apostolic Tradition* also references a recommended

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[91] *Didascalia vi, 3–5;* Ibid., p. 71.

[92] Paul Bradshaw, 'The Divine Office: The First Three Centuries', in *The Study of Liturgy,* 2nd edn, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others, p. 402.

[93] Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church,* pp. 37–39, 57–59.

[94] 1 *Clem* 24:1–3. See Taft, p. 14.

[95] *Stromata* vii, vii, 49; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 61.

[96] *De oratione* xii, 1. Bradshaw questions the extent to which Clement and Origen, being two members of a rarefied elite among Alexandrian Christians, can be seen as representative of what ordinary members of the Church in that part of the world taught or believed. An additional difficulty with their references is not knowing if many of the allusions to liturgical practices are to the Eucharist or to an independent service of the word. See Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins,* p. 107. See also Henry Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).

pattern of thrice–daily prayer at the third, sixth and ninth hours and at midnight.[97] In his work

De oratione, Tertullian advocates a horarium of prayer at the third, sixth and ninth hours of the

day, before meals and before using the baths. The times of prayer seem usually not to have

involved the recitation of psalms. He observes:

> The more exacting in their prayer are accustomed to add to their prayers an Alleluia
> and that sort of psalm in which those present respond with the closing verses *(clausulis
> respondeant)*.[98]

The singling out by Tertullian of the more assiduous members of the community implies that

the rest of the faithful did not ordinarily include in their prayers those psalms that featured the

alleluia response. Presumably Tertullian is thinking primarily of the biblical psalms which

include *alleluia* as a refrain (but not exclusively of these) and a delivery in which someone

proclaimed the verses of the psalms, followed by an *alleluia* response from those assembled at

the end of each verse. However, there is nothing definitive to indicate whether this procedure,

identical to the manner of liturgical performance more securely documented from the fourth

century onward, involved singing in a formal sense.[99]

    As the Church moved towards the fourth century and the legitimising of its worship, it

would seem that singing and psalmody became an accepted and established feature of the

agape or evening meal, with biblical and non–biblical psalmody happily co–existing side by

side. *Alleluia* was seen as an appropriate response to psalms and was added by some to their

daily prayers, perhaps sensing their appropriateness for the task of praising God for a new day.

The Eucharist does not appear to have been the natural home of either organised liturgical song

or prescribed psalmody: this is not to say they did not feature, particularly on occasion or in an

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[97] L. Edward Phillips, 'Daily Prayer in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus', *Journal of Theological Studies,*
40 (1989): pp. 389–400.
[98] *De oratione* xxviii, 1; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 78.
[99] Page, p. 84; see also William J. Grisbrooke, 'The Laudate Psalms: A Footnote', *Studia Liturgica,* 20 (1990),
p. 162; Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship,* p. 106; Bradshaw, 'The Divine Office', p. 402.

ad hoc or spontaneous manner, but they do not seem to be established items of the ritual at this time and we have no firm evidence of their occurrence.

The fourth and fifth centuries

After the peace of Constantine, the fourth and fifth centuries witnessed the elaboration and organisation of the liturgy. This period was a time of consolidation for the Roman Church, occurring between the loss of power of the pagan aristocracy and the sacking of Rome as the early–mid sixth century ushered in the Gothic Wars (536–555), which saw Byzantines and Goths fighting for control over the city.[100]

Robert Taft considers the new developments of this era as largely a matter of evolution rather than revolution; of not overturning earlier practices but building upon what went before.[101] Bradshaw also suggests that the so-called 'Constantinian revolution' of the early fourth century served as much to intensify existing trends as it did to initiate new ones,[102] a point John Baldovin concurs with:

> It is really impossible to speak of a 'liturgical revolution' in the fourth century, if by this we mean the appearance of a type of worship differing radically from that which had gone before. It is also difficult, however, to deny the profound change which, after all, did mark the Church's liturgical life beginning with the epoch of Constantine.[103]

Certain innovations of the era are undeniable, such as the regular recitation of the Book of Psalms in its entirety as the cornerstone of spiritual life. The larger communities of the fourth century demanded more organisation, and the wording of prayers had to be fixed. The new heresy of Arianism and the syncretistic Gnostic hymns, which offered their own prayer formulas, added to the impetus.[104] Psalms and hymns, which had earlier been characteristic of

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[100] John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1987), p. 116.
[101] Taft, p. 32.
[102] *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship,* p. 62.
[103] *The Urban Character of Christian Worship,* p. 104.
[104] Jungmann, p. 201.

the less frequent communal meal gatherings, assumed central place in the daily liturgical services of the fourth century with the unprecedented flourishing of psalmody, a movement in which the very conception as well as the frequency of psalmody changed.[105] The writings of Niceta of Remesiana (d.c.414) exemplify this change with the explicit endorsement of the role that musical pleasure plays in the efficacy of psalmody. His sermon on vigils, *De vigilis servorum Dei,* indicates the prominent part played by biblical psalmody in these services and his sermon devoted entirely to the subject*, De utilitate hymnorum*, extols the virtues of psalmody. He credits the Book of Psalms with summing up all that is valuable in the entire Bible, and thanks God for making psalmody more accessible than other scripture though their sweetness of melody:

> A psalm consoles the sad, restrains the joyful, tempers the angry, refreshes the poor and chides the rich man to know himself. To absolutely all who will take it, the psalm offers an appropriate medicine.[106]

> For a psalm is sweet to the ear when sung, it penetrates the soul when it gives pleasure, it is easily remembered when sung often, and what the harshness of the Law cannot force from the minds of man it excludes by the suavity of song. For whatever the Law, the Prophets and even the Gospels teach is contained as a remedy in the sweetness of these songs.[107]

Because of the increased size of the assembly and, consequently, the need for a more regular and formal structure, psalms were no longer freely chosen and sung by individual members of the community but became fixed and performed by an officially appointed cantor.[108]

Sources from this era afford substantial evidence of the use of *alleluia*, indicating that early Christians adopted the use of the word *alleluia,* much as they did *amen,* as an independent exclamation as well as a psalm response. From Jerome's description of the Roman child Paula, who greets her grandfather by leaping on him and singing *alleluia*, we can gather that the word

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[105] McKinnon, 'Early Western Civilisation', p. 12.
[106] *De utilitate hymnorum* 5; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 305.
[107] Ibid., p. 306.
[108] Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship,* p. 107.

had an informal as well as a liturgical application.[109] The term *alleluia* also appears on a number

of amulets, various pieces of papyri and fragments of wood and parchment from late antiquity

which reveal the apotropaic use of psalms for in the Christian West. Few amulets present

complete psalms but source verses from many different psalms, sometimes as many as seven.

The use of so many detached psalm verses, some incorporating material from the psalms with

an *alleluia* refrain written into the title, raises the question of whether some of them were

chosen because they were used in liturgical psalmody as refrains.[110]

One particular amulet, number 5 from Hermopolis Magna, an opulent city straddling

the borders of Upper and Lower Egypt, actually gives the response *alleluia*, together with the

sign of the cross,[111] after the last of the verses used there from Psalm 118. The verse in question

is verse 160, yet the psalm in its full biblical text continues for another 16 verses beyond the

end of the extract used for the amulet. The addition of *alleluia* at this point might indicate that

the scribe had heard a responsorial performance structured in this manner.

Alleluia within the psalmody of the Liturgy of the Hours

While the sanctification of the day as a liturgical act immediately connotes monastic

communities, the practice of public morning and evening prayer coincides with or predates

monasticism. As Page remarks wryly: 'There was a horarium of domestic psalmody amongst

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[109] *Epistle* cvii, *Ad Laetam de institutione filiae* 4; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* pp. 322–23. Jerome advocates rather than recounts this greeting, as a manner of bringing up the child to be a chaste and holy virgin. In a previous reference outlining the girl's education, he advises that her soul 'must not comprehend foul words, nor have knowledge of worldly songs, and while still tender its tongue must be imbued with sweet psalms'.

[110] The category of 'amulet' is a broad one. Many are of uncertain date and of unknown provenance because they were purchased for private dealers who kept no records. They are generally regarded as dating from roughly the fourth to the eighth century (although some may date from as early as the second), with a concentration of material in the fifth and sixth centuries. These amulets reveal that their makers used the Psalter more than any other Biblical book. The commerce between amulets and the first five centuries of Christian worship is one of the least–investigated sources for early Christian liturgy, yet they strongly attest to an apotropaic engagement with the corpus of biblical psalmody and, specifically, of responsorial psalmody. See Page, pp. 146–48.

[111] The presence of a cross distinguishes an amulet as Christian; boxes containing Scriptural extracts to be worn on the body, the *phylacteriae*, were common from the earliest times among Jews, as denounced by Jesus in Matthew 23:5. See Page, p. 147.

house–ascetics a hundred years or more before anyone thought of going into the desert as a monk'.[112]

There is a distinction to be made between the use of psalms in Egyptian desert spirituality, where the whole Psalter was recited in its Biblical order for individual meditation, and their use in the fourth-century 'cathedral' Office, where the community responded with a refrain expressing their praise of God to a solo proclamation of God's word in the psalm.[113] The fourth–century desert monastics maintained an ideal of constant prayer and, thus, they adopted the practice of reciting large tracts of the Psalter in order, the so–called *cursus psalmorum*.[114] This may be understood as the ascetic resolution that prayer itself constitutes the sole content of life. Alexander Schmemann notes: 'This is not the illumination of life and work by prayer, but prayer as life or, more properly, the replacement of life by prayer'.[115]

The Psalter was elevated to the place of honour in religious formation and novices were expected to learn the whole Psalter by heart. Their practice is of significance for music history in that it brought this *cursus psalmorum*, the backbone of the medieval Office, into the Christian liturgy.[116] The distinction between cathedral, monastic and urban-monastic Offices became rapidly blurred and in later centuries disappeared, with the result that in both monastic and secular circles in the West the chanting of psalms, in and of itself, came to be regarded as an act of praise to God.[117] McKinnon calls this the 'psalmodic movement' and describes it as 'an

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[112] Page, p. 138.
[113] Taft, p. 32. The Office of the secular churches is called 'cathedral' rather than 'parochial' because for centuries it was the bishop's church that was the centre of all liturgical life. The development of the divine Office in this period can be divided into three types: a cathedral Office, an Egyptian–monastic Office and an urban–monastic Office. The first two evolve simultaneously from the mid–fourth century. The third, a synthesis of the first two, is already visible in the last quarter of the same century. See Juan Mateos, 'The Origins of the Divine Office', *Worship* 41, (1967), pp. 477–85.
[114] James McKinnon, 'Desert Monasticism and the Later Fourth–Century Psalmodic Movement', *Music & Letters,* 75 (1994), pp. 505–21.
[115] Alexander Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1975), p. 107.
[116] McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 74.
[117] Bradshaw, 'The Divine Office', p. 124.

unprecedented wave of enthusiasm for the singing of psalms that spread from East to West through the Christian population in the closing decades of the fourth century'.[118]

While the idea of using the whole Psalter certainly originated among the Egyptian desert fathers, Joseph Dyer has qualified McKinnon's claim and argued that it was in urban-monastic circles that the singing of the psalms was fostered. As the most prolific writers of the era, however, it is largely from the desert fathers that we gain our references to psalmody and liturgical song in general and the use of *alleluia* in particular.

The cathedral Office of the fourth century, which was usually celebrated only twice each day, morning and evening, was characterised by a very selective use of psalmody and hymnody. These were chosen for their appropriateness to the hour or service (frequently Psalm 62 at Matins and Psalm 140 at Vespers), by extensive intercessions. and by the absence of a Scripture reading on most occasions.[119] While developing concurrently to the ascendancy of psalmody in desert monasticism, the inclusion of psalmody here was not derived from the monastic custom, since they had an entirely different function and method of execution. The acclamation of the people was regarded as the song of praise, while the psalm verses were still, apparently, viewed as the word of God, proclaimed by one voice alone to the listening assembly.[120] The use of psalmody with an *alleluia* response is not a complete innovation of the fourth century: we have seen Tertullian's reference to a similar practice among conscientious Christians in the early third century. Hence in the cathedral community Office, the use of *alleluia* as refrain would have been an important constituent in the offering of praise. John Chrysostom (c.347–407) offers a spiritual exegesis on the significance of the refrain:

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[118] Dyer bases his thesis on what he sees as a distrust of music being common among the early desert fathers, who saw it as a distraction to monastic values. See Joseph Dyer, 'The Desert, the City and Psalmody in the Late Fourth Century', in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium,* ed. by Sean Gallagher (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 11–43.

[119] There were no Scripture lessons in the normal cathedral Office except in Egypt and Cappadocia. The readings found today in some Offices result from the later development of the festive calendar, and are not part of the basic structure of the ordinary cathedral Offices. See Taft, pp. 32–33.

[120] Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship,* p. 123.

> Do not think that you have come here simply to say the words, but when you make a response, consider that response to be a covenant . . . You have signed a contract without paper or ink; you have confessed with your voice that you love him more than all, that you prefer nothing to him, and that you burn with love for him.[121]

Popular participation in the psalmody was assured by the addition of responsories and antiphons or refrains. A soloist or soloists chanted the psalm verses, to which the congregation responded with a responsory (a fixed psalm or *alleluia*) or with a refrain.[122] Therefore it would seem that the communal, participative use of *alleluia* as an acclamation or response of the people was well known at this time.

The use of *alleluia* as such a response is described allegorically by the first witness to the cathedral Office, the church historian Eusebius of Caesarea (c.263–339). In his commentary on the Psalms, he depicts David leading four musical colleagues in praise of God:

> Each sang and played hymns to God, in an order set by the Holy Spirit. And when the Spirit fell upon one of the chief musicians, the others stood by in silence and then responded in unison to the psalmist, *'Alleluia'*.[123]

While used allegorically in this passage, it is likely that the use of the response *alleluia* was prompted by witnessed practice (although this is conjecture). Our earliest evidence for cathedral hours in the West is both later and vaguer than that for the East, the earliest being Ambrose of Milan (339–397) with no direct reference to *alleluia* occurring until the sixth-century writings of Gregory (538–594) with his mention of a Sunday morning Office including the *alleluiaticum*, most likely meaning the Alleluia Psalms 148–150.[124]

By the last quarter of the fourth century, we have evidence of monasticism in Northern Italy, Rome, in Gaul and the Iberian peninsula. But most of the sources, apart from general references to psalmody and vigils, tell us nothing about the structure of monastic prayer until John Cassian (c.360–435). Cassian proposed the Egyptian system of hours with certain

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[121] *Exposito in psalmum* 41.5; see Bradshaw, p. 123.
[122] Taft, p. 54.
[123] *In psalmos* I; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 205.
[124] Taft, p. 146.

modifications to suit Western circumstances.[125] In a passage from his *Institutes*, written c.417–425, he presents what some scholars see as a somewhat idealised Egyptian Office that is, apparently, a synthesis of various elements.[126] He describes the use of *alleluia* as a response to psalmody in the context of an Apology for the number of psalms which should be included in the evening and nocturnal Offices, implying that he is drawing on his experience of current practice:

> And while all sat, as is still the custom in the land of Egypt, concentrated upon the words of the singer with all their heart, after he had sung, with successive verses evenly pronounced, eleven psalms separated by the interpolation of prayers, as he was finishing the twelfth, during the Alleluia response *(sub alleluiae responsiones).*[127]

Cassian specifies that the *alleluia* response is only used in connection with a psalm of its origin:

> This [also] is observed among them with great care, that no psalm is sung with the response Alleluia unless Alleluia appears inscribed in its title.[128]

The Alleluia Psalms 148–150 seem to have constituted the core of morning prayer each day of the week, with Psalms 50, 62 and the 'Gloria in excelsis' forming a second stratum in many places, Psalm 62 being central.[129] Cassian's reference to the psalm choices is obscured by ambiguities about the service he is referring to:[130]

> For the hymns which they have adopted in this region at the morning Office, at the close of the nightly vigils, which customarily end before daybreak after cockcrow, they sing today also; that is the one hundred and forty-eighth psalm, which begins 'Praise the Lord from the heavens', and the rest which follow. The fiftieth psalm, however, and the sixty–second and the eighty–ninth have been assigned to this new service.[131]

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[125] Cassian is attempting not a history of Egyptian monasticism, but a reform of Gallic monasticism along Egyptian lines. See Taft, p. 58; also Henry Chadwick, *Western Asceticism* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1958), pp. 25–30.

[126] Ibid., pp. 5–30.

[127] *De institutes II,* 5–6; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 338.

[128] *De institutes II,* 11; Ibid.*,* p. 342.

[129] Bradshaw, 'The Divine Office', p. 107. John Chrysostom speaks of Psalm 62 as the morning psalm in the Antiochene Office. See Taft, p. 43.

[130] McKinnon describes this as, 'one of the most problematic passages in the literature of early monasticism'. The ambiguity centres on the question of whether it refers to a second morning Office, that of Prime, or Lauds. Chadwick suggests that the whole of *De institutes* III, 4–6 may not be the work of Cassian, but is an interpolation. See Henry Chadwick, *John Cassian: A Study in Primitive Monasticism, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 73–77; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 150.

[131] *De institutes* III, 4; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 347.

Cassian's writings on the Egyptian monastic Office present two daily Offices, one at cockcrow and one in the evening. This basic tradition of prayer at the beginning and end of the day was common to both cathedral and monastery. The core of the Offices comprised twelve psalms with private prayer, prostration, and a collect after each. The final psalm, apparently an Alleluia psalm, was followed by the 'Gloria patri' and two lessons of sacred Scripture.[132]

The continuous psalmody of monastic Offices, following the numerical order of the biblical Psalter with no attempt to coordinate the theme of the biblical text with the nature and spirit of the hour of prayer, is the essential difference between monastic and cathedral Offices. There were also differences in the execution of the psalmody and the use of *alleluia*. The monks simply recited the psalm verse by verse, or listened while a soloist did so. A common practice in most traditions was the division of the Psalter into groups of three psalms with the *alleluia* after each group of three (except in the Egyptian Office, where only the final psalm of twelve was an Alleluia psalm).[133] By the sixth century, the use of *alleluia* as a response had been extended to include other Scriptural works, especially on festive occasions, in addition to biblical psalms not originally prescribed the acclamation, as Caesarius of Arles (c.470–542) prescribes:

> Then let them say the canonical morning psalms, on ordinary days with antiphons, on feasts with alleluia. [134]

The work now generally called the *Itinerarium Egeriae* is one of the earliest accounts of pilgrimage to the Holy Land and sacred places. It is dated to between c.381–384 when Cyril was still Bishop of Jerusalem. Both before and after Constantine, Palestine was a popular site

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[132] Taft, p. 60.
[133] Ibid., pp. 89, 102.
[134] *Rule for Virgins* 69, 8. The cathedral tradition of festive matins in the monastic Office of Arles on Saturdays, Sundays and feasts displayed extensive use of *alleluia*, both with psalms of its origin, other psalms and other scriptural genres entirely. We see this festive association of alleluia extend in the first quarter of the sixth century with the *Rule of the Master*, which prescribes *alleluia* as the refrain for all antiphons for the seasons of Eastertide and Nativity-Epiphany, along with a ban on prostrations. *The Master* also uses *alleluia* with other than biblical *alleluia* psalms; indeed, it prescribes the use of biblical *alleluia* psalms without their *alleluia* refrain. Ibid., p. 125.

of pilgrimage that drew Christian travellers.[135] Egeria appears to have been a member of a

religious community in a place close to the Atlantic, probably Spain or Gaul, who was writing

an account of her three-year pilgrimage for her co-sisters.[136]

Egeria's description of the Divine Office of the Jerusalem Church in the late–fourth

century recounts a way of worship that displays a combination of cathedral and monastic

elements.[137] Of particular relevance is Egeria's description of an early Sunday morning Office

which replaces the weekday vigil. While devout laity are observers of the monastic psalmody

during the week, now they are part of it:

> Hymns are sung and antiphons also, and there are prayers with each hymn and antiphon,
> since priests and deacons are always prepared for vigils in that place because of the
> crowd which gathers.[138]

The ambiguity of previous centuries between the terms 'hymn' and 'psalm' is still evident,

unless particular psalms are cited for reference. 'Antiphon' is, likewise, a difficult term and

there is no completely satisfactory explanation for the origin of antiphonal psalmody.[139] The

service described by Egeria seems to be an exact duplicate of the monastic vigil except that in

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[135] The first extant pilgrim account is that of an anonymous traveller in the year 333. This pilgrim notes a number of sites in and about Jerusalem on the course of his journey from Bordeaux to Constantinople and Asia Minor. His account is useful with regard to the developing topography of the holy places but gives no indications of worship practices there. See John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims: Before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977)*, pp. 1–43.

[136] Egeria's travel diary, in its extant state, begins with her visit to Mount Sinai and continues with accounts of trips to Egypt, Carrae in Mesopotamia and Constantinople. The major part of the manuscript is taken up with a description of the daily, weekly and annual liturgical services in Jerusalem. The lacuna in the third quaternion of the manuscript unfortunately robs us of her description of the beginning of the celebration of Epiphany, and the manuscript breaks off near the end of her description of the feasts throughout the year, midway through the Octave of Encaenia. See John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (SPCK, 1971); also Edward Yarnold, 'Egeria's Pilgrimage', in *The Study of Liturgy,* 2nd edn, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others, p. 95; also Baldovin, p. 56.

[137] Bradshaw, 'The Divine Office', p. 410.

[138] *Itinerarium Egeriae* xxiv, 8; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 247.

[139] The abundance of fourth–century references make it clear that responsorial psalmody involved the recitation of psalms verses by a soloist, with the congregation adding a single verse or an exclamation like *alleluia*. But antiphonal psalmody is less easily understood. In the early medieval sources it is commonly understood as two choirs singing psalm verses in alternation, but there is just one example of dual choir psalmody in Basil's *Epistle* ccvii, 3 (*MECL* 139), and this fails to use the term 'antiphonal'. The term appears as a noun in late fourth–century monastic circumstances such as those described by Egeria and Cassian but is not suggestive of a dual choir performance. While the term 'antiphon' in this early period of its use does not exclude refrains, it seems to imply something larger, encompassing both invariant and variable elements: the whole form, in other words, along with its popular, non-scriptural texts and various schemes for group participants. See McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 10; also Page, p. 98.

the singing of psalms the laity take the place of the monks and nuns. Psalmody at this time was, primarily, soloistic, with choral responses after each verse. It is unclear who delivered the psalm verses at this service but there is clearly the same degree of participation by the laity in responses as there would ordinarily be by the monks and nuns.[140] Egeria does not specify what the 'morning hymns' are in the liturgies she witnesses. It is also not clear if the Jerusalem Office at this time included the Laudate (Alleluia) Psalms 148–150, which a little later are found as the daily climax of the morning psalmody in almost every form of the Office, forming the nucleus of morning prayer which was meant for the laity and not only for clerics (and from which even the name of the morning Office in later Western usage, *Lauds,* is derived).[141]

Although Egeria's account is informative, it is, inevitably, selective in the liturgical practices the author chooses to report, presumably reflecting her personal interests. In particular, it supplies no details of customs widely or universally practised at the time, but only those which would have been new and strange to her original readers.[142] The document makes no pretense of being a treatise and she describes services as though her readers were already familiar with them. This indicates that there must already have been many commonalities between Northern Spain and Western France at this period, among them the Paschal Vigil and the Sunday Eucharist.[143] Egeria's lack of clarity around the use of the Alleluia Psalms, and of the use of *alleluia* as a response, may indicate that they were familiar practices at that time and already well known, as much as it may indicate their non–occurrence in the Office in this time and place, though this is unlikely.

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[140] McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 75.

[141] James D. Crichton, 'The Office in the Western: The Early Middle Ages', in *The Study of Liturgy,* 2nd edn, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others, 422; also Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship,* p. 290.

[142] As the account of a visitor to a foreign community, there is some uncertainly concerning how far Egeria correctly understood what was going on, an example of this being the apparent discrepancy between her descriptions of an eight–week Lenten season and the evidence of other Jerusalem sources for a six–week Lent. See Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship,* p. 129.

[143] Baldovin, p. 57.

While the cathedral Office developed its own pattern of prayer and the desert monks another, there were ascetic communities of people living ordinary, urban lives in the cities of the Roman Empire who sought a rule of prayer from their bishops. These communities were conservatives in a world which had changed, rather than innovators. The evidence suggests that, with the exception of extended prayers in the night and a weekly all–night vigil, such communities were conservative in their use of psalmody and at first continued to employ a selective rather than a consecutive approach to psalmody in their other hours of prayer.[144] While the cathedral tradition had developed communal refrains appropriate to each psalm, the urban-monastic tradition tended to retain the *alleluia* response alone and did not restrict this to the Easter season, as later ecclesiastical usage came to do. [145]

We have noted how first–century Christians used psalms as prophecy, selecting Old Testament psalms to demonstrate that Christ was the expected Messiah with a communal acclamation of praise. By the time of the fourth-century cathedral Office, it is not the obviously Christological psalms that constitute the regular core, but instead, psalms inviting praise which include within them the *alleluia* response; namely, the Alleluia Psalms. We have also seen that the refrain, rather than the psalm itself, constituted the song of praise of God. Thus, while the terms 'antiphon' and 'response' are problematic, and the nature of the musical or verbo–melodic treatment of the psalmody remains a mystery, the use of *alleluia* as an acclamation of praise is well known.

Alleluia within the psalmody of the pre–Eucharistic service

Although the pattern for worship preceding the Eucharistic action described by Justin Martyr had apparently become normative in the major Christian centres by the middle of the fourth

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[144] Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship,* p. 114.
[145] Ibid.

century, details of it are still relatively sparse.[146] Virtually all the extant substantial sources of the pattern and practice of the Eucharistic celebration in the fourth century date only from the latter half, leaving a gap of a hundred years from the mid–third–century sources. Sources become more plentiful from the fifth century onwards, but since the fourth century was a time of rapid change and development, it would be presumptuous to read back that evidence uncritically into the previous century.

It was probably the ascendancy of psalmody in the liturgy of the hours which provided the impetus necessary for the establishment of psalmody in the Eucharist. The eighth–century *Ordo Romanus I* details psalmody at four places in the Mass: entrance psalm (Introit), a complex of psalms related to the readings including the Gradual and Alleluia, a psalm at the Offertory and a Communion psalm. Yet only two of these appear in the late fourth–century sources and then only for the first time: the Communion and the Gradual.[147] The silence of the earlier sources on the subject does not necessarily preclude the existence of psalmodic chants before that time, but the broader history of fourth–century psalmody makes it probable that it was an innovation of the period.

A passage from one of the most prolific and influential Christian writers, Augustine of Hippo (354–430), is of fundamental importance in the history of early Christian psalmody:

> Meanwhile a certain Hilary, a lay catholic, attacked the custom which was begun then in Carthage of singing at the altar hymns from the Book of Psalms both before the oblation and while what had been offered was distributed to the people.[148]

The significance of this reference for Communion psalmody is clear, but the other psalm mentioned is more obscure. It might imply that the gradual had been introduced at Carthage only in Augustine's time, but this depends on a reading of the passage which denies the

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[146] Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins,* p. 139.
[147] McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 76.
[148] *Liber retractationum* II, 37; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 385.

possibility of the psalm in question referring to the Introit or even to psalmody and hymnody which may have been sung before the Fore Mass itself began.[149]

Another passage from the same time tells us that Pope Celestine I (c.432) introduced psalmody into the Roman Fore-Mass where only the Epistle and Gospel had been read previously:

> He decreed that the 150 Psalms of David be sung before the sacrifice, which had not been done before; only the Epistle of Paul the Apostle and the Holy Gospels had been recited — and so were Masses celebrated.[150]

This passage clearly suggests a close association between the psalms and the Scripture readings. Peter Jeffery maintains that while, traditionally, this text has been taken to refer to the Introit of the Mass, it actually refers to the responsorial psalm of the Fore-Mass. He posits that *ante sacrificium* must be taken to mean before the Eucharistic portion of the Mass, rather than before the entire ceremony, as earlier portions of the document consistently use the term *Missa* to refer to the Mass as a whole but generally restrict *sacrificium* to denote the sacrificial rite as such. Jeffery notes further that the passage places the psalms on the same footing as the Epistle and Gospel, just as patristic sermons had treated the three items equally as scripture readings.[151] A closely contemporary Roman text from the pseudo-correspondence of St Jerome and Pope Damasus laments the lack of psalmody in the Roman Mass:

> On Sunday only one epistle of the Apostle is recited, and one chapter of the Gospel is said, while no voice resounds in psalmody.[152]

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[149] No doubt from the earliest times Christians had various materials sung or read to them while waiting for the whole congregation to assemble: Egeria describes such happenings (*Itinerarium Egeriae* xxiv, 8). From the fifth century onwards, some of this became an invariable part of the structure of the liturgy. It was common for an Office to immediately precede the Eucharist but other material, some connected with the preparation of ministers and usually of a penitential character, and some concerning the preparation of the elements (particularly in the East), was also used. See Peter G. Cobb, 'The Liturgy of the Word in the Early Church', in *The Study of Liturgy,* 2nd edn, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others.

[150] Peter Jeffery, 'The Introduction of Psalmody into the Roman Mass by Pope Celestine I (422–432)', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* xxvi (1984), pp. 147–65.

[151] Jeffery, p.161.

[152] *Expositio* 7.

Thus, we have one sixth–century source lamenting that no psalm was sung in the Roman Fore–Mass at the time of Pope Damasus I (366–384) and another claiming that the practice was established a few decades later by Pope Celestine.[153] McKinnon posits that Fore–Mass psalmody became established as a fixed liturgical event in Rome somewhat later than in Augustine's North Africa. Yet the dates are very close: Augustine's sermons citing Fore–Mass psalmody date to between 395 and 430, just a few decades before the time of Pope Leo the Great.[154]

There is meagre testimony to psalmody in the Roman Mass of the mid–fifth century from Leo the Great (papacy 440–461). In Sermon 3, on the third anniversary of his installation to the papacy, he writes:

> Wherefore we sang with harmonious voice, dearly beloved, the Davidic psalms 'thou art a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek'.[155]

This Psalm verse is mentioned again in reference to a later, undetermined anniversary. Thus Psalm 109:4 was sung on at least two anniversaries of Leo's installation to the papacy, presumably as the refrain verse to the responsorial singing of Psalm 109 in the Fore–Mass preceding his homily. But it does not necessarily follow that the singing of a responsorial psalm was a regular event in the Roman Fore–Mass of Leo's time: the context was a special occasion and one attended by a great number of priests who would also certainly have been familiar with the psalm in question.[156]

Most of the relevant patristic references appear in homilies on the psalms, and a typical reference makes it clear that the psalm had been sung previously in the service and that the church Father in question chose to base his homily on the psalm. The subject of the early

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[153] McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, p. 80.
[154] Ibid., 77.
[155] *Tractatus* III, 1.
[156] Ibid., p. 79. The influence and legacy of church–state ceremonial on wider liturgical practice is discussed by John Romano with regard to the choice of Scripture readings for what has been traditionally called *Gaudete Sunday* in Advent: see John Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2020), pp. 84–92.

Christian homily was not chosen arbitrarily but was based on one of the Scriptural texts that had been read.[157] This circumstance suggests that, in its early history, the Gradual was looked upon as a reading in its own right, rather than as a lyric response to a reading. This is made explicit when Augustine says

> We heard the Apostle, we heard the Psalm, we heard the Gospel; all the divine readings together.[158]

Within a comparatively short time it would lose its status as an independent reading and become thematically subordinate to the reading that precedes it; thus we read of the mid-fifth-century priest of Marseilles, Musaeus, who

> Selected, at the urging of the holy bishop Venerius, readings from the Holy Writings appropriate to the feast days of the entire year and responsorial psalms appropriate to the season and to the readings.[159]

The psalm that figured occasionally as an Old Testament reading in earlier centuries was transformed into a psalm sung at every Eucharistic service of the later fourth century. The psalm, while anachronistically described as a reading, now functions as a discrete musical event, requiring the skilled Offices of a cantor.[160] Augustine makes the sung nature of the psalm explicit:

> The psalm which we have heard just now sung and responded to in singing, is short and highly beneficial.[161]

In a tract from his *Confessions*, he wrestles with the power sung texts hold over him:

> I sense that our souls are more piously and earnestly moved to the ardour of devotion by these sacred words when they are thus sung than when not thus sung, and that all the affections of our souls, by their own diversity, have their proper measures in voice and song, which are stimulated by I know not what secret correspondence . . . sometimes so much so that I wish every melody of the sweet songs to which the Davidic Psalter is usually set, to be banished from my ears and from the church itself. And safer to me seems what I remember was often told me concerning Athanasius, bishop of

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[157] McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 78.
[158] *Sermo* CLXV; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 371.
[159] Gennadius, *De viris illustribus* 80; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 398.
[160] Gelineau, p. 499; also McKinnon, 'Early Western Civilization', p. 12.
[161] *In psalmum* cxix, 1; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 364.

Alexandria, who required the reader of the psalm to perform it with so little inflection of voice that it was closer to speaking *(pronuntianti)* than to singing *(canenti).*[162]

The fourth century synod of Laodicea, represented by fifty–nine extant chapters, also furnishes evidence of the increasing significance of singing and singers in the liturgy. Under the title of *psaltes*, which is by no means a distinctively Christian term,[163] ritual ministers of song make their first appearance in any surviving Christian document as canonical officers. Chapter xvii marks a vital stage in the evolution of Christian ritual singing by revealing, apparently for the first time in any known document, that there were churches where psalmody was no longer regarded as a form of reading. It forbids the performance of psalms in sequence so that readings may always be interspersed between them. This implies that psalmody was no longer regarded as a form of lesson but, rather, as a separate genre.[164] And the Laodicea chapters also signal a maxim that becomes familiar as the centuries of the Church pass: singers are necessary for the celebration of the liturgy but constantly need to be kept under surveillance.[165]

There are a number of genuine references to *alleluia* in the sources from this period, notwithstanding the erroneous connection of the agrarian *jubilus* with *alleluia*. None of these, however, pertain necessarily to a liturgical item to be singled out as the Alleluia of the Mass as it is understood in later centuries. The impression created is that *alleluia*, like *amen*, might be used in various ways as a liturgical acclamation:

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[162] *Confessiones* x, xxxiii, 49–50; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 352.
[163] It is originally Greek.
[164] Page reads this as referring to psalms in the Eucharistic service; McKinnon disagrees and interprets the reference as a direction for the use of Office psalmody. See Page*,* p. 65; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 118.
[165] The Bishops of Western Asia Minor gathered for a synod in Laodicea, the metropolitan Church of their province. Their aim was to keep the doctrine, worship and discipline of the mainstream church pure in the face of temptations to their members from sects, cults and heretical groups. It was, therefore, judged essential to have scrupulous clerics and in the course of legislating for them the bishops at Laodicea had cause to mention liturgical singers. Six chapters refer to singers, psalmody and the related issue of liturgical reading. Chapter xv stipulates that only 'regularly appointed' singers, *kanonikon psalton,* who are capable of reading from parchment, should be allowed to ascend the pulpit and sing in churches. Chapter xvii directs that psalms should always be interspersed with a reading after each psalm. Chapter xviii orders that singers and readers must not wear the orarion, the vestiture of deacons but strictly forbidden to the lower orders, when they read or sing. See Page, pp. 89–95.

Wherever God is feared and praised, there is the church of Christ. Observe, my brothers, whether in these days Amen and Alleluia are said throughout the entire world without cause. Is God not feared there? Is God not praised there?[166]

Jerome refers to a powerful rendering of *alleluia* at a funeral he attended:

Psalms resounded and Alleluia echoed on high and shook the gilded ceilings of the temples.[167]

There are about 150 explicit references to the singing of a psalm in the service prior to the sermon in question in Augustine's writings, and slightly more than 100 of these cite a specific verse that had been sung, often indicating that in some way the verse figured as a refrain.[168] As liturgical procedures begin to crystallise toward the end of Christian antiquity, it is the use of *alleluia* as such a psalm response that comes more to the fore. This happens particularly in the case of those psalms for which the word *alleluia* is superscribed in the Book of Psalms; traditionally these psalms, in both Judaism and Christianity, have used *alleluia* as their refrain. Augustine cites *alleluia* as the response to Psalm 117, which is the Easter Gradual psalm and is one of the biblical Alleluia Psalms:

Give praise to the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth forever' (Psalm 117:1). What the Holy Spirit has advised us in the words of the psalm, to which we responded with one mouth and one heart Alleluia – which means praise the Lord in Latin – this the same Holy Spirit advises you through my words: 'Give praise to the Lord'.[169]

This connection of the interiority and exteriority of the *alleluia* response, mouth and heart, is reiterated in another of Augustine's psalm treatises:

For if by this word [Alleluia] is meant the praise of God, then, even if not in the mouth of the flesh, certainly in the mouth of the heart, 'His praise is always in my mouth'. (Psalm 33:3)[170]

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[166] *In psalmum* xxi, II, 24; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, p. 353.

[167] *Epistle* LXXVII, *Ad Oceanum de morte Fabiola* 11; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 321.

[168] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 50. For a detailed study of Augustine's references to psalmody, see James McKinnon, 'Liturgical Psalmody in the Sermons of St Augustine: An Introduction', in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and Western – in honour of Kenneth Levy,* ed. Peter Jeffery (Cambridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 7–25; also McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 50.

[169] *Sermo* xxix, *de verso* I, *psalmi cxvii,* 1; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 370.

[170] *In psalmum* cvi, I; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 370. McKinnon notes that John Chrysostom gives the Proper gradual response, *Haec dies,* as the response. See *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 170)

Chromatius of Aquileia (d. 407) asserted the value of *alleluia* as a means of involving the congregation in the liturgy. He writes that it was a way of knowing that the faithful would sing during the Liturgy of the Word, attesting to the continued role of *alleluia* as acclamation of the people.[171] In the Church of Carthage the people both sang and listened as the lector sang the 'Alleluia chant' or *alleluiaticum melos*, a ritual item that cannot be precisely identified but certainly involved lay participation, perhaps with an *alleluia* refrain.[172] *The Historia Persecutionis Wandalicae*, compiled in the late fifth century by Victor of Vita, recounts the persecutions his coreligionists suffered in Carthage. Victor reports that liturgical singers were appointed at a relatively young age and were called 'lector'. He recounts how, at an Easter Sunday service in Regia, a lector mounted the pulpit to sing the 'Alleluia chant', only to be slain by the arrow of an African soldier. He was killed in the very act of singing so that the book fell from his hands.[173] Despite the convenient drama and pathos, this account nonetheless depicts an established liturgical routine. The chant is clearly a specific ritual item, both in its text and music. Victor's use of the Greek term *melos* suggests that the musical demands of this *alleluiaticum melos,* at least in the solo sections, are considerable. Since the lector used a book, and the assembly were both listening and singing, the chant was, in all likelihood, one of the psalms already supplied with an *alleluia* refrain in the Psalter, in which case the performance probably unfolded with the congregation singing *alleluia* between the verses of the soloist.[174]

The crux of the question lies in discerning if *alleluia* was, in the Eucharistic celebration, used solely as a psalm response, or if it was employed as a liturgical item in its own right. Resulting from the persistence of what might be termed the *jubilus* 'fallacy',[175] a curious

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[171] *Sermo XXXIII, 1–3*. See Anna Kai–Yung Chan, 'Participation in the Liturgy', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies Volume 2: Fundamental Liturgy*, ed. by Anscar J. Chupungo (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998), p. 145.

[172] Page, p. 195.

[173] Undoubtedly Victor shaped this episode so that a Catholic martyr suffers at the hand of an African heretic while singing a ritual item of special prominence in the Easter Sunday liturgy, necessarily delivered from a fatally conspicuous place. See Page, p. 221.

[174] Ibid.

[175] McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', p. 218.

corollary was created in the historiography of the Alleluia: the notion that it was not associated with a psalm of its origin. Augustine speaks of only a single psalm in the Fore–Mass, typically declaimed by a lector and responded to by the congregation with a selected verse of the psalm. If the psalm was one of those with *alleluia* superscribed, then *alleluia* was the response, as in the case of Psalm 117. There are at least five other examples in the sermon of Augustine where he refers to the singing of *alleluia* in connection with a psalm. Not all are as explicit about the function of *alleluia* as a response, but it is a reasonable assumption to make as the five psalms involved (Psalms 104, 110, 113, 148 and 149) are, like Psalm 117, from those in the Psalter that have *alleluia* superscribed in the Bible.[176]

It is clear that the principal and most appropriate function of *alleluia* in the early Christian eucharistic liturgy was to serve as an acclamatory response to a psalm, especially one of the biblical Alleluia Psalms. A psalm came to be sung regularly in the Fore–Mass during the later decades of the fourth century. It was typically a single psalm, especially in the West, and it was generally sung responsorially. The totality of evidence suggests that this single psalm of the fourth–century Fore–Mass, whatever its response, is the direct ancestor of the *responsum* of *Ordo Romanus I*, which is the early medieval Gradual. Two qualifications, however, apply: the psalm could have been sung occasionally without refrains, especially during Lent, serving as a kind of proto-Tract, and we know that it was sung sometimes, especially during the Easter season, with *alleluia* as response, hence serving as a sort of proto-Alleluia.[177]

The link between Alleluia and Paschaltide

We have already established that the references to *alleluia* in the writings of Augustine, among others, do not constitute evidence of the Alleluia of the Mass but, rather, relate to the use of *alleluia* as a psalm response. Yet, even in this context, *alleluia* seems to have had an intimate

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[176] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 52.
[177] Ibid., p. 251.

and definite association with Easter and the season leading up to Pentecost, and an exploration

of this association will take us into the sixth century.

In his commentary on Psalm 100, Augustine contrasts the fifty joyful days of the Easter

season with the preceding forty days of Lent:

> The days have come for us to sing alleluia . . . For as these days, with grateful gladness,
> regularly follow the preceding days of Quadregisima each year, by which is signified
> the sorrow of this life before the resurrection of the Lord's body . . . and signified by
> the number forty . . . But signified by the number fifty after the resurrection of the Lord,
> when we sing alleluia.[178]

It would appear, however, that while *alleluia* was accepted as a feature of the Eastertide

liturgical celebrations, it was used at other times of the liturgical year in addition to Eastertide

in various places, for Augustine observes:

> Yet it is not observed universally that Alleluia is sung in the church throughout these
> fifty days only; for it is sung variously on other days at one place or the other – on these
> same days, however, everywhere.[179]

Jerome implies the same when condemning the false notions of Vigilantius; in this case, Easter

may encompass the whole liturgical season:

> He says vigils are to be condemned, the Alleluia must never be sung except at Easter
> (*in Pascha*), continence is a heresy, and modesty a nursery of lust.[180]

The development of Lent in the fourth century led to the suppression of *alleluia* during this

penitential season (and of the verse which had been added after in the Roman rite during the

seventh century).[181] The Lenten suppression of *alleluia*, although unknown in the Byzantine

rite, has long been characteristic of Western liturgy and has not always been confined to Lent.

The sixth–century monastic rule The *Rule of the Master* speaks of a *centesima paschae* which

began on the day after the Epiphany and was characterised by the suppression of *alleluia* from

that day until Easter.[182]

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[178] *In psalmum* cx, 1; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 363.
[179] *Epistle* lv, 32; Ibid., p. 376.
[180] *Contra Vigilantium* I, 1; Ibid*.,* p. 335.
[181] Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy, New Edition* (London: Continuum, 2005), p. 471.
[182] Leaver and Zimmerman, eds., *Liturgy and Music,* p. 27.

The sixth–century pseudo–correspondence of Pope Damasus and St Jerome furnishes us with information on liturgical questions of the day. The author maintains that psalms in the Office should be concluded with the 'Gloria patri' and that *alleluia* should be added in response. Regarding the Mass, he says of the *alleluia*:

> Let it be confined to a period of fifty days from the holy resurrection to the sacred Pentecost, because of the renewal of the holy Pasch, let this voice of praise be sung in *aleph,* which is 'alleluia'.[183]

Later in the sixth century this view was repeated by John the Deacon to a priest named Senarius, who had asked him why the singing of *alleluia* was reserved to Paschaltime. He responded:

> In order that with greater joy and a kind of spiritual renewal one would return to the state of praising God.[184]

In 598, Pope Gregory referred to the singing of *alleluia* at Mass in a letter to Bishop John of Syracuse. The letter tells how a visitor from Sicily brought complaints from that region about Roman liturgical practices that appeared to have been borrowed from the East. He asked the visitor which customs had allegedly been taken from the Byzantine church. The visitor alleged: 'You have 'alleluia' said at Masses outside the Pentecostal period'. To this Gregory replied:

> The custom that 'alleluia' is not said here outside the fifty–day period is known from the report of the Blessed Jerome to have been taken over from the church of Jerusalem at the time of Pope Damasus of blessed memory. And, indeed, in this matter, I have mitigated the custom that had been adopted here from the Greeks.[185]

This letter by Gregory, along with patristic writing on the *jubilus*, gained considerable fame among liturgical historians as evidence of the existence of what we know as the early medieval Alleluia of the Mass (that is, a melismatic Alleluia followed by a verse and a repetition of the Alleluia), an independent chant: an assumption Martimort and McKinnon refute. A number of qualifications apply which temper this assumption. Firstly, Willi Apel notes that exactly what happened under Damasus is not entirely clear. The sense of the passage depends on whether

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[183] *PL,* vol. 30, col. 295.
[184] *PL,* vol. 59, col. 406.
[185] McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 335.

the passage in the original Latin of Gregory's letter reads *nam ut alleluia hic diceretur*, (the custom to sing *alleluia* here) or, *nam ut alleluia hic non diceretur* (the custom **not** to sing *alleluia* here).[186] David Hiley reads Gregory's letter to John of Syracuse as representing a cutting back of an even more widespread practice: that in allowing it to be used beyond Eastertide, Gregory was checking a more common usage of the *alleluia*.[187]

Secondly, the prevalence of the use of *alleluia* as response remains. David Hiley suggests that there may have been a special, independent Alleluia chant sung in fourth-century Rome on Easter Sunday only.[188] This reading is confirmed by the Greek church historian Sozomen, according to whom the Alleluia was sung in Rome about 450, only once during the year on the first day of Easter:

> They sing the Alleluia at Rome only once each year, on the first day of the Paschal festival.[189]

By the time of John the Deacon it would seem that it was sung on other Sundays during Eastertide, and the singing of *alleluia* continued to spread throughout the church year. However, even the use of the definite article does not prove that the *alleluia* being mentioned is of a different nature to its employment as psalm response. In his letter, Gregory is most likely to have employed the word *alleluia* in the sense in which it was generally used in the fifth and sixth centuries: as a brief response or antiphon affixed to a psalm.[190] The Fore–Mass psalmody of Gregory's time was, in all probability, essentially the same as that of Augustine's: a single psalm was typically sung, generally the responsorial psalm soon to be transformed into the Gradual, even if it may have been sung without refrains on some penitential occasions and was very likely sung with *alleluia* refrains throughout Paschaltide.[191]

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[186] Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 376.
[187] Hiley, *Western Plainchant,* p. 502.
[188] Ibid., p. 502.
[189] *Ecclesiastical History* vii, 19; McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 222. While Apel considers it a confirmation, Bailey disagrees. See Apel, pp. 8–9.
[190] McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', p. 230.
[191] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 252.

We have noted that there was generally only one responsorial psalm sung in the fourth century pre–Eucharistic service, which may on occasion have been a psalm with *alleluia* as its refrain. A formal link with the Alleluia of the Mass as a discrete liturgical item would require the regular singing of two psalms in the ancient Fore–Mass, the second of which would always use *alleluia* as the response. This was not the case in the Western liturgical centres at the turn of the fifth century.[192] To trace the establishment of the Alleluia as Gospel Acclamation in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration, we must look East to examine concurrent liturgical practices of the time. Our next chapter explores and examines the impact of Eastern rites on Roman ritual.

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[192] The dual-psalm pattern does finally appear in an Armenian lectionary, which is thought to reflect the early fifth-century liturgy of Jerusalem: this will be taken up in Chapter Three of this dissertation. The Alleluia thus became part of the fifth-century Eastern Eucharist, but there is no indication that it spread immediately to the Western. This circumstance is significant in itself; it signals the end of the early period of liturgical homogeneity and the beginning of the medieval period of liturgical heterogeneity. See McKinnon, 'Alleluia', p. 385; also McKinnon, 'Christian Antiquity', p. 79.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ALLELUIA AS A DISCRETE LITURGICAL ITEM IN THE ROMAN RITE

EUCHARISTIC CELEBRATION

The introduction of the Alleluia into the Proper of the Roman Mass as an ecstatic melismatic chant between the readings has come through a number of progressive stages. We have seen that early documentation of its use poses difficulties for interpretation, not least because of possible confusion with simple congregational responses of *alleluia* and the addition of alleluia extension phrases to many chants when sung during Eastertide.[1] In addition, there was generally only one responsorial psalm sung in the fourth century Fore–Mass which may, on occasion, have been a psalm with *alleluia* as its refrain. The establishment of the Alleluia of the Mass as a discrete liturgical item would require the regular singing of two psalms, the second using *alleluia* as the response. While this was the custom of Jerusalem by the fifth century, it seems to have attained this position at a relatively late time in the West, where there is no evidence for it in Western liturgical practice until the eighth–century *Ordo Romanus I*.

Baumstark has shown that, in order to understand fully the development of Christian worship, one liturgical rite cannot be studied in isolation from another.[2] Jerusalem, Rome and Constantinople all held great symbolic significance in late antiquity and the early medieval world and were the centres of liturgical influence that left their imprint on subsequent rites.[3] Charting the origins and establishment of the Alleluia as a discrete liturgical item in the Eucharistic celebration involves an examination of the sources which first detail the occurrence of the Alleluia–psalm in East and West, contextualised by an exploration of Eastern influences on Western liturgical life in general and on liturgical chant in particular. This, in turn, necessitates a review of the musicological and liturgical evidence which indicates a Byzantine influence on the Roman Alleluia.

The Jerusalem Armenian Lectionary

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[1] Hiley, p. 131.
[2] Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, rev. by Bernard Botte, trans.by F.L. Cross (London: Mowbray and Co, 1958), p. 7.
[3] Baldovin, p. 39.

The first unambiguous reference to the Alleluia psalm in the Liturgy of the Word appears in the fifth–century Armenian Lectionary, which reflects the liturgy at Jerusalem. This configuration of two psalms, the second with an *alleluia* refrain, does not feature in any comparable evidence from the contemporary West.[4]

Constantine's Edict of Toleration in 312 ushered in the Holy Land Pilgrimage era and in this period Christians from Armenia, as elsewhere, used its liturgical practice as the model for their liturgies.[5] As the imperial city, Byzantium continuously expanded its sphere of influence in all ecclesiastical matters and in 451 the Council of Chalcedon awarded Jerusalem patriarchal rights. As pilgrims from all over the Empire returned home from the Holy Land, the divine services in Jerusalem became the pattern and model for more distant churches.[6]

Between 417 and 439 a complete cycle of readings with prokeimena (the Eastern counterpart to the Roman Gradual) and Alleluia psalms was written down in Jerusalem and, although the original Greek is lost, there is a translation into Armenian in the oldest manuscript lectionaries of the Armenian Orthodox Church, which adopted the rite of Jerusalem as the basis of its own.[7] From the fifth to the seventh century, when an indigenous Armenian Christian tradition was in its formation, there was strong liturgical influence from Jerusalem followed by a period of Byzantinisation from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, when Constantinopolitan political and ecclesiastical influence was especially strong.[8]

The Armenian lectionary dates from the first half of the fifth century and reproduces the readings, feasts, and a number of the rubrics of the church at Jerusalem for some fifty dates

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[4] McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 11.

[5] The same Jerusalem influence is still distinguished in the two–fold chant following the lections and the diptychs in the anaphora of the Armenian rite today. See Robert F. Taft, *Divine Liturgies–Human Problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria and Palestine* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 182–183.

[6] The Jerusalem influence is, in this case, preserved in the Roman Catholic liturgy of today in a variety of forms, including the entrance procession for Palm (Passion) Sunday and the ritual of venerating the cross on Good Friday. See Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy: to the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. by Francis A. Brunner (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1959), p. 208.

[7] Page, p. 149.

[8] Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and Western,* p. 219.

from the eve of the Epiphany to the Feast of Ss James and John on December 29th.[9] This so-called 'Armenian Lectionary' is not a real lectionary with the full texts of the lessons for Sundays and feasts; rather, it indicates readings and psalms and details the stations for major celebrations in Jerusalem during the year. It should, more accurately, be considered an embryonic form of the *typikon*, a book of directions for liturgical ceremonies serving four functions. Firstly, it is a calendar with dates providing a chronology of feasts and other services throughout the year. Secondly, it prescribes the readings and psalms for these celebrations. Thirdly, it functions as an order of service, detailing what is to be done at various liturgies and, finally, it is a stational list, naming the places where different liturgical services are to be celebrated.[10]

The dual–psalm format is consistent throughout the Lectionary, the second psalm clearly distinguished from the first by the appellation *Alleluia*.[11] The employment of psalms from the Psalter and their liturgical assignments reveals a significant level of re–employment: of twenty-–four psalms cited as Alleluia-psalms, a third of these, eight, are re–employed, with sixteen occurring on one date only. Of the eight re-employed, the most frequent is Psalm 116 with the specified verses 1–9: this psalm occurs on ten different dates, five of these being

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[9] Chant historians date this manuscript, designated Jer. Arm. 121, to between 417 and 439. The Jerusalem manuscript has only one lacuna, at the very beginning of the Feast of the Epiphany. Other Armenian lectionary manuscripts contain similar data and are earlier documents, but contain Feasts proper only to Armenia, e.g. Venice 169, Paris B.N. arm 110. See Frederick C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum: Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905); also John Wilkinson, pp. 262–277.
[10] Baldovin, p. 64.
[11] The normative pattern for dates in the first part of the year in Psalm, Epistle, Alleluia–psalm, Gospel. During the weekdays of Lent this is replaced by three Old Testament readings followed by responsorial psalm: no New Testament Scripture appears until the weekend before Easter, when the Alleluia–psalm is restored on the Saturday and Sunday before Easter, the latter being Palm Sunday. In the Easter and Post–Pentecostal periods an additional New Testament reading is included between the responsorial psalm and the Alleluia–psalm. Certain dates in the calendar merit additional services of readings or different patterns, and these tend to occur in preparation for major feasts. These are: a service of readings preceding the synaxis at the Cave in Bethlehem on the eve of the Epiphany; a pre–Lenten service of readings comprising instruction for those preparing to receive baptism; a complex of readings, psalmody and stations on Holy Thursday (including an evening office which, as we noted in fourth–century monasticism, employs sets of three psalms called *gobalas*), lengthy tracts of readings and psalmody on Good Friday and preceding the entry of the newly baptized with the bishop on Holy Saturday night, and a series of mystagogical readings prescribed for the Easter season.

commemorations. Psalm 147, with the specified verses 12–20, is the Easter Sunday Alleluia–psalm, and occurs on four additional dates: Easter Monday, the Sunday after Easter, and on both days of Dedication of the Holy Places of Jerusalem. Psalms 116 and 147 are both biblical Hallel Psalms and the verses as specified include the biblical *Alleluia* acclamation superscript and postscript, respectively.

Psalm 21 bears a special relationship to St Stephen: three of its five assignments occur at services held at his shrine, including his feast day on 27 December. Psalm 110 is assigned to four closely related celebrations: the Feast of the Epiphany, its second vigil service at the Cave in Bethlehem, the third day of the Octave of the Feast (displaced only by Psalm 21 for Stephen on the intervening day) and 25 December for the Feast of James and David which carries the note that the Nativity of Christ is celebrated on this day in other cities (rather than on 6 January). Psalm 30, the Easter Vigil Alleluia–psalm, is assigned to two other dates: the Commemoration of the Prophet Jeremiah and the Apparition of the Cross. Psalm 85 and Psalm 47 are used for two dates each while Psalm 40, in both its assignments, occurs at the Lazerium station. The table below charts the employment of Alleluia–psalm texts in the Armenian Lectionary: those that occur once only are designated as 'independent Alleluias' while those assigned to more than one date are designated as 're–employed Alleluias'. Obviously when no verses are specified in the Lectionary, we do not know which verses may have been taken from the psalm, thus making for different selections from re–employed psalm texts.

TABLE 3.1. Distribution and re–employment of Alleluia–psalms in the Armenian Lectionary

Independent Alleluia–psalms: psalm and feast/date

Alleluia–Psalm 14	10 January
Alleluia–Psalm 15	Thursday of Easter Week
Alleluia–Psalm 24	Holy Ascension of Christ
Alleluia–Psalm 27	The Apostle Thomas (23 August)
Alleluia–Psalm 65	Wednesday of Easter Week

Alleluia–Psalm 72	12 January
Alleluia–Psalm 80	Vigil of Epiphany: at the Place of the Shepherds (5 January)
Alleluia–Psalm 81:1	Saturday of Easter Week
Alleluia–Psalm 93	Friday of Easter Week
Alleluia–Psalm 94	Pentecost
Alleluia–Psalm 95	The Apostle Andrew (30 November)
Alleluia–Psalm 96	Fortieth Day of Christ's Birth
Alleluia–Psalm 97	Palm Sunday
Alleluia–Psalm 98	the Ark of the Covenant (2 July)
Alleluia–Psalm 103	Infants slain by Herod (9 May)
Alleluia–Psalm 132	9 January

Re–employed Alleluia–psalms: psalm and feast/date

Alleluia–Psalm 21	St Stephen (7 January)
	Commemoration of King Theodosius (19 January)
	Tuesday of Easter Week
	Commemoration of the Emperor Constantine (22 May)
	27 December
Alleluia–Psalm 30	Easter Vigil
	Commemoration of the Prophet Jeremiah (1 May)
	Apparition of the Cross (7 May)
Alleluia–Psalm 40	11 January
	Saturday, sixth day before Passover
Alleluia–Psalm 47	Apostle Philip (15 November)
	Commemoration of Paul and Peter, Apostles (28 December)
Alleluia–Psalm 85	Circumcision of our Lord (13 January)
	Apostles James and John the Evangelist (29 December)
Alleluia–Psalm 110	Vigil of Epiphany: at the Cave in Bethlehem (5 January)
	Epiphany (6 January)
	8 January
	James and David (25 December)
Alleluia–Psalm 116:1–9	Commemoration of Peter and Absalom (11 January)
	Commemoration of St Anthony (17 January)
	Commemoration of the Forty Saints (9 March)
	Commemoration of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (18 March)
	Commemoration of John, Bishop of Jerusalem (29 March)
	Deposition of Zechariah the Prophet (10 June)
	Elisha the Prophet (14 June)
	Deposition of Isaiah the Prophet (6 July)
	Maccabees (1 August)
	John the Baptist (29 August)
Alleluia–Psalm 147:12–20	Easter Sunday
	Easter Monday
	Sunday octave of Easter
	Dedication of Holy Places of Jerusalem (13 & [14] September)

The Jerusalem format of dual psalms was observed at several other Eastern ecclesiastical centres, including Byzantium, in the succeeding centuries. The Byzantine liturgy includes dual responsorial psalms, the second of which is the *alleluia–alleluiarion* (alleluia and verses), a

splendid prelude to the gospel. The chant appears precisely at that place in the liturgy where its ancestor, the alleluia–psalm of the fifth–century Jerusalem liturgy, was sung; that is, after the first responsorial psalm and before the Gospel.[12] But there is no compelling evidence that the Eastern practice reached the Latin churches in the centuries immediately following Augustine.[13] With the collapse of the Roman Empire, the increasing isolation of various regions inevitably resulted in the development of disparate liturgies, liturgical customs and liturgical 'families' such as the Byzantine, Mozarabic, Gallican and Ambrosian.[14]

The Byzantine influence

During much of the period from the fourth to the ninth century the Eastern Roman Empire and its capital, Byzantium, enjoyed greater wealth, political power and ecclesiastical prestige than the West and often exercised direct influence on Western affairs.[15] The Byzantine Church rose to predominance between 381 and 451 and, in the course of the first millennium, gradually spread its hegemony throughout the whole East.[16]

The history of a specifically 'Byzantine' Eucharist begins after Constantine's transfer of the imperial capital in 324 from Nicodemia in Anatolia to the city on the shores of the Bosporous, which he renamed 'New Rome' and which became known as 'Constantinople', in his honour. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon assigned to it a primacy of honour second only to the Old Rome.[17] The first text of the Byzantine Eucharist is given in the *Barberini Codex* at the end of the eighth century. The main evidence for the rite before then is the description of the

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[12] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 98.
[13] McKinnon, 'Alleluia'*,* p. 385.
[14] McKinnon, *Christian Antiquity and the Middle Ages,* p. 79.
[15] Hiley, *Western Plainchant,* p. 525.
[16] Ibid., p. 526.
[17] Stefano Parenti, 'The Eucharistic Liturgy in the East: The Various Orders of Celebration', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies, Volume I: The Eucharist,* ed. by Anscar J. Chupungo (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1999), p. 67. Constantinople survived as the Eastern capital of the Empire until 1453 and remained through the barbarian invasions which weakened the influence of the Empire in the East. The name 'Byzantine' was seldom used in the Middle Ages: the 'Byzantines' spoke Greek and called themselves 'Romans'. See John Meyendorff, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), p. 13.

liturgy given by Maximus the Confessor in his *Mystagogia*, written c.628–630. In the early centuries both Old and New Rome followed the same pattern for the Liturgy of the Word (catechumens). There were three readings: an Old Testament lesson, a responsorial psalm (of which the latter Byzantine prokeimenon is the descendant), an Epistle followed by the Alleluia interspersed between the verses of a psalm or part of a psalm, and the Gospel.[18]

The sixth-century *Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae gallicanae* contains a full description of a Gallican Mass and provides evidence of substantial Byzantine influence on Western liturgical practice.[19] The *Expositio* mentions two antiphons that appear to be borrowed from the Byzantine Eucharist: the Cheroubikon and the Trisagion. The Cheroubikon is the antiphon sung during the Great Entrance of the Byzantine Mass and the Sonum, the Offertory chant described in the *Expositio,* is likely to be the Cheroubikon.[20] The text of the chant is not given but the Sonum is spoken of as 'an angelic song which has a first, second and third Alleluia'. The Cheroubikon is an angelic song which terminates with three alleluias in the version that begins 'Let all mortal flesh be silent'. The *Expositio* also directs that 'the body of the Lord is carried within towers', providing Gallican testimony to the use of the distinctively Byzantine *turris* in the Offertory procession.[21] This lends credence to the view that the Byzantine Offertory rite, as a whole, was adopted in some Gallican centres.[22]

The Trisagion was introduced as an entrance chant into the Byzantine Eucharist toward the end of the fifth century.[23] It is sung three times in the rite described in the *Expositio*:

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[18] By the ninth century the readings, in Byzantium as in Rome, had been reduced to two, with the removal of the Old Testament reading. See Hugh Wybrew, 'The Byzantine Liturgy from the *Apostolic Constitutions* to the Present Day', in *The Study of Liturgy,* 2nd edn, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 254–59.

[19] Also known as the *Expositio pseudo–Germanus*, the dating of this document is still contested, with dates ranging from 555 to 700. See McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 72.

[20] Johannes Quasten, Oriental Influence in the Gallican Liturgy', *Traditio* 1 (1943), pp. 70–71.

[21] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 72.

[22] Ibid., p. 72; also Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 20.

[23] Hans–Joachim Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy: Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression*, trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo, 1986), pp. 35–39. Schulz points out that the Trisagion, as a 'tersanctus' (thrice holy), is to be distinguished from that which concludes the preface of the Eucharistic prayer.

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immediately after the deacon proclaims the *silentium* before the reading, before the Gospel and after the Gospel. An appropriate date for the borrowing of the Trisagion and, probably, the Cheroubikon from the Byzantine rite would seem to be the later sixth century at the earliest, as the Cheroubikon itself was not introduced into the Byzantine liturgy until about 573.[24] As for the Trisagion, there is no Gallican reference to its presence before the *Expositio*. We have no evidence for any comparable Byzantine influence on the Roman Liturgy of the time. The Cheroubikon never found its way into the Roman rite, and the Trisagion only appeared from the middle of the ninth century, at the adoration of the cross on Good Friday.[25]

The ascent of Justinian I to the throne in 527 introduced what has been called the 'Byzantine period' into the history of the papacy, lasting over two centuries.[26] It also marked the start of a period characterised by the organisation of a stational liturgy.[27] The stational liturgies of Jerusalem, Rome and Constantinople influenced the choice of lectionary readings in wider and later usages. The clearest example of this influence is the wholesale adoption of the Jerusalem calendar of the early fifth century, together with lessons from the liturgical celebrations, by the Armenian and Georgian churches.[28]

From the sixth until the mid–eighth century there was a considerable Eastern influence in the city of Rome. The sixth and seventh centuries were peaks of Byzantine influence in the

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[24] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 72. If the Byzantine Cheroubikon was the inspiration for the Sonum of the *Expositio*, it lends credence to a later rather than earlier dating for the Gallican document; however, it has not been shown to be definitively so.

[25] Ibid., p. 73.

[26] Hiley, p. 525.

[27] Parenti, p. 68.

[28] The Georgian Lectionary witnesses a later development of the Jerusalem liturgy. The abundance of sources used in its compilation makes for a difficult dating, but its major sources date from the early fifth century to the eighth. The extensive calendar of the Georgian Lectionary marks a significant evolution from the fifth–century stage of hagiopolite liturgy of the Armenian Lectionary: there is commentary for almost every day of the year and the calendar begins not at Epiphany but with a new date for the birth of Christ, December 25th, preceded by a preliminary service on December 24th 'at the shepherds'. See Baldovin, p. 240; also Michel Huglo, 'The Cantatorium from Charlemagne to the fourteenth century', in Jeffery, ed., *The Study of Medieval Chant*, pp. 84–87.

architecture of the city as well as its religious and political life.[29] It was also a time of Popes of Eastern origin, especially the liturgically influential Sergius I (687–701).[30] In an almost unbroken succession of Popes of Eastern provenance for three–quarters of a century, eleven out of thirteen Popes between 678 and 752 were Greek or Syrian by birth.[31] The outbreak of the iconoclastic persecution in Byzantium in 726 also resulted in the movement of many Greek churchmen to the West.[32]

The evidence, as a whole, may seem to indicate a strong likelihood for the influence of Byzantine liturgy and chant on Roman liturgy and chant, in its later if not earlier stages. However, the political and theological differences which separated the two capitals may just as easily have contributed to the separate development of their chant repertoires,[33] and some fundamental differences cannot be overlooked. The Western chant tradition never followed Byzantium in the composition of a large corpus of kontakia and kanons which constitute some of the most distinctive and intricate items of Byzantine music.[34] Conversely, while Rome developed a cycle of Proper Mass chants, Byzantium remained with basically only one entrance chant corresponding to the Introit, two Offertories and twelve koinonika (corresponding to the Communion chant).[35] It would seem, therefore, that the history of the Roman liturgy is one of general independence from the Byzantine rite, with any Byzantine influence in individual

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[29] Baldovin, p. 117. It is probably the period in which most ambos and soleas were adopted from Constantinopolitan models. See Thomas Graham Jackson, *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture, Volume I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 186–210.

[30] The Syrian Pope Sergius is credited with the introduction of processions on the feasts of the Virgin: namely, on the 2nd February (Presentation), 25th March (Annunciation), 15th August (Dormition) and 8th September (Nativity of the Virgin). See Baldovin, p. 122.

[31] This succession began with Pope Agatho in 678 and ended with Pope Zacharias in 752. See Andrew J. Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), pp. 244–257.

[32] Hiley, p. 526.

[33] Ibid., p. 526.

[34] Kontakia were intricately crafted florid hymns, often running to twenty–four stanzas, in honour of a particular feast or saint. The term was also used for the stick around which a parchment is wrapped. The kanon succeeded the kontakion in the second half of the seventh century as a new type of hymn, comprising of nine odes which were musically and metrically independent of one another. See Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 178–199.

[35] Hiley, p. 526.

details rather than overall form and content.[36] Our interest lies in discerning if the introduction of the Alleluia as a discrete musical liturgical item into the Roman rite constitutes one of these details.

A comparison of Roman and Byzantine Alleluias: melodic and textual concordances

The central argument for Byzantine influence on the origins of the Roman Alleluia is Christian Thodberg's demonstration that the three Roman Alleluias with Greek texts (*Epi si kyrie, O kyrios* and *Oti theos*) are derived from Byzantine Alleluias, both with respect to text and melody.[37] Like the Roman and other Western repertoires, Byzantine alleluias have a standard set of short alleluia openings, one for each of the six melodies (the two F modes are not used), with florid verses. Since Latin versions of these three Alleluias are also known, Thodberg's analysis embraces the Gregorian and Milanese traditions.[38]

The form is identical to that of the Roman Alleluia except for the absence of a *jubilus* after the alleluia and the usual presence of two or three verses as opposed to the typical single verse of the Roman chant.[39] There is a remarkable resemblance between the Alleluia melodies themselves, a consistent correspondence between the syllables of the original Greek verse text and those of the Roman, virtually identical melodic shapes, and the precise duplication of pitches at key points in each phrase, such as beginnings and endings.[40] There is also the shared preference of the Byzantine and Roman Alleluia for the G mode and the avoidance of the F

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[36] Individual details include the antiphon *O quando in cruce* for the veneration of the cross, the Trisagion, the Frankish *Missa Graeca,* the Communion chant *Omnes qui in Christi* which exhibits textual concordance (though not musical similarity) with *Hosoi eis Christon* and, likewise, the *Veterem hominem* antiphons for the octave of Epiphany. The system of eight modes may be seen as an indirect and secondary Byzantine influence as it plays no part in the organisation of the Old Roman chant repertory and the Gregorian repertory cannot be said to have been formed from the beginning within the system. See Hiley, p. 527.

[37] See Christian Thodberg, *Der byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus: Studien im kurzen Psaltikonstil* (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1966).

[38] *O kyrios = Dominus regnavit decorem, Oty theos = Quoniam Deus magnus, Epy si kyrie = In te Domine speravi.* See Thodberg, *Der byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus,* pp. 168–95; also Apel, p. 499.

[39] In chant musicology, the term *jubilus* is used to denote a melismatic flourish on the last syllable of the word 'alleluia'.

[40] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 99.

mode. This is evident in a comparison of a portion of both the Byzantine and the Roman version of the *O kyrios* chant:

FIGURE 3.1. Comparison of Byzantine (upper staff) and Roman (lower staff) versions of Alleluia *O kyrios.* Transcribed by McKinnon, 2000.[41]

If the Roman borrowing of these three Greek alleluias, a phenomenon not observed in any other genre of the Mass Proper, is the central item of evidence for Byzantine influence on the origin of the Roman Alleluia, there is a significant additional indication in the high proportion of textual concordances between the Roman and Byzantine Alleluia repertoires.[42] The degree of concordance between Roman and Byzantine verse texts far exceeds that of any other item of the Mass Proper; nearly half of the early Roman repertory is involved, a figure that could hardly be accounted for by coincidence. The Alleluias of the Roman Repertory comprise fifty–four in

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[41] McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, p. 253.
[42] Ibid., p. 254.

total: nineteen of these may be classified as independent melodies and thirty–five as melody 'types:' the D–mode Dies sanctificates type, the G–mode Ostende type and the E–mode Excita type.[43]

In charting the textual concordance, or lack thereof, between the Byzantine repertory and the Roman repertory, a high proportion of textual concordances emerges within the groups of chants not using the melody type, as opposed to those using them. There are eight textual concordances from a total of nineteen Alleluias with individual melodies; included in this group are the three Byzantine Alleluias (*Epi si kyrie, O kyrios* and *Oty theos*). Table 3.2 below groups the entire Roman Alleluia repertory according to the nineteen chants with independent melodies, followed by the thirty-five that utilise the three melody–types.[44]

TABLE 3.2. Roman Alleluia repertory with Byzantine textual concordances (indicated in bold print)

Independent melodies	*Excita* melody type
Adorabo ad templum	**Ascendit Deus**
Beatus vir	Cantate Domino . . . cantate
Confitebor	Cantate Domino . . . laudatio
Confitemini	Cantate Domino . . . quia
Dominus regnavit decorem	Confitebuntur
Epi si kyrie	Emitte spiritum tuum
Oty theos	**Excita Domine**
Gaudete justi	Exultabunt sancti
Haec dies	Laetatus sum
Jubilate Deo	Laudate Dominum . . . omnes
O kyrios	Laudate Dominum . . . quoniam
Pascha nostrum	Laudate pueri
Preoccupemus	Quo posuit fines
Qui confidunt	
Qui sanat contritos	
Quoniam confirmata	
Spiritus Domini	
Te decet hymnus	
Venite exultemus	

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[43] The use of melody types and their adaptation for a number of texts and dates indicates a later compositional stage in the history of the Alleluia, when a large number of new Alleluias were needed to fill out a meagre repertory. These aspects will be discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

[44] This table is adapted from McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* pp. 255–56. The Roman repertory is listed as it appears in Vat lat 5319. For references of the corresponding Byzantine manuscripts, see Thodberg's catalogue of the Byzantine repertory: Thodberg, *Alleluiarionzyklus,* pp. 11–12.

Dies sanctificates melody type	*Ostende* melody type
Dies sanctificates	**Diffusa est**
Disposui testamentum	Dominus dixit
Hic est discipulus	Dominus in Sina
Hi sunt qui	Lauda anima mea
Inveni David	Lauda Hierusalem
Justus non conturabitur	Mittat tibi
Magnus sanctus Paulus	Nimis honorati
Quoniam Deus magnus	Ostende nobis Domine
Sancti tui	Paratum cor meum
Tu es Petrus	Specie tua
Video caelos	
Vidimus stellam	

This finding proves altogether more significant when compared with that of the two other Mass proper chants with Byzantine cognates, the Gradual (prokeimenon) and the Communion. Of the 105 Roman Graduals, only five have textual concordances with the Byzantine prokeimenon and, of the 141 Roman Communions, only three have concordances with the Byzantine koinonicon.[45] There is no significant melodic relationship between any of the five Byzantine prokeimenon and its Roman textual counterpart, at least nothing approaching that manifested by the three Greek–Roman Alleluias.[46] There are also no Roman Graduals or Communions with Greek texts.

There are four other Alleluias with Greek texts which appear in the Roman repertory. They occur in the Vespers of Easter week, which have an important relationship with the Mass chants, as they share a significant number of Alleluias, both Greek and Latin. During Easter week at Rome the principal clergy of the city gathered at the Lateran for an ornate vespers service.[47] There were not enough textually applicable Mass Alleluias to provide Alleluias for the entire week and so a vesper tone was abstracted from the Mass Alleluia *Dominus regnavit*

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[45] At least two of the prokeimenon–gradual pairs, *Haec dies* and *In omnem terram*, may reflect a common liturgical association with Easter and the Apostles' feasts which goes back to the fourth century rather than a seventh–century sharing of repertory. See McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* pp. 254–56.

[46] Ibid., p. 257.

[47] Ibid. McKinnon suggests that the introduction of the Alleluia into the Mass, itself an event of dramatic impact, inspired the Roman clergy to transform Easter Sunday vespers, hitherto a vesper service of the standard format, into one of special splendour.

decorem and used to stamp out a considerable variety of new verses. In doing so the Roman singers also included four additional Byzantine *alleluia–alleluiarion* verse texts, transliterated from the Greek.

Of the eighteen Alleluias for the week, seven use a melody for the verse taken from its respective Mass Alleluia, while eleven employ the tone abstracted for vespers from *Dominus regnavit decorem* for the verse. Three use the respective Mass tone for the first verse, employing the vesper tone for the subsequent verses. Five are transliterated from the Greek: *O kyrios* is a Mass Alleluia while the other four are unique to vespers: *O pimenon, Proschete laos, Y urani* and *Deute galliasometha*. Of the eighteen, ten show Byzantine textual concordances.[48] Table 3.3 below lists the Roman Easter Week Vespers Alleluia repertory with Byzantine textual concordances.[49]

TABLE 3.3. Roman Easter Week Vespers Alleluia repertory with Byzantine textual concordances (indicated in bold print)

Day	*Alleluia*	*Verse 1 Tone*	*Verse 2 Tone*	*Verse 3 Tone*
Easter	**Dominus regnavit dec.**	Mass	Vesper	Vesper
	Pascha nostrum	Mass	Mass	–
	O kyrios	Mass	Mass	–
	Venite exultemus	Mass	Mass	–
Monday	**Domine refugium**	Vesper	Vesper	–
	O pimenon	Vesper	Vesper	Vesper
	In exitu Israel	Vesper	Vesper	Vesper
Tuesday	Paratum cor meum	Vesper	Vesper	Vesper
	Proschete laos	Vesper	Vesper	–
	Confitebor	Mass	Mass	Vesper
Wednesday	**Te decet hymnus**	Mass	Vesper	–
	Confitemini . . .et	Vesper	Vesper	–

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[48] McKinnon, *The Advent Project* p. 258.
[49] Ibid. The Roman repertory is listed as it appears in *Ordo Romanus XXVII*. Vat lat 5319 rectifies the absence of Thursday by moving the last four days forward. The Alleluias with Byzantine concordance are in bold print: a dash under the column 'Verse 3 Tone' indicates that the Alleluia does not run to three verses. For references of the corresponding Byzantine manuscripts, see Thodberg's catalogue of the Byzantine repertory: Thodberg, *Alleluiarionzyklus,* p. 173.

Friday	Laetatus sum	Vesper	Vesper	Vesper
	Qui confidant	Mass	Vesper	Vesper
Saturday	**Cantate . . .quia**	Vesper	Vesper	–
	Y urani	Vesper	Vesper	–
Sunday	**Deute galliasometha**	Vesper	Vesper	–
	Omnes gentes	Vesper	Vesper	Vesper

It appears that the evidence for Byzantine influence on the origins of the Roman Mass Alleluia — or at least its early development — is strong. Unlike other genres of the Roman Mass Proper, it did not originate as a complete psalm but was adopted from the Byzantine liturgy as a mature chant. The essential feature of Byzantine influence was the adoption of the Byzantine format of two responsorial chants in the Fore–Mass, the second of which was an Alleluia–psalm; in effect, it meant the addition of an Alleluia to virtually every festal date in the calendar.[50]

There was outright adoption of at least three Byzantine Alleluias: *O kyrios, Oty theos* and *Epi si kyrie*, both in respect of melody and text, with an added *jubilus*. *O kyrios* gives some insight into the centrality of the Byzantine role; not only did the original Greek version come to serve as both Mass Alleluia for Easter Monday and as one of the four Alleluias of Easter vespers, but its Latin cognate *Dominus regnavit decorem* is the most frequently encountered Alleluia in the Roman temporale, appearing five times, including even in the second Mass of Christmas Day.[51] It also contributed the melody for the Alleluia used with the Easter Vesper tone. The reliance on this single chant is enough to demonstrate that the Byzantine Alleluia was present at the start of this most decisive phase in the history of the Roman Alleluia; that is, the move to dual responsorial chants.

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[50] Outside of Paschaltime this resulted in the standard pattern of gradual and Alleluia. During Paschaltime it resulted in the pattern of the gradual *Haec dies* plus Alleluia for Easter week and of two Alleluias for the remainder of the season. In penitential seasons the Alleluia was forfeited in favour of the Tract.

[51] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 260.

Although there is a high incidence of textual concordance between the Roman and Byzantine Alleluias, there is almost no concordance of liturgical assignment. Of the thirteen textual concordances of the Mass Alleluias, only two are assigned to the same date in both liturgies: *Oty theos* to the Easter octave and *Ascendit Deus* to the Ascension.[52]

McKinnon posits that seventh–century Roman clerics must have been familiar with the liturgical phenomenon of the Byzantine Alleluia from their visits to Constantinople and, during the composition of the Roman Mass Proper, incorporated it into the Roman Mass. He suggests that it would have been an excellent musical fit, almost identical in form as it was to the Gradual.[53] However, I would see that its very likeness to the Gradual could also militate against its adoption into the Roman liturgy. While the psalms constitute the core of the chant texts, the inclusion of a psalm as one of the constituent parts of the Liturgy of the Word and its status as a Scripture reading, whether sung, cantillated or read, means that there is no need for the inclusion of a second Scripture text from the same biblical book: this is not paralleled in any of the other books of Scripture.[54]

It was necessary, then, that a fundamental structural change take place in the Roman Fore–Mass for the Alleluia as such to come into existence. The norm of a single responsorial psalm must be replaced by the norm of two consecutive responsorial psalms. It would appear that the influence of the Byzantine liturgy with its dual responsorial psalms, the second of which is the *alleluia–alleluiarion*, a splendid prelude to the Gospel, served to effect this change. The long tradition of appending the exclamation *alleluia* to psalms as an acclamatory response (both in the history of the Divine Office and the Eucharistic liturgy) and the wealth of patristic

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[52] McKinnon suggests that the concordance in assigning *Ascendit Deus* to the Ascension is so obvious a choice that it may have come about independently. McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 260.
[53] Ibid., p. 259.
[54] Byzantine *alleluiarion* texts are exclusively psalmic, with the exception of the three derived from the Christmastime Canticles of Luke's Gospel. We have seen that Roman Alleluias from the phase of Byzantine absorption also utilised psalmic verses, several of them inspired by Byzantine texts.

reference to it would have endowed the new Alleluia item with a certain mantle of familiarity and antiquity in the Roman liturgy.[55]

Thus, the Byzantine influence, when it made itself felt, was significant, bringing with it both a fundamental change in the structure of the Roman Fore-Mass: the adoption of a second responsorial chant, and a ready supply of melodies and texts. The most likely time for this to have happened is not easy to determine, although a likely period of adoption would be the late-seventh and early-eighth centuries during the reign of the Greek–speaking Popes (685–701), a period of relative peace between the two capitals that saw considerable Byzantine liturgical architecture and artistic activity at Rome.[56] Although the Alleluia was sung before the Gospel at Mass in the Byzantine rite, the musical setting of the word *alleluia* itself remained brief, in contrast to Western traditions.[57]

Ordo Romanus I

It is *Ordo Romanus I* that gives us our first unequivocal reference to the Alleluia of the Roman Mass. It describes the papal stational liturgy of the eighth century at Rome in great detail and presents all the principal Proper chants — Introit, Gradual, Alleluia, Offertory and Communion — in place in the rite, whereas only the Gradual and Communion were present in the Western liturgy at the close of antiquity. We also note that chants of the Proper are of two types: the Gradual and Alleluia follows a lesson and are constituent elements of the readings, while the Introit, Offertory, and Communion are chants which accompany an action.[58]

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[55] See Chapter Two of this dissertation.
[56] McKinnon, 'Alleluia'*,* p. 386; also James McKinnon, 'The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era', in *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: from Ancient Greece to the Fifteenth Century,* ed. by James McKinnon (Cambridge: The Macmillan Press, 1990), p. 106.
[57] Musical aspects of the Western Alleluia will be explored in Chapter Four of this dissertation.
[58] Preparations for the reading of the Gospel are recorded in *Ordo Romanus I* as occurring after, not during, the Alleluia (para. 59–62). An English translation of the document is found in Richard D. McCall, *Do This: Liturgy as Performance* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), pp. 137–59; this incorporates E.G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus* (London: Alexander Moring, 1905), pp. 116–49.

Ordines as they appear after the time of Gregory I are liturgical scripts, rubrics for the celebrant and ministers.[59] Although *Ordines* once existed in various forms, including single pages, leaflets and books, those that are still extant survive because of their inclusion in collections.[60] Despite the name 'Roman', and the ostensible ordinal source of many of these documents, the *Ordines* are Romano–Frankish or Romano–Germano in character, reflecting where they were first gathered and used.[61] They are one sign of the Carolingian fascination with Rome which produced many liturgical books of different kinds at the behest of Pepin the Short and Charlemagne.[62]

The *Ordines Romani* is a unique historical source in that they are documents of practice. They were frequently copied and used in centres other than Rome itself and their composition is set over a long period of time, from the seventh to the fifteenth century; consequently, the original text has, in many cases, been altered and interpolations inserted in order to satisfy regional or local customs.[63] The most important for the development of the Western Eucharistic liturgy is the first of the series and it suffices for a full description of the papal Mass as it would have been celebrated in Rome about the beginning of the eighth century, at the end of the Gregorian period of liturgical reorganisation.[64] Yet while *Ordo Romanus I* (hereafter OR I) is of singular importance as our oldest extant source for the Western Mass liturgy and for the

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[59] *Ordines* should be distinguished from contemporary sacramentaries which only include prayers without any designation of actions to be performed, and later pontificals, which combined the script of the *Ordines* with the dialogue of the sacramentaries and can be considered the ancestors of the modern missals. See Cyril Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources,* trans. and rev. by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington: Pastoral Press, 1986)*,* pp. 135–36.

[60] Michel Andrieu compiled those currently designated as *Ordines Romani* between 1931 and 1961 from manuscripts located in a variety of libraries; the number of manuscripts that preserve various *Ordines Romani* ranges widely, from twenty–eight to one. See Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century,* trans. by Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993), pp. 175–85.

[61] For example, Collection A, widely diffused throughout the Carolingian Empire, contains texts that were originally Roman, but were adapted in Francia by additions to and alteration of the texts; Collection B demonstrates an even greater set of transformations once it arrived in Francia. See Vogel, p. 138.

[62] Vogel, p. 138.

[63] D.M. Hope, 'Liturgical Books', in *The Study of Liturgy,* 2nd edn, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 99.

[64] Hope, p. 99.

Alleluia as a Proper chant of the Mass, we have no external sources to vouch definitively for its dating and authorship.

OR I is the earliest complete description of the Roman papal stational rite and the early eighth–century dating (700–730) is based on several facts. Two stages of redaction can be identified in its development: the first under Pope Sergius I (687–701) and a second redaction in the late–seventh/early–eighth century, when the text was significantly revised in Rome, with six chapters added to the original document and minor changes made to other chapters.[65]

We have to rely on internal elements of OR I for a more precise dating of its first redaction as, unfortunately, no extant document produced in Rome in the early Middle Ages makes any direct reference to it. The single most datable element in the document is the liturgical chant *Agnes Dei*. The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that Sergius I introduced it into the Roman liturgy to serve as a *confractorium*, a song to be sung by the clergy and people during the breaking of the Eucharistic bread.[66] OR I also uses the term *patriarchum* twice to refer to the Lateran papal palace.[67] The first securely dated reference to this term appears in the *Liber Pontificalis* biography of Sergius I; previously, since the time of Gregory I, it had been referred to as *episcopium Lateranense*. This gives further evidence of the hand of Sergius I in the initial composition of the *Ordo*. Thirdly, the document makes provision for the celebration of stations of the *diaconiae*.[68] *Diaconiae* are first attested to in the *Liber Pontificalis* biography of Benedict II in 684–685 and appear to be a recent importation from the East into Rome. Byzantine monks,

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[65] John Romano posits that the original text did not include para. 1–6 and either did not contain or had substantially different versions of 7, 18, 24–26, 46, 65 and, potentially 13. John F. Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome* (London: Taylor & Francis 2020), p. 71.

[66] *Gestorum pontificum Romanorum Volumen I. Libri Pontificalis pars prior,* ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmannos, 1898), 215; also *The Book of Pontiffs: The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715, Second Edition,* ed. and trans. Raymond Davis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000). From here on I will designate references from this work as LP.

[67] OR I para. 7 and 18.

[68] OR I para. 26.

coming to Rome both to escape the Arab invasions and theological debate at home, brought this typically Eastern form of charitable assistance to the eternal city.[69]

Sergius' musical background would correspond well to the references to singing and music in OR I. Having shown promise in singing, Sergius undertook musical education under the *prior cantorum*, the head of the schola cantorum, who praised his abilities in chanting.[70] Sergius is the last Pope praised in the *Liber Pontificalis* for his musical abilities, a distinction he shares with his recent predecessors Leo II (682–683) and Benedict II (684–685). No reference to Popes involved in ecclesiastical singing occurs later in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[71]

The Pope is actively involved with the music of the liturgy as described in OR I. The rubric specifies that the head of the schola is to look at the Pope to see if he wishes to change the number of litanies sung in the *kyrie eleison*, which implies that the Pope was familiar with the music.[72] The Pope signals to the schola when he wishes the Offertory chant to end.[73] The Pope himself intoned the *kyrie eleison* and the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.[74] Most strikingly, the Pope stations himself on a prayer rug, before he has even reached his chair, and prays while the *Gloria* is being sung.[75] In this way, the music can be seen to accompany the procession of the Pope to the altar.

The schola cantorum features prominently in OR I: it is represented as performing most of the chants of the Mass and to have a formal organisation.[76] One of the members of the schola was chosen to serve as the cantor in the liturgy,[77] though it is unclear which members were eligible for this honour. Previous to Gregory the Great the chants between the readings were

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[69] LP, 204.
[70] LP, 210.
[71] LP, 200, 203. McKinnon has argued that these three papacies, and the later–seventh century in general, represent a period of feverish activity in the composition of Mass Propers. See McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* pp. 274–276.
[72] OR I para. 52
[73] OR I para. 85.
[74] OR I para. 52–53.
[75] OR I para. 50–51.
[76] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 87.
[77] OR I para. 37–38.

delivered by deacons, but Gregory forbade this practice for two reasons: firstly, men were being chosen for the office of deacon on account of their pleasant voices rather than their virtue; secondly, they were rendered unavailable for more essentially diaconal tasks such as preaching and collecting alms.[78]

The appointment of the cantor is one of magnitude and consequence in the ritual as described in OR I and corresponds with that of the lector. In the course of his preparations in assisting the Pope to prepare for the celebration, the regionary subdeacon approaches the choir and asks for the name of the cantor. He then returns to the pontiff and, with suitable gestures of reverence, imparts this information along with the name of the regionary subdeacon who is to read the epistle. Then the *Ordo* carries a stark admonishment: once this information has been given to the Pope, it is not allowed to substitute someone else for either of these roles, on penalty of excommunication.[79] This practice presents the lector and cantor as ministers of equal import in the sacred duty of proclaiming God's word, manifesting the understanding in the antique world of the psalm as one of the readings; the use of the term 'cantor' speaks to the evolved musical context of the chants.

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[78] Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development, Volume 1,* trans, Francis A. Brunner (London: Burns and Oates, 1959), p. 280; also McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 85. The obvious inference to be drawn from Gregory's dictum regarding deacons is that the schola cantorum was not yet in existence: if it had been, there would be no need to speak of other clergy performing their functions. Also, Gregory tended to favour monks over clergy in matters of ecclesiastical preferment: he lived as a monk and turned churches over to monks, involving them in administrative matters at the Lateran as he believed that the more spiritually inclined monks were better suited to these tasks than secular clergy. The schola cantorum manifested the tendency of the Roman clergy to form groups and to build internal hierarchies. It was an institution, moreover, that assumed a significant role in Roman liturgy and chant, an area formerly dominated by monks. Finally, both Bede's biography chapter in his *Ecclesiastical History* on Gregory the Great and the first independent biography of Gregory by the English contemporary of Bede's, the anonymous monk of Whitby, written between 706–714, are silent on the subject of Gregory and liturgical music. It would seem, in view of Gregory's silence on the schola (yet prolific writing on other aspects of the Roman church) that the schola was established sometime after his reign, probably in a period when both Rome and its clergy flourished before the reign of Adeodatus II (672–676). See Peter Llewellyn, 'The Roman Church in the Seventh Century: The Legacy of Gregory I', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 25 (1974), pp. 364–368; also *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby,* ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[79] OR I para. 37–39. The two ministers listed in para. 37 are, we learn in para. 38, the cantor and the regionary subdeacon, not two separate cantors.

The passage of OR I that cites the Gradual 'the cantor with *cantatorium* goes up and sings the responsum' continues, 'if it be the time to sing the Alleluia, then good, if not, however, the Tract'.[80] The Alleluia is replaced by a Tract in the penitential season of Lent.[81] By the time of OR I, the three original readings of the Roman Mass had dwindled to two, with the suppression of the Old Testament reading: in the earlier period this would have come between the Gradual and the Alleluia.[82] The Church had abandoned the ancient custom of a *lectio continua* of the Scriptures at Mass in favour of choosing short selections from Biblical books called pericopes.[83] The two readings, the cantor's part of the Gradual, and the Tract or Alleluia were all delivered from the ambo which had two sets of steps, one for ascending and one for descending. The only person who read at the first step of the ambo was the deacon in reading the Gospel; the subdeacon and cantor stood on the lower steps. When the first reading was finished, the cantor ascended to the second highest step of the ambo.[84]

The musical format of the Alleluia, like that of the Gradual, is responsorial, consisting of the alleluia, the verse, and a repetition of the alleluia. We do not know precisely how this was rendered in seventh– and eighth–century Rome.[85] The Alleluia functions as an acclamatory

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[80] OR I para. 57. OR I does not specify that there were any books used to sing the music outside the *cantatorium*, a specialised chant book that contained only the Gradual, Alleluia and Tract. Some of these manuscripts, such as MS. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 359, have been preserved, giving Graduals, Alleluias and Tracts in full, but only the incipits to other chants. See Hiley, p. 296.

[81] The Tract, which is also first attested to in OR I, was a chant sung during penitential seasons. It had neither a verse nor a refrain, but instead was a series of psalm verses. It substituted for the Alleluia on certain days of the year known for their solemn celebration, mourning or penitence: these included all Sundays from Septuagesima (the ninth Sunday before Easter) to Palm Sunday (the last Sunday in Lent), in addition to occasions such as Good Friday and feasts of martyrs. It would be more accurate to speak of the Alleluia replacing the Tract, not vice versa, as Alleluia never existed on such penitential occasions. See Apel, p. 377; also McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 93.

[82] Jungmann, pp. 507–08 and 544–45.

[83] Early Christians would read straight through Biblical books at liturgical services and pick up wherever they had left off at the next liturgy. The reasons why certain pericopes were assigned to certain feast days is not always entirely obvious: in some cases, it was because of a thematic connection with the day being celebrated, in other cases, the reasons are obscure. See Jungmann, pp. 510–511.

[84] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 222. Romano sees the ascent of the cantor to the ambo as indicative of facilitating the participation in the laity in the liturgy. Based on its musical virtuosity, and its arrogation by a member of the schola cantorum, I do not think the Gradual was, at this stage in the development of liturgical chant, a piece for the congregation. I find it much more reasonable that the cantor's ascent to the ambo took place within the context of proclamation, rather than invitation. See Romano, p. 281.

[85] Throughout much of the Middle Ages the standard practice was for a cantor to begin by intoning a neumatic alleluia melody, which was repeated by the chorus, who extended the final syllable 'a' with a melismatic

preparation for the reading of the Gospel, which follows with a well–developed ceremonial. One of the deacons present kisses the Pope's foot and the Pope says the prayer that prepares him to read.[86] The deacons and assistants form a procession with candle and incense, the evangelary is prepared and carried solemnly down towards the people with a greeting by the pontiff and the *oremus*.[87] The book was thus lent a special reverence in the ritual.

The original edition of OR I was designed primarily for Easter Sunday, Easter Monday, and Easter Tuesday.[88] It became the starting point for determining the Mass Alleluias of Easter Week, which are noteworthy for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Gradual for Easter Sunday was treated like an Alleluia in its response. Secondly, Easter Sunday, uniquely among the entire antiphoner, had more than one verse. Finally, the days from Easter Tuesday to Friday did not have set Alleluias: the Alleluias for these days could be decided for individual Masses, though neither the antiphoner nor OR I give any idea who chose the particular verse for these days.[89]

This discussion of elements pertaining to the Alleluia in *Ordo Romanus I* inevitably brings us back to the question of Byzantine or Eastern influence. Constantinople and Rome were joint inheritors of the ceremonial forms of the later Roman Empire, and there is little evidence that the papacy borrowed its liturgy wholesale from the Eastern imperial court.[90] The attribution of a Roman stational, papal rite to the influence of Byzantine court ceremonial does make sense in the context of some of the particulars of the ceremonial described in OR I, but

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jubilus; one or two cantors then sang a moderately melismatic verse, which the chorus completed by singing the final melismatic syllable; the chant was concluded with the singing of 'alleluia' by the chorus. See McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 249. Performance practice will be discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

[86] This is the only prayer in all of OR I that the Pope is instructed to say silently (*tacite*): the implication is that the rest of the prayers the people said, including the canon, were spoken out loud. Robert Cabie, *The Eucharist,* trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), p. 133.

[87] OR I para. 59–65.

[88] Joseph Dyer, 'The Offertory Chant of the Roman Liturgy and its Musical Form', *Studii musicali* 11 (1982), p. 4.

[89] These Alleluias to be chosen are indicated by the phrase *Alleluia quale volueris*, a directive which becomes a familiar feature of the Alleluia repertory. This question of fixed and non–fixed assignment will be explored in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

[90] The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies, which was compiled in the tenth century but preserves material from earlier eras, is an essential document for the court ceremonial of Constantinople, and provides us with valuable hints for the development of the papal court in Rome. See Michael McCormick, 'De Ceremoniis', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 3 Volumes*, ed. by A.P. Kazhdan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

we must qualify it carefully. Firstly, the stational system as a whole is witnessed in a document from the late sixth/early seventh century, the *Comes of Wurzburg*.[91] Secondly, the practice of holding stations at different churches on difference feasts preceded the adaptation of specific ceremonial with regard to the Pope's arrival at a church and his entrance for the Eucharist, moreover, we should not confuse popular liturgical procession with the kind of procession described in OR I.[92] Notwithstanding the value of the document, we cannot claim that OR I represents the definitive form of the liturgy for the early medieval West. Like all other late antique cities, Rome had developed its own particular liturgy over centuries. However, as our earliest extant record of a Western and, specifically, Roman liturgy, it is of immense value in providing a locus for the establishment of all the items of the Roman Mass Proper, including the Alleluia as a discrete liturgical item, as they would endure for centuries to come.

The aim of our next chapter is to situate the development of the Alleluia within the context of the Roman Mass Proper and, in doing so, to explore this question of the Alleluia's lateness and the attendant issues of its small repertory and instability of liturgical assignment. This leads to an overview of the Alleluia in the chant tradition we know as 'Gregorian'.[93]

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[91] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 129.

[92] While hagiopolite practice includes popular processions by its very nature as an imitation of Christ's experience, the earliest sources of the Roman liturgy reveal no such processions. Popular liturgical processions of a supplicatory nature reached a high point in Rome in the period that Frankish liturgical practice began to influence the Roman Rite. Antiphons chosen for these liturgical processions accorded with their penitential nature and the Gregorian Sacramentary indicates that when the liturgy included a procession, the Gloria and Alleluia of the Mass were omitted. Ibid., pp. 129, 150, 158–161.

[93] Richard Crocker and Thomas Forrest Kelly point to a number of paradoxes in the study of medieval chant: the early history of chant is a history of orality, of transmission by mouth to ear, and yet we can study it only though the use of written documents; the chant is said to originate in Rome, yet its sources originate in Gaul. See Kelly, p. 39.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ALLELUIA IN THE CHANT TRADITION OF THE ROMAN RITE

We have seen that, while the psalmody of the later fourth–century Mass may be aptly described as lector chant, by the late seventh/early–eighth century the Roman Mass Proper involved a repertory of music performed by a schola of highly skilled and trained singers.[1] The most notoriously unstable item in this chant repertory was the Alleluia. The post-Pentecostal period manifests this instability of liturgical assignment starkly: in the earliest graduals the Introit, Gradual, Offertory and Communion chants appear in place at each feast day while Alleluias were often to be selected from a list given as an appendix at the end of the gradual.[2] This variability prevails to such an extent that, not only in the oldest sources but also through to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there are no more than approximately fifteen feasts in the temporal cycle which have the same Alleluia in all the manuscripts and we have to turn to feasts such as the first three Sundays of Advent, the Nativity, Easter Sunday, Ascension and Whit Sunday in order to find fixed Alleluias.[3]

British liturgical scholar Walter Frere originated the dictum that 'fixity means antiquity': if the same formulary appears in many sources it must be relatively old or stable, whereas instability exists where various texts appear from source to source for a particular liturgical item.[4] As a genre, the Alleluias of the Roman Mass Proper not only generally lack unique liturgical assignments but appear to lack fixed assignments on the whole and are mostly chosen on an *ad hoc* basis, indicated by the rubric *quale volueris*, meaning, 'whichever you

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[1] *Ordo Romanus I* marks the transition from lector chant to schola chant. See Chapter Three of this dissertation, which discusses the role and remit of the Roman schola in the development of liturgical chant.

[2] These Alleluias were listed under such headings as *Alleluiae de circulo anni* or *Alleluiae per singulas Dominicas*. See Apel, p. 380.

[3] Oldest sources as indicated by the six early Frankish manuscripts of Rene–Jean Hesbert's *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Bruxelles: Vromant, 1935); namely, Monza, Rheinau, Blandin, Compiegne, Corbie and Senlis. The Alleluia is the only chant of the Roman Mass Proper in which composition of both text and melody continued as late as the fifteenth century. See Apel, pp. 65, 378–379; also McKinnon, 'The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era', p. 106.

[4] McKinnon, 'The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era', p. 105. McKinnon cites Walter H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 214.

wish'. If we accept this maxim that fixity signifies antiquity, this would appear to be clear evidence of the Alleluia's lateness.

There is another broad indication of the late date of the Roman Alleluia: its strikingly small repertory. This is characterised by the employment of melody–types, when the same melody is adapted and re–used for a number of different texts. Just as the same melody might be used for several different texts, so might the same text be sung to several different melodies. This practice of melody–type employment and adaptation is far more widespread among the Alleluias than any other chant genre.[5] One might see this phenomenon as related to the genre's paucity of fixed assignments: that there were simply not enough Alleluias in the repertory to provide unique assignments for every date in the Roman temporale. But the significant point is that such a small repertory suggests that the Alleluia developed at too late a stage in the creative period of Roman chant composition to have its full range of chants completed.[6]

The Alleluia as an item of the Roman Mass Proper

We have seen that the introduction of the Alleluia into the Roman Mass as a discrete musical-liturgical item seems, in all probability, to have been inspired by the example of the Byzantine *alleluia–alleluiarion* chant, concrete examples even serving as staple texts and melodies in Roman practice.[7] James McKinnon suggests it is very likely that a small repertory of Roman Alleluias existed before the period of Byzantine influence. He posits that the Roman response to this influence involved the provision of many additional chants, largely through the ample usage of three melody–types, and the introduction of non–psalmic verses into the repertory.

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[5] With the exception of hymns and late–medieval rhymed Sequences. See Hiley, p. 131.

[6] James McKinnon notes that chant scholars like Peter Wagner and Willi Apel attribute the antiquity of the Gradual to the Alleluia of the Mass and propose that a melismatic Alleluia refrain was always part of the Mass, with a verse being added to it in the eighth century. McKinnon rejects this hypothesis as unsatisfactory, owing to what he describes as their 'misreading' of patristic sources and references to *alleluia* therein. See McKinnon, 'The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era', p. 106.

[7] See Chapter Three of this dissertation.

The inclusion of non–psalmic verses is a trait of this purely Roman activity, as is the free use of melody–types.[8]

We know the early medieval Mass Propers from three principal bodies of evidence: literary sources, such as the *Ordines Romanus I*, which describe the Roman Mass as it was celebrated in the first half of the eighth century; several unnotated ninth-century graduals, the earliest of which dates from around 800 and which establish the texts of the Franco–Roman Mass Propers for that date; and notated graduals, the earliest surviving examples of which date to c. 900 and after.[9] The development of a Mass Proper may be considered the last stage in a general process of liturgical stabilisation.[10] Willi Apel maintains a threefold distinction in discussing the origins of Proper chants. He outlines three different aspects in the development of chant formularies: the institution of a feast, the assignment of chant texts to it, and the composition of its chant melodies.[11] Apel contests that these three amount to historical, chronological stages, while McKinnon argues for the assignment of chants to a festival contemporaneously with the feast's institution.[12]

McKinnon likens the late-seventh–century creation of the Roman Mass Proper to the construction of a house while people are living in it, with the Roman cantors having to compose and create music for the liturgy while honouring daily performance duties. He maintains that the resultant Mass Proper can be understood more as the result of a concerted short–term effort than a process of incremental change over a number of centuries. The end product he describes as 'an impressive if imperfect edifice', with the Advent and Christmas chants finely crafted,

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[8] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 277. The three melody–types are the *Excita*, *Ostende* and *Dies sanctificatus* melody–types, according to the textual incipit of their Alleluia verses. Melody–types will be discussed later in this chapter.
[9] Most notably the Cantatorium CH–SGs359, F–CHR 47 (destroyed in 1944) and P–LA 239. See McKinnon, 'The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era', p. 92.
[10] The first stage is the bipartite structure of a preliminary service of readings and instruction succeeded by the Eucharistic rite. Following next in time are ordinary items, such as a prescribed Eucharistic prayer and the Lord's Prayer succeeded, lastly, by the items which vary from day to day: – those that will eventually be fixed in a liturgical Proper. See McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 20.
[11] Apel, p. 56.
[12] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 102.

Lent and Paschaltime reasonably well finished and the post–Pentecostal season 'hastily erected'.[13] On the whole, the creation of the Roman Mass Proper appears as an ambitiously conceived project, with the aim of creating a set of Proper chants for every day of the Church year being, ultimately, a project too large to realize fully, resulting in the need to make a number of compromises. Our interest lies in how the Alleluia was treated within this scheme.

McKinnon believes that the period of Byzantine influence on the Alleluia of the Mass and the Roman response to it was short–lived and came late in the development of the Roman Mass Proper, overlapping with the later stages of what he calls the Advent Project and the work of creating an adequate sanctorale.[14] It would seem that work on the Roman Alleluia, in fact, was not completed before the redaction of the Mass antiphonaries used in the transmission of the cantus romanus to the north, as fixed Alleluias do not exist in consistent versions in the Frankish tradition.[15] The final result was a repertory much smaller than that of other genres in the Mass Proper: about half that of the Gradual and Offertory and a third that of the Introit and Communion.[16]

Repertory

The Alleluias of the Roman Repertory comprise fifty–four in total. Of this number, thirty–five can be distinguished as corresponding to one of three melody–types: the D–mode *Dies sanctificatus* type, the G–mode *Ostende* type and the E–mode *Excita* type. Chant scholar Leo Treitler draws on the work of Paolo Ferretti and of Francois–Auguste Gevaert; the latter's 1895 study of the Gregorian office antiphons 'La melodee antique dans le chant de l'eglise latine',

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[13] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 1.
[14] Ibid., p. 277.
[15] Ibid., p. 279; see also Emma Hornby, 'The Transmission of Western Chant in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Evaluating Kenneth Levy's Reading of the Evidence', *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004), pp. 418–457. Hornby concurs with McKinnon that the Alleluia repertory was not fully developed when the Franks adopted Roman chant.
[16] Only two cycles within the repertory appear to have been completed: Introits and Communion antiphons. There are almost 150 Introits and Communions, just over one hundred Graduals, less than one hundred Offertories and twenty Tracts. See McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 10.

identified what we now call melody–types, indicating that antiphons could be created based on generally understood melodic procedures, rather than as deliberately and self–consciously independent works of art. This leads Treitler to a consideration of the phenomenon of recurrent passages of music in certain genres of chant, what Ferretti called 'centonisation': the assembly of a patchwork composition composed out of pre-existent melodic units or formulae.[17] When melody–types are employed individual melodies, as well as families of idioms, are applied to several chants of various liturgical assignments and with varying texts. Their usage speaks of a singer or group of singers arranging and adapting melodic material already in the repertory to partner new words for liturgical occasions not already catered for; or, perhaps, to replace current musical items with new ones.[18]

This practice of re–employment or adaptation is substantially more prolific in the agglomeration of the Alleluia repertory than among any of the other chant genres.[19] What distinguishes the Alleluias in the matter of re–employment is not only that they are much more numerous than in the other Propers but, especially, that they occur within the earliest segment of the liturgical year while, in other chants, they are found only for feasts of a later date.[20] The prevalence of melody–types in the Alleluia repertory and their adaptation for a number of texts and dates indicates a later compositional stage in the history of the genre, when a large number of new Alleluias was needed to fill out a meagre repertory. McKinnon posits that the most plausible explanation for such a large proportion of chants utilising melody–types within such a small repertory is an attempt on the part of the Roman singers and composers to provide an

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[17] Leo Treitler, 'Centonate Chant: Übles Flickwerk or E pluribus unus?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), pp. 1–23. The title poses the question of whether the chant in question is a 'wretched patchwork' or distillled 'from many into one'. The author responds to his own question at the end of the article with the answer: 'neither: the question is wrong'. Distinguishing between melody–type and a series of formulae can be problematic, as the melody–type can be seen, essentially, as merely a high concentration of shared formulae. See Crocker, p. 81; also Kelly, p. xiv.
[18] Richard Crocker, p. 42. Crocker notes that we may never know which occasion came first, how the melody was first developed for that occasion, or, even, where it originated.
[19] Hiley, p. 131.
[20] Apel, p. 69, 381.

adequate number of chants within a limited period of time: to 'catch up', so to speak, with the other genres of the Mass Proper.[21] This generalisation is exemplified in the particular case of the Roman post–Pentecostal Alleluia series. It would seem that this series of Alleluias was put in place after the redaction of the Mass antiphonaries involved in the transmission to the northern regions in the middle portion of the eighth century. The series is stable in the two Roman graduals for which the relevant portion of the manuscript survives but does not appear in any Frankish or early Gregorian gradual.[22] Almost one third (eight out of the twenty–two) are unique to this series, appearing nowhere else in the Roman calendar. This compositional frenzy appears at odds with the relative paucity of Alleluias composed overall: until we see that six of these eight are set to the *Excita* melody–type.[23]

While Alleluias are designated by the initial word or phrase of their verse texts, it is not known at what time verses were added to the Alleluia. As the earliest sources for Mass formularies show the accretion of the verse to the Alleluia invariably connected with a verse, this process of addition most likely developed between c.550 and 750.[24] In the earliest Frankish manuscripts we find a few Alleluias with two verses: the *Codex of St Gall 359* contains twelve such Alleluias, mostly for high feasts, including the Easter Sunday Alleluia which has the verses *Pascha nostrum* and *Epulemur*, and the Easter Monday Alleluia with verses *Laudate pueri* and *Sit nomen Domini*. None of these Alleluias with two verses survived in later practice.[25]

Liturgical assignment

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[21] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 267.
[22] Ibid. The two Roman Graduals are Vat lat 5319 and San Pietro F22.
[23] This group of eight are not found in the Gregorian repertory: the texts do appear, but with completely unrelated melodies.
[24] Mass formularies such as the eighth–century *Codex Monza.* See Apel, p. 378. The mid–sixth–century writings of Cassiodorus detail the melismatic singing of 'alleluia', but make no reference to a verse in connection with the acclamation. See *PL,* vol. 70, col. 742.
[25] Ibid., p. 185.

A central factor in establishing the apparently late development of the Alleluia as a Mass Proper is its instability of liturgical assignment. This instability is most exemplified by the chaotic state of Alleluia assignation in the post–Pentecostal period, when cantors appear to have chosen their Alleluias each Sunday from lists. Only fifteen temporal feasts in the mid–eighth century Roman Mass antiphonaries used in the transmission of the chant to the Frankish territories had Alleluias assigned to them and these are listed in Table 4.1 below.[26] Nearly half of these (seven) are to be found in the continuous liturgical sequence from Christmas to Epiphany: this is the only segment of the Church year where fixed Alleluia assignments run in a continuous liturgical sequence.[27]

TABLE 4.1 Stable Alleluia assignments in the temporal cycle

Season	Mass	Alleluia
Christmastime	Nativity I	Dominus dixit
	Nativity II	Dominus regnavit decorem
	Nativity III	Dies sanctificatus
	Stephen	Video caelos
	John the Evangelist	Hic est discipulus
	Sunday	Dominus regnavit
	Epiphany	Vidimus stellam
Paschaltime	Easter Vigil	Confitemini
	Easter Sunday	Pascha nostrum
	Easter Monday	O kyrios
	Easter Saturday	Haec dies
	Ascension I	Dominus in Sina
	Ascension II	Ascendit Deus
	Pentecost I	Confitemini
	Pentecost Sunday II	Emitte spiritum

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[26] This table is adapted from McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, p. 141, and is based on an examination of the six early Frankish manuscripts comprising Hesbert's *Sextuplex.*

[27] In the other seasons, there is a large measure of change from the Roman to Frankish Alleluia assignments, unlike the near–perfect continuity of the introits: of the 102 dates with assigned introits in the Roman temporal cycle of the late–seventh century, only one is re–employed: *Lux fulgebit* of the second Mass of the Nativity borrowed for the Vigil Mass of the Epiphany. See McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', pp. 241–47; also *The Advent Project, p.* 207.

Alleluias participate to a noticeable degree in the careful planning of the Advent–Christmas season, exhibiting the two characteristics of melody–type employment and non–psalmic verse texts. Alleluias manifest a series of five chants from the third Mass of the Nativity through to Feast of the Epiphany of five chants, each employing the *Dies sanctificatus* melody–type and each being non–psalmic in verse. These five join Easter's *Pascha nostrum*, Pentecost's *Spiritus Domini* and the *Dies*–type chant sung on the octave of Ss Peter and Paul, *Tu es Petrus*, as the only non–psalmic Alleluia verses in the entire core repertory.[28]

In the pre–Easter season the Alleluia is not used and the Tract is sung in its place.[29] The Alleluia was not sung from Septuagesima to the end of Lent, nor on penitential Ember days outside Lent, though this was relaxed for the Pentecost Ember Days.[30] *Ordo Romanus XXII*, dated c. 790–800, describes the liturgy for the beginning of Lent on Ash Wednesday.[31] It explains that the Gloria and Alleluia are not sung at the Eucharist during Lent, and when there is a procession in the Eucharist.[32] When we come to Paschaltide, from the Saturday in Easter week until the Friday after Pentecost, we find a period during which two Alleluias are sung instead of the usual Gradual–plus–Alleluia format; 'alleluia' constitutes the respond of the Gradual during this period, effectively rendering two Alleluias in the liturgy.[33]

There is a distinct pattern to which dates had Alleluias assigned and which did not: festivals such as Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter had them assigned, while ordinary Sundays and ferias did not.[34] We also find that originally assigned Alleluias contain explicit references to their liturgical dates and feasts in their verse texts, suggesting that the originally assigned

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[28] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 278.
[29] Apel, p. 28.
[30] Hiley, p. 23.
[31] OR XXII is part of the Gallicanised collection and may have been written with the intent of aiding the introduction of Roman practice to Frankish lands. See Baldovin, p. 134.
[32] OR XXII para. 16. It states that the Great Litany is an exception to the rule, without explaining why; Baldovin suggests that, in this instance, the compiler of the Ordo reveals his lack of thorough familiarity with Roman practice. See Baldovin, p. 135.
[33] Apel, p. 28.
[34] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 266.

Roman Alleluias, like their corresponding Introits and Communions, were created with their assigned dates in mind, while those assigned after the redaction of the Mass antiphoner used in the transmission of Roman chant of the Frankish lands were assigned from those that happened to be available in the existing repertory.[35]

The question of lateness

The indicators, as outlined in the sections above, that the Alleluia was a latecomer to the development of the Roman Mass Proper are significant: the very limited repertory of just over fifty chants, the diminished compositional originality indicated by the high rate of melody–type employment within the genre, and the fact that Alleluias were permanently assigned for only fifteen dates of the church year.[36] Yet it seems inconceivable that the four central items of the Mass Proper were first completed and that the Alleluia was hastily added later. McKinnon rejects this possibility outright:

> Finished or not, the Alleluia is an integral part of the Mass Proper structure;
> its analogous positioning with the Tract and its replacement of the Gradual
> during Paschaltime make it part of the plan.[37]

The antique pedigree of the alleluia acclamation itself heightens the improbability of its being neglected in a compositional process as significant as the creation of the Roman Mass Proper.[38] Yet the evidence of a small repertory, along with marked instability of liturgical assignment and the high rate of melodic re–employment all suggest some 'sticking point' in the creation of the Alleluia repertory. With this evidence, McKinnon posits two likely explanations of the situation. The first is that, while work to complete the cycle of Mass Propers commenced at the end of the seventh century, composition of Alleluias (which were latecomers to the Mass

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[35] For example, *Vidimus stellam* for Epiphany and *Emitte spiritum* for Pentecost. See McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 266.
[36] Musicological features indicative of chronology will be taken up later in this chapter.
[37] Ibid.*,* p. 364.
[38] See Chapters One and Two of this dissertation.

Propers) was barely begun before this creative period came to a close c. 720. His second theory is that some kind of interruption, likely political or economic, brought the process to an end before the completion of the cycle of Alleluias.[39] Without discounting either or both of these hypotheses, I would venture that an additional and equally plausible hypothesis for the state of the Alleluia repertory lies in the very nature of the genre itself.

McKinnon refers to the Alleluia as a 'quasi stepchild' in the repertory, presumably characterising the Alleluia's status as somewhat of a late addition to the family of Propers.[40] I, however, would see a more fundamental difference; that, of its very nature, the Alleluia is not quite a 'flesh–and–blood' member of the family. To state the matter clearly, I would suggest that the Alleluia may be viewed as a pseudo–Proper, an imposter in the repertory of Propers. The *raison d'etre* of the Alleluia as a discrete musical-liturgical item is its Alleluia refrain, not the particular verse text which accompanies it. While the verse text accounts for its treatment as a Proper item, the fundamental essence of the genre, the acclamation 'alleluia', is unchanging.

Thus, while the other four items of the Mass Proper offer opportunities to undertake the compositional task using texts varying in form, character and meaning, the Alleluia offers a significantly restricted degree of creative license to the liturgical composer by virtue of the unchanging, single-word text response which frames the verse. Compositional treatment of it must always begin and end with that single, inalienable word. Ordinary chants of the Mass occur in every Mass with the same text and with a limited number of melodies which vary only according to certain general categories of feasts.[41] Similarly, in the case of the Alleluia, attempts to compose a number of settings of this one word might, reasonably, result in a reliance on a small stock of melodies and the temptation to concentrate compositional activity

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[39] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 63; see also Edward Foley, *From Age to Age: How Christians have Celebrated the Eucharist,* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008), p. 96.
[40] McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, p. 141.
[41] Apel, *Gregorian Chant,* p. 17.

on more fluid, malleable, compositionally complex items would appear a sensible use of time and talent. McKinnon's reference to the Introit and Communion as more 'manageable' items concedes this human aspect of liturgical composition.[42] It is also possible that the compositional approach within the repertory of a largely direct approach to the first three syllables and the melismatic outpouring of the final syllable served to provide a framework for improvisatory treatment and embellishment of the word, and that further formal notation of such ornamentation was not deemed necessary.[43]

If we accept this hypothesis, that compositional approaches to the Alleluia as a genre were a significant force in the agglomeration of a repertory, the scale or size of the resultant repertory becomes somewhat less of an argument for its lateness. McKinnon believes the decision to include the Alleluia in the Mass Proper was taken after the completion of the Advent–Christmas portion of the temporal cycle because the Advent–Christmas Alleluias show no evidence of Byzantine influence: that is, except for the second Mass of Christmas Day's *Dominus regnavit decorum.*[44] This influence manifests itself almost exclusively during Paschaltide: it consists in the outright adoption of at least three Byzantine Alleluias, even preserving their Greek verse texts, and the use of several Byzantine texts, even if in Latin versions with new Roman melodies.[45] Yet, while omitting the *Dominus regnavit decorum* seems to be expedient in McKinnon's championing of his Advent Project thesis, it cannot be

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[42] He connects this 'manageability' to the fact that Communions and introits are generally shorter pieces than the other Proper items. See McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 1. In his study of the liturgical music output of Sean and Peadar O'Riada, John O'Keeffe notes that the former did not include an original setting of the Alleluia in either of his published Masses, *Ceol an Aifrinn* and *Aifreann 2*. O'Keeffe comments on an unpublished Alleluia for *Aifreann 2*, along with the *Sanctus*-opening of the same mass, as being the only two occasions 'when the composer's efforts failed to convince'. He attributes this failure to undue deference to the Gregorian melodic tradition. See John O'Keeffe, *The Mass Settings of Seán and Peadar Ó Riada: Explorations in Vernacular Chant* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017), pp. 186, 273.

[43] Similarly, ornamentation in Irish traditional song is usually not notated, but relies on the creative capabilities of the singer, with the given melody serving as a scaffolding for a more elaborate treatment.

[44] See Chapter Three of this dissertation for melodic and textual concordances between Roman and Byzantine Alleluias.

[45] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 260.

discounted as evidence for the existence of the Alleluia in the earliest stages of the process of compiling the Roman Mass Proper.

The Alleluia in the Gregorian Chant tradition

The emergence of Gregorian Chant

The chant repertory we know as 'Gregorian' was engendered by political developments between East and West in the eighth century involving Franks, Romans and Byzantines. The principal result of these geopolitics was the establishment of a strong and extensive Frankish kingdom.[46] The ecclesiastical reforms that began with Pope Stephen II's visit to Francia in 753–754 brought major changes to music. Not least of these changes was the spread of a freshly edited, officially authorised repertory of 'Gregorian' chants through regions under Frankish control. This replaced the Gallican repertory and other chants that were sung locally.[47] Christopher Page notes that, viewed in the long term, the Carolingian realm that produced the Gregorian chant repertory may be seen as the largest in a series of Romano–barbarian kingdoms with a certain understanding of their place in Christian history.[48]

The appellation 'Gregorian' stems from legends about Gregory the Great's activity as a composer of chant, its purpose being to provide a stamp of authority to the chant established in the Frankish Empire: to assert its pedigree, so to speak.[49] Gregory's political and administrative

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[46] Hiley, p. 514.

[47] The 'Gallican' liturgy may more authentically be termed the Gallican family or category of liturgies: a family of rites comprising a number of variant liturgical forms. These forms are, perhaps, best typified in the *Missale Gothicum* (Vat. Reg. Lat 317), written at the end of the seventh century. Since musical notation only became widespread after the Carolingian reforms, we have no direct documentary evidence of the Gallican musical forms. Gallican melodies do appear in Latin sources, particularly in Parisian manuscripts of the twelfth century, either as additions or alternative chants, presumably surviving through oral transmission. No single theory of the origins of the Gallican type has yet won universal acceptance. See Hope, pp. 274–75; also Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 46–50; Giulio Cattin, *Music of the Middle Ages, Volume I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 45–47. For a detailed list of Gallican reference sources with analysis, see Michel Huglo, 'Gallican Chant', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), p. 469.

[48] Page, p. 3.

[49] Hiley, p. 91.

work was crucial to the survival of the church in general and to the papacy and monasticism in particular. The extent to which he was concerned with liturgical matters, including chant, is much more difficult to assess.[50] He countenanced the singing of the Kyrie with Latin verses on festal days (while maintaining that the Greek petitions alone should be sung on weekdays) and we have seen that he regulated the use of the acclamation 'alleluia' as a suffix to chants in the Easter season.[51] But the core repertory of Gregorian chant was still to be stabilised, for the purpose of transmission, closer to the time of Gregory II (715–731) than Gregory I (594–604).[52]

The standard version of Gregorian chant originated when this 'cantus romanus' was introduced into the Frankish Empire by Pepin and Charlemagne. It is the result of the adaptation of Roman chant by the Franks; a version of Roman chant created by Frankish cantors: a kind of translation of foreign music into their own musical language. It came into being not because the Franks wanted to have a different chant, but because of the difficulty of carrying an enormous musical repertory from one culture to a very distant and different one, and then translating it and establishing it there.[53] Its oldest sources are of Frankish origin and there is no evidence of the Frankish version of Gregorian chant in Rome before the eleventh century.[54] While the Gregorian repertory was used throughout Carolingian Europe and originated as a

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[50] Gregory's achievement was to wrest some semblance of order from the chaos of late–sixth/early–seventh century Rome. He saw that food arrived more regularly from the Church's estates in the south and that widows and orphans were provided for; that the sick were nursed and that the city's water supply was restored and secured. Given his extensive social restorative work, it would seem that he had little time or energy for church music and he was, perhaps, singular among the Popes of the era for his lack of interest in writing on the liturgy: his voluminous ascetic and pastoral writings and his hundreds of preserved letters are remarkable for their near–total silence on the subject. He did counter the accusation that he had introduced Byzantine liturgical practices into the Roman liturgy and he also forbade deacons to sing in church, as he felt it interfered with their pastoral duties; that is more or less the extent of what he had to say on liturgical matters. See James McKinnon, 'Early Western Civilisation', p. 11. For reference works on the person and life of Gregory, see Robert A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); John Moorhead, *Gregory the Great* (London: Routledge Press 2005); Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
[51] See Chapter Two of this dissertation.
[52] David Hiley remarks that, 'Gregory's name retains its usefulness, in the sense that 'Gregorian chant' is neither of one specific time, not wholly Roman, nor wholly anything else. A legendary name is as good as any'. See Hiley, p. 513.
[53] Helmut Hucke, 'Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 33 (1980), p 442.
[54] Ibid.

Frankish compilation of the mid–eighth century, the old Roman repertory survives only in a recension of the late–eleventh and twelfth centuries, diffused in the region around Rome.[55]

The Alleluias of the Old Roman tradition have, essentially, the same form as the Gregorian, but in a number of cases they employ an *alleluia secundus*, an extended version of the opening *jubilus* to be used after the verse: a practice which is of basic importance in the Ambrosian tradition.[56] The Old Roman repertory has fifty–four Mass Alleluias, seven of which have two verses. Eight Alleluias have unique melodies used only once; the others fall into seven groups, each of which is characterised by an identical Alleluia section and often, also, by musical relationship between their verse melodies.[57] While these repertories tend to be related in their musical substance, the nature of the relationships and historical circumstances which gave rise to them is complex.[58]

Helmut Hucke believes a single version of chant sung in Rome, the 'cantus romanus', was imposed by Pepin and Charlemagne on their Frankish realm, dooming the indigenous Gallican chant to oblivion, while changing itself substantially in the process. Inevitably, the Frankish singers translated it into their own musical idiom and, in addition, reworked it to conform to the theoretical construct of the eight church modes: this system, borrowed by the Carolingians from Byzantium, was known as the *Oktoechos*. This so–called 'Gregorian' chant, transformed by the modal system as well as by less tangible northern musical traits is, in reality, Frankish chant.[59] Hucke's overview of Gregorian origins, along with its incorporation of Treitler's oral transmission theory, provides a compelling model: a single eighth–century

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[55] Kenneth Levy, 'Gregorian Chant and the Romans', *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 56 (2003), p. 6; see also Jospeh Dyer, 'Theories of Origin and Survival of Old Roman Chant', *Études Grégoriennes,* 47 (2020), pp. 1–24
[56] Robert J. Snow, 'The Old Roman Chant', in *Gregorian Chant,* ed. by Willi Apel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 497.
[57] Ibid., pp. 496–99.
[58] Willi Apel calls this, 'the central problem of Gregorian Chant'. See Willi Apel, 'The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 9 (1956): pp. 118–27; also Levy, p. 6.
[59] Hucke, p. 442.

'cantus romanus' that bifurcates into a Frankish 'Gregorian' chant and an indigenous Old Roman chant.[60]

McKinnon also finds the idea of two distinct chant 'dialects' co–existing in the city of Rome untenable. Likewise, he proposes one original form of Roman chant that went through a series of changes both in the process of its transmission to the Carolingian Empire and during its long period of transmission in Rome. McKinnon posits that graduates of the schola cantorum went on to serve as singers in the urban churches and thereby transmitted this newly developed chant to the city, also carrying it to other regions of the Carolingian Empire.[61]

Levy suggests an alternative to the accepted Roman–to–Gregorian thesis in the development of chant repertories. He surmises that the Frankish editors of the eighth-century Gregorian chant would, initially, have been welcoming of the musical practices imported from Rome. However, once put into use, this repertory acquired many features (and, possibly, existing repertory) of the existing body of Gallican chants. This Gallican–infused Gregorian chant travelled back to Rome and some of its melodic features were assimilated into the local Roman style. Levy suggests that this newly authoritative Gregorian repertory may have arrived at Rome as late as the middle of the eleventh century, when musical documentation begins, or possibly as early as during the reign of Charlemagne, who would have been likely to favour the prompt installation of this Gregorian chant at Rome. In any case, the resultant hybrid Roman chant continued to be used up to the thirteenth century, when an 'unadulterated' Gregorian chant replaced it.[62]

The development of the Gregorian Alleluia repertory

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[60] McKinnon, 'The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era', p. 111. Treitler's oral transmission theory is outlined in his seminal article, 'Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant', *The Musical Quarterly,* 60 (1974), pp. 333–72.
[61] McKinnon, 'The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era', pp. 113–16.
[62] Levy, pp. 8, 34–35.

The chants of the Mass Proper remained relatively unchanged into the later Middle Ages. The Alleluia seems to be a special case, starting from a narrow base with very few melodies, new ones then being composed from Carolingian times onwards.[63] With the creation of many new historiae for local saints, the cult of the saint was often enhanced liturgically by the composition of both a new Office and a new Alleluia, and also a new Sequence. Sequences, even more than Alleluias, continued to be composed in considerable numbers from the Middle Ages on.[64]

The ninth–century consolidation and enrichment of the Roman chant repertory in Francia saw a significant increase in the number of Alleluias after the Carolingian settlement. The repertory of melodies by the end of the ninth century was already about sixty (many still being rotated with several different texts). Frankish cantors frequently combined Alleluia, verse and Sequence on certain festivals during the late eighth, ninth and tenth centuries to form an especially splendid prelude to the reading of the Gospel. Particular Alleluia melodies, designated by the textual incipit of their verses, were associated with particular Sequences, and the Sequences were intended to be sung together with a given Alleluia melody.[65] Various combinations of gradual, Alleluia, Sequence and Tract, depending on the liturgical season, were sung between the lessons. The gradual remained, generally, a constant item, except for the Saturday of Easter week and the days up to Pentecost Sunday, when the extra Alleluia was sung.

Many of these Alleluias composed after the ninth century remained local compositions, as many were composed for local saints, whose cult was peculiar to a restricted area and, as

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[63] Apel, p. 91.

[64] Hiley, p. 131; also Apel, pp. 442–44. In its typical form, the Sequence consists of a single phrase at beginning and end, with a number of paired versicles which are sung to the same melody, in between. Unfortunately, it is not within the scope of this dissertation to comment in any depth on the form and provenance of the Sequence and its possible relationship to the Alleluia. For more on the Sequence, see Calvin Bower, 'From Alleluia to Sequence: Some Definition of Relations', in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, ed. by Sean Gallagher and others (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); also Richard L. Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

[65] Bower, p. 351.

the liturgy throughout the year had its consignment of Alleluias, new initiative might win local acceptance but was not likely to cause wholesale revisions of the repertory right across Europe. One of the few classes of feast day which was celebrated with increasing and universal enthusiasm was that pertaining to feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and many Marian Alleluias were re–texted for other liturgical occasions.[66]

The following two centuries saw a dramatic increase in the augmentation of the Alleluia repertory, with up to four hundred and ten melodies recorded and the number of texts increasing to over six hundred.[67] After the eleventh century composition continued, with a large output emanating from Germany and Bohemia between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, accompanied by the frequent use of rhymed texts. Many of these new Alleluias were composed to accommodate the late–medieval intensification of devotion to the Virgin Mary and an even greater number of celebrated local saints. But the core repertory remained intact and provided the chants for most of the universally observed liturgical festivals, and new texts continued to be set to favourite traditional Alleluia melodies such as *Dies sanctificatus*.[68] In this way, the Alleluia continued to develop along with liturgical customs and practices.

The musical form of the Gregorian Alleluia

Performance practice

From the early graduals, both unnotated and notated, we can see that the Alleluia consisted of a single verse of moderately florid music, preceded and succeeded by the word 'alleluia', sung to a melody of great elaboration.[69] David Hiley presents the Alleluia as a responsorial chant in that the first part of the chant ('alleluia') forms a choral respond to be repeated after the verse,

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[66] Hiley, p. 131.
[67] Ibid.
[68] McKinnon, 'Alleluia', p. 391.
[69] James McKinnon, 'The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era', p. 93.

whilst the singing of the elaborate, melismatic verse is usually a soloist's task.[70] The convention is for the respond to be divided into two parts: the presentation of the word 'alleluia' itself, and the vocalization on the final 'a' of the word. While the word 'alleluia' appears as one single word, these form two distinct sections of the respond, as outlined below:

FIGURE 4.1. Antiphon of Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus,*
showing the divide in the respond (my square brackets)
(Source: Solesmes edition (1974) of the *Graduale Romanum*, p. 49)

Early eighth–century notated chant books (cantatoria) suggest the following manner of performance, where the 'alleluia' call and the *jubilus* constitute an undivided respond:

Cantor: 'Alleluia' and *jubilus*

Choir: 'Alleluia' and *jubilus*

Cantor: verse

Choir: 'Alleluia' and *jubilus*

David Hiley presents the method of performance in modern chant books as indicative of a very clear division in the respond, with the choir taking up the last part of the verse, which often includes a repeat of the melismatic *jubilus*: see Figure 4.2 below.[71]

Cantor: 'Alleluia'

Choir: 'Alleluia' and *jubilus*

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[70] Hiley, p. 130.
[71] Ibid., p. 131.

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Cantor:	main section of verse
Choir:	end of verse
Cantor:	'Alleluia'
Choir:	*jubilus*

FIGURE 4.2. Alleluia *Benedicite Domino*,
showing the repetition of the *jubilus* in the verse (my square brackets)
(Source: Solesmes edition (1974) of the *Graduale Romanum*, p. 612)

The jubilus

While Jungmann notes that 'in the *jubilus* of the Alleluia, Gregorian chant achieved its highest expression',[72] its presence reveals a fundamental musical duality which characterises the Alleluia of the Mass: the neumatic acclamation which encompasses the first three syllables of the word appears as a musical event independent of the *jubilus* which carries the final syllable of the word.[73] By far the most frequent form found in the *jubilii* is AAB (the same 'bar form' which occurs in many melismas of the Offertory verses). This form consists of three phrases:

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[72] Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development,* trans. by Francis A. Brunner (London: Burns and Oates, 1959), p. 279.
[73] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 273. The melisma on the final syllable of the word 'alleluia' augments the name of God; the neumatic style of the rest of the word, where each syllable may be given a 'neume' or 'figure' of notes, with three or four usually being the most, presents a sharp contrast in musical texture.

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the first comprises the statement of a melodic cell; next, this cell or phrase is repeated or re-presented to constitute a second phrase and, finally, a third phrase (which is new and different) is added.[74] Occasionally, the repeat of the initial formula is slightly modified, either at the beginning or the end and, in some cases, the repeat structure starts shortly before the *jubilus*, taking in the last two or three syllables of the Alleluia which precedes it.[75]

A chronological distinction regarding the earlier Alleluias (mainly those assigned to the old Temporale and, consequently, included in the *Sextuplex* manuscripts) may be distinguished on the basis of the structural features of their *jubilii*. The earliest Alleluia melodies lack the repeat of the *jubilus* at the end of the verse, while those showing this repeat structure or other traits indicative of a desire for symmetry (melismas of the AAB type) are products of a later period. In support of this theory, Apel and Wagner concur in highlighting the fact that the small group of Alleluias which are not characterised by a restatement of the *jubilus* at the end of the verse includes all three Alleluias from the Masses for the Nativity (*Dominus dixit, Dominus regnavit decorum* and *Dies sanctificatus*). Alleluias of this type are in the second or eighth mode, the same modes that are used exclusively for Tracts.[76]

The mirroring of the *jubilus* in the final part of the verse does not appear in these old Alleluia melodies which were most frequently employed for adaptations and settings of new words to existing melodies. Many of the melodies of constant assignment in the earliest sources share features of musical style, the most important of these being the absence of repetition

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[74] This form is evident in Alleluia *Benedicite Domino*: see FIGURE 4.2 above.

[75] See FIGURE 4.2 above: the repeat of the formula at the end of the verse encompasses not just the *jubilus* of the Alleluia but, in fact, the entire melodic shape, modified in a contracted form in the first syllable of 'eius'. For more on the structure of Alleluia melismas, see Leo Treitler, 'On the Structure of the Alleluia Melisma: A Western Tendency in Western Chant', in *Early Music History Volume 17: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music,* ed. by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[76] Apel, pp. 390–91. Apel qualifies this consideration by advising that such stylistic characteristics as contracted melodic range and absence of repetitive melismas provide a better basis for chronological distinction than the structural aspect involved in the repetition of the *jubilus* at the end of the verse. For a more detailed study of Alleluias and their melismas, including *jubilii*, see Apel, pp. 386–89; he draws on the work of Peter Wagner, *Origin and Development of the Forms of the Liturgical Chant*, trans. by Agnes Orme and E.G.P Wyatt (London: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1907), p. 480.

within the *jubilus* on the final syllable 'a'; later Alleluias manifest repetition within the final

part of the melisma to varying degrees.[77]

FIGURE 4.3 Alleluias *Dominus dixit ad me* and *Tu es sacerdos*,
showing repetition within the *jubilus* in the latter.
In '*Tu es sacerdos*', the *jubilus* is replicated at the end of the verse; moreover, the entire Alleluia antiphon can
be seen in the verse on the final word 'Melchizedek', the only difference being between the liquescent on 'lu' of
the respond and 'se' of Melchizedek in the verse
(Source: Solesmes edition (1974) of the *Graduale Romanum*, pp. 43 and 449)

Relationship between verse and respond

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[77] Hiley, p. 132.

In more than ninety percent of the Alleluia repertory (115 Alleluias out of 125), the verse contains melodic material borrowed from the Alleluia antiphon. While the texted verses present a strong contrast to the Alleluia antiphon, both sections are unified to a degree not encountered in any other chant of the respond–and–verse type (or antiphon–and–verse type) by the use of common melodic material. In the great majority of cases it is not only the *jubilus* but the complete Alleluia section which recurs at the end of the verse.[78] The closest approximation to the repeat structure of the Alleluias exists in the Offertories; however, this feature is significantly more prevalent across the Alleluia genre and also goes much further in the establishment of the number of well–defined motifs and melodic patterns which are used for the purpose of thematic unification.[79] Internal repeats in Alleluias (often the melisma of the antiphon and the end of the verse) are a relatively late musical development, markedly different in structure to those Alleluias dating back to the Carolingian period, which are characterised by a musical style tending towards restraint and with the absence of very obvious repetitions. From the ninth century onwards, with the composition of many more Alleluias (often entirely new melodies for old texts), these later compositions frequently displayed internal repeats.[80]

The ten Alleluias which do not exhibit this characteristic similarity between verse and respond warrant note. Small though this group is, it is of no little importance because it includes the Alleluias of all three Masses for the Nativity and thus raises the issue of chronology.[81] We may deduce that these melodies represent an early compositional tradition in which the small

[78] Apel, p. 383. For a clear example of the repetition of the entire Alleluia respond at the end of the verse, see Alleluia *Tu es sacerdos* in my FIGURE 4.3 above.
[79] For compositional similarities in Alleluias and Offertories, see Joseph Dyer, '*Troper semper variantibus:* Compositional Strategies in the Offertories of Old Roman Chant', in *Early Music History Volume 17: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music,* ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1–60.
[80] Hiley, p. 71.
[81] Apel, p. 386. Of the other Alleluias in this group, Apel categorises four as belonging to a later layer of the Temporale: *Veni Domine* from the Fourth Sunday of Advent, *Venite exultemus* from the Fourteenth Sunday after Pentecost, *Quoniam Deus* from the Fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost and *Beatus vir* from the Third Sunday after Epiphany. The remainder he regards as, 'of doubtful authenticity:' *Ostende mihi* from the Feast of the Apparition of Our Lady at Lourdes, *Qui ad justitiam* from the Feast for S. Robert Bellarmine, and *Quasi rosa* from the Feast of S. Teresa of the Infant Jesus.

corpus of Alleluias was crafted in a style not too dissimilar from that of other chants, such as Responsories or Graduals, and that Alleluias exhibiting various repeat patterns are the result of later compositional tendencies; tendencies contemporary or, even, posterior to the approach which produced similar results in the Offertories.[82] With regard to verse texts, it would appear that there is no overarching design pattern or principle employed in the assignation of texts in the temporal cycle. For special feasts, the wording may reflect the theme of the feast.[83] On Sundays throughout the year the verse may not necessarily bear any specific or explicit connection to the Gospel text which follows it and may be simply what Richard Crocker describes as 'an appropriate expression of Christian thought and feeling'.[84]

We may conclude that Alleluia melodies indicative of repeat structures of one kind or another are of a relatively late date: probably not much earlier than the late–eighth or ninth century. However, the Alleluia *Pascha nostrum* of Easter Sunday, the earliest feast on which the Alleluia was sung, confounds this hypothesis as it does not exhibit the characteristics of the early Alleluia compositional tradition: the last section of the *jubilus* is repeated at the end of the verse and the verse includes an AAB melisma on the word 'immolatus', as shown in Figure 4.4 below:[85]

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[82] Apel, p. 386. For more on Offertories, see Dyer, 'Compositional Strategies in the Offertories of Old Roman Chant', pp. 1–60.
[83] As we have noted earlier in this chapter, in the case of the verse texts of originally assigned Roman Alleluias.
[84] *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant*, p. 122.
[85] Apel, p. 390.
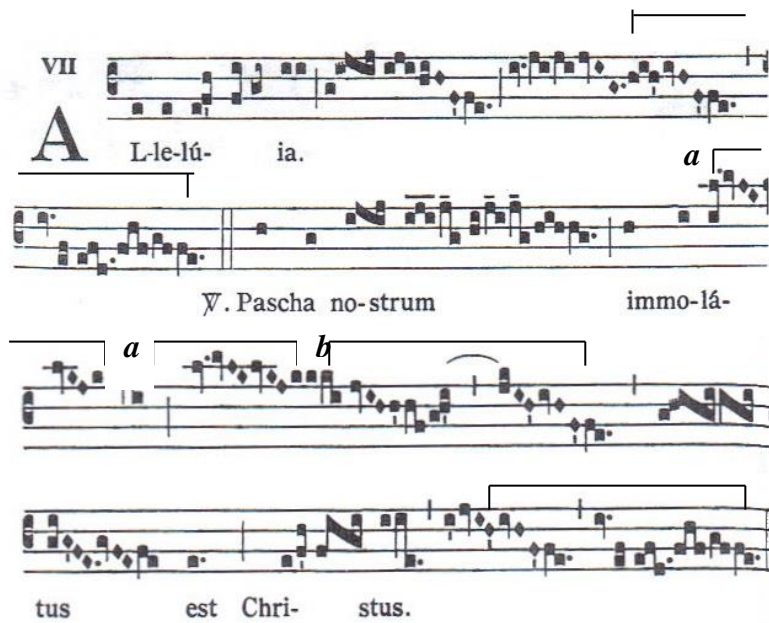
FIGURE 4.4. Alleluia *Pascha nostrum*,
showing the repetition of the *jubilus* in the verse (my square brackets)
and the AAB melisma on 'immolatus' (my square brackets and lettering)
(Source: Solesmes edition (1974) of the *Graduale Romanum*, p. 197)

Apel assumes that this melody is a replacement for, or a remodelling of, an earlier Alleluia ascribed to the feast, presumably a less ornately repetitive one, and dates it around the beginning of the ninth century.[86] McKinnon suggests that Alleluia *Dominus regnavit decorum*, the Latin cognate of the Bzyantine *O kyrios*, is likely to have been the originally assigned Alleluia for Easter Sunday; the non–psalmic verse, as we have seen, indicating Roman influence and activity in the development of the Alleluia repertory which follows the period of Byzantine influence and absorption, even if it follows very quickly thereon.[87]

Likewise, the Easter Vigil Alleluia stands outside the patterns and norms noted above. The Roman Easter Vigil ceremony may be regarded as having its liturgical roots in antiquity, evidenced by the omission of chants which had become regular items of the seventh–century Roman Mass, the Offertory, Agnus Dei and Communion, and the presence of the Epistle, the

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[86] *Gregorian Chant,* p. 392. He points to this melody as the 'point of departure' for numerous late Alleluias, possibly along with two other invariable Alleluias, *Veni Domine* and *Adorabo*, but he does not support this hypothesis.
[87] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* pp. 258, 276.

Fore–Mass psalmody and the Gloria (at episcopal festive celebrations).[88] The psalmody for the Easter Vigil consisted of the Alleluia respond with the verse *Confitemini Domino* followed by the Tract *Laudate Dominum*.

McKinnon remarks on the anomalous nature of this Alleluia in the Roman Easter Vigil ceremony. It appears before the Tract, rather than immediately before the proclamation of the Gospel, as is customary. The absence of the repetition of the Alleluia respond after the verse is another striking anomaly of the chant. McKinnon posits a relationship between these two facts: he proposes that the Tract which immediately follows the Alleluia, Psalm 116 *Laudate Dominum*, itself one of the Scriptural groups of Alleluia–psalms, served as a concluding response to the Alleluia *Confitemini Domino*, noting that 'Laudate Dominum' is, indeed, the Latin translation of 'alleluia:' 'praise the Lord'. He further notes that the three elements: the Alleluia respond, the verse *Confitemini Domino* and the Tract *Laudate Dominum*, are all G–mode chants and hypothesises that the three would have formed a suitably solemn and elaborate suite of praise, sung in succession by the schola cantorum.[89]

Most notably, the simple melody employed for the Alleluia respond, so markedly different to the typical Alleluia of the Mass with its extended *jubilus*, is perhaps the greatest anomalous characteristic of this chant (see Figure 4.5 below):

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[88] McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, p. 270.
[89] Ibid., pp. 270–71.

FIGURE 4.5. Alleluia *Confitemini Domino*
(Source: Solesmes edition (1974) of the *Graduale Romanum*, p. 191)

The simplicity of the respond may be a strong indicator of the ancient character of this chant. It would seem highly implausible for the Roman singers to deliberately create an eccentrically simple tune for this solemn feast of Easter once the typical melismatic Alleluia had become normative. On this point McKinnon suggests that this Alleluia *Confitemini Domino*, as it has been preserved, is simply the seventh–century remnant of the ancient alleluia–psalm, Psalm 117 that was likely to have been sung at the Easter Vigil celebration in the early church.[90] We have noted that Augustine of Hippo, preaching at Easter, speaks of Psalm 117, 'to which we have responded with one mouth and one heart Alleluia'.[91] While we must acknowledge that he does not specify that this took place at the Vigil itself, and we note that Augustine is not preaching at Rome and, therefore, his comments cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence of Roman practice, his contribution lends added weight to this view.[92]

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[90] McKinnon proposes that, in the course of time at Rome, while the original melody of the Easter Vigil Alleluia was retained, a number of others were developed for use during the time extending from the octave of Easter to the end of Pentecost week. These melodies, which he states 'may have their roots in antiquity', eventually acquired melismatic extension. However, he does not justify this latter point in relation to discerning what constitutes 'roots', either musicologically or liturgically. See *The Advent Project,* p. 275.

[91] McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature,* p. 161.

[92] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 271.

<u>Alleluia melody–types</u>

We have seen that the Alleluia repertory relies heavily on the employment of three melody–types: the G–mode *Ostende* type (First Sunday of Advent), the E–mode *Excita* type (Third Sunday of Advent), and the D–mode *Dies sanctificatus* type (third Mass on the Feast of the Nativity), and their employment and assignation have been discussed in this chapter. In the earliest books with chant texts, as comprised by Hesbert's *Sextuplex,* the *Dies sanctificatus* melody is used for nine other texts, the *Ostende* is used for ten other texts and the *Excita* occurs with five other texts: this out of a body of just over one hundred Alleluia texts.[93] The table below lists each group of Alleluias according to their melody–types:

TABLE 4.2. Re–employment of Gregorian Alleluias according to melody–type

Ostende–type	*Excita–type*	*Dies–type*
Ostende nobis	Excita Domine	Dies sanctificatus
Dominus dixit	Ascendit Deus	Hic est discipulus
Dominus regnavit	Emitte Spiritum	Magnus sanctus
Haec dies	Laudate Deum	Sancti tui
Dominus in Sina	Qui posuit fines	Video caelos
Confiteantur	Benedicite Domino	Vidimus stellam
Specie tua		Tu, puer
Diffusa est gracia		Inveni David
Nimis honorati		Tu es Petrus
Dominus salvavit		Hic est sacerdos
Mittat vobis		

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[93] Apel, pp. 381–82.

The Alleluia responds of all three melody–types share limited pitch sets, all featuring the small range of a sixth, while the *Ostende* and *Excita* type are among the shortest responds in the entire Alleluia repertory. In relation to Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus,* Richard Crocker notes that the breadth and simplicity of the respond lends itself to a congregational intonation and suggests this trait may represent the survival of such a simple melody from the time before the Gregorian repertory, sung by a select schola, replaced congregational singing.[94] McKinnon suggests that these three may have been among the first Alleluia melodies devised by the newly–formed schola of the mid–seventh century, or perhaps the first to achieve a fixed form at the time.[95] What follows here are some cursory remarks on the melodies which serve as a brief overview of these model Alleluias.[96]

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[94] *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant*, p. 183. Romano concurs with this, seeing such a simple respond as possibly indicative of congregational participation. See *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval* Rome, p. 114. Gelineau, likewise, notes that congregational singing of the Alleluia would necessitate a simple melody – an occurrence he believes dates back as far as fifth–century Syria. See Joseph Gelineau, *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship: Principles, Laws and Applications*, trans. by Clifford Howell (London; Burns and Oates, 1964), p. 172.

[95] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 274.

[96] The analysis which follows draws on Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant*, pp, 182–84; 193–96. His remarks complement a recording of selected Gregorian chants and thus are designed to accompany an aural engagement with the chants. He includes a number of observations in relation to the modern hearing of major and minor tonalities and also offers his own subjective and personal responses to the music: both of these elements I eschew for the purposes here. While it is not within the remit or interest of this dissertation to carry out an extensive musicological analysis of these compositions, Crocker's chapter on 'Tone and Tonal Space for Gregorian Chant' may aid the reader: ibid., pp. 22–41.

Alleluia Excita Domine

FIGURE 4.6. Alleluia *Excita Domine*
(Source: Solesmes edition (1974) of the *Graduale Romanum*, p. 23)

The melody of the *Excita Domine* Alleluia respond (Figure 4.6) is the shortest of the three model melodies and the verse melody remains almost completely within the tonal space marked out by the initial 'Allelu'. The composition employs the range of a sixth from the low D up to the B flat: while the respond merely touches off this lowest pitch, it features prominently in the verse, occurring eight out of nine times in the interval of a falling minor third (from the F to the D). The melodic range of the verse lies largely within the range of a sixth, although the top boundary note, the B flat, sits outside the central tonal space of the composition, which runs from the low D up to the A, the latter being the reference pitch throughout. This contributes to the sense of a somewhat ambiguous tonal movement overall, suggestive of a central tonal space but avoiding its boundary pitches at cadential points. This engenders a sense of 'pause' or incompleteness at phrase endings. The ending, too, sounds incomplete: both the *jubilus* and the verse end on the pitch just above the lowest boundary note. In this regard, the composition shares in the inconclusive quality of all melodies with this ending, that is, in modes 3 or 4.

However, many of the idioms of this Alleluia melody are distinctive and not shared with other mode 4 melodies across the various chant genres. A case in point is the use of the B

flat: while B flat is a frequent option in many mode 4 chants, often alternating with the B natural, it seems to be required in this composition and is prescribed each time it appears. Alleluia *Excita Domine* is singular among the three model melodies for its repetition of the Alleluia *jubilus* at the end of the verse (the word 'nos'). This melisma takes the AAB 'bar form' frequently found in the Alleluia *jubilii*. We have seen that these traits generally indicate that the Alleluia in question belongs to a later layer of compositional activity. This may also go some way to explaining why, of the three model melodies, the *Excita* is the least re–employed and comprises the smallest melody–type group.[97]

Alleluia Ostende nobis
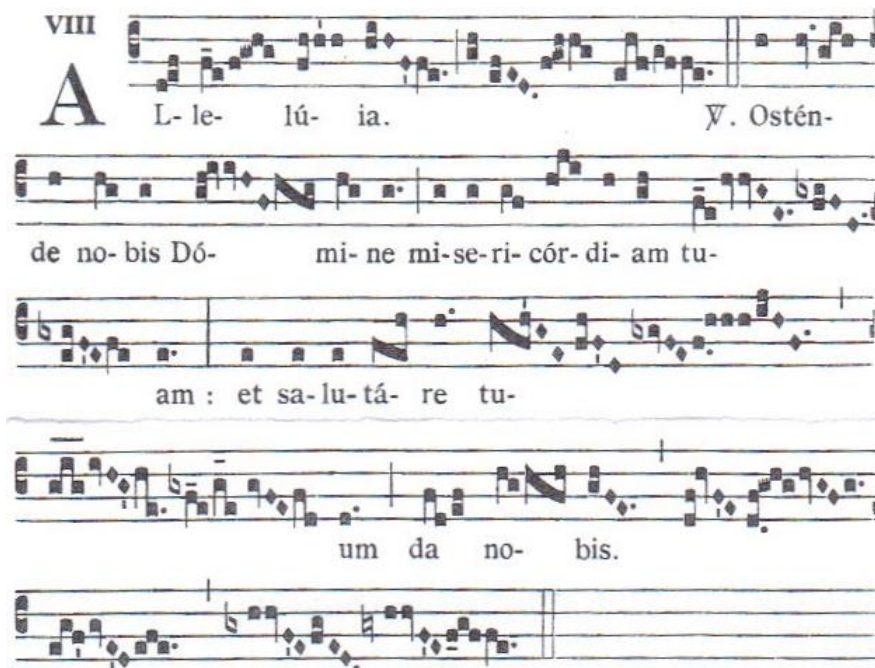
FIGURE 4.7. Alleluia *Ostende nobis*
(Source: Solesmes edition (1974) of the *Graduale Romanum*, p. 16)

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[97] Late in the period of the expansion of the melody–type groups, but not in terms of the overall development of the Alleluia repertory, a point which will be taken up at the end of this chapter.

This Alleluia (Figure 4.7) presents an ornate melody which encompasses the range of a seventh, from the low F up to the E. There is a strong reference pitch on C throughout the composition, established early in the respond on the syllable 'lu'. This pitch forms the upper boundary of the central tonal space, with the lower boundary of this central space clearly established at the end of the *jubilus* as G. The lowest pitch of the composition, the F which the respond begins with, is used with conviction in the verse, becoming more prevalent as the verse continues. The E at the top of the range is only lightly employed, occurring just twice in the verse. The ending of the verse returns to the bottom boundary of the central tonal space marked out at the end of the *jubilus*.

The elaborate nature of the melodic composition includes two lengthy melismas in the verse and balances its tonal centre with temporary digressions which explore the melodic range. Its resemblance to other mode 8 chants rests principally on the relationship between the ending on G and the reference pitch of C a fourth above, which is idiomatic of mode 8 chants. The composition features alternating B flats throughout. While the piece does not replicate the Alleluia *jubilus* at the end of the verse, the internal repetition and strong melodic structure of the closing idioms bring the melody to a decided resting place, leading inevitably back to the return of the respond.

Alleluia Dies sanctificatus

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FIGURE 4.8. Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus*
(Source: Solesmes edition (1974) of the *Graduale Romanum*, p. 49)

McKinnon calls Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* (Figure 4.8) '[the] Christmas season melody par excellence', describing it as 'incomparably beautiful'.[98] The Alleluia respond itself features a relatively short melisma on the *jubilus* while the verse, although lengthy in terms of text, lacks any particularly long melisma. While the composition encompasses an octave stretch the melodic range of the composition is, for the most part, limited to a scale segment of just six pitches: a seventh pitch lies below this scale, and is heard only once in the verse, with special effect. The composition finishes on D while the lowest pitch is a fourth below on A, the highest pitch being the A above. The reference pitch throughout is F. This reference pitch is the central thread in the respond, with the *jubilus* weaving around it and ending on the lower tonal boundary of this space. The verse moves in a central tonal space marked out in a decisive, linear manner by the word 'Dies', with the reference pitch of F alternating with the minor third of D below to carry sections of text in a declamatory style, often in the middle of phrases.

These short passages of recitation, alternating with more complex, ornate melismatic phrases, are unusual in Proper chants of the Mass. There is melodic repetition in the ornamental passages which highlights the plan of the phrases, suggesting balance and formality. While the

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[98] McKinnon, *The Advent Project,* p. 277.

melody is one of several melodic families in mode 2, it does not share many idioms with the other families.

Re–employment of melody–type: adaptation of text and melody

In most cases of re–employment of melody–type, the adaptation of the model melody to a new verse is rather strict, the difference being mainly in the omission or addition of notes caused by the varying number of syllables. Occasionally, we find that variations of the textual structure (largely related to brevity of text) necessitate the omission of complete passages of melodic material. Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* provides a good window into this process.

We can see from Figure 4.8 above that the melody and text of Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* fall into a clear tripartite structure. This delineation may be used as the framework for a comparison of the other Alleluia texts which employ this melody.[99] From this comparative analysis, it appears that only two of these Alleluias, *Hic est discipulus* and *Magna sanctus Paulus,* have the same syntactic structure as *Dies sanctificatus* and, therefore, exhibit a similar correspondence between textual and musical phrases. All the other texts are bipartite and thus do not fall naturally into the tripartite scheme of the *Dies* melody. Within these texts of bipartite structure, the re–employment of the *Dies* melody may be deemed more successful (or a more natural 'fit') in some cases than in others; namely, in the texts which contain subclauses, allowing them to be distributed across three phrases in a manner similar to the model *Dies* melody itself. The Alleluias with shorter verse texts necessitate the sharing of text more sparingly across the three sections of the melody. The following table (Table 4.3) demonstrates how the various Alleluias adapt to the tripartite structure of the *Dies sanctificatus* as indicated by I, II and II:

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[99] This comparison is based on Willi Apel's consideration of this structural component of the melody–type Alleluias. See Apel, pp. 269–70.

TABLE 4.3. Alleluias of the *Dies sanctificatus* melody–type group, according to textual-melodic structural divisions (the incipit by which the Alleluia is known indicated in bold print)

I	II	III
Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis:	venite gentes, et adorate Dominum:	quia hodie descendit lux magna super terram.
Hic est discipulus ille,	qui testimonium perhibet de his:	et scimus quia verum est testimonium eius.
Magnus sanctus Paulus, vas electionis,	vere digne est glorificandus,	qui et meruit thronum duodecimum possidere.
Sancti tui, Domine,	benedicent te:	gloriam regni tui dicent.
Video caelos apertos,	et Jesum stantem	a dextris virtutis Dei.
Vidimus stellam eius	in Oriente,	et venimus cum muneribus adorare Dominus.
Tu, puer, propheta	Altissimi vocaberis:	praeibis ante Dominum parare vias eius.
Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram	aedificabo	Ecclesiam meam.
Inveni David	servum meum:	oleo sancto meo unxi eum.
Hic est sacerdos,		quem coronavit Dominus.

The final Alleluia listed in this table, *Hic est sacerdos*, is markedly different to the others in the group: it exhibits the omission of the middle melodic phrase of the model melody, an adaptation in keeping with the sense of the text, which is the briefest in this melody–type group. We may ask if a similar principle may not have been employed in the case of *Inveni David*, which is a text similarly marked by its brevity. The division of the text in *Tu es Petrus* across the tripartite structure also appears somewhat at odds with the sense of the text, which would lend itself to a more even distribution across the three sections according to the inherent subclauses within (with the phrase '*et super hanc petram*' forming the second textual–melodic section).

It would be fortuitous if the degree of what we might call successful adaptation concurred with chronology of Alleluia composition; however, no such corollary can be drawn with certainty. In Hesbert's *Sextuplex*, only three of these Alleluias do not appear in the eighth—century *Codex Monza*: the *Magnus sanctus Paulus*, *Hic est sacerdos* and *Tu puer*.[100] The treatment of these as a sub–group of the larger body of re–employed melodies above does not confirm any attempts to date the compositions based on the textual-melodic adaptation. The re–employment of the other melody–type Alleluias, *Ostende* and *Excita*, display similar issues in the adaptation of text and melody.

If adaptation plays a prominent role in the corpus of Alleluias in the Mass Proper, centonisation as a feature of this compositional genre is conspicuously absent. The Alleluia melodies emerge as individual compositions, rather than representatives of a type, in much the same way as the Offertories display unique compositional tendencies specific to each melody. While the rate of employment of model melodies (resulting in the identification of three main 'melody–types') is a significant feature of the Alleluia repertory, the compositions themselves are noteworthy for their individuality as melodic compositions. Apel is effusive in his admiration of the Alleluias in this regard, considering them among the highest 'art form' of the Gregorian repertory:

> Here the change of emphasis — adumbrated in the Offertories — from the group to the individual, from bondage to liberty, is fully completed. This is not to say that common traits indicative of a unified style are entirely absent, but these enter into the picture to about the same degree as they do in the sonatas of Beethoven. What binds the Alleluias together are mainly aspects of form and structural detail, the same aspects that also provide the common ground for the works of the nineteenth–century master'.[101]

We have noted that the usage of these melody–types, along with non–psalmic verse texts, is a feature of the Roman compositional stage in the development of the Alleluia repertory. The *Ostende* and *Excita* types are significantly evident in the Paschaltide and Pentecostal

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[100] Apel categorises these as belonging to the 'late–medieval Sanctorale'. See Apel, p. 382.
[101] Ibid., p. 383.

repertories, while we have noted the systematic occurrence of the *Dies* type in the Christmas season and its large proportion of non–psalmic texts (seven out of twelve). These traits suggest that, in the agglomeration of the Alleluia repertory, the Paschaltide Alleluias were completed first, followed then by the Christmas season chants. This is a reversal of the process posited by McKinnon with regard to all other items of the Mass Proper and a strong indicator that the firm establishment of the Alleluia as an item of the Roman Mass Proper, and the development of a requisite corpus of melodies in this genre, took place late in the development of the Roman Mass Proper and the chant-–fertilisation process which resulted in the birth of the Gregorian Chant repertory.

Once introduced into the Eucharistic celebration, the Alleluia became a significant acclamatory device in the rendering of musical praise.[102] The relationship between text and music, which is central to liturgical song, is a much more nuanced and complex one in the case of the Alleluia, where our analysis of the chant repertory has shown that this tersely texted item has yielded, paradoxically, an outpouring of musical floridity. This merits further exploration in terms of the musical–liturgical function of the item, and the very nature of acclamation itself.

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[102] The establishment of the Alleluia as a discrete liturgical item in the Roman Mass Proper constitutes an end point for my analysis of historical forces conditioning its inclusion, as the provenance part of this study has been fully realised at this point in its liturgical development.

CHAPTER FIVE

SITUATING THE ALLELUIA AS ACCLAMATORY SOUND EVENT WITHIN

LOGOCENTRIC ROMAN RITE WORSHIP MUSIC

A contradiction inherent in the adoption of the Alleluia as Gospel Acclamation is the tension between the liturgical function of the item, to act as a vehicle for praise of God in the context of liturgical proclamation and response, and the very nature of acclamation which is spontaneous, emotive and, to some degree, uncontrolled and uncontrollable. This contradiction is exemplified in 'Liturgical Music Today's definition of acclamations as 'shouts of joy' arising from the assembly 'which ought to be sung'.[1] Paradoxically, the more total the acclamatory response is, the less verbally complicated and more phonic are its characteristics.[2] While the concept of singing a shout may appear to be oxymoronic, the melismatic *jubilus,* with its attendant acoustical resonance, can be seen as an effective compositional attempt to express profound emotion using a melodic device 'in which the heart voices what cannot be put into words'.[3] This tension between service and spontaneity, and between text and textlessness epitomises the Alleluia's presence as an acclamatory sound event in a liturgy which is logocentric in origin, meaning, and form.[4]

The nature of acclamation

Biblical acclamations begin with the song of Moses and Miriam sung in response to redemption from slavery in Egypt: 'Sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously; horse and rider he has thrown into the sea'. (Ex. 15:21). The imperative acclamation 'Sing to the Lord' became a repeated feature of Israel's later psalmody.[5]

Acclamation, by its very nature, involves an element of spontaneity, an emotional surge which is vocalised in some manner. An acclamation may be defined as 'a brief cry or shout

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[1] 'Liturgical Music Today', in *The Liturgy Documents: A Parish Resource Volume I Fourth Edition* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2004), para. 11.
[2] Rossiter, p. 168.
[3] Deiss, *Visions of Liturgy and Music for a New Century*, p. 140.
[4] 'Logocentric' refers to the theological and Biblical understanding of the Greek word *logos* as both thought and speech, or as word and deed: as a performative concept. This will be discussed later in this chapter in an exploration on the logocentricity of Roman Rite worship music.
[5] Leaver, p. 74.

elicited from the one who utters it by his/her interaction with the presence of another'.[6] Acclamatory expressions are inherent in our everyday experiences: their meaning content is, necessarily, highly concentrated and that content, in turn, is influenced by the context and dynamics of the encounter. The vocabulary used is frequently a very basic one, making powerful use of short words. As a form of expression, singing gives style and a hieratic quality to these expressive shouts or cries, and their impact is frequently dependent more on rhythm than on melody, in order to render the percussive and energetic nature inherent in acclamation.[7]

Acclamations constitute a developed and stylised human cry which is, in itself, an engendered and vital response to an intense situation. The ritual situations which involve acclamation are significant: the cry for help of an oppressed people (*maranatha*), the prayer of intercession (*kyrie eleison*), the heartfelt ratification of covenant and revelation (*amen*).[8] The Biblical cry of *Alleluia!* was an intense shout of praise, usually in connection with deliverance from danger or a salvific moment: the joyous expression in sound of a community which has been saved.[9] In the liturgical celebration, acclamations are also engendered by encounters: human to human, divine to human, and human to divine. Acclamations represent high points in the activity of the assembly gathered for worship. They constitute a religious experience in themselves, the notional content of the words uttered being of less importance than the vocal, corporal activity itself. The phonetic qualities of the liturgical acclamations in their original Hebrew, Greek, and Latin outweigh the possible absence of precise, literal meaning, and allow for their retention in the liturgy.[10] The *General Instruction on the Roman Missal* crystallises this in the case of the Alleluia by designating it as 'a rite or act in itself'.[11]

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[6] Hommerding, p. 30.
[7] Jones and others, *The Study of Liturgy*, p. 453.
[8] Ibid.
[9] See Chapter One of this dissertation on the Biblical origins of Alleluia.
[10] Jones and others, *The Study of Liturgy*, p. 453.
[11] 'After the reading that immediately precedes the Gospel, the Alleluia or another chant laid down by the rubrics is sung, as the liturgical time requires. An acclamation of this kind constitutes a rite or act in itself, by which the gathering of the faithful welcomes and greets the Lord who is about to speak to them in the Gospel and profess their faith by means of the chant'. See *GIRM,* para. 62.

Aidan Rossiter distinguishes between several forms of acclamation within the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration. Supplicatory acclamations, such as *kyrie eleison*, are commonly found in combination with other texts and are litanic in origin, occurring at moments of preparation for encounter, such as the pentitential act in the introductory rites of the celebration. Thanksgiving acclamations, such as *Deo gratias*, form part of a dialogue. The memorial acclamations of the Eucharistic prayer are, essentially, credal proclamations.[12] Affirmatory acclamations, such as *alleluia, amen,* and *hosanna,* occur at key moments of encounter with the divine in the liturgical celebration. They share the common characteristic of being formed around the strong vowels of 'ah' and 'o', making them expletive and almost explosive in their utterances, carrying a rich vocal resonance. Rossiter argues that the other acclamations in the taxonomy are not as semantically concentrated, as phonically strong or expletive, characteristics associated with spontaneity of utterance which is at the heart of true acclamation. This concentration of elements within the single utterance can be seen to provide a powerful focus for the physical, emotional and intellectual–conceptual elements of a faith response to an experience of divine revelation. Essentially, acclamation may be understood as the most fundamental form of ritual response that we have.

The phenomenon of sound[13]

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[12] Rossiter, p. 165.

[13] The term 'phenomenon' is used here and throughout this chapter based on an understanding of phenomenology as the study of the structure of various types of experience ranging from perception, thought, imagination, memory, desire, and emotion, to bodily awareness, embodied action, and social activity (including linguistic activity). The structure of these forms of experience typically involves what the philosophical phenomenologist Edmund Husserl called 'intentionality:' the directedness of experience toward things in the world. See Edmund Husserl, *The Idea of Phenomenology*, trans. Alston and Nakhnikian (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964). The existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger approached phenomenology through the root meanings of 'logos' and 'phenomena', defining phenomenology in terms of letting things show themselves and be seen in various ways: an apparent misnomer in the application of the term 'phenomenon' to sound/music. See Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time,* trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005). For more on the vast diversity of phenomenology, see Ronald Bruzina, *Edmund Husserl and Eugen Fink: Beginnings and Ends in Phenomenology 1928–1938* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); David Cerbone, *Understanding Phenomenology,* (Durham: Acumen, 2006); Dermot Moran, *Introduction to Phenomenology* (London: Routledge, 2000) and *The Phenomenology Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002);

The Alleluia's expletive power within the liturgy is actualised within a sonic environment, and an exploration of the nature of sound is central to appreciating the nature of the Alleluia as a stylized shout or cry. While we can define sound according to its physical attributes it is, essentially, a vibration or series of vibrations. Yet sound is not simply a physical phenomenon: its identification as sound depends, crucially, on our perception of it as a physical phenomenon. Psychologist John Booth Davies makes this correlation clear:

> Sound, as such, does not really exist in the world around us. What does exist is vibration. . . In other words; there is no sound until we hear it'.[14]

Sound must be heard in order for it to exist as sound. It is impossible to distinguish between noise and speech, music or song, in purely physical or physiological terms: ultimately, it is the way in which we listen that determines how we make sense of sounds.[15] We choose to attend to or ignore various sounds depending on our perception and subsequent interpretation of what we hear: Edward Foley notes that it is our judgement of the presence or absence of intentionality at the source of the vibration that enables us to distinguish between sound as communication, or sound as random natural phenomenon.[16] This relationship between intentionality and receptivity, which is at the heart of the sound phenomenon, reveals a number of characteristics pertaining to the nature of sound and its effect on our ways of knowing and of being in the world.

Joseph Rivera, *Phenomenology and the Horizon of Experience: Spiritual Themes in Henry, Marion, and Lacoste* (New York: Routledge, 2022)*;* Robert Sokolowski, *Introduction to Phenomenology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Robert C. Solomon and David Sherman, eds., *The Blackwell Guide to Continental Philosophy* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003); Herbert Spiegelberg, with the collaboration of Karl Schuhmann, *The Phenomenological Movement,* 3rd edn (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1994).

[14] John Booth Davies, *The Psychology of Music* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1978), p. 26.

[15] The three modes of listening being causal listening, reduced listening, and semantic listening. For more on the quality and attributes of listening, see Michel Chion, 'Reflections on the Sound Object and Reduced Listening', in *Sound Objects,* ed. by Michel Chion, trans. by James A. Steintrager (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

[16] Foley gives the example of a door creaking at night due to movement by wind, or the presence of an intruder in the house. Our perception of sounds as pleasant or unpleasant also stems from cultural and ethnographical bias. See Edward Foley, *Ritual Music: Studies in Liturgical Musicology* (Maryland: The Pastoral Press, 1995), p. 109.

The discussion which follows gives us an insight into the nature of the Alleluia as a sound event in the communal liturgical celebration. I approach the topic in a novel way, situating the Alleluia within this liturgical sonic environment, and examining its role as a revelatory agent of presence in ritual worship. In this sense, it constitutes a new Research Model: a Theology of Liturgical Music as Sound (see Figure 5.1 below):
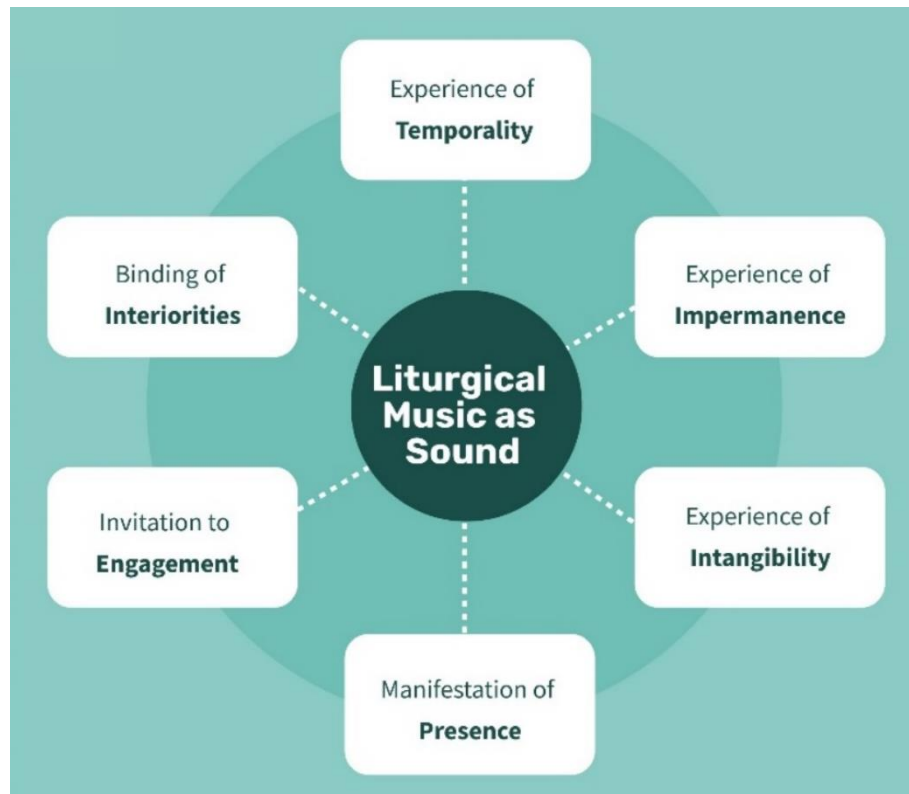
FIGURE 5.1. A Theology of Liturgical Music as Sound

<u>The nature of sound</u>

Sound as an experience of temporality and impermanence

The making and the hearing of sound are intrinsically time–bound events. Sound events like music or speech are, in their very realisation, impermanent events which exist for the hearer only for the duration of their sounding, for the length of time that the sound waves continue to

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vibrate.[17] In this sense, sound events are fundamental experiences of change and of the passage of time.

The philosopher Hans Jonas asserts that 'transience is thus of the very essence of the *now* of hearing'.[18] Moreover, sound events mark out time and its passing: sound events render time, and its form and continuity, audible, and our hearing of these sound events enables us to create what Donald Hodges calls 'a stable, measurable, inner world of time'.[19] In the liturgical context, time exists in a number of ways: as objective or quantifiable time, subjective or experienced time, notional or referred time, and eschatological time. As a temporal sound event, the sounding of the Alleluia juxtaposes the quantifiable *now* of actualizing the praise of God with the notional or referred moments in salvation history occasioning this praise, and the eschatological praising of the choirs of heaven for all eternity.[20]

Another feature of the sense of hearing is the automatic function of sound localisation. Through sound localisation, we create a mental 'map' of our environment whenever we hear sound. This map is generated by our perception of the quality, intensity and movement of the sounds which surround us. When our hearing is taken up with sound, this function of sound localisation results in our feeling part of a sonic 'space' which engages the totality of our being for the duration of the sound.[21] Thus, our experience of the phenomenon of sound is a concrete, embodied experience of being in the here-and-now within the larger experiential

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[17] Davies, p. 125; see also Richard Rath, 'Silence and Noise', *The Routledge Companion to Sound Studies,* ed. by Michael Bull (London: Routledge, 2019).

[18] Hans Jonas, 'The Nobility of Sight: A Study in the Phenomenology of the Senses', *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research,* 14 (1954), p. 513.

[19] Donald Hodges, 'Human Musicality', in Donald Hodges, ed., *Handbook of Music Psychology, Second Edition* (San Antonio, Texas: IMR Press, 1996), p. 45; also Susanne Langer, *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art Developed from Philosophy in a New Key,* 3rd edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1953), p. 110.

[20] For more on liturgical time, see John F. Baldovin, The Future Present: The Liturgy, Time, and Revelation', *Liturgy,* 31:1 (2015), pp. 19–25.

[21] Sager, p.165.

framework of impermanence and temporality. Our sounding of the Alleluia in this milieu of permanence and impermanence is the sounding of eschatological hope.

Sound as an experience of the intangible

All sound phenomena – including music, speech, and song – are characterised by the paradox of being both perceptible yet intangible. Art forms such as painting, sculpture, or pottery use material substances that may be seen, touched, weighed, and measured at various stages in the process of their composition (or actualisation). The material substance of sound – air or sound waves – differs substantially, even though the actualisation process also involves manipulation, moulding, and shaping of the substance.

The fact that sound is perceived primarily by one sense, that of hearing, heightens this experience of intangibility in the presence of the sound phenomenon. We can look at the musician playing the instrument, or the singer singing, or the speaker speaking; we can look at the music score or the text of the words; but it is through listening, for the most part, that we engage with sound. [22] We cannot see, touch, taste, or smell sound itself: but when we hear it, we do not doubt its existence. The performative nature of the Alleluia in actualising praise exemplifies this paradoxical concretising of praise within the liturgical celebration – and the concomitant statement of the existence of a salvific God worthy of such praise – with the intangibility of the praise rendered and, likewise, the intangibility of the faith of those rendering the praise.

Sound as a manifestation of presence

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[22] Foley, 'Toward a Sound Theology', p. 125. Sound can also be felt in its vibrations, and this is the way many Deaf people and others engage with sound, through its vibratory effect on another object. This statement also does not discuss sound–colour synaesthesia, whereby some individuals see specific colours upon hearing certain sounds; it is not within the scope of this dissertation to do so.

We register all sound in our consciousness as indicative of presence; we know that something or someone has produced that sound.[23] We inhabit auditory or acoustic space very differently to visual space. Auditory space envelops us in a multi–dimensional presence and this acoustic space, which forms our auditory world, is a fluid space, not delineated by fixed boundaries, but by activity.[24] Its form, content, and substance comprises of those sounds which enter the space, sounds which emanate from a source which makes itself known to us through its sound. In our auditory awareness, therefore, we register the phenomenon of sound as evidence of activity beyond ourselves: of the presence of another. Walter Ong asserts that this consciousness of the presence of another impresses itself more powerfully upon us when received aurally, rather than visually. Thus, this fluid space may also be understood as 'inhabited space' or 'filled space'.[25]

When this space of ours is inhabited by the sound of another, we experience this as an exercise of power. Power may be understood here as the ability to exercise one's will over others: in this context, one's will to make their being known to another, through their presence in sound.[26] Sound manifests the exercise of power in its very production: our hearing of a sound is, *de facto*, our recognition of an active, dynamic force producing that sound. In this

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[23] Kathleen Harmon, *The Mystery We Celebrate, the Song we Sing: A Theology of Liturgical Music* (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2018), p. 23. Perhaps this is why many people talk to themselves or have a television or radio on when they are alone in the house: these sounds give the sense of company, of a presence other than one's own.

[24] 'When I hear, I am at the centre of my auditory world, which envelops me, establishing me at a kind of core of sensation and existence'. Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 1982), p. 72. See also Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan, 'Acoustic Space', in *Explorations in Communication* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), p. 67.

[25] 'Because of its association with sound, acoustic space implies presence far more than does visual space. Noises one hears, for example, in a woods at night, register in the imagination as presences – person-like manifestations – far more than do movements which one merely sees. In this sense acoustic space is precisely not 'pure' space. It is inhabited space'. See Christopher Cannon and Stephen Justic, eds., *The Sound of Writing*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2023), p. 2; also Walter J. Ong, *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 123–25.

[26] Harmon, p. 25. This definition of power draws on the work of sociologist Max Weber, who established a theory of power, particularly its exercise in the face of resistance, and in relation to social and political class, status, and party. My discourse here employs the term 'power' to relate to an act of intent: that of sound asserting itself on listeners by virtue of being heard. For more on the concept of power and the Weberian stratification, see Catherine Brennan, *Max Weber on Power and Social Stratification: An Interpretation and Critique* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

sense, the sound phenomenon communicates a presence which is not passive, but one which is always a presence exercising power. When this sound is word (spoken or sung), we know that we are encountering the presence of another person.[27] And, indeed, this is an encounter: to speak is to make ourselves present, and to hear is to have the presence of another enter our world, our consciousness: that person becomes present to us through their sound. In its very essence, the exclamation of 'Alleluia!' names and acclaims a divine person, God or YHWH, and brings those gathered for worship into direct encounter with God through the speaking of the name. The speaking of the name of God as a manifestation of presence is also deeply rooted in revelatory Scriptural moments, such as Moses and the burning bush, and the baptism of Jesus, when the hearing of the voice of God indicates divine presence and, concomitantly, an encounter with the divine.[28]

Sound as invitation to engagement

When personal presence as sound enters our world, we necessarily come into relationship with the sound and with the producer of that sound. In this respect, the phenomenon of sound exerts influence over those who hear it and their behaviour: essentially, it engenders a response in us – when we hear; we listen to the sound.[29] To be in the presence of a sound event is, necessarily, to be placed in a situation of engagement or disengagement with the source of the sound, and also with others who listen to it along with us. Foley notes that sound events, such as poetry and music, are acts of engagement which cannot be passively received, drawing on the work of Plato who asserted that poetry was so engaging as an art form that

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[27] Harmon, p. 25; see also Ong, *The Presence of the Word*, p. 112.
[28] In Moses's encounter with God, the voice of God speaks to him from the burning bush, revealing 'I am who am'. See Exodus 3:1–15. The baptism of Jesus is recounted in the three Synoptic Gospels: Matthew 3:13–17, Mark 1:9–11, and Luke 3:21–23. In all accounts, the Holy Spirit descends upon Jesus in the form of a dove, and a voice from heaven speaks. In Mark and Luke, the voice addresses Jesus directly in the second person singular, whereas in Matthew's account, the voice addresses onlookers, saying 'This is my Son, the Beloved, in whom I am well pleased'. (RSV)
[29] Ong, *The Presence of the Word*, p. 117.

willing listeners were unable to distinguish themselves from the poetic event.[30] In this way, the sound phenomenon does not allow the listener to detach self from the sound: both become part of one and the same event. The sound phenomenon holds this influence action largely because the ear, by its very nature, is open to any sound which enters it: while we can close our eyes, we cannot close our ears in the same way. Consequently, Foley considers the ear as a physiological metaphor for relationship, openness and engagement.[31]

Although sight and sound are the two primary ways in which we become aware of that which is distant from self, the two phenomena operate within very different modalities. Sight compels us to look beyond ourselves to the object which is to be seen, whereas in sound the object moves towards us, entering our personal (acoustic) space and thus generating our response to this initiative of the other.[32] We may say, therefore, that sound is not only an invitation to engagement but, in the act of sounding a sound and its reception through hearing, sound *is* engagement. Musicologist Makis Solomos crystallises this when he notes 'hearing and listening do not constitute a passive act' and 'hearing always presupposes an intention'.[33] This dynamic of reciprocity, which is intrinsic to the nature of sound as phenomenon, means that acoustic space becomes an arena of relationship: of call and response, of engagement and interconnectedness.[34] The Alleluia, as one of the principal dialogic elements in the liturgy, embodies this reciprocity and engagement which is at the very heart of the nature of sound, and is sounding and being heard.

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[30] Foley, 'Toward a Sound Theology', p. 126. Foley refers to Eric Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

[31] Ibid., p. 127. See also Annette Wilke, 'Sonality', in *The Bloomsbury Handbook of The Cultural and Cognitive Aesthetics of Religion,* ed. by Anne Koch and Katharina Wilkens (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 64.

[32] Harmon, p. 35.

[33] Makis Solomos, *From Music to Sound: The Emergence of Sound in 20th– and 21st– Century Music* (New York: Routledge, 2021), p. 85.

[34] This principle of reciprocity mirrors the philosopher Martin Buber's relational paradigm of the *I–Thou*. Buber considers spoken dialogue, the word, to be the only means of achieving true awareness. See Martin Buber, *Between Man and Man* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1965), pp. 1–39.

Sound binds interiorities

The engagement which is engendered by the sound phenomenon is one which occurs deep within us. The sound which a body projects emanates from a particular resonance of interior properties and relationships, and sound reveals this hidden interiority in a unique way.[35] This revelation of interiority is matched by the reciprocal answer of the other interiorities which receive sound. Sound is the effect of an interior manifesting itself, and each sound wave which travels from the interior of one – the source of the sound – awakens and stimulates reciprocating vibrations within the interior of another – the recipient of the sound.[36] This act of reciprocity has the effect of dissipating our sense of separateness from the source of the sound: to listen is to become involved with something outside of ourselves which enters us and, literally, moves us. In this way, sound stresses commonality rather than difference between us and the source of the sound and, by extension, with others who hear the sound along with us, acting as a vast 'vibrant connective tissue'.[37]

Irish singer and scholar Nóirín Ní Ríain coined the word *theosony* to describe the spiritual dimension of listening and hearing in relationship with God, and references the work of Danish philosopher and theologian Søren Kierkegaard, who defined the ear as 'the most spiritual of all the senses'.[38] As doxology, the Alleluia acclamation externalises an interior disposition of pure praise which is, in itself, an intensely spiritual act, and the sounding aloud of such interiority constitutes an act of self–revelation, self–giving, and of binding one's self to others who hear and respond by taking up the same doxological cry.

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[35] Harmon, p. 24; see also Ong, *The Presence of the Word*, p. 118. Ong presents the example of a violin: its specific sound is determined by interior relationships between wood, shape of acoustic space, and so on: likewise, similar interior relationships ensure that no two human voices are identical. Thus, sound reveals qualities that outward appearances cannot convey.

[36] Kathleen Harmon, 'Liturgical Music as Prayer', in *Liturgy and Music: Lifetime Learning*, eds. Robin A. Leaver and Joyce Ann Zimmerman (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998), p. 270.

[37] David Burrows, *Sound, Speech and Music* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), p. 24.

[38] Søren Kierkegaard, *Either/Or*: *A Fragment of Life,* ed. by Victor Eremita, trans. by Alastair Hannay (London: Penguin Books, 1959), p. 66. Ni Riain coins the term *theosony* from the Greek word for God, *theos*, and the Latin for sounding, *sonans.* See Nóirín Ni Riain, *Listen with the Ear of the Heart* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 2009), p. 165.

When the sound phenomenon connecting these interiors is vocal, what becomes bound together are what Ong calls 'the most interior of interiors', the conscious interiors of human beings.[39] Words, embedded in sound, manifest disparate consciousnesses while binding these consciousnesses. For this reason, word plays a privileged role in human interrelating, becoming what we might call 'the sounding cement of community'.[40] When music or song constitutes this sound, we encounter a phenomenon with significant social and communicative dimensions. In the case of the Alleluia, the musical form becomes the vehicle for the sounding of the acclamatory shout.

Music as sound

As with all sound phenomena, music involves two interlocking and mutually informative processes: those which engender music (music making), and those of perception and reception (music hearing).[41] As sound, music carries all the features of the sound phenomenon as discussed above and, in music as a sonic entity, we find sound and the spatial and temporal frameworks completely intertwined. Because music is organised, patterned sound, created with intentionality, it depends on the interrelationship and connectedness of the elements which constitute the sound experience. In music we hear distinct, yet mutually enhancing, sounds occupying the same acoustic space. We hear tones and pitches in relationship to those which have been sounded before, and those which come after. Jeremy Begbie couches this in theological terms: in music we hear what is, what has been, and what is to come, as one aural experience. In this sense, music may be understood as a temporal Gestalt.[42]

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[39] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p. 74.
[40] Harmon, *The Mystery We Celebrate,* p. 25.
[41] Jeremy S. Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 9.
[42] The term 'Gestalt' is used here in the sense of an organised whole which conveys more than the sum of its parts. See Begbie, p. 25; also Harmon, *The Mystery We Celebrate,* p. 31.

While all acoustic phenomena can be explained through science and physics, music-making constitutes a form of learned behaviour.[43] We have noted the social and communicative dimensions of sound: as music is humanly generated sound, these dimensions become significant factors in both its genesis and its effect, and exploration of these leads us to a consideration of the Alleluia acclamation as a musically rendered dialogic element in the liturgical celebration.

The social dimensions of music

Ethnomusicologist John Blacking remarked 'the sound of music announces a social situation'.[44] In this social environment, music serves as a mediator of shared experience, and one which relates the persons in this experience more closely to each other, and to the experience itself.[45] In this way, it confirms and affirms social values and relationships, although it cannot create or instill values and relationships which do not exist.[46] In this process of social relating, music also effects individual growth by linking self to other, and self to self. As the private and public selves may be understood as products of social interaction, and as music is a product of processes which bring about the realisation of other, music has the ability to reflect aspects of the self back to the self.[47] This self–reflexivity and realisation, in turn, leads to a re–definition and re–situation of self in relation to society and to social groupings: in effect, it leads to a new way of relating.[48] Music, as group behaviour, acts as a mediator of this

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[43] Joncas, 'Liturgical Music as Music', p. 221.

[44] John Blacking, *Music, Culture and Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 40.

[45] John Blacking, p. 59: 'Whether the emphasis is on humanly organized sound or soundly organised humanity, on a tonal experience related to people or shared experience relating to tones, the function of the music is to reinforce, or relate people more closely to, certain experiences which have come to have meaning in their social life'.

[46] We may take the example of a national anthem: the hearing or singing of the anthem can affirm and even awaken feelings of national pride and patriotism, and give expression to these values, but it cannot engender such values and emotions in people who do not already hold them.

[47] Blacking placed music and other aesthetic forms at the fulcrum of human psychology and socio–cultural formation. See Blacking, p. 32; also Sager, p. 143.

[48] Linnda R. Caporael and others, 'Selfishness Examined: Cooperation in the Absence of Egoistic Incentives', *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 12 (1989), p. 696.

relational process, which can be seen as central to the Christian concept of conversion or *metanoia*, and essential to true discipleship.

Evolutionary psychology claims that communal music–making triggers the production of endorphins in the body, which promote feelings of happiness and benevolence in participants.[49] This psych––social effect corresponds with William McNeill's notion of 'boundary loss'. McNeill notes how people joining together for a group activity generally come to the activity from differing situations and experiences. The act of making music together invokes a shared emotional experience, in which a diminution of self and a merging with the other 'selves' in the group takes place. This blurring of self–awareness, of self–identity, gives way to group awareness and group identity.[50] The intertwining of the spatial and temporal frameworks in music heightens this blurring, as a sense of being 'in time' and 'in tune' with others is engendered in the process of making music, inspiring a particular sense of 'being–in–the–world' and of 'being–in–the–world with others': a phenomenon Blacking refers to as 'bodily empathy'.[51]

This experience, a form of self–transcendence, creates a space for interpersonal growth and intrapersonal development.[52] David Burrows speaks of human beings operating in the world within three basic fields of action, each characterised by increasing fluidity and decreasing

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[49] Endorphins are peptides produced by the pituitary gland which function as neurotransmitters. See Robin Dunbar, *The Human Story*, (London: Faber and Faber, 2004), p. 24. For more on embodied sound, see David Howes, 'Embodiment and the Senses', in *The Routledge Companion to Sound Studies,* ed. by Michael Bull (London: Routledge, 2019).

[50] William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 7. While McNeill's work concentrates on dance and drill, particularly in ritualistic contexts, he includes music as a group activity with the same effects. Steven Mithen also notes that groups comprising of individuals who are interdependent in any way are especially prone to making music together. See Steven Mithen, *The Singing Neanderthals: The Origins of Music, Language, Mind and Body* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2005), p. 208.

[51] Blacking also uses the term 'bodily resonance'. See John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973), p. 22. I use the phrases being 'in time' and 'in tune' here as indicative of participation in the act of music production and reception, rather than of particular musical proficiency in either rhythm or pitch. See Gilbert Rouget, *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession*, trans. by Brunhilde Biebucyk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 121–124.

[52] A space which Rebecca Sager argues is normal – and, even, necessary – for the full development of the human person. Sager, p. 143.

rigidity in the boundaries between self and all else.[53] The first field, which the physical body occupies, is bound by time and physical space: it is characterised by individuated awareness and by oppositional, rather than dialectical, relationships. The second field, the world of the mind or thought, comprises of a space free from temporal and physical limits.[54] While activity in this field occurs in the here and now, it can also move into the past and the future, where shared awareness with others is made possible through discourse; however, it is, necessarily, limited by the rules of discourse and language, and to social expectation and norms attached to these.[55] The third field, the realm of the spirit, is the space in which sense of self becomes contiguous with all reality, transcending the limits and boundaries between the self and the other.[56] This field is accessible to all through meditation, ritual, and participation in music and the arts, with music being regarded by David Burrows as the most direct route.[57] The space which participation in the phenomenon of musical sound opens up corresponds with this third field, where self-transcendence and oneness of self with all else become possible. Ralph Vaughan Williams acknowledges this dimension of music when he describes music as 'the reaching out towards the utmost realities by means of ordered sound'.[58]

There are cultural aspects to the process of making and receiving music which colour the experience and which determine, even, the extent to which the sound may be understood or accepted as 'music' or 'musical'.[59] As an ethnomusicologist, Blacking's work considers

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[53] For more on the three fields of human action, see Burrows, pp. 3–14.

[54] This opening up is possible as the frame of reference governing the space is, itself, unlimited: it is constituted of the intangible elements of ideas, memories, dreams, and so on.

[55] Burrows notes, in particular, social expectations of logical correspondence between thought and expression. See *Sound, Speech and Music*, p. 9.

[56] 'Spirit' is used here by Burrows not as a theological term, but as, 'the sense of self as diffused through the full range of awareness'. See *Sound, Speech and Music*, p. 8.

[57] Ibid., p. 9, 13. Burrows notes that we do not move through these fields sequentially; rather, we operate between one or more of them somewhat randomly and, sometimes, simultaneously.

[58] Ralph Vaughan Williams, *National Music and Other Essays,* 2nd edn (New York: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 206.

[59] Michael Paul Gallagher defines culture in a faith-based context as 'a cluster of assumptions, values and ways of life'. See Michael Paul Gallagher, *Clashing Symbols: An Introduction to Faith and Culture* (Mahwah: Paulist

cultural aspects of the production and reception of music as one of its primary foci, calling for a 'context-sensitive analysis' which would recognise the importance of the context in which music is born and in which it is lived and understood.[60] Yet he asserts the primacy of the social dimension of music, understanding it in terms of the deeply human, and deeply spiritual, relationship between self and other and, essentially, in the desire to reach beyond one's own time, place, and experience, asserting music's ability to transcend time and culture.[61] The semiotician Jean-Jacques Nattiez refers to the poietic and esthetic levels of music–making and asserts that, 'the universals of music must not be sought in immanent structures, but in the behaviours associated with sound phenomena, particularly in poietic strategies'.[62] While Blacking acknowledges that cultural conditions mean we may receive music in differing ways at the esthetic level, he attributes the ability of music to transcend time and culture to a form of cross–communication, initiated at the poietic level. Music's ability to 'speak' thus necessitates a consideration of the communicative dimension of music as sound.

Press, 2004), p. 9. The theologian Maeve Heaney asserts that our musical ears, so to speak, are formed in a certain musical sensibility which means that music born in various cultural environments may be heard (or understood, or accepted) differently according to the recipients' cultural environments. See Maeve Heaney, *Music as Theology: What Music Says about the Word* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2012), p. 42. Jan Michael Joncas demonstrates this cross–cultural reception of music succinctly in the context of worship: he notes that female high–pitched cries or microtonal cantillation patterns are accepted musical forms in some rites of African or Syrian worship, respectively, but would not be acceptable in British Anglican Vespers. See Joncas, 'Liturgical Music as Music', p. 222. For more on the cultural conditioning of sound, see James Mansell, 'Ways of Hearing Sound, Culture and History', in *The Routledge Companion to Sound Studies,* ed. by Michael Bull (London: Routledge, 2019).

[60] Blacking, *How Musical is Man?*, p. 93.

[61] 'Music can transcend time and culture. Music that was exciting to the contemporaries of Mozart and Beethoven is still exciting, although we do not share their culture. Many of us are thrilled by Koto music from Japan, sitar music from India, Chopi xylophone music, and so on. I am convinced that the explanation for this is to be found in the fact that at the level of deep structures of music there are elements that are common to the human psyche, although they may not appear in the surface structures'. Blacking, *How Musical is Man?*, pp. 108–109. Throughout Blacking's work there is shift of emphasis from the referential content of expressive forms towards experience as the source of meaning for both generators and recipients of music. In this sense, Blacking distillled the phenomenological thread of discourse which features prominently in recent ethnomusicological scholarship. See Reily, p. 14. While Blacking's theory of music as humanly organised sound has been criticised as 'Vendacentric', his defenders posit it as 'Vendgrounded'. See Keith Howard, 'Memories of Fieldwork: Understanding 'Humanly Organised Sound' through the Venda', in Reily, ed., *The Musical Human*, p. 17.

[62] Nattiez, p. 75. On the question of universals, see also Dane L. Harwood, 'Universals in Music: A Perspective from Cognitive Psychology', *Ethnomusicology* Vol. 2, No. 3 (1976), p. 523.

The communicative dimensions of music

As we have noted, music as humanly generated sound expresses or communicates the interiority of one or more persons to other persons. While Nettl defines music as 'human sound communication outside the scope of language', there are a series of correspondences which may be noted between music and language.[63] Principally, both realise the human ability to structure the world in expressive terms. Both may occur in real time, when they are performed or spoken, or may be encountered in their static, visual representation, as written words or notated music.[64] Both music and language employ a hierarchical structure, being constituted of acoustic elements that are combined into phrases, which can be further combined to make language or musical events. This process of combination often leads to recursion: the embedding of a linguistic or musical phrase within a phrase of a similar type, such as a clause within a clause, enabling a potentially infinite range of expressions to be generated from a suite of finite elements.[65]

Physiologically, music and speech operate separately in the two hemispheres of the brain, with music predominantly in the right and speech in the left, although there is some overlap.[66] Music and speech also hold differing relationships with temporality, with music expressing the immediate in the very sounding of its sound, while the reflection involved in language necessarily destroys immediacy.[67] There is also a contrast between music and language in the extent to which they can be translated from one cultural form to another. While we can translate foreign languages into our own readily, recognising that we may lose much of the subtlety of the original language in the process, it makes no sense to attempt to

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[63] Nettl, p. 24.

[64] Joncas, 'Liturgical Music as Music', p. 220.

[65] Mithen, p. 16.

[66] Anthony Storr, *Music and the Mind* (New York: Ballantine Press, 2008), p. 35.

[67] 'Music always expresses the immediate in its immediacy. Language involves reflection, and cannot, therefore, express the immediate. Reflection destroys the immediate, and hence it is impossible to express the musical in language'. Søren Kierkegaard, *Either/Or: A Fragment of Life,* ed. Victor Eremita, trans. Alastair Hannay (London: Penguin Books, 1959), p. 38.

translate the music used by one culture into that of another.[68] Thus, Longfellow's assertion 'music is the universal language of mankind',[69] would seem to partner Blacking's acknowledgement of the cross–cultural expressive power of music, while the question of whether music constitutes a language or not is a complex one, hinging on how music is understood in symbolic terms.[70]

While both music and language are hierarchical systems constructed from discrete units (words and tones, respectively), the nature of these units is fundamentally different, as those of language constitute symbols, yet those of music are not easily designated as symbols. Foley characterises this clearly: 'music is non–discursive symbol, has little capacity for fixed definitions, and is not well explained as a language'.[71] The philosopher of art Susanne Langer concurs with this, as she notes that music can only 'loosely and inexactly' be called a language, and 'music articulates forms which language cannot set forth'.[72] Theologian Bernard Lonergan highlights the role of symbol in facilitating internal communication: 'it is through symbols that mind and body, mind and heart, heart and body communicate. In that communication, symbols have their proper meaning'.[73] Langer and Lonergan resonate with Blacking's thesis that what music communicates is best understood in affective and expressive terms.

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[68] Mithen, p. 14.

[69] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Outre–Mer: A Pilgrimage Beyond the Sea* (New York: Harper, 1835), p. 197.

[70] I use the term 'expressive' here deliberately: see what follows regarding the work of Susanne Langer.

[71] Foley, 'Toward a Sound Theology', p. 131; see also Edward Foley, *Music in Ritual: A Pre–Theological Investigation* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1984), pp. 9–13. For a survey of discussions on music as symbol, see Gordon Epperson, *The Musical Symbol; A Study of the Philosophic Theory of Music* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1967).

[72] Langer, *Feeling and Form*, p. 31, and *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art, Third Edition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 233. Langer's challenge to traditional philosophical thinking consisted, fundamentally, in her presentation of symbolism as the avenue through which the human mind seeks to express itself, and her concomitant study of symbolic forms. Her emphasis on the epistemological significance of the arts means that she does not deny music any symbolic capacity, but highlights the particularly expressive power of music to express human feelings.

[73] Bernard J.F. Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1973), pp. 66–67.

Langer presents the arts as the best exponents of the non–discursive and non- denotative nature of symbolic thought, and posits music as 'unconsummated symbol', as it lacks what she regards as the conventional reference point found in languages and the visual arts.[74] The majority of words have an arbitrary association with the entity to which they refer: yet musical notes, in and of themselves, lack referential meanings: being and referent are synonymous; signified and signifier are one.[75] Words, by their nature, constitute a distinction or separation between the signified and the signifier, between subject and object: what the word names, or points to, becomes the object – separate from the word, its name.[76] Burrows regards music as having a 'protosemiotic status', while, similarly, Begbie identifies music's non–referential nature as a strength, rather than a weakness, in affording music greater freedom than language in the generation of meaning'.[77]

The semiotician Willem Marie Speelman, in noting a series of distinctions between verbal dynamics and musical dynamics, remarks: 'communication of music is not about anything else other than the sharing of the music itself'.[78] Ultimately, this facilitates us in understanding music as facilitating a different way of accessing reality than verbal language.

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[74] Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key',* p. 30.

[75] Mithen gives the example: 'The note middle C is middle C and nothing else; it has no referent outside of itself'. See Mithen, p. 17. All theories of semiology are based on two primary understandings of what constitutes a sign: that of Ferdinand de Saussure and that of Charles Sanders Pierce, each highlighting different aspects of how the human dynamic of signification works. The terms 'signifier' and 'signified', comprising the two elements which make up a sign, are Ferdinand de Saussure's, from the field of semiology. See Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. by Roy Harris (Illinois: Open Court, 1986), p. 119. For a lucid presentation of the terms, including Charles Sanders Pierce's distinctions in terminology, see Heaney, pp. 79–93.

[76] Harmon, *The Mystery we Celebrate,* p. 29.

[77] See Burrows, p. 71; also Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time,* p. 13. Burrows gives the example of the word 'rose': the same word connotes different images for different people. He states his case clearly by asserting that music 'is not essentially in the business of representing things beyond itself'. This may seem at odds with scholars who regard music as carrying a symbolic role in the liturgical context. For more on this, see Harmon, 'Liturgical Music as Prayer', p. 273.

[78] Willem Marie Speelman, *The Generation of Meaning in Liturgical Songs: A Semiotic Analysis of Five Liturgical Songs as Syncretic Discourses* (Kampen; Kok Pharos, 1995), p. 118. Speelman notes that the word 'semiotics' is used to indicate languages (and he includes music along with verbal and written languages), but that it is also used to indicate the theory of meaning: ultimately, he understands semiotic analysis as the description of discourses. He also bases his approach in the work of Greimas and his Paris school of semiotic analysis. See Speelman, p. ix.

While verbal language is referential and draws our mind from the present reality to the conceptual understanding of the concepts the words refer to, musical communication is lived in terms of corporality: our bodily presence or existence in the present moment.[79]

However, Nattiez reminds us that communication is only one possible result of symbolic functioning, as the interaction involves a complex form of symbolic interaction which is more than the one–sided transmission of a message.[80] He challenges what he terms the 'communication utopia:' the illusion by which one thinks that the intention of the speaker/musician/sender can be perceived readily or easily by the ear of the listener/receiver, stating that:

> a symbolic form ... is not some 'intermediary' in a process of 'communication' that transmits the meaning intended by the author to the audience; it is, instead, the result of a complex process of creation that has to do with the form as well as the content of the work; it is also the point of departure for a complex process of reception that reconstructs a message.[81]

In terms of message, Foley sees music as revelatory in the liturgical event. He celebrates music for what he terms its 'ambivalence of content', and contends that there is no inherent clash or contradiction of meanings when presentational symbol weds to discursive symbol, that is, when music weds to text. Rather, there is the possibility for new levels of meaning, as the music heightens and interprets the text.[82]

The logocentricity of Roman Rite worship music

The Hebrew Bible expresses sapiential sayings in a lyrical and poetic form, employing parallelism, melodic recitation, and accented patterns. The basis of all sapiential literature, and

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[79] Speelman, pp. 119, 128.
[80] Nattiez, p. 16.
[81] Ibid., pp. 99, 17.
[82] Foley, 'Toward a Sound Theology', p. 136. Burrows concurs with Foley, asserting that, even when tied to words in song, music allows us to access realities and meanings in a different way, as taking it in 'involves one cognitive operation less than does understanding speech'. See Burrows, p. 88.

of the psalms, is *mashal* or rhythm–melodic proverb.[83] In the Hebrew world outlook, a word

once spoken had a quasi-substantial existence of its own. The word *dabar* meant more than

spoken word: it also included action or event.[84] Like the word of God which came to the

prophets, 'the word of God has power to heal people', (Psalm 107:20) and 'it shall accomplish

what I want'. (Isaiah 55:11).The whole of this 'logos' theology was transmitted to Christianity

in the Gospel of John, particularly in the 'Logos hymn' of the Prologue.[85] In this way the liturgy

can be understood as having always been intimately connected with God's word, enabling the

power of past events recorded in Scripture to come alive in the present through ritual re–

enactment, in which the setting of text to music plays a primary role. The American document

Music in Catholic Worship, issued in 1972, highlights this relationship:

> The sacred Scripture ought to be the source and inspiration of sound planning, for it is
> of the very nature of celebration that people hear the saving words and works of the
> Lord and then respond in meaningful signs and symbols.[86]

Pope Pius X held that the only music proper to the Church is purely vocal music.[87] Rembert

Weakland asserts that Roman Rite worship music has always tended to be logogenic in nature,

to the exclusion of pathogenic elements:

> 'Logogenic music is that which is word–inspired or word–born. It consists in
> heightened speech patterns. It adds tone to word but hardly admits of a musical logic
> that is not word–determined. Pathogenic elements in music are those born of the attempt
> to use musical elements directly for emotional expression . . .The meeting ground of
> the two presents a fascinating aesthetic problem'.[88]

The *Universa Laus* document of 1980, *De la musique dans les liturgies chretiennes*, outlines

the three fold function of music in worship: to support and reinforce the proclamation of the

[83] Joseph Gelineau, *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship: Principles, Laws and Applications*, trans. Clifford Howell (London: Burns and Oates, 1964), p. 20.
[84] Miriam Therese Winter, *Why Sing? Towards a Theology of Catholic Church Music* (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1984), p. 209.
[85] Ibid.
[86] 'Music in Catholic Worship', *The Liturgy Documents: A Parish Resource, Volume I* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2004), para. 11.
[87] Robert F. Hayburn, 'Tra le sollecitudini', *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D*. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1987), para. 15.
[88] Rembert Weakland, 'The Sung Mass and its Problems', *North American Liturgical Week,* (1965): p. 240.

Gospel in all its forms; to give fuller expression to professing one's faith; to enhance the sacramental rite in its dual aspect of action and word.[89] Singing in the liturgy is not an occasional meeting of poetry and music: it is an original, human action in which words and sounds become a new, single unity. When sung, a text can take on meanings suggested by the musical setting used, while the music can interpret and present the words in an infinite number of ways.[90] The document notes that the liturgical celebration

> Calls for a wide variety of vocal acts and verbo–musical genres because different functions of language are brought into play. The celebration sometimes emphasises the transmission of a message, sometimes the savouring or assimilation of recited words, sometimes the act of singing 'with one voice', sometimes pure praise for its own sake.[91]

The Alleluia may be seen as a unique musical–liturgical item in the Mass, embodying all the above functions in its role as herald of the Gospel message, lyric representation and savouring of the exhortation to praise, locus of the gathered assembly's dialogic response to the Word–made–Flesh, and joyous acclamation which is prized so highly in the liturgy for its acclamatory capacity that once is never enough; it exists in the Eucharistic celebration in repeated form.

The place of melismatic chant in worship

Musicae sacrae disciplina (1955) extols the virtue of Gregorian chant as a logogenic and logocentric worship genre:

> This chant, because of the close adaptation of the melody to the sacred text, is not only the most intimately conformed to the words, but also in a way interprets their force and efficacy and brings delight to the minds of the hearers.[92]

Lucien Deiss esteems these chant settings for their faithfulness to the divine word in liturgy and, conversely, for their ability to bring us beyond words in worship:

> Certain plainchant compositions, for example, the Alleluias of the Easter season, are pure marvels in the way the vocalization bubbles and flows, endlessly joyful in its praise

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[89] Claude Duchesneau and Michel Veuthy, eds., *Music and Liturgy: The Universa Laus Document and Commentary*, trans. by Paul Inwood (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1992), p. 15.
[90] Duchesneau and Veuthy, p. 20.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Hayburn, 'Musicae sacrae disciplina', *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, para. 43.

of the divine name of YHWH . . . the aim of singing is not only to proclaim an intelligible message . . . plainchant thus teaches us, by means of the *jubilus*, that the liturgy has need not only of concentrated texts and good literary structures but also of beautiful melodies.[93]

In his comments on *Music in Catholic Worship's* dictate that the music 'express and interpret the text correctly and make it more meaningful',[94] Jan Michael Joncas distinguishes between matching the accentual pattern of the spoken text to music, and adapting or 'distorting' word accents for expressive purposes, remarking on the elaborate melismas on unaccented syllables in chant.[95] Richard Crocker, similarly, notes that sometimes a syllable in Gregorian chant is sung to so many pitches that we lose track of what word the syllable was from, and are aware only that the vowel sound is being prolonged. A melisma interrupts the connectedness of the words and intrudes into the verbal meaning with a musical meaning. A melisma reminds us that two different things, word and melody, are going on at the same time.[96]

For all its openness to empty virtuosity, the *jubilus* of the Gregorian Alleluia can be seen as a profoundly concentrated, phonic acclamation, an expression of a joy that goes beyond words. As an elaborate treatment and augmentation of the name of God, it can also be understood as logogenicity at its most efficacious. Joseph Gelineau offers 'the exultant character of this paschal acclamation' as sufficient explanation for this melismatic ornamentation, adding that 'it would be difficult to find any music which rivals in beauty certain of the Gregorian *jubilii*'.[97]

Proclamation and acclamation as call and response

In John Langshaw Austin's philosophic theories of language he considers every speech-act to consist of three interrelated acts; firstly, a 'locutionary act' (the utterance itself); secondly, an

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[93] Deiss, *Visions of Liturgy and Music for a New Century*, p.140.
[94] 'Music in Catholic Worship', para. 32.
[95] Joncas, *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music,* p. 59.
[96] Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 11.
[97] Gelineau, *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship,* p. 171.

'illocutionary act' (the intended effect of the utterance on the hearer, presupposed by the speaker); thirdly, a 'per-locutionary act' (the actual effect of the utterance on the hearer). Essentially, this theory proposes that words not only mean something, but they also do something.[98] The act of singing does not simply speak about the unity of the faith, it creates it. Sung proclamation, by either the choir or celebrant, conveys the declarative word to which the whole community responds in acclamation. It is this rhythm of actuating liturgical song that creates the oneness of the liturgical assembly, the 'une voces dicentes' that the early Church Fathers spoke of.[99]

A theology of liturgy which is articulated in terms of proclamation is based upon the fundamental understanding that the relationship of God to the world and to human beings is to be seen in terms of a dialogue between the two. Proclamation and acclamation are fundamentally linked. That which is proclaimed must be responded to, and an acclamation is an acute and very powerful response to that which is encountered in the various forms of proclamation.[100] In this sense, the rhythm of the liturgy can be seen in terms of call and response: ministers proclaim God's message and initiation to the assembly, who respond with acclamations of assent:

> While all acclamations may be seen to have an element of proclamation about them, proclamation is an act of evangelisation, an act of initiation and a call to change of heart or metanoia. Acclamation is an act of the evangelised, the response of those who have undergone conversion. It is a response to the divine call. Acclamations in the liturgy are our primary mode of expressing our faith response to the revelation of God encountered in our various forms of proclamation in the liturgy. [101]

The Alleluia is not only our assent to the word of God but our expression of praise and joy in response to it. In this way, the Alleluia functions as the supreme acceptance and affirmation of the good news of the Gospel.

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[98] Leaver, p. 73.
[99] Ibid., p. 86.
[100] Rossiter, p. 168.
[101] Ibid., p. 167.

Effective acclamations and proclamations require close connection between their texts and the music that supports them, where the intonation contour of utterance — the melodic forms, with appropriate anabasis and catabasis — is consonant with the meaning of the texts.[102] The challenge facing composers and liturgists is to produce and select musical treatments that deal with what is, apparently, a tiny amount of textual material, but which speaks so deeply of faith to those who acclaim.[103] This challenge is one which is real and alive for liturgical communities today, and a case study of musical treatments of Alleluia in contemporary liturgical usage would illuminate our understanding of these contradictory and juxtapositional aspects of the acclamation in pastoral–liturgical practice. The chapter to follow undertakes this task, situating the case study in a consideration of the liturgical principles underpinning post–conciliar practice in Ireland.

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[102] Leaver, p. 86.
[103] Rossiter, p. 169.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ALLELUIA IN CURRENT IRISH LITURGICAL PRACTICE: MUSICAL AND LITURGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Within the Roman Rite celebration of the Eucharist, the Alleluia holds a privileged place as one of the pre–eminent sung items in the liturgy. Even when there is little else sung, the Alleluia constitutes one of five acclamations which, according to the norms of the General Instruction on the Roman Missal, are to be sung above all (the others being the three Eucharistic acclamations and the doxology to the Lord's Prayer):

> Pre–eminent among the texts of the Mass are the Biblical readings with their accompanying Scriptural chants . . . the dialogues between the priest and the assembly and the acclamations are of particular importance as expressions of the prayer of the whole assembly. They are necessary as the minimum form of communal participation.[1]

As one of the principal dialogic elements in the liturgy, the Alleluia forms an integral part of the people's faith response. As such, the acclamation 'alleluia' is not the sole preserve of a soloist or choir, but calls for the whole assembly to take it up and voice it with enthusiasm:

> The Alleluia or Gospel Acclamation is an acclamation which expresses the people's greeting of the Lord and their faith in his presence as he addresses them in the Gospel reading . . . (it) is sung by everyone present. The verse may be sung by cantor or choir (or even recited).[2]

This imperative on the gathered assembly to sing as an expression of faith finds it roots in the early Church; the Pauline letters contain exhortations for the assembly to sing:

> The faithful who gather together to await the Lord's coming are instructed by the Apostle Paul to sing psalms, hymns and inspired songs'. (Col 3:16)[3]

We have seen in Chapter Three how the rise of the schola cantorum, a liturgical choir separate from the wider congregation, led to the creation of a repertory of chant for trained, specialist singers, with the Alleluia being one of the most florid and technically demanding pieces in the repertory, and the practice of congregational singing in the Mass declined quickly until, by the

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[1] *Celebrating the Mystery of Faith: A Guide to the Mass* (Dublin: Irish Liturgical Publications, 2005), p. 27; see also *GIRM,* para. 15, 39–41; 'Liturgical Music Today', para. 17; 'Music in Catholic Worship', para. 53.
[2] *Celebrating the Mystery of Faith,* p. 39.
[3] *GIRM*, para. 19. Gordon Lathrop notes that the New Testament uses the term 'assembly' primarily to denote a group that has its local gathering in a local place. See Gordon W. Lathrop, *The Assembly: A Spirituality* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2022).

eighth century, it became non-existent.[4] With the surprise announcement of the second Vatican Council in 1959, liturgy became the first area of church life to be addressed. Promulgated in December 1963, *Sacrosanctam Concilium* served as a blueprint for liturgical and liturgical music reform. Its significance as the first document of the Second Vatican Council meant that its theological foundations became the measure for subsequent conciliar documents and reflections, on areas as diverse as ecclesiology and church order. Its assertion that music performs a particular ministerial function in worship and forms a necessary or integral part of the liturgy was the culmination of almost sixty years of evolution in official church opinions on church music, stretching back as far as Pius X.[5] *Sacrosanctam Concilium* introduced the phrase, 'full, conscious and active participation', which became the pastoral yardstick by which to measure liturgical efficacy:

> The Church earnestly desires that all the faithful be led to that full, conscious and active participation in the liturgical celebration called for by the very nature of the liturgy. Such participation by the Christian people as, 'a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people', (1 Peter 2:9) is their right and duty by reason of their baptism.[6]

It posited active participation in the liturgy as the primary concern of pastors, acknowledging that while active participation is often expressed outwardly it is, primarily, a habit of interior presence and assent:

> To promote active participation, the people should be encouraged to take part by means of acclamations, responses, psalmody, antiphons and songs, as well as by actions, gestures, and bearing. And at the proper times all should observe a reverent silence.[7]

Liturgist Bruce Morrill distinguishes listening in the context of worship as an active exercise that includes the practise of one's will power, while hearing is the less rigorous process

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[4] Robin Leaver notes that, concurrently, a corpus of extra–liturgical songs for outside the Mass, especially for major feasts, developed. A notable feature of these extra–liturgical songs was the continuity and retention of the older acclamations, such as 'alleluia' and 'kyrie eleison', which had been sung by the whole liturgical assembly in the first few Christian centuries. What had once been sung by the people in the Mass was firmly embedded into the common memory and transmitted into their extra–liturgical songs. See Leaver, p. 77.

[5] 'Sacrosanctam Concilium', para. 112.

[6] Ibid., para. 14.

[7] Ibid., para. 30.

whereby the body and ear receive a panoply of vibrations, only some of which are distinguished as sounds.[8] The French physician and auditory neurologist Alfred Tomatis's discovery of the 'neurological loop' connecting the ear and the voice, along with his extensive research into the vestibular functions of the ear, provides further insight into why the combined bodily activity of standing, singing and listening heightens the body and mind's awareness of encountering God.[9] Each of these elements is present in the delivery of the Alleluia in the Mass where people stand, sing as an act of acclamation, and listen to a verse delivered by soloist(s) or choir, and it is singular in being the only acclamation of the Mass which invariably occurs, and where the posture prescribed is always standing.[10]

The challenge for liturgical music composers and directors is to source and identify musical settings of the Alleluia which present a faithful rendering of the exclamatory and acclamatory nature of the acclamation in song, while keeping it accessible (and even attractive) to the members of the assembly who gather for worship. Within the cultural history of the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland, whether congregations will sing or not is a separate, although very pertinent, question to the requirements of musical form which are being explored here in the compositional structure of the Alleluia as a liturgical acclamation. Irish practitioners and scholars such as Helen Phelan and Gerard Gillen have written on the subject of hymnody

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[8] This could be seen as a useful distinction between listening and hearing in any context. See Bruce T. Morrill, 'Liturgical Music: Bodies Proclaiming and Responding to the Word of God', *Worship,* 74, no. 1 (January 2000): p. 29. This also brings to mind Jesus' exhortation, 'Listen, then, anyone who has ears'. (Matthew 13:9).

[9] Alfred Tomatis was summoned to a French Benedictine monastery by an abbot whose monks had become chronically fatigued and listless. In what he interpreted as the spirit of Vatican II, the abbot had dispensed with the rigorous prayer and chanting schedule in the monastery, advising that the additional six–eight hours gained per day could be more usefully employed in agrarian or pastoral work. When Tomatis arrived, he found the monks listless and napping in their cells. He treated them strictly by means of sound, returning them to their full schedule of chanting, whereby they regained their energy and needed far less sleep. Tomatis deduced that the monks needed the high cortical charge produced in their bodies through their singing, and this led him to study the frequency, pace and rhythm of Gregorian chant and the physical benefits of overtones and auditory frequencies. There are now over two hundred Tomatis Centres, specialising in auditory neurology, internationally. See Morrill, pp. 30–31.

[10] This response/refrain/antiphon format is carried through in the litanies of the Mass, if sung, in a pattern of intone and respond. However, various options both in form and in posture mean that participants may be standing, sitting, or kneeling at these, dependent largely on local practice, whereas the Gospel Acclamation always incurs standing. For more on posture in the liturgy, see *GIRM,* para. 43, 124, 131.

and Irish congregational singing, noting the impact of historical and cultural factors on the resultant state of congregational singing (or lack thereof) in Irish Catholic congregations.[11] Yet the Liturgy of the Word always includes a Gospel Acclamation which is to be sung, if possible, at each celebration of the Eucharist.

Identifying requisite qualities in liturgical music

Three qualities which are required of liturgical music across various conciliar, papal and curial texts on the subject are beauty, holiness and universality.[12] In *Tra le sollecitudini* the first two of these, holiness and beauty, are associated primarily with the liturgical texts and ceremonies that music carries and accompanies: music may be deemed to become 'holy' and 'beautiful' insofar as it participates in the holiness and beauty of the rite.[13] Holiness, in this sense, is not engendered by Biblical or phenomenological categories, but as the antithesis of the secular. *Musicae sacrae disciplina* affirms and advances these qualities. It nuances the idea of 'holiness' in church music as the opposite of 'anything that savours of the profane'.[14] Gregorian chant is upheld as the model of this beauty and holiness, noting also that chant interprets the sacred texts in a non–discursive way which affords them a considerable communicative power.[15]

The articulation and rationalisation of these two qualities suffers to a degree from the accusation of subjectivity that permeates the notion of universality. In a semiotic interpretation of celebration, liturgy is understood as consisting of a variety of discourses in a variety of

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[11] See Gerard Gillen, 'Irish Catholics and Hymns', *The Furrow* Vol. 51, no. 10 (October 2000): pp. 458–556; Helen Phelan, 'Hymns and Irish Catholicism: A New Perspective', *The Furrow* Vol. 53, no. 2 (February 2002): pp. 90–96.
[12] Documents outlining these qualities*: Tra le sollecitudini, Musicae sacra disciplina, Musicam Sacram.* Neither the 1958 *Instruction on Music in the Liturgy* nor *Sacrosanctam Concilium* discuss qualities necessary in church music.
[13] Joncas, *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music,* p. 51.
[14] 'Musicae sacrae disciplina', para. 16.
[15] Joncas, *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music,* p. 53.

semiotics or meaning events, but all of these discourses together produce an integral liturgical celebration.[16] In this way, it is difficult to assign holiness or beauty as qualities in ritual music without reference to the ritual itself, those who employ the music, the text itself being sung, the occasions of performance, and the cultural codes by which these elements are organised and to which they contribute.[17] Semiologically, liturgy conditions the song, but song realises the liturgy together with other liturgical discourses such as architecture, vestments, signs, posture and movements, etc. These heterogeneous discourses together constitute liturgy. Liturgy, in its turn, conditions these discourses: it is the enunciative domain in which they are brought together.[18] This means that employing requisite categories of holiness and beauty in a potential analysis of the Alleluia as a discrete musical item in the liturgy becomes a vacant exercise unless the perceived holiness and beauty of the entire liturgical celebration, and all its constituent elements, form part of such a review.[19]

Universality and inculturation

Similarly, to posit universality as a necessary quality of church music without reference to the cultural conditions of the music, the people, and the liturgy involved is disingenuous. *Tra le sollecitudini*'s use of the term 'universality' is unclear: it speaks of universality in Roman Rite worship music as rising from its inoffensiveness: that no stranger will be scandalised by the music heard during the course of worship. Apart from people's varying levels of tolerance to, and definition of, scandal or offence, the notion of a 'stranger' is ambiguous: this may relate to Roman Catholics worshipping in parishes not their own, or Catholics of other rites, or non–

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[16] Speelman, p. x.
[17] Joncas, *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music,* p. 52.
[18] Speelman, p. xiv.
[19] A task well beyond the scope of this study, and one which would most fruitfully be carried out by the liturgical agents themselves in a particular worshipping community.

Roman Catholics or even non–Christians.[20] *Musicae sacrae disciplina* holds a different understanding of universality as a unifying characteristic in keeping with the nature of the universally Catholic liturgy. To this end, it offers Gregorian chant as the supreme model of universal church music:

> If, in Catholic churches throughout the entire world Gregorian chant sounds forth without corruption or diminution, the chant itself, like the sacred Roman liturgy, will have a characteristic of universality, so that the faithful, wherever they may be, will hear music that is familiar to them and a part of their own home. In this way they may experience, with much spiritual consolation, the wonderful unity of the Church.[21]

While *Tra le sollecitudini* considers the universality of Roman Rite worship music to reside in its inoffensiveness to strangers, *Musicae sacrae disciplina* associates universality with group identity. This striving for universality in music proposes that, through a common liturgical music repertoire experienced by Roman Rite Catholics in different nations and cultures, a sense of the transnational and transcultural character of the Church will be experienced by worshippers. The Alleluia is well placed to facilitate this universal group identity with its retention of the Biblical acclamation, which transcends vernacular translations of lengthier texts in the liturgy and provides a natural locus of recognition and engagement for worshippers in all languages.

Pius XII's encyclical *Mediator Dei* in 1947 paved the way for an exploration of inculturation in the liturgy by perceiving the importance of not severing sacred music from the potential contribution of the surrounding musical culture.[22] In the main, inculturation in liturgy

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[20] Joncas, *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music,* p. 52. Helen Phelan draws on classic representations and interpretations of the stranger or foreigner in Western theology, philosophy, and literature, and notes that the arrival of the stranger or foreigner raises questions of hospitality and welcome for the receiving society. See Helen Phelan, 'The Untidy Playground: An Irish Congolese Case Study in Sonic Encounters with the Sacred Stranger' *Religions Special Issue Music: Its Theologies and Spiritualities–A Global Perspective* (November 2020): p. 9.
[21] 'Musicae sacrae disciplina', para. 45.
[22] Duchesneau and Veuthey, p. 4.

was seen as an issue for mission lands in the decrees of the Second Vatican Council.[23] In its

general principles *Sacrosanctam Concilium* makes the assertion that

> The Church has no wish to impose a rigid uniformity in matters that do not affect the
> faith or the good of the whole community; rather, the Church respects and fosters the
> genius and talents of the various races and peoples . . . provided they are in keeping
> with the true and authentic spirit of the liturgy.[24]

In order for worshippers to utilise music as a means for expressing their faith in a communal

context, they need a 'sonic language' that is in harmony with their culture.[25] When a desire for

universality becomes centralisation, it either results in forms of worship that are neutral in

cultural meaning for worshippers and in a way of celebrating that is disincarnate, or else

centralisation imposes on all worshipping communities the culture of the church chosen as the

model.[26]

Peter Jeffery regards the viewing of inculturation and tradition in opposition as a

problematic distinction. He argues, persuasively, that much trouble could be avoided by

learning to see tradition and inculturation as two sides of the same coin, or two perspectives of

the same phenomenon, remarking: 'For tradition is the record of inculturations past, a

storehouse of models and resources for inculturations today which, in turn, will generate the

traditions of the future'.[27]

It is surely difficult to justify a liturgical regime that denies the importance of cultural

diversity by preventing people from worshipping in their native language and forms of cultural

expression; but, it should be equally difficult to justify an approach so detached from tradition

that it prevents people from experiencing or appreciating the vast legacy of Christian liturgical

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[23] 'Sacrosanctam Concilium', para. 37–40, 119. The term 'inculturation' had not yet come into usage at the
time of the Second Vatican Council: 'adaptation of the liturgy' and 'variation' are used instead.
[24] 'Sacrosanctam Concilium', para. 37.
[25] Duchesneau and Veuthey, p. 41.
[26] Ibid., p. 42. The Roman Catholic Church manifests this concern for centralisation in its structures by
channelling all forces towards a central point and governing or controlling every aspect of practice, ultimately,
from Rome.
[27] Peter Jeffery, *Translating Tradition: A Chant Historian Reads 'Liturgiam Authenticam'* (Collegeville: The
Liturgical Press, 2005), p. 58.

and artistic expression.[28] The Alleluia occupies a privileged place in this struggle for authentic inculturated liturgy in a universal Church, as the phonetically explosive, non–texted heart of the acclamation, the word 'alleluia' itself, essentially consists of vowel sounds which transcend and supersede textual difficulties of interpretation, translation.

Approbation of Alleluia settings

Liturgist Joseph Gelineau addresses these questions of inculturation, universality, and idiom when he notes:

> As aids to her official worship of God, the Church has accepted and continues to accept, musical compositions which differ enormously from one another in their origin, type, style, purpose and ensignment.[29]

The appendix to the *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* notes that no official approbation is needed for new melodies for the Lord's Prayer at Mass or for the chants, acclamations, and other songs of the congregation.[30] Music for the congregation must be within its members' performance capabilities. The congregation must be comfortable and secure with what they are doing in order to celebrate well. This does not mean confusing ease of use with banality. It would be unjust to have an 'a priori' mistrust of singing by the assembly on the pretext that such singing can never attain a high technical level.[31]

Acclamations give evidence of the popular and almost spontaneous style of liturgical celebration. They are usually short formulas, easy to sing from memory and in unison. One of the ways we can mistreat acclamations is to make them unduly melodic or 'pretty'. By metricising texts or making them over–rhythmic, we can interrupt the spontaneity vital to true

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[28] Jeffery, p. 60.
[29] Gelineau, *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship,* p. 9.
[30] *GIRM*, Appendix for the Dioceses of the USA, para. 19. Although this appendix refers to specific dioceses of the USA, it is true for dioceses worldwide.
[31] Duchesneau and Veuthy, p. 60.

acclamation. A key technique to be utilised in the setting of acclamations is motific repetition: with a sense of dynamics and progression.[32]

Musical form is a significant factor in determining the effectiveness of the congregation's involvement in the ritual.[33] An acclamation needs a form that has a certain vigour about it. As the Gospel Acclamation, the Alleluia needs to retain a sense of the spontaneous, exclamatory nature of acclamation. It is also essential that it serves as a way of unifying the people in their preparation for the Gospel, and that its musical form or idiomatic features do not detract from or overshadow the proclamation of the Gospel.

The Alleluia in indigenous post-Conciliar Irish hymnals

The post-conciliar period in Ireland (following the reforms of the Second Vatican Council 1962-1965) saw a variety of liturgical music songbooks come into use as a means of establishing a repertory of liturgical music in the vernacular for worshipping congregations. The term 'hymnal' has become the norm in describing such aids, following on from the practice of continental European communities, and reflective of the corpus of Reformation hymnody which constituted their substantive part.[34] In undertaking a critical review of Alleluia settings currently in use in Roman Rite Eucharistic celebrations in Ireland today, a necessary starting point is ascertaining which musical settings are being used. As the publishing body of the Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference, Veritas Publications has issued a number of liturgical music collections for national dissemination, and these will be discussed now in an exploration of the

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[32] Rossiter, p. 168. See Chapter Five for a fuller exploration of the nature of acclamation.
[33] C. Michael Hawn, 'Form and Ritual: A Comparison between Sequential and Cyclic Musical Structures and their use in Liturgy', in *Anáil Dé: The Breath of God – Music, Ritual and Spirituality*, ed. Helen Phelan (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 2001), p. 37.
[34] See Gillen, p. 549 and Phelan, 'Hymns and Irish Catholicism: A New Perspective', p. 91. Gillen references Thomas Day, *Why Catholics Don't Sing* (New York: Crossroads, 1991), p. 21.

landscape in which musical settings of the Alleluia within the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration in Ireland today reside.[35]

The Veritas Hymnal (973)

The most well–known indigenous hymnal in Ireland has been *The Veritas Hymnal*. Commissioned by the National Commission for Sacred Music in 1972, it was edited by Jerry Threadgold, approved by the Irish Church Music Association, and the congregation edition published in 1973 by Veritas Publications, the publishing body of the Irish Bishops' Conference.[36] The generation of the repertory came about through a process of consultation with active liturgical communities, and the results of this process were organised into four categories: traditional Gaelic hymns with texts in Irish, Gaelic melodies with English texts, traditional English language hymnody, and recently composed hymns 'which are likely to endure'.[37] Its significant contribution to native worshipping communities was the inclusion and promotion of these Irish idioms, both in form and language: 28% of the resultant collection comprises of Irish language hymns (forty–one out of 146).

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[35] This is a decision made in order to justify and limit the scope of this research, and not to denigrate the work of other national bodies, commissions, and agencies which have produced collections of liturgical music. Other exemplary publications include three collections published by The Columba Press: *Hosanna! A National Liturgical Songbook for Ireland*, ed. Paul Kenny (1987); *Seinn Alleluia 2000: Music for the Jubilee Year,* ed. Patrick O'Donoghue (1999); and *I Sing for Joy: Music from the RTE Radio One Church Music Competitions,* eds. Paul Kenny and Mary Curtin (2006). The Columba Press was founded in 1984 as an independent religious books publisher by Sean O'Boyle, and published over 2000 books before the company went into liquidation in 2016.

[36] Jerry Threadgold, ed., *The Veritas Hymnal* (Dublin: Veritas Publications), 1973. The hymnal carries a *nihil obstat* from John Whelan and an imprimatur from Archbishop Dermot Ryan. The Introduction is written by Anthony Hughes, Irish Church Music Association, with a preface by Cardinal Willaim Conway, and the editor acknowledges the contributions of Gerard Gillen, Tadhg Ó Sé, Sr Odran Doyle, and Fr Donal Murray. See Threadgold, ed., *The Veritas Hymnal,* p. ii, iv. An accompaniment edition was published two years later in 1975.

[37] The Introduction of the hymnal states that the repertory of hymnody chosen for publication was engendered through a process of consultation through the regional branches of the Irish Church Music Association and the Communication Institute which 'sought to establish what hymns people like to sing'. It also goes on to state 'It has long been felt that there was a genuine need for a hymnal that would be suitable and practical for the needs of the Irish Church, one which would provide a basic repertory for all our schools and parishes...it is published with the object of ensuring that a worthwhile collection of hymns would be readily available in all parts of the country in a convenient and compact format'. See *The Veritas Hymnal*, p. v.

True to its title, the collection consists entirely of hymnody for the Entrance, Offertory, Communion, and Recessional processions of the Eucharist: no acclamations, psalmody, litanies, or other discrete musical items were provided in the collection. The wealth of hymnody reflects the singing practices of Irish worshipping communities of the era, which favoured the singing of hymns at benediction, novenas, and other extra-Eucharistic liturgies, and the desire to build on this in the development of congregational singing in the new vernacular liturgy.[38] In the introduction to the collection, the word hymn is used consistently, and it is worth noting that the collection assumes both English and Irish as vernacular languages of worshipping communities in Ireland, and caters for both in its provision of compositions.

Alleluia! Amen! Music for the Liturgy (1978)

In 1978, Veritas Publications released a second liturgical music resource for Irish worshipping communities, *Alleluia! Amen! Music for the Liturgy*, edited by Margaret Daly.[39] The endeavour to emancipate liturgical music from the 'four-hymn liturgy' model underpinning *The Veritas Hymnal* is starkly presented. The Introduction by the editor proclaims this mission immediately with a clear focus on acclamation and dialogic responses as sung elements of paramount importance in the liturgy: indeed, Daly posits these as central dynamics of the

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[38] The Table of Contents reflects this, and divides the repertory into groups for Mass, Special Occasions, Benediction, and the Sacraments. See *Veritas Hymnal*, p. vii–xiii. The *Veritas Hymnal* was one of a number of publications planned to resource the vernacular liturgy. While its remit did not include providing other sung items, its structure and form in the hands of congregations and practising musicians whose liturgical formation was lacking, perpetuates an approach to liturgical music known as the 'four-hymn liturgy'.

[39] Margaret Daly, ed., *Alleluia! Amen! Music for the Liturgy* (Dublin: Veritas Publications), 1978. The publication carries a note from Bishop Dermot O'Mahony before the Introduction; no *nihil obstat* or imprimatur are given. The editor acknowledges the contributions of Sr Mary Lucia, Sr Fintan Davis, Fr Jerry Threadgold, Fr Sean Swayne, Fr Frank O'Loughlin, and Sr Pamela Stotter in the Introduction. See *Alleluia! Amen!*, pp. 6–7. A supplement was published by the Irish Institute of Pastoral Liturgy in 1981, and included a variety of compositions without foreword or teaching notes. Among the additions were the complete *St Benedict Centenary Mass* (including *Alleluia*) and *Alleluia Magnificat* from Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes.

liturgical celebration.[40] The jubilatic nature of the Alleluia is central to Daly's vision of liturgical music:

> 'Alleluia! Praise the Lord!' This is our response to God's goodness; to creation; to our existence; to the plans God has for us; to the sending of Christ; to a 'future full of hope'. *(Jer 29:11)* In the celebration of the Eucharist, the Gospel Acclamation and the Great Amen are given fullness of expression when they are sung. Indeed, if we were to sing nothing else we would still be making effective use of music.[41]

The focus on this collection is to realign music squarely in the Eucharistic celebration with the form, nature, and ritual demands of the liturgy itself. Daly goes further and states clearly under the heading, 'Priorities in Singing', naming Acclamations as the pre–eminent discrete musical items to be sung in the Eucharistic celebration:

> 'Happy the people who learn to acclaim you'. *(Ps 88)* The acclamation is a 'festal shout', a strong affirmative expression of the congregation's acceptance and praise of God's word and action and of their commitment to the following of Christ. Acclamations should never be taken over by the choir to the exclusion of the congregation'.[42]

The collection is organised in terms, firstly, of the chronological unfolding of rites within the Eucharistic celebration, followed by the liturgical year, sacraments of the Church and, finally, morning and evening prayer, with formative liturgical theology notes preceding each section. Contemporary compositions along with chants from the Roman Missal, notated variously either in modern notation or chant notation, are included. Every possibility for sung liturgical items by the congregation is provided for, including dialogic chants between presider and assembly.[43] The formative notes serve as liturgical catechesis for both assembly and presiders: in addition to including dialogic presidential chants, Daly speaks expressly to presiders to

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[40] As invariably as *The Veritas Hymnal* employs the term 'hymn', the editor of *Alleluia! Amen!* avoids overusing it studiously. However, there is a marked dissonance between the Introduction by the editor, and the note from Bishop O'Mahony preceding it. The latter applies the terms 'hymnal' and 'hymnody' zealously, as if to assuage their omission elsewhere in the publication. See *Alleluia! Amen!,* pp. 6–7.

[41] Ibid., p. 7.

[42] Ibid., p. 9.

[43] Dialogic chants are included, but not presidential chants which are proper to the day, for example prefaces and collects.

encourage their use of singing in the notes entitled 'Dialogue Chants Before and After the Gospel':

> Singing here helps to sustain the atmosphere of expectance and praise created by the singing of the Gospel Acclamation, and it lends a dignified surround to the proclamation of the gospel.[44]

She treats the Gospel Acclamation in a similarly directive manner, situating the Alleluia as the indubitable high point of discrete music items in Liturgy of the Word:

> The proclamation of the gospel is the climax of the liturgy of the Word. The introductory rites, first reading, and psalm, have all been by way of preparation for this moment, the people stand and acclaim the presence of Christ in his word by singing 'Alleluia' (or its alternative during Lent). If it is not sung, it may be omitted (*IGMR 39*).[45]

The direction that the Gospel Acclamation may be omitted if not sung can be understood as an affirmation of its ultimate expression in musical form, rather than in spoken word, and it is the only part of the Eucharist which receives this instruction. The liturgical theology underlying this particular set of notes from Daly reveals the four-fold presence of Christ in the Eucharistic celebration, and the central role of *logos* or word/text, both spoken and sung, as revelatory and incarnational.[46]

As a collection, *Alleluia! Amen!* presents three musical settings of the Alleluia, although only one is credited to the composer.[47] Overall, the collection comprises of three Mass settings, designated as A, B, and C, supplemented with chants from the Roman Missal, chants for morning and evening prayer, and ninety-five compositions designated as 'Psalms, Hymns and Biblical Songs', of which three are in the Irish language.[48]

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[44] *Alleluia! Amen!,* p. 13.
[45] Ibid.
[46] See Chapter Five of this dissertation for more on the logogenic and logocentric nature of the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration, and the place of the Alleluia as Gospel Acclamation therein.
[47] The settings Daly designates as A and C are uncredited by her; they are, in fact, *Alleluia* from Mass of Peace by Seoirse Bodley, and a plainchant Alleluia from the First Sunday of Easter, Easter Sunday, respectively. A musical–liturgical analysis of Bodley's *Alleluia* follows in this chapter, see my Chapter Four for reference to the plainchant Alleluia.
[48] The relative paucity in Irish language settings may stem from the publication's genesis as a representation of music used in the liturgical life of the Irish Institute of Pastoral Liturgy, of which Daly was the director. See Ibid., p. 7.

In Caelo: Songs for a Pilgrim People (1999)

In 1999, a new hymnal was published by Veritas Publications, *In Caelo: Songs for a Pilgrim People*, edited by Liam Lawton.[49] A liturgical index is provided as an appendix to the collection distinguishes compositions into feasts, seasons, themes, and genres accordingly, yet the compositions in the hymnal are organised and presented simply in strict alphabetical order, rather than according to rites within the liturgy.[50] There are a total of 150 compositions, which includes nineteen psalm settings, constituting almost 13% of the repertory. 19% of the repertory consists of hymns using the Irish language, and their presentation is anomalous: some are presented with ornate interpretive decoration in the Irish idiom typeset, indicating solo singing rather than congregational, while others are presented in two– or three–part equal voice harmony, SATB harmony, with descants or solo instrumental lines, and others proscribed for either male or female voices. Likewise, a portion of the English language repertory is presented similarly. These varying presentations comprise 44% of the publication and would indicate the intention of the editor to provide a collection of music for use by soloists, choirs, and congregations variably, although all scoring options are not provided unilaterally.[51]

The Preface by the editor presents the collection as a hymnal unequivocally, and presents a rationale for the disparity of material, noting the endeavour to encompass Gregorian chant, Irish language pieces, traditional hymnody, and contemporary compositions in a wide range of pastoral and liturgical situations, including school, parish, and youth liturgies.[52] Despite the hymnal designation, and corpus of psalmody as previously mentioned, two Alleluia

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[49] Liam Lawton, ed., *In Caelo: Songs for a Pilgrim People* (Dublin: Veritas Publications), 1999. The editor acknowledges the work of Fr Sean Melody, Maura Hyland, and Aideen Quigley of the Veritas Editorial Board in the Preface. No *nihil obstat* or imprimatur are given. See *In Caelo,* preface.

[50] A Contents page lists the musical compositions in strict alphabetical order. A Liturgical Index is appended at the back of the publication, with compositions organised according to their place in the Mass, and then under categories of Funerals, Weddings, Children, Penance, Confirmation, Baptism, Interchurch, Mary, Irish Saints, Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, Pastoral Care, Pilgrimage/Heritage, Taizé, and Gregorian Chant.

[51] See Lawton, ed., *In Caelo,* pp. 3, 6, 22, 26, 28, 32, 34, 36, 38, 41, 44, 50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 73, 78, 81, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150.

[52] Ibid., preface.

settings appear, although not designated as acclamations. The first is a setting by Bernard Sexton, simply entitled *Alleluia,* and is patently a Gospel Acclamation in form, with an antiphon (presented as 'chorus', and a single verse, with a return to the antiphon/ ('chorus').[53] The second may be described as an Alleluia by default: Fintan O'Carroll's *Praise the Lord, All You Nations*, which functions as an entrance processional piece, a psalm setting, and a Gospel Acclamation, with its Alleluia refrain.[54] Apart from these, no acclamations, litanies, or dialogic chants are included, with the emphasis decidedly on hymnody and liturgical song forms.

Sing the Mass Anthology of Music for the Irish Church (2011)

The English translation of the Third Edition of the Roman Missal for Ireland, which came into effect in 2011, presented a body blow to liturgists and musicians committed to the task of encouraging and building congregational singing in liturgy. The new translation rendered the majority of the established musical settings for the Ordinary of the Mass obsolete. This prompted the National Centre for Liturgy, in association with the Advisory Committee on Church Music of the Bishops' Conference, to compile a resource in response, which was published by Veritas Publications in 2011.[55] *Sing the Mass: Anthology of Music for the Irish Church* differed significantly from the previous publications for national dissemination, as its focus lay in collating, commissioning, and collecting Mass settings which were either adapted to reflect the new translation, or newly composed.[56] The anthology also incorporated, as a final

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[53] *In Caelo,* p. 12.

[54] A musical–liturgical analysis of O'Carroll's *Alleluia* follows in this chapter.

[55] National Centre for Liturgy, *Sing the Mass: Anthology of Music for the Irish Church* (Dublin: Veritas Publications), 2011. No editor is named, but the Introduction to the anthology states that it was prepared by the National Centre for Liturgy in association with the Advisory Committee on Church Music of the Bishops' Conference, and acknowledges 'the main editorial work' undertaken by Paul Kenny, among others. No *nihil obstat* or imprimatur are given.

[56] Three complete settings were commissioned for the anthology, and received their first publication therein: Feeley's *Mass of St Paul,* McCann's *Mass of St Columba,* and Sexton's *Mass of Renewal.* Lawton's *Glendalough Mass* had been published in 2010 by GIA Publications. Bodley's *Mass of Peace* (published originally in 1967) and *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* by Décha, Deiss, Lécot (an amalgamation of various discrete musical items acquired over years of the annual Dublin Diocesan Pilgrimage to Lourdes, and compiled as *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* in 1980).

addition to the appendix, a hymn: the 50th International Eucharistic Congress Anthem *Though we are Many*, justified for inclusion in the Introduction to the anthology as part of Ireland's preparations for the impending International Eucharistic Congress, which was held in Dublin seven months later, in June 2012.

The title in itself reveals the operative liturgical theology informing the collection: that we sing the Mass, rather than sing *in* the Mass. This is elaborated upon in the Introduction, which states:

> Affirming the words of the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* that 'a liturgical service takes on a nobler aspect when the rites are celebrated with singing, the sacred ministers take their parts in them, and the faithful actively participate' *(SC 113)*, this anthology's primary purpose is singing the Mass.[57]

A musical setting of the Alleluia is included in each of the seven Mass settings (four settings in the *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes*, with three additional Alleluias provided in the appendix. As discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation, the Alleluia's status as what I have termed a 'pseudo-Proper' gives it an interesting stance in the new translation of the Third Edition of the Roman Missal as, while the Gospel Acclamation verse texts incur change, the fundamental essence of the acclamation, the Alleluia antiphon, remains unchanged and untouched by issues of translation.[58]

The composers featured in the Anthology are, overwhelmingly, native Irish: only the chants from the Roman Missal, a Gloria by British composer Kevin Mayhew, and the composers of *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* are not indigenous.[59] However, *Sing the Mass* was intentionally compiled, specifically, as a resource for the English–speaking communities in Ireland, in contrast to the earlier hymnals and liturgical songbooks discussed, which catered

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[57] *Sing the Mass,* p. 9.
[58] As discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation.
[59] *Mass of Our Lady of* Lourdes also includes a musical setting of *The Prayers of the Faithful* and *Our Father*, which are attributed to Byzantine sources. The Irish composers whose compositions are featured in the anthology are: Seoirse Bodley, Thomas C. Kelly, Margaret Daly, Tom Egan, Ephrem Feeley, Liam Lawton, Columba McCann, Fintan O'Carroll, John O'Keeffe, and Bernard Sexton.

for both vernacular languages. The reason outlined for this in the Introduction of *Sing the Mass* is the delay in the publication of a new edition of *An Leabhar Aifrinn,* which came into effect in Ireland some six years later in 2017, followed by the publication of the Irish language sister anthology to *Sing the Mass, Canaimis: Ceol don Aifreann,* in 2018. The section comprising of chants from the Roman Missal in *Sing the Mass* does not include the plainchant or Easter Sunday Alleluia. Perhaps this is because, in keeping with its pseudo–Proper status, the Alleluia acclamation was unchanged in the new translation, whereas the remaining corpus of discrete musical items required revision in the new formal equivalence translation into the vernacular. Given its singular place in the national Irish repertory as the only collection of English–language settings in the new translation of the Third Edition of the Roman Missal, and its most recent publication status, the Alleluias in *Sing the Mass* provide a natural locus as a representative sample for a case study of Alleluia settings currently in use in Eucharistic celebrations in Ireland today.[60]

Case Study: analysis of contemporary Alleluia settings in *Sing the Mass*

This case study constitutes a musical–liturgical analysis of Alleluia settings in order to determine their efficacy as acclamations within the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration. As the *raison d'etre* of the Alleluia is its eponymous response, this will be the focus of the case study.

The cross–disciplinary nature of this study necessitates the development of a new model of analysis, as the Alleluia is viewed through the lens of liturgical theology, while also examined from a musicological perspective. The model I propose here demonstrates both

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[60] The decision to situate the case study in Ireland is borne of my own experience as a practising pastoral–liturgical musician in the Irish church, and my interest in the settings and musical forms which I have performed and used with congregations in live liturgy. On an objective level, the *Sing the Mass* publication from Ireland provides a unique window into a repertory developed and promoted for national use through a process of consultation between hierarchy, composers, and music practitioners, in a domestic market with no other significant liturgical music promotion, and at a time when new musical settings where needed, due to the revised translation of the Third Edition of the Roman Missal, which rendered previous settings largely unusable.

syntactic and semantic approaches, as the structure of the word 'alleluia' and how it is treated musically is considered, along with the semantic question of how such musical decisions by the composer manifest a response to the underlying meaning of the text.[61] The purpose of this musical analysis is to provide evidence for a critical liturgical commentary on each melody's operative efficacy as a ritual acclamation of the community gathered for worship.

The following questions serve as a critical model framework for this liturgical commentary, which follows and complements the consideration of each setting's musical features:

a. How does the musical treatment reflect the acclamatory **nature** of the word 'Alleluia?'

b. How well does the Acclamation **function** as an antiphonal or processional piece?

c. Is the musical setting conducive to congregational **delivery** of the acclamation?

These questions situate the analysis squarely within the realm of liturgical functionality. My interest lies in how these musical decisions contribute to the liturgical efficacy of the acclamation as, primarily, a composition for congregational voices communicating an essential text in lived liturgical practice.

For the purpose of clarity, and to avoid undue repetition, the inherent musical elements identified for analysis are divided into two categories, termed broadly as 'metrical and rhythmic considerations' and 'melodic and tonal considerations:'

(a) **Metrical and rhythmic considerations**: general metrical form and structure, pulse, rhythmic figures, motifs, patterns and phrases, repetition, development.

(b) **Melodic and tonal considerations:** tonality, melodic range and contour, structural and reciting notes, melodic figures, motifs, patterns and phrases, intervals, structural notes.

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[61] For more on syntactic and semantic approaches, see Jonathan King, 'Text–setting', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 2nd edn, (London: Macmillan, 2001), p. xxv, 319.

The framework questions and categories of musical analysis constitute a new Model for Musical–Liturgical Analysis of Alleluia Acclamation, which I propose in the diagrammatic outline below:

Liturgical Analysis

- Acclamatory
- Antiphonal
- Processional
- Congregational

ALLELUIA!

Musical Analysis

- Metrical form
- Rhythmic features
- Melodic features
- Tonality

FIGURE 6.1 Model for Musical–Liturgical Analysis of Alleluia Acclamation

The Alleluias are presented in the order in which they appear in the anthology, and each of the Alleluia melodies is analysed according to the identification and analysis of its inherent musical elements. In the course of this analysis, a number of terms are used synonymously, and these require clarification here. The entire composition itself may be variously referred to as composition, setting, piece, antiphon, Alleluia, or Acclamation. A core consideration of this analysis is how many times the word 'alleluia' is set: to this end, the terms 'alleluia', 'word', and 'acclamation' can each be taken to refer to a single utterance or presentation of the word 'alleluia'. The distinction between upper and lower case initial letters for designating the entire Acclamation, or one acclamation of the word alleluia, is observed in this regard. The use of the term 'note' may refer to either duration or pitch, depending on whether it is being discussed in the (a) or (b) section of the analysis. The case study concludes with comparative comments on the Alleluia repertory within *Sing the Mass* as a whole, highlighting associated implications for

usage of the *Sing the Mass* repertory within current Irish Roman Rite Eucharistic liturgical practice.[62]

1. *Alleluia* from *Mass of St Paul* (Ephrem Feeley) (2011)

FIGURE 6.2 *Alleluia* from *Mass of St Paul* by E. Feeley[63]

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The eight–bar acclamation (Figure 6.2 above) consists of four phrases in a clear binary from, ABAB1. The metrical character of the piece gives it drive, while it is the only setting in the entire *Sing the Mass* repertory which includes syncopated cross–rhythms. It is set in 6/8 time, and the pulse highlights the first and last syllable of the acclamation in the main. The final measure of each phrase contains a syncopated first beat, which brings the third syllable 'lu' to prominence.

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[62] The framework questions and the critical approach underpinning the comparative comments, arise directly from my discussion on the nature of acclamation in the liturgy, and the function of the Alleluia as Gospel Acclamation in logogenic Roman Rite worship music in Chapter Five of this dissertation. In this, I have eschewed a thick analysis in favour of a direct observatory analysis, due to the limits of this dissertation, and also as a counterpart to the analysis of chant Alleluias undertaken in my earlier chapters. A more broad–ranging, contextually rich analysis would add ethnographic depth to the study, and the model can be developed further to accommodate this in future research.

[63] An autobiographical note in the interests of transparency: Ephrem Feeley and I are husband and wife.

There is a spare use of rhythmic variation, with just two rhythmic motifs utilised. The default figure which carries the acclamation on the whole consists of three quavers delivering the first three syllables of the acclamation. This is used in six out of the eight utterances of the word 'alleluia', with the final alleluia of each half of the setting employing the cross–rhythmic figure of quaver–crotchet, dotted crotchet. The piece begins on the first beat of the bar, and only starts on the anacrusis in the syncopated phrases.

The setting is entirely syllabic, with the final syllable 'ia' given the longest note duration throughout. The syncopated measure relieves the repetition of the rhythmic figures, and the strong approach to pulse throughout, given the invariability of the second beat of each measure and the general commencement on the first beat of each bar, gives this setting a decidedly processional feel.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The setting is minor, and spans an octave range, utilising all notes of the scale except the submediant B. There is a triadic structure to the opening pattern of each phrase, and a strong tonic to dominant relationship throughout. The dominant A features in every phrase and in every presentation of the word, with the exception of the final phrase, which employs a descending step movement from the dominant to the tonic ending.

The setting reaches the octave span by the second bar, providing a melodic high point, if not a climax *per se*, in each half of the setting. In fact, the energy of this setting lies primarily in the lower range of the melody, particularly around the dominant A, which functions as a structural note. The syncopated patterns introduce the only use of the supertonic E, which is used cadentially: it is the finishing note at the end of the fourth alleluia, carrying the last syllable of the word and receiving a full beat. It serves as an unaccented passing note in the final phrase

as a preparatory beat to the final tonic. The placement of the supertonic in just these two points within the melody gives it a special significance as a pitch adding tonal colour and interest.

The melody moves largely by step, with an ascending minor third opening the A phrase each time, and an interval of a rising fourth from the dominant to the tonic, with a corresponding descent in the following measure. Each B phrase moves entirely by step in a descending contour, from dominant to supertonic in its first presentation, and from dominant to tonic in its second instance. This stepwise movement is facilitated in the first presentation by a repetition of the dominant to form a descending line to an imperfect cadence ending on the supertonic, and in the B1 phrase by a complete stepwise descent from dominant to tonic, to form a final perfect cadence.

Critical comments

The prevalence of the dominant A and the strong pulse throughout this setting give it a focus and energetic drive in keeping with the explosively phonic utterance of Alleluia. The full beat on the last syllable each time, the final 'ia', exemplifies the shout of 'alleluia!' as a shout for joy, and is effective as an acclamatory device. The combination of the minor tonality and stepwise, strongly directional melody convey a sense of stately procession in this setting, and the regular metrical approach to the antiphon, along with the use of the tonic as the start and end note, facilitates a repetition of the antiphon if lengthening is needed to accompany a procession of the Gospel book. The idiom is not distinctively Irish in any way. The binary form itself represents a dialogic element in the acclamation, and the octave range in the key of D minor places the antiphon within the reach of the assembly, although the commencement of the second phrase on the upper D (D5) may challenge some lower voices.[64]

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[64] The full choral setting employs SATB voicing and a soaring descant line in the final antiphon, which may be seen as distinctive of the English cathedral choral tradition. In the complete score, the antiphon also employs a Tierce de Picardie in its final cadence. See the full score, which is included as an appendix to this thesis.

FIGURE 6.3 *Alleluia* from *The Glendalough Mass* by L. Lawton

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The eight–bar acclamation (Figure 6.3 above) consists of four phrases within a binary form, ABAB1. A repeated dotted figure is the most distinguishing feature of the setting. In 6/8 time, this treatment of the word alleluia hinges on the pulse, with the first syllables 'al' and final syllable 'ia' receiving most prominence.

Each phrase consists of two bars, with the first and third phrases consisting of two one–bar alleluias. These repeat a dotted figure consistently, highlighting the first and last syllable of the word. The second and fourth phrases present an extended treatment of the word, giving it two bars, and moving the stress from the first and last syllable to the first and third, 'al' and 'lu', with 'ia' receiving a full measure to conclude each phrase. The pulse is maintained throughout, and the crotchet–quaver motif is used in the second half of the first measure in

each of these phrases. The third syllable 'lu' is treated consistently as the only syllable not to be dotted.

The setting is syllabic in the shorter presentations of the acclamation, while the extended second and fourth phrases employ a succession of two–note slurred neumes. In the second phrase, 'le' and 'lu' are both given movement with the two–note figure, with the first syllable 'al' retaining two–thirds of the beat in the first half of the measure. In the fourth phrase, the two–note slurred figure is repeated on both the 'al' and 'lu' syllables. The addition of some neumatic treatment of the alleluia relieves the formula of the dotted dance–like rhythm, particularly in the final phrase, which concludes the antiphon with a more legato, measured feel.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The melody is active and energetic, spanning the range of an octave and employing all the notes of the scale except the subdominant. The antiphon moves largely by step: outside of this, the interval most utilised is the minor third, both ascending and descending: in fact, this is the only interval outside of the major second in three of the four phrases, with the exception of a falling sixth in the last phrase which facilitates a return to the tonic as a final cadence.

The first and third phrases are identical and constitute an ascending–descending melodic line overall. While the phrase begins on the tonic, it concludes on the dominant, and the dominant serves as a structural pitch and a reciting note throughout the setting. It features in every measure except the final 'ia' cadences in the second and fourth phrases, and ordinarily in the second half of each measure, except in the final phrase where it is used as the starting note. Thus, it occupies six pulse notes in the setting, and features as a passing note in two other half measures. It occurs largely in relation to the mediant, and this intervallic relationship

dominates the tonality of the piece, occurring as it does five times, and in all phrases except the final one.

Each measure begins on the pitch above or below the previous ending note, with the exception of the final phrase which picks up the final dominant of the previous phrase to begin. The first half of the acclamation concludes the second phrase on the supertonic, while the piece reaches its climax in the final phrase where the melody ascends to the octave above the starting tonic and ends with a perfect cadence on the tonic.

Critical comments

The compound duple time in this setting, combined with the dotted figure throughout, gives this Alleluia a decidedly dance–like character. It is a joyful, festive setting, with the strong pulse giving it purpose and energy. Like the *Mass of St Paul* setting, the phonic shout is captured in the final 'ia' of each alleluia, which is treated prominently throughout. The distribution in the third and sixth utterances ensure the entire word 'alleluia' is heard clearly in the course of the acclamation: in this sense, it delivers the entire acclamation, and these phrases introduce a more extended and nuanced expression of the joy contained within the word. Likewise, the binary form and use of tonic to begin and end the antiphon renders it easily extendable for accompanying a procession. The repetition within the setting and the octave range facilitate learning and singing by an assembly, although the setting in the written key of E major stretches the congregation potentially beyond comfort.[65] The setting may be received as being ostensibly in the Irish or Celtic tradition, as the semi–quaver embellishment of the 'le' syllable in the third alleluia may connote ornamentation of the melody, and the compound

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[65] Presumably, this key is retained for the Gospel Acclamation as the entire Mass setting, *The Glendalough Mass*, is presented in the key of E major. The Gospel Acclamation and the Gloria bring the congregation up to E5 (frequently in the Gloria); however, throughout the Mass, the assembly line frequently employs the B below middle C (B3), making a lower key unwieldy for young voices and upper voices.

duple time with dotted figures may be reminiscent of an Irish dance form, such as the double jig.[66]

3. *Alleluia* from *Mass of St Columba* (Columba McCann) (2011)

FIGURE 6.4 *Alleluia* from *Mass of St Columba* by C. McCann

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The eight-bar acclamation (Figure 6.4 above) consists of two four–bar phrases, arranged symmetrically within a binary ABA1B1 form. The setting utilises the 3/4 time signature to employ a strong pulse throughout, with the first and third syllables, 'al' and 'lu' emphasised. The acclamation has a clean mirroring of rhythmic interest, with the minim–crotchet figure in first and second alleluias contrasting with the beated crotchet setting of the alleluia in the second and fourth phrases.

The setting is syllabic, with the second syllable 'le' receiving one beat throughout. The rhythmic contrast between the first and second half of each phrase mitigates the possibility of the waltz time dictating the piece: the contrast between the heavy–to–light stresses of the first

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[66] A sweeping range in the melody, often employing a range of a tenth, is a prevalent feature of *The Glendalough Mass*, and idiomatic of Irish traditional music. In this context, the Gospel Acclamation may be received in this idiom. While not adhering to the strict rhythmic figure of the Irish double jig, which is usually two groups of three quavers per bar, there is enough similarity in the context of an overall Irish idiomatic feel to warrant the comparison.

and third alleluias, and the equal beats of the third and fourth alleluias, gives a sense of presenting the alleluia, then exclaiming it; or, in a similar vein, journeying in the first half of each phrase, and arriving at the destination in the second half of each.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The opening rising interval of a fifth, well established in the Gregorian chant repertory for acclamations of import and solemnity, is mirrored downward to begin the second phrase, giving a call–and–response effect.[67] The first half of the setting employs a sweeping range of a seventh, with the seventh as the start note of the second alleluia achieving the climax of the acclamation. After the strong opening fifth, the notes move in step to the climax through to the end of the second alleluia, which ends on the subdominant. The third alleluia inverts the opening interval by using the dominant to the tonic, with the final alleluia, like the second, moving in step to a return to the tonic to complete the acclamation.

The entire acclamation has an octave span, the final alleluia employing the lower seventh of the Dorian mode as the leading note. The melodic contour is strong, clear, and decisive, with the symmetrical clarion interval of a fifth anchoring the piece in the first and third alleluias, and the more flowing step movement of the alternate alleluias providing a contrast to this.

Critical comments

McCann's setting provides a spare yet robust presentation of the Gospel Acclamation. There are no identical melodic phrases repeated, as seen in the Feeley and Lawton settings, which rely on repetition and development for their overall impact; McCann's setting eschews

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[67] Gregorian Alleluias frequently employ the opening motif of a rising fourth or rising fifth to provide a launch pad for the syllabic portion of the melody before the melismatic *jubilus* on the final syllable. See Chapter Four of this dissertation.

elaboration for declamation. It is also only one of two settings in the repertory which is scored for unison voices only.[68] The range of the melody lies well within all voice types, and would tolerate being brought up or down a tone, if the needs of a particular community dictated this.[69]

As the entire acclamation contains just four presentations of the word alleluia, it appeals as a prelude directly into the proclamation of the Gospel, and is less suited to long Gospel book processions. However, the strong pulse lends itself well to a walking pace, and so it serves as ideal accompaniment for the movement from presider's chair to ambo; extension, if needed, could be provided with an intonation by cantor or schola, and repeat by all, of the antiphon. The effect in this setting is of direct declamation, rather than ecstatic exultation, with a dialogic element built into the call and response pattern of the rhythmic and intervallic mirroring between the two halves. The modality references the Gregorian chant tradition, giving it a universal quality.

4. *Alleluia* from *Mass of Renewal* (Bernard Sexton) (2011)

FIGURE 6.5 *Alleluia* from *Mass of Renewal* by B. Sexton

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

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[68] The other being Seoirse Bodley's *Alleluia* from *Mass of Peace.*
[69] For example, treble voices which would carry a higher key well, or an all–male community, who might adopt a semitone or tone lower.

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The eight–bar acclamation (Figure 6.5 above) consists of four phrases, with the setting of the word 'alleluia' increasing in frequency, presented six times in total. The form is binary, AA1A2B. The acclamation is set in common time, and utilises a repeated pattern of crotchet, crotchet, quaver run in four of the six presentations of the word alleluia. This pattern is used in the first three settings of the alleluia consecutively, then is alternated with a straight crotchet rhythm in the fourth and sixth alleluias. In these, the fourth quaver in the run is used as an upbeat into the following phrase.

The incremental shortening of the alleluia coveys a sense of progressive urgency as the acclamation develops. In phrases one and two, the entire word alleluia is afforded eight beats each time, with the final syllable 'ia' comprises four of these beats each time. In the second half of the acclamation, the length given to each utterance of alleluia is reduced by more than half, until the final alleluia, as shown in the following table:

TABLE 6.1 Incremental shortening of alleluia utterances in *Alleluia* from *Mass of Renewal* by B. Sexton

Alleluia utterance	Musical setting	Total crotchet beats
Alleluia 1	Al - le - lu - ia.	8
Alleluia 2	Al - le - lu - ia.	8
Alleluia 3	Al - le - lu - ia,	3.5

Alleluia 4	Al - le - lu - ia.	3.5
Alleluia 5	Al-le - lu - ia,	2.5
Alleluia 6	Al - le-lu - ia.	6.5

The third syllable 'lu' is prominent in four of the six presentations of the word: in the first, second, third, and fifth settings it occurs on the strong beat of the bar (first or third), while in the fourth and sixth settings it occurs on the weak beats, second and fourth of the bar; however, it is afforded either a full one or two beats throughout the acclamation. This is also one of the few settings in the repertory where there is an element of melismatic treatment of the word alleluia, albeit on the third syllable 'lu' rather than the final 'ia', as in the Gregorian chant tradition.[70] The syllable 'le' receives stress only in the fourth and sixth phrases, where it occurs on the strong first and third beats of the bar, respectively.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The melody is in F major, and employs a range of an octave, from the dominant middle C (C4) below the F tonic to the C above. It utilises five notes of the scale, omitting the submediant and the leading note. The melody opens with the interval of a fourth, from the dominant to the tonic, with the largest interval being the opening perfect fifth of the fourth alleluia, providing a point of climax in the acclamation.

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[70] The other settings exhibiting similar features will be discussed in the comparative comments which follow this analysis.

The melodic contour is based on an opening pattern of a rising dominant to tonic interval, followed by an upward leap and a stepwise descent to the tonic. This pattern is used to grow and develop the melody in an upward trajectory, climaxing in the fourth alleluia which contains a triadic return to the tonic. This device unites the acclamation while it builds a succession of alleluia utterances as it develops, and the descending quaver melodic cell B flat–A–G–F occurs four times in the entire acclamation, making it the most frequently used pattern.

The first and second phrases are almost identical, with the final note in the first phrase returning to the tonic, while the second phrase ends on the supertonic. The third phrase can be seen as an augmentation of the first, ending as it does on the tonic, with an additional alleluia employing a descending tonic triad augmentation. Similarly, the fourth phrase can be viewed as an embellishment of the second phrase, as the unifying quaver descent to the tonic leads to a repeated supertonic, before it resolves to the tonic. The tonic remains a strong structural note throughout, occupying a total of fourteen beats across the eight bars, and carrying every syllable of the word alleluia by the end of the setting.

Critical comments

This setting of the Gospel Acclamation presents a more relaxed revelation of alleluiatic joy, in contrast to the driving melodic contours and strong pulse of the previous three settings. The common time signature facilitates a leisurely presentation, and the various weighting of all constituent parts of the word alleluia ensures the word is heard in all its nuances. The climax in the fifth alleluia, and the repeated supertonic in the final phrase, give solidity and a sense of purpose to the acclamation as a whole. In this sense, while the previous settings examined contained dialogic elements within the structuring of the antiphon itself, this setting gives the impression of an intrapersonal dialogue or conversation: a reflective rumination or pondering on the word alleluia: contained and measured at first but bursting into excitement and joy in

the second half, as if reflection leads to celebration. While the octave range and key are within the assembly's range, the increased movement and shortening of alleluias in the second half, with the varying accents on various parts of the word, may make this alleluia a little more involved for teaching and learning purposes. The common time and straightforward rhythmic patterns suit processional movement, and, like the other settings, the antiphon can be repeated and extended if needed.

5. *Alleluia* from *Mass of Peace* (Seoirse Bodley) (1976)

FIGURE 6.6 *Alleluia* from *Mass Peace* by S. Bodley

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The seven–bar acclamation (Figure 6.6 above) presents the alleluia three times and is set in 3/4 time, with the second syllable 'le' consistently set as a minim on a strong beat throughout. The form is ABC. The acclamation contrasts weak to strong beats, with an upbeat used on the first syllable of the first two alleluias, and the final alleluia arresting the flow with a full dotted minim on the first syllable of the alleluia. As this syllable has been the weaker upbeat in the first two phrases, this rhythmic change makes an effective declamatory statement as the final phrase of the acclamation.

The minim–crotchet figure is the most utilised in the acclamation, occurring three times and unifying each utterance of alleluia. The acclamation is largely syllabic, with one neumatic

'lu' in the final alleluia as an embellishment of the minim–crotchet figure. The consistency of the two–beat 'lu' unifies the acclamation and maintains a dance–like character to the piece, with the full–beat first syllable of the final phrase preventing the waltz time from dictating.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The melodic contour of the first two phrases is ascending and descending, beginning and ending on the dominant. The acclamation is set in F major, and the opening dominant–to–tonic interval launches the melody, after which the melody employs largely step movement of intervals of a second. There are only two other intervals: a falling third at the end of the second phrase to facilitate the return to the dominant, and the rising interval from this to the opening of the third phrase, which begins on the tonic. The repetition of this dominant to tonic interval, coupled with the steadfast two beats allocated to the second syllable 'le' unites the third alleluia to the opening, and gives the effect of a similar opening when, rhythmically, a call to attention has been made. The use of the two–note slur on the penultimate syllable, employing the leading note into the tonic to finish, can be understood as a passing note in what is otherwise a repetition of the doh note. Throughout the acclamation, the tonic is used as a reciting note, occurring five times out of thirteen pitches, and on the longest notes.

The melody employs a range of a sixth, while the use of the dominant below the tonic is used only to start and complete phrases, giving the melodic contour the effect of having the principal lie of the melody within the range of a third, from the tonic to the mediant. The melody can be seen as employing a strong triadic skeleton. This structure is the essential framework for the melody, upon which passing notes are added to facilitate movement and continuity within the phrases, and within the acclamation as a whole.

Critical comments

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Bodley's *Alleluia*, with just three iterations of the word, is more suited as an acclamation without procession than to one with extended movement: even with repetition, it is brief. The directness of the setting is its primary feature, and the melodic contour and clear rhythmic figures, make it virtually an instant learn and sing for an assembly gathered for worship. While the text matching indicates commas between the alleluia utterances, the rhythmic change in the final alleluia gives the effect of a pause, and a resultant burst of energy in the final alleluia, as follows: *Alleluia, alleluia: alleluia!* This last alleluia works as a perfect foil to the first two alleluias, which mirror each other and almost form a closed sentence together. The alleluiatic joy is, literally, arresting, and achieved in the most striking and simple way with the use of the full measure first syllable on this final alleluia.

The narrow range, waltz time, and simplicity of style make this setting one of the most accessible to congregations, if not the most musically exciting. The fact that the motifs and patterns in this Alleluia are repeated and re–used in the other acclamations of *Mass of Peace* may provide reinforcement of musical ideas and learning, or a sense of scarcely unrelieved repetition, to those singing them, if the entire Mass setting is used in a single liturgy. Like Sexton's setting, the idiom may be received as containing traces of Irish traditional music: in the use of the anacrusis and the dance-like style, the use of the tonic, and the repetition of the doh note at the end, broken with a passing note which can be understood as ornamental. However, the brevity and triadic nature of the setting also echo the Lourdes settings, and so this composition straddles both the native and universal soundworlds of worshippers.

6. *Alleluia Magnificat* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* (Paul Décha) (2011)

Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia, Al - le - lu - ia.

FIGURE 6.7 *Alleluia Magnificat* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* by P. Décha

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The six-bar acclamation (Figure 6.7 above) consists of three phrases, repeating an identical rhythmic pattern. Its form may be characterised as AA1B, as it comprises of three contrasting phrases which differ in pitch, with the pulse and rhythmic pattern linking all three. The setting is marked by its brevity and direct presentation, with the Alleluia set strictly syllabically. Employing 3/8 time, the setting treats the second and last syllable with stress; the 'le' and final 'ia' are accented in each phrase, by virtue of being assigned a full crotchet beat, and by being placed on the strong beat of the bar. The acclamation and each utterance of the alleluia begins on the anacrusis, giving the second syllable its weight, and the use of weak-–to–strong beats emphasises the single strong beat in each bar. This gives the acclamation a solid walking or marching feel, with each alleluia forming a complete step.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The melody is spare and directional. The acclamation begins with a rising fourth to the tonic, and each phrase employs a rising figure. Each alleluia follows melodically from its previous utterance, with phrases two and three beginning on the final note of the previous phrase. This unites the three phrases seamlessly and gives each a completion. The effect is three forthright presentations or acclamations of the word 'alleluia', distinctly self-contained yet connected.

The first alleluia employs an opening interval of a fourth, from the dominant to the tonic, with a passing note facilitating the downward melodic return to the dominant. Each subsequent alleluia follows this pattern of an upwardly rising interval, returning downward to finish on either tonic or dominant. The opening interval is augmented to a sixth in the second phrase; it opens with a rising interval from the dominant to the mediant, moving down in step to the tonic, which is picked up as the opening note of the final phrase. The final alleluia employs a more

restricted range of a major third in the entire phrase: the opening rising motif comprises of just a second, from the tonic to supertonic, while the falling major third in the final phrase employs the natural minor, characteristic of the Aeolian mode, with a resolution to the tonic ending the phrase, and the entire acclamation.

Critical comments

This setting, like Bodley's, contains just three presentations of the word alleluia, which makes it brief for processions, yet perfect as a herald leading immediately into the proclamation of the Gospel, although the 3/8 time and identical rhythmic pattern throughout are conducive to a walking accompaniment. This setting, with its minor tonality and strong melodic contour, provides a dignified and stately antiphon. The overall impression is of three words combining to create one great Alleluia acclamation: the tonal and rhythmic connectedness between the phrases gives a seamless unity to the acclamation. The rising interval of a sixth in the middle phrase lifts the range and expression of the melody to provide a sweeping high point, radiating phonic joy. This setting is immediately accessible to a singing assembly, both in terms of the restricted range and the repetition and reinforcement of motifs and rhythms throughout.

7. *Alleluia Psaume 33* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* (Paul Décha) (2011)

FIGURE 6.8 *Alleluia Psaume 33* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* by P. Décha

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

This setting (Figure 6.8 above) presents another six–bar acclamation, again consisting of just three presentations of the word alleluia, each comprising of an identical two–bar rhythmic motif. The setting employs 2/4 time, beginning on the first strong beat, and stressed syllables remain the same throughout. The first and second syllables are treated syllabically, while the third syllable 'lu' is treated neumatically and given a full beat on the second beat of the bar. The form is AA1A2. The metrical character of the piece is its most distinguishing feature.

The consistency of rhythmic treatment across the entire setting gives a unity and direction dictated by the uniformity of pattern within the form, rather than in a consideration of the constitutive parts of the texted word 'alleluia'. This pattern consists of two two–note quaver figures followed by a minim as the closing note of each phrase. The flow of the half beats contrasts well with the final two–beat resting point in each alleluia, giving the melody fluidity and solid resolution in each utterance of the word alleluia.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The melodic contour is descending in each of the three phrases and employs few intervals within each phrase beyond the major second, while the overall trajectory of the melody is ascending in a tonic triadic movement. The acclamation is set in D major and begins on the mediant. The tonic triad provides the skeleton for the entire melodic form, providing starting and finishing tones for each phrase within the acclamation. The three phrases begin on the mediant, dominant, and tonic respectively, with their final notes being the tonic, mediant, and dominant. The first and second phrases employ a melodic range of a major third, while the final phrase has a range of a perfect fourth, to facilitate the descent from the tonic to the dominant, which provides an imperfect final cadence. The final phrase also contains the only minor third intervals, on the penultimate syllable, as a means of returning to the final note. As the first pitch

in each two–note quaver figure contains the stressed syllable, the contour of the melody, and its reliance on the tonic triad, can be seen clearly in the figure below:
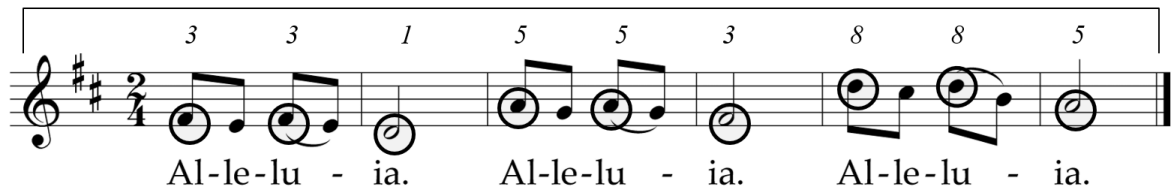

FIGURE 6.9 *Alleluia Psaume 33* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* by P. Décha: structural notes circled and their corresponding degree of the scale noted numerically.

The entire acclamation spans a range of an octave and utilises every note of the scale in a relatively even distribution.

Critical comments

Alleluia Psaume 33 presents another terse acclamation, with just three utterances of the word alleluia. The consistency of rhythmic treatment in the acclamation exploits the marching dimension of the 2/4 time, lending it to procession, although the brevity of the setting allows little facility for this. The movement in the rhythmic treatment of the word suggests a more discussive rather than declamatory tone overall, building in intensity through the upward melodic contour to the final alleluia, at the uppermost range of the melody. The triadic nature of the melody and the uniformity of rhythmic treatment conspire to give each alleluia a self–contained feel: the overall effect is of three short ruminations on the nature of the alleluia. The prominent use of the major tonic triad gives the setting a festive and joyful appeal, as well as ease of learning by an assembly. This is one of the few settings in the *Sing the Mass* repertory to prioritise the 'lu' syllable of alleluia: this relieves the broad 'a' sound and references an

idiomatic feature of the Gregorian repertory, where the 'i' in the final 'ia' of the word 'alleluia' may be sung as a liquescent note.[71]

8. *Alleluia Psaume 112* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* (Paul Décha) (2011)

FIGURE 6.10 *Alleluia Psaume 112* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* by P. Décha

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The six–bar acclamation (Figure 6.10) consists of three phrases, corresponding to three settings of the word alleluia, each with an identical rhythmic pattern, in an ABC form. The acclamation employs a 3/8 time signature, and the antiphon begins on the upbeat. This is carried throughout and gives the second syllable 'le' most prominence in all three phrases.

The setting is primarily syllabic, with a passing note forming a two–note neume on the penultimate syllable. The acclamation features a repeated pattern of quaver, crotchet, quaver, crotchet, ensuring the same treatment of the constituent parts of the alleluia throughout. The time signature of 3/8 is used, and the use of strong to weak beats throughout introduces a dance–like effect to the acclamation, while unifying the three phrases with a common rhythmic pattern.

 (b) Melodic and tonal considerations

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[71] Gregorian examples include *Alleluia Dies sanctifcates, Alleluia Tu es Sacerdos*, *Alleluia Pascha nostrum.* For more on these see Chapter Four of this dissertation.

The melody has, overall, an upward trajectory, spanning the octave range between the first and final note. The octave range is achieved by the second bar, with the tonic to dominant perfect fifth serving as a launching pad for the melody. The acclamation is set in D major, and the high D (D5) is the climactic destination, achieved by the second bar and recurring twice thereafter. The antiphon begins and ends on the tonic, giving it a strong finality and sense of completion.

The acclamation employs just four notes of the scale: the tonic D, submediant B, the dominant A, and the leading note C#. Its definitive structure comes from the open fifth, which serves as the poles around which each of the alleluia presentations is set. The contribution of the lower auxiliary leading note and the submediant as an upper auxilaruy notes add significant colour, as they occur on the strong beat which carries the 'le' syllable in each phrase.

Critical commentary

Whereas the previous two Lourdes Alleluia settings (*Alleluia Magnificat* and *Alleluia Psaume 33*) suggest declamation and discussion, respectively, *Alleluia Psaume 112* suggests three short and self–explanatory statements of alleluiatic joy. The scarcity of pitches used, and the reliance on the tonic and dominant mean that, although categorised as ABC in form, there is little development or elaboration between the phrases: however, the decisively upward trajectory of the melody gives the setting a purpose and drive which facilitates bringing a singing assembly on board. There is a relatively high degree of employment of the upper end of the vocal range in this short setting (three instances of D5 within three phrases: the most concentrated use of the upper octave in all the Alleluia settings in the repertory, yet the springboard approach used to access these notes should carry a congregation along, although the repeated use of the upper note may strain lower voices. The pulse in this setting facilitates movement, while the brevity dictates against long processions: however, the use of the tonic to both begin and end the

acclamation makes repetition a distinct possibility, in order to lengthen the acclamation somewhat.

9. *Alleluia Acclamons* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* (Paul Décha) (2011)

FIGURE 6.11 *Alleluia Acclamons* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* by P. Décha

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The six–bar acclamation (Figure 6.11) consists of three phrases, employing the familiar Lourdes rhythmic motif of strong to weak beats in 3/8 time. Each setting of the word alleluia begins on the anacrusis, with the second syllable 'le' receiving the strong pulse, and two beats, throughout. The form is ABC. The setting is largely syllabic, with some neumatic two–note figures adding texture to the final alleluia as a flourish to close the antiphon; essentially, leading to the climax of the acclamation.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The melody is upwardly directional, and triadic in structure. The acclamation begins with the rising major third interval from the tonic to the mediant, and each successive phrase uses a rising interval of a third: the second phrase opens with the mediant to dominant interval, while the final phrase employs the minor interval of the submediant to the tonic. While the overall trajectory is upward, each phrase doubles back on itself to form a self–contained cell of restricted range: a major third in the first phrase, a perfect fourth in the second phrase, and

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another perfect fourth in the final phrase. Overall, this ascending/descending shape lends the setting a unifying thematic shape, as presented in Figure 6.12:

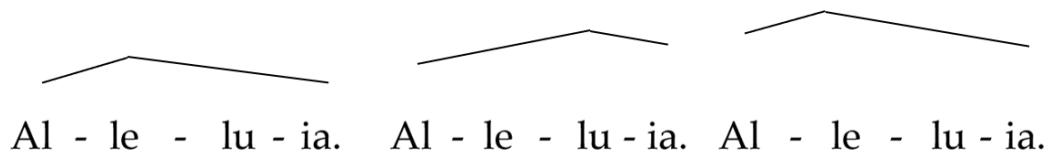Al - le - lu - ia.   Al - le - lu - ia.   Al - le - lu - ia.

FIGURE 6.12 *Alleluia Acclamons* from *Mass of Our Lady of Lourdes* by P. Décha: diagrammatic representation of melodic contour

The tonality is decisively major, and the acclamation spans the octave, with six notes of the scale utilised (only the subdominant is not used). The melody is firmly established on a triadic skeleton: the structurally strong syllable 'le' encompasses the three notes of the tonic triad, and the setting begins on the tonic and finishes on the dominant.

Critical comments

This fourth Alleluia from Paul Décha resembles *Alleluia Psaume 112* in many respects: the strong major triadic structure, the use of 3/8 time and the pulse, the favouring of the 'le' syllable, and the brevity of the setting. Again, its length dictates against procession, while the pulse is well suited to movement. Its melodic contour leads incrementally to the climax in the final phrase, with just one usage of the upper D (D5): this makes it more comfortable to sing than *Alleluia Psaume 112* for a general congregation, and it occupies a middle range within the octave stretch for the most part. Again, each statement of alleluia has a self–contained quality, and the incremental upward to downward direction of the melody builds the alleluiatic joy in a measured and logical manner. This setting may be seen as a less trumpeted celebration of alleluiatic joy than *Alleluia Psaume 112*, as they are very similar in many respects.

FIGURE 6.13 *Alleluia* from *Mass of the Immaculate Conception* by F. O'Carroll

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The four–bar acclamation (Figure 6.13 above) consists of three phrases, and the form is AA1A2. The consistency of rhythmic pattern of the piece is its most distinguishing feature. Set in common time, each phrase begins with the anacrusis, and treats the constituent parts of the word alleluia identically in each phrase. The setting is syllabic, with the third syllable 'lu' accented throughout, by virtue of always occurring on the first beat of the bar, and allocated a minim, making it the longest note in each phrase. The first two syllables are accorded half a beat each, and together form the upbeat to each acclamation. In the course of the acclamation, this favouring of the third syllable becomes very evident: the first syllable 'al' is assigned a total of 1.5 beats, the second syllable 'le' is assigned, likewise, 1.5 beats, the third syllable 'lu' 6 beats, while the final syllable 'ia' receives 4 beats overall, with a fermata marked over the final 'ia'. This gives the effect of the first half of the acclamation being a terse preparation for the second half, which dominates the pulse of the piece.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The melodic contour is decisively upward in its trajectory, and strongly triadic. Each phrase is connected thematically, employing just three pitches per phrase, and is syllabic. Every phrase

begins with a rising third, followed by a repeated reciting note. The setting is major in its tonality, and spans the range of an octave, reserving the tonic for the opening and closing notes. Five notes of the scale are employed, with the supertonic and leading note omitted.

The first phrase begins on the tonic and uses the notes of the tonic triad as its three pitches. The dominant is used for the reciting notes, placed on the 'lu' and 'ia' syllables. The second phrase begins on the mediant and rises a minor third to the dominant before stepping up to the submediant as the reciting note. The final phrase dips to the subdominant to begin the phrase, rising a minor third to the submediant as the reciting note, and finishing at the top of the scale with a repeated tonic note. While the 'lu' syllable is given metrical priority, the second syllable 'le' achieves a certain prominence as it receives the reciting pitch of the previous phrase.

Critical comments

This setting is, potentially, the most instantly singable in the *Sing the Mass* repertory for an assembly gathered for worship, with each phrase thematically linked, and is demonstrably the most acclamatory in its treatment of the word alleluia. The triadic structure brings the voices upward to the climactic final alleluia, with the successive minor third intervals in the final phrase providing support for the reach up to the upper octave. The treatment in this setting suggests a brass fanfare, from the opening clarion call of the first alleluia to the repeated upper tonic at the end. This is supported by the fact that, in the typesetting of the *Sing the Mass* anthology, it is one of only two Alleluia settings to have dynamics of volume included: in this case, the marking of fortissimo at the start of the antiphon, followed by an open ended crescendo over the second alleluia leading to the finale of the repeated tonic.[72] The forthright

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[72] The other is Liam Lawton's setting. See the full vocal score, which is included in the Appendix of this dissertation.

and direct presentation of alleluiatic joy is the distinguishing feature of this setting, and while the text indicates commas between the three alleluia utterances, the music asserts more energy than these convey, and suggests: *Alleluia! Alleluia!! Alleluia!!!* Notwithstanding its bursting radiance of energy, and the fact that the minims add weight and gravitas to the melody in each phrase, the setting is brief in duration, and thus lends itself more to antiphonal rather than processional use: however, the melodic structure facilitates repetition in order to provide length.

11. *Alleluia* from *A Mass for Peace* (Thomas C. Kelly) (1976)

FIGURE 6.14 *Alleluia* from *A Mass for Peace* by T.C. Kelly

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The four–bar antiphon (Figure 6.14 above) contains three presentations of the acclamation, with an overall form of ABC. The setting is in spilt common time. Within this, there is a successive development and augmentation of the rhythmic treatment of the constituent parts of the alleluia. The first phrase consists of just one bar, and the alleluia is treated syllabically within it. The second phrase, likewise, contains the entire acclamation with one bar, but the first two syllables receive a two–note slurred figure, adding movement. In these first two phrases, each syllable of the acceleration is afforded equal measure, while the strong beats are given to the first and third syllables.

The final alleluia represents a significant departure from the form of the first two phrases and constitutes a magnification of the acclamation. This alleluia is twice the length of

the first two, spanning two bars and containing an extended neume which can be classed as a melisma on the first syllable, in contrast to the traditional melismatic treatment of the final syllable in the Gregorian chant tradition.[73] It also contains a development of the previous phrase which also featured a four–quaver running passage followed by a crotchet. This phrase retains the emphasis of the first and third syllable, but undoubtedly the melismatic first syllable dominates and arrests the attention.

 (a) Melodic and tonal considerations

The setting is modal, in the Mixolydian mode, employing the range of a sixth and favouring the weighting of the first and third syllables, 'al' and 'lu'. The antiphon starts with a rising perfect fourth dominant–to–tonic figure, featuring the repeated tonic note. The second phrase stays at this upper end of the range and introduces the diminished seventh of the mode, relying heavily on it as a reciting note. This entire phrase moves by step. The third phrase, likewise, moves entirely by step, following on from the previous range and introducing the lowest notes of the acclamation, while the dominant is employed as a reciting note. The final bar contains an accented passing note of the submediant before finishing on the dominant, giving an imperfect cadential ending.

The melody has a clear rise and descent, peaking immediately in the first phrase at its highest point. The climactic colour is carried through to the second phrase and reintroduced in the third phrase, with the reach up to the flattened seventh and the use of the submediant in the final bar. This final phrase also draws energy from the extended neume or melisma on the first syllable. When the structurally strong notes are tracked and the passing notes stripped away, the reciting notes can be seen clearly as the tonic and the leading note, with the melodic contour falling overall after the initial rising interval.

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[73] See my analysis of Gregorian Alleluias and their *jubilii* in Chapter Four.

Critical comments

Kelly's setting provides a marked contrast to the others in the *Sing the Mass* repertory in its differing approaches to the three presentations of the alleluia in the antiphon.[74] The development and extension of the initial alleluia, and the repeated use of the flattened seventh, are devices unseen in the other settings. As an acclamation, the first utterance is strong and direct, followed by a more discursive second phrase, and an even more extended third phrase. The setting also includes the largest melisma – five successive pitches on the one syllable – in the entire repertory. Given that there are only three alleluias, the successive elaboration in each phrase gives the impression of quite an involved piece. The split common time and regular approach to pulse accompanies movement well, and the same beginning and ending pitch of the antiphon lends itself to repetition, making it suitable both as an antiphon to greet the Gospel, and a processional to accompany a Gospel book procession.

For congregational use, the setting employs the range of a sixth and is neither low nor high enough to tax voices unduly; however, this Alleluia is not likely to be one easily learnt and repeated by a congregation: after the intervallic clarity of the strong opening figure, the extended phrases may prove challenging in terms of directionality of melody. The melisma, following as it does from two–note slurs on the first two syllables in the second phrase, is likely to trip up congregants on a first or even second hearing. With its modal quality, repetition of the tonic note in the opening phrase, and use of the flattened seventh, the setting may be received as containing elements of the Irish idiom.

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[74] As we have seen earlier, Sexton's approach constitutes the opposite: a shortening of successive alleluias as a compositional device to convey excitement. See Figure 6.5, p. 256.

12. *Alleluia* from *Mass of the Annunciation* (Fintan O'Carroll) (1980)

FIGURE 6.15 *Alleluia* from *Mass of the Annunciation* by F. O'Carroll

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

 (a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The eight–bar acclamation (Figure 6.15) consists of four phrases, arranged symmetrically within a definite structural framework. The form is binary, ABAB1. The metrical character of the piece is its most distinguishing feature. In strict 6/8 time, it is a pulsing, rhythmic setting of the acclamation 'alleluia' with a sweeping sense of drive and purpose throughout. This purpose finds its source in the musical setting itself, rather than in a differentiated treatment of the constitutive parts of the texted word 'alleluia'.

The acclamation makes consistent use of strong to weak beats, the emphasis falling naturally on the two strong beats in every bar. This gives the acclamation a lilting, dance–like movement, which is accentuated by the use of three–note dotted and equal quaver figures. The most utilised figure in the piece is the crotchet–to–quaver figure, which comprises over a third (six out of sixteen) of the figures used, each corresponding to a syllable of the word 'alleluia'. This gives a grounding or stabilising element to the movement. Each phrase concludes with a full dotted crotchet note, separating the phrases clearly. In each case this is preceded by quaver movement. The rhythmic motifs highlight the syllable 'lu' each time, with the preceding 'le' highlighted in the second and fourth phrase. Despite the succession of notes and movement,

the setting is primarily a syllabic one, with each syllable of the word 'alleluia' consistently receiving a whole beat.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The melody is active and energetic. The acclamation begins with the dominant moving to the tonic, providing a kind of springboard or launching pad for the melody, infusing it with energy from the start. The rising minor third is used as an intervallic link between the two phrases comprising each half of the acclamation. The second and fourth phrases begin with the descending minor third, while the rest of the melody, in its entirety, moves completely by step. The tonic serves as a frequent reciting note, occurring eleven times out of a total of thirty–four notes. Despite the movement and neumatic treatment of certain syllables (namely 'le' and 'lu'), the melody is a very direct and simple one. If the passing notes, those occurring on the weak beats, are removed or hidden, the shape of the melody becomes very clean and clear:

FIGURE 6.16 Simplified melodic shape of O'Carroll *Alleluia*

The melodic range is not very large, comprising of a seventh from the E4 below the tonic to the D5 above. The tonality is major, and all the notes of the scale are used, with the lowest and the highest occurring at the beginning and ends of phrases: the first syllable of each 'alleluia' is alternately given the lowest and highest note in the range. The phrases layer step upon step in a rising pattern, with a sense of surge or shape occurring towards the middle of each phrase.

Phrases one, two and three conclude with imperfect cadences. The embellishment of the repeated tonic at the final cadence gives a strong and definite ending to the piece.

Critical comments

This *Alleluia* setting is attractive and accessible to a singing assembly by virtue of its sweeping melodic line and rhythmic motifs. The range sits comfortably in most voices, with the high D (D5) used sparingly, and well approached. The pulse drives the acclamation on and gives it a dance–like quality, suiting movement well. The eight–bar structure, when extended with a repeat, makes an ideal processional: in fact, this piece was originally conceived as a lengthy entrance processional, with alleluia providing the text for a joyful refrain.[75] The use of repeated figures gives a dialogic element to the acclamation, while it is singular among the settings in the *Sing the Mass* repertory as the only setting in which each syllable of the alleluia is treated equally in terms of length and prominence.

The energy and drive of this setting convey the phonic joy of the word very well, while the dotted crotchet–quaver figure used consistently for each initial 'al' syllable provides the opportunity for a closing of the vowel to allow the double 'l' to sound on the quaver: in effect, introducing an element of the liquescent feature prevalent in the performance practice of the Gregorian chant repertory, as already discussed. This raises the question of idiom for this acclamation: the idiom may be received as Irish, given the 6/8 time and dance form, the use of the repeated tonic note in the opening and closing figures for the 'al' and 'ia' syllables consistently, the suggestion of singing on the consonant, and in the sweeping directionality and step movement of the melody.[76]

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[75] The *Alleluia* is taken from the refrain of the Entrance Psalm *Praise the Lord, All You Nations.* The full score is included in the Appendix.

[76] In the choral setting, however, the melodic line is given to tenors in the SATB setting, while the sopranos sing a descant line, bringing it into the style of the English cathedral compositional school. See the full score included in the appendix of this dissertation.

13. *Alleluia* from *St Benedict Centenary Mass* (Margaret Daly) (1980)

FIGURE 6.17 *Alleluia* from *St Benedict Centenary Mass* by M. Daly

Musical analysis of Alleluia melody

(a) Metrical and rhythmic considerations

The four–bar acclamation (Figure 6.17 above) consists of three phrases, all distinct in their treatment of the word alleluia. The form is ABC. The setting is in split common time or *alla breve*, which facilitates the brevity of the setting and the processional feel. Each successive presentation of the word alleluia increases in length incrementally: the first setting consists of three beats, the second four beats, and the final setting eight beats, six of these comprising the final note.

Each presentation of the alleluia is treated differently rhythmically, although all phrases begin with a two-quaver figure. In the first phrase, the alleluia begins on the anacrusis, with the third syllable 'lu' most prominent in the rhythmic texture as it falls on the strong beat. In the second phrase, the juxtaposition of syllables and pulse gives the effect of equal treatment of each constituent part of the word alleluia: the first syllable occurs on the strong beat and, while the second falls on the weak beat, its length lends it a prominence within the rhythmic texture, while the third syllable falls on the next strong beat and is followed by an equal beat. The third phrase contains the most movement, as the first three syllables are contained in a run of quavers, with a lengthy final note. Overall, the third syllable 'lu' forms a structural pole in each phrase, occurring as it does on the strong beat of each. The first and second phrases share an identical rhythmic pattern, albeit with differing assignation of syllables, while the movement

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in the final phrase provides a sense of progressive energy for a final flourish after the more sedate and stately processional feel of the first two phrases.

(b) Melodic and tonal considerations

The melody is pentatonic and major in its tonality, with a range of an octave from the mediant to the supertonic above. The dominant to tonic interval of a perfect fourth constitutes the entirety of the first phrase and provides a strong, formal opening to the acclamation. The second phrase begins on the submediant and introduces step movement descending in the first syllable with a descending minor third anchoring the central part of this phrase, which ends with a repeated dominant note. The final phrase takes up the dominant as its starting pitch and features an ascending melodic line which climaxes in the highest pitches of the acclamation, with the supertonic used as an embellishment of a repeated doh–note final cadence. The dominant G functions as a structural note throughout, and a reciting note: it comprises of half the notes in the entire acclamation.

The syllable 'lu' is weighted in each phrase, occupying the highest pitch in the first and third phrases and occurring ad the first of two repeated dominant notes in the second phrase. However, this second phrase manages to colour each syllable of the acclamation: the first syllable 'al' is the first to introduce a new note outside the opening interval of a fifth, while the second syllable 'le' introduces the mediant in its only appearance in the antiphon, giving it a rich presence. The final two syllables are placed together on equal beats on the dominant, making them a solid feature in the texture. In this sense, the use of colour in the melody juxtaposes a formulaic pattern of dominance within the constituent parts of the word 'alleluia'.

Critical comments

Daly's setting provides a nuanced presentation of the alleluia, with each phrase successively augmenting and elaborating the text: in this sense, it follows a similar pattern to Kelly's setting. The direct proclamation of the first phrase is followed by a more discursive second phrase, and a driving exclamation of joy to the climactic final phrase. Each phrase is self–contained, and the punctuation of the text is well placed. The pentatonic nature recommends this setting to an assembly gathered for worship and the range is comfortable for voices, with just one D5 used as an upper auxiliary note in the final phrase and approached by step. There is some danger of the congregation missing the two–note slur in the second phrase, given the quaver treatment of the first two syllables 'al' and 'le' in the first and third phrases; however, the prominence of 'le' in this second phrase is arresting enough in the texture to catch the ear and facilitate the placement of the other syllables as intended. The setting suggests stately processional movement and, although containing only three utterances of alleluia, the lengthy final note adds to the duration which, combined with repetition, would make it a suitable accompaniment for a procession of the Gospel book.

Comparative comments on Alleluia settings in *Sing the Mass* repertory

As a national repertory, the *Sing the Mass* anthology provides thirteen settings of the Alleluia, which allows an ample selection for the forty–six weeks of the liturgical year requiring Alleluia to be used as the Gospel Acclamation.[77] Within this, compositional trends and patterns emerge from the critical musical analysis of the compositions, with concomitant effects on the usage of the repertory in contemporary Irish liturgical practice. The table below summarises some of the key musical features which this case study has found in the analysis of the settings, presenting each setting in the order in which it appears in the *Sing the Mass* anthology, along

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[77] Omitting the Lenten season of six weeks, when the inherent exuberance of the Alleluia acclamation is eschewed for a more prosaic expression of praise to Christ as the Alleluia is reserved until the Easter Vigil. See *GIRM*, 62.

with its number of alleluia utterances, tonality, time signature/pulse, melodic range, form, and syllable(s) given prominence in the setting. This illustrates trends and emerging patterns in the repertory under these headings (see Table 6.2 below):

TABLE 6.2. Musical features of Alleluia settings in *Sing the Mass* repertory

Setting	Alleluias	Tonality	Time	Range	Form	Prominence
St Paul	8	Minor	6/8	8ve	ABAB1	ia
Glendalough	6	Major	6/8	8ve	ABAB1	ia
St Columba	4	Dorian	3/4	7th	ABAB1	al/lu
Renewal	6	Major	4/4	8ve	AA1A2B	lu/ia
Peace (Bodley)	3	Major	3/4	6th	ABC	le
Magnificat	3	Aeolian	3/8	6th	AA1B	le
Psaume 33	3	Major	2/4	8ve	AA1A2	lu
Psaume 112	3	Major	3/8	8ve	ABC	le
Acclamons	3	Major	3/8	8ve	ABC	le
Immaculate Conception	3	Major	4/4	8ve	AA1A2	lu
Peace (Kelly)	3	Mixolydian	2/2	6th	ABC	whole word
Annunciation	3	Major	6/8	7th	ABAB1	whole word
St Benedict	3	Major	2/2	5th	ABC	lu

In terms of the framework questions posed at the start of this analysis (how well does the Acclamation function as an antiphonal or processional piece; how does the musical treatment reflect the acclamatory nature of the word 'Alleluia': is the musical setting conducive to congregational delivery of the acclamation?), a number of these features merit comment. The vast majority of the settings (nine out of thirteen) employ a tripartite alleluia form, or three utterances of the word alleluia; of the remainder, one contains four alleluias, two contain six

alleluias, and one contains eight alleluias. This means that over two–thirds of the repertory consists of terse Alleluia settings. This renders them ideal as antiphonal heralds of the Gospel message, when the proclamation of the Gospel text follows immediately in the liturgy. While all are metrical and facilitate a walking pace, it would be the task of fieldwork to investigate the prevalence of Gospel book processions in Irish Eucharistic celebrations today, and to determine if the repertory allows sufficient variety in duration of Alleluia settings to serve weekday ordinal celebrations, Sunday ordinal celebrations, Feasts, and Solemnities, which may be more likely to incur additional ceremonials such as processions, and cathedral liturgies, which may be assumed to involve a higher degree of solemnity. It could be argued that a disproportionately long acclamation, which does not match the liturgical action and outstays its welcome, is more detrimental to the ritual action and less useful than a shorter acclamation, which may be extended to accompany the liturgical action various musical means including vocal repetition, organ improvisation, or instrumental extemporisation.

The praising and acclamatory nature of the word alleluia is variously reflected in the settings. Rhythmic energy, intensity, and sense of purpose within the melody all contribute to the overall acclamatory effect of the setting. A review of the syllables which are prominent in each setting reveal that, in contrast to the early chant repertories which contained the melismatic *jubilus* on the final 'ia', in the *Sing the Mass* repertory, only three of the thirteen favour this final syllable, with none treating it melismatically (*Mass of St Paul*, *Glendalough Mass*, and *Mass of Renewal*.) The syllable to receive the most prominence across the repertory is 'lu', which is prominent in five of the settings (*Mass of St Columba*, *Mass of Renewal*, *Alleluia Psaume 33*, *Mass of the Immaculate Conception*, and *Mass of St Benedict*): this may be amended to six out of thirteen if we include the syncopation which accents the 'lu' syllable in the B phrases of the *Mass of St Paul* setting. Two settings alternate prominence between 'lu' and another syllable: the initial 'al' in the case of *Mass of St Columba*, and the final 'ia' in

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Mass of Renewal. Three of the settings distribute prominence among several or all of the alleluia syllables: Daly's *Mass of St Benedict* weights all except the initial 'al' at various points in the setting, all are treated equally in *Mass of the Annunciation*, while Kelly's *Mass of Peace* confers the only extended melisma in the repertory to the initial 'al' of its final alleluia utterance, while treating the other syllables with equal weight.

The varying approaches to the text indicate less a consideration of the meaning of the constituent parts of the word alleluia, than a phonic matching of text with pulse: none of the settings break out of the initially designated time signature, meaning a necessary distribution of text within the given metrical parameters. Only three settings employ a compound time metere: *Mass of St Paul*, *Glendalough Mass,* and *Mass of the Annunciation* use 6/8, while all the other settings assign a variety of simple metres (see Table 6.2). The final syllable 'ia', with its broad vowel, and its meaning as the name of God, offers a natural locus for the energy of the acclamation.[78] The two settings which distribute the weight most evenly between all the constituent parts of the word, O'Carroll's *Mass of the Annunciation* and Kelly's *Mass of Peace*, do so for different reasons: Kelly's represents a concerted effort to highlight each syllable deliberately, while O'Carroll achieves a perfect match between each syllable and the driving pulse of his setting. In this sense, these two may be deemed to achieve the most successful word setting and treatment of the acclamation as a phonic shout of jubilation in praise of God.

While all the settings are binary in form, the majority (eight out of thirteen) utilise repetition within the form, allowing for both elaboration in the musical exposition of the alleluia, and maximum facilitation of learning by an assembly gathered for worship. The exclusive use of binary rather than ternary forms reflects the sense of melodic destination in each setting and speaks to the sense of the alleluia unfolding and being elaborated upon in the settings. The melodic range across the settings does not exceed an octave, and the vast majority

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[78] See Chapter One of this dissertation.

(nine out of thirteen) are written in major keys, with only one in a minor key (*Mass of St Paul*) and three modal: *Mass of St Columba, Alleluia Magnificat* and *Mass of Peace* (Kelly). While the modal settings reflect both the Gregorian models of liturgical music and the Irish idiom, the use of tonal systems reflects contemporary Western popular music forms and places these settings in a familiar soundworld for Irish congregations today.

The relative scarcity of references to the Irish idiom in the *Sing the Mass* repertory may be seen as an editorial choice, given the subsequent publication of *Canaimis: Ceol don Aifreann,* a comparable repertory intended for Irish–language celebrations published in 2018. It also speaks, however, to a dichotomous relationship between what may be regarded as the two vernaculars in Irish contemporary liturgical practice (English and Irish) and a concomitant dichotomy in the selection of repertoire and idioms, with Irish musical idiom reserved for Irish language texts. While the larger sung texts of the Mass, and even the Alleluia verse itself, may concede this, it would seem that the Alleluia acclamation, with its phonetic commonality and stability of sound across the two languages, would supersede this, and that it would be a prime place for the richness of compositions in cultural idioms which resonate with particular worshipping communities to be employed in service of the liturgy and in service of realising the inherent jubilation of the Alleluia as a ritual shout for joy.

CONCLUSION

The journey from the Biblical roots of the Alleluia to its contemporaneous use in Irish liturgical practice has been an oblique one. The quest to understand more about this ancient acclamation has necessitated an interdisciplinary approach, engaging in Biblical exegesis, historical research, philosophical enquiry, liturgical research, social studies, and musicological analysis. This has yielded a rich tapestry of insights into the provenance, nature, and function of the Alleluia as Gospel Acclamation, offering a significant original contribution to the field of liturgical musicology.

In the course of this journey, the paradoxical and often contradictory nature of the Alleluia has been revealed. This stems from the key question of how this ancient Hebrew word came to be prescribed in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration as a discrete musical–liturgical item. Paradoxes include the apparently antique pedigree of *alleluia* and the strikingly small repertory of Alleluias in the Roman chant tradition; the melismatic *jubilus* of the Alleluia in the chant tradition and its controversial relationship to the *jubilus* of Patristic literature; and the quasi–textless nature of alleluia in the logocentric and text–laden Roman Rite liturgy. Perhaps the ultimate contradiction within the Alleluia is its inherent spontaneous and emotive nature as a shout of joy which, if it is to be expressed fully in the liturgy of a community gathered for worship, is to be rendered in musical form.

The threefold concern with provenance, nature, and function has served as the framework for this study, and the key question of how *alleluia* came to be introduced into and retained in the Roman Rite is answered. The Biblical exegesis undertaken establishes the inalienable praising nature of *alleluia* from the outset of the study, and concomitantly, its liturgical application. The identification of the appellation *alleluia* to the beginning and/or end of twenty psalms in the Hebrew Psalter, resulting in their categorisation as Hallel psalms from the same etymology, has been shown to signify a call to communal praise. The closing of the entire Psalter with the great doxological Hallel that is Psalm 150 affirms the central place of

alleluia in Israel's praise. The evidence from Biblical scholarship in this chapter has also proven unequivocally the editorial function of the Hallel psalms separate from, and independent to, their liturgical contexts. The use of the Hallel psalmody to mark divisions and close sections within the Psalter confirms the eminent suitability of *alleluia* as the pre–eminent closural statement.

With this evidence, the retention of *alleluia* in the liturgy of the earliest Christians becomes inevitable, and questions around its presence in the early Christian Church provide a platform for the investigation into how, rather than why, it achieved its final place in the Roman liturgy. The historical review of early Christian practices, and the references to *jubilus* in Patristic literature, do not provide unequivocal proof of the systematic or prescribed usage of *alleluia* as a liturgical acclamation in the Fore–Mass or any eucharistic setting. Paul Bradshaw's and James McKinnon's arguments against the assumption of a regular cycle of psalmody in Jewish liturgical practices at the time contests the notion of a direct line of psalmic praise from Hallel usage in synagogue or Temple worship, and the likely adoption of the Hebrew words *hosanna*, *amen*, and *alleluia* into the early Christian liturgy from Jewish blessing prayers in domestic gatherings. This research confirms the retention of *alleluia* as a praising device, but not its prescribed placement, function, or form in the Roman liturgy.

Chapters Four and Five constitute a unit of research centring on the Roman Rite Alleluias, and the repertory we have come to know as Gregorian. Their separation is a mechanism to delineate questions of provenance with purpose. The evidence for Eastern influence on the importation of the Alleluia from a dual–psalm format is compelling, and Christian Thodberg's contention that the three Roman Alleluias with Greek texts are directly derived from Byzantine Alleluia melodies confirms this theory.

The establishment of the Alleluia as a discrete musical item in the liturgy, specifically as Gospel Acclamation, can thus be settled with a high degree of conclusivity. However, the

remarkably small repertory of Alleluias in the Roman Mass Proper provides yet another conundrum in understanding the history of the Alleluia and is where my original hypothesis in Chapter Four makes a singular contribution to the field. James McKinnon turns to a supremely human solution to the problem, positing that the very limited repertory of just over fifty chants, along with marked instability of liturgical assignment and the high rate of melodic re–employment, is the result of the composers of the chant repertory simply running out of time. McKinnon's suggestion that the Advent Project, as he names the creation of the Roman Mass Proper, was interrupted by some external interruption, either the imminent completion date of the project c.720 AD, or a political or economic event, is plausible, with the Alleluia being a relative latecomer to the compositional process, and therefore being its greatest casualty in the hastily completed project.

While the repertory of Roman Mass Propers in their final form appears to confirm McKinnon's theory of a process begun with zeal at Advent but being more hastily conducted in the final part of the year, I offer a fresh insight as to the place of the Alleluia within this scheme. Without contesting the potential lateness of the Alleluia as an integral part of the Mass Proper, I propose that it is in the very nature of the Alleluia to incur a different compositional approach to the other Propers. My designation of the Alleluia as what I have called a 'psuedo-Proper' distillls my thesis: that the Alleluia is an imposter in the repertory of Propers, as the *raison d'etre* of the Alleluia as a discrete musical–liturgical item is its Alleluia refrain, with its unchanging text, not the particular verse text which accompanies it. In terms of the compositional process, the Alleluia offers a significantly restricted degree of creative license to the liturgical composer, as treatment of it must always begin and end with that single, inalienable word. Therefore, in McKinnon's Advent Project, I posit that a concentration of compositional activity on the other more compositionally complex items would appear to be a sensible use of time and talent, particularly in the face of an approaching deadline. In accepting

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this hypothesis, the size of the resultant repertory becomes somewhat less of an argument for its lateness, and more a result of a fundamental attentiveness to the very nature of the Alleluia. My hypothesis does not discredit or discount McKinnon's theory, but casts his in a new light, while adding a significant and original solution to the conundrum. The effects of this contradiction in the classification of the Alleluias as a Mass Proper have not been raised in the literature, and constitute a valuable addition to an understanding of both the history of the Alleluia and its inherent nature.

With this theory, it becomes imperative to explore the nature of the Alleluia. As the issue of text and textlessness has been raised, and noted in the musicological analysis of Gregorian Alleluias and their melismatic *jubilii*, a further exploration of the continued development of the Alleluia in terms of musical style is not warranted within the concerns of this study. The relationship between the Alleluia and the late medieval Sequence, while providing ample scope for musicological analysis, does not contribute to the questions of provenance, nature, and function which underpin my work here. The Alleluia journey of discovery proceeds by bringing the essential doxological nature of *alleluia*, as outlined at the start of this study, into dialogue with the parameters of logocentric Roman Rite worship music. This involves opening many doors into the arenas of phenomenology, semiology, and ethnomusicology, and is necessarily and judiciously limited by the scope of this work, which seeks to keep the fundamental praising nature of the Alleluia as Gospel Acclamation as the focus of all interdisciplinary explorations.

While the concept of singing a shout may appear to be oxymoronic, the preceding analysis of Gregorian Alleluias demonstrates conclusively how the melismatic *jubilus,* with its attendant acoustical resonance, can be seen as an effective compositional attempt to express profound emotion using a melodic device. The acoustical and sonic properties of the Alleluia establish it, in and of itself, as a musical–theological reflection on the nature of praise and on

the nature of both divine and human relationships in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration, situating the Alleluia as the prime doxological dialogic element of the liturgy.

Without the melismatic *jubilus*, which is not commonly a feature of contemporary liturgical compositions, the question of how the Alleluia functions in liturgical practice today becomes the final question of this study, and one which brings a unique contribution to the field of liturgical music in Ireland, as little research exists into lived practice. An examination of contemporary Alleluia settings requires contextualisation in the conciliar reforms on the liturgy, and the question of idiom and language is raised rather than pursued, as the Alleluia refrain has constituted the *raison d'etre* of this study, rather than the verses which incur issues of translation and form. The review of hymnals native to Ireland on a national level reveals the shortcomings of a liturgical theology which posits the hymn as the primary goal of liturgical music service in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration, which relies primarily on dialogic elements, such as acclamations and litanies, and psalmody to carry the sung items of the celebration. This discussion brings us full circle to our Biblical exegesis and the essentially hymnic nature of all doxology, including the Alleluia, while carrying out an original piece of research with my case study analysing the musical forms employed by contemporary Irish liturgical composers.

Musical analysis of this kind has not been applied to any corpus of contemporary acclamations for liturgical music use in Ireland, and so this adds a new stream of insight and enquiry into the field and proposes a model which may be applied to other discrete liturgical-musical items. The findings of this case study, while attending to issues such as congregational accessibility and function *vis a vis* the Gospel book procession and/or proclamation, reveal compositional trends and patterns which shed light on the approach of composers in their attempts to notate this doxological shout. A direct comparison with the Gregorian repertory is unwarranted due to removes of history, culture, and liturgy; yet, as the Catholic Church still

upholds Gregorian chant as the model for all liturgical music, some comparative comments relating to the effective rendering of praise through the compositional process are justified.

Table 6.2 in the study, my table showing musical features of the thirteen Alleluia settings in the *Sing the Mass* repertory, is particularly significant for two of its findings. The first relates to the utterances of *alleluia* within each setting. The vast majority of the settings (nine out of thirteen) employ a tripartite alleluia form, or three utterances of the word alleluia. The limits of this as an accompaniment for Gospel book processions is clear, as they are terse settings, short in duration; yet the potential for extension and repetition by cantor, choir, or congregation can supersede this practical difficulty. While this form demonstrates a marked departure from the Gregorian single Alleluia utterances, the significance of the tripartite form is in its theological associations, specifically its Trinitarian resonances. Triplicates in form attest to this at multiple points in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration; the litanic *kyrie* and *agnus dei* forms; the triple *holy, holy holy* in the Eucharistic Prayer, the Trinitarian greeting and blessing which begin and conclude the celebration. The tripartite form also echoes the Easter Alleluia, the eccentrically simple plainchant Alleluia of the Easter Vigil, and this setting is conspicuous by its absence in *Sing the Mass* repertory, although well–known and still used anecdotally throughout Ireland.

The final significant feature presented by my case study analysis is the treatment of the constituent parts of the word *alleluia* itself, given that the melismatic *jubilus* constitutes the defining feature of the florid Alleluias of the Gregorian repertory. My profiling of compositional approaches shows that, by contrast, the praising and acclamatory nature of the word *alleluia* is variously reflected in the settings. A review of the syllables which are prominent in each setting reveals that only three of the thirteen favour this final syllable, with none treating it melismatically. The syllable to receive the most prominence across the repertory is 'lu', which is prominent in six of the thirteen settings. The varying approaches to

the text indicate less a consideration of the meaning of the constituent parts of the word *alleluia,* than a phonic matching of text with pulse: none of the settings break out of the initially designated time signature, meaning a necessary distribution of text within the given metrical parameters. Within these limits rhythmic energy, drive, and sense of purpose within the melody all contribute to the overall acclamatory effect of each setting.

The journey from the Biblical roots of Alleluia to its contemporary usage has been a comprehensive, but not all–encompassing, one. There is scope from a musicological perspective for further analysis of chant settings. Likewise, further analysis of musical settings in use in Irish liturgical practice today, through fieldwork and qualitative research, could garner deeper clarification on the place of the Alleluia in contemporary society. In our increasingly multicultural and secular Ireland, an exploration of the use of alleluia as an expression of communal praise across multiple faith contexts and musical cultures could provide a locus of new enquiry.

This study has proposed an original thesis in the history of the Alleluia as a discrete musical item in the Roman Rite Eucharistic celebration. It has also conducted an original piece of research through a case study of contemporary Irish liturgical music performance practice. Together, these constitute a substantive original contribution to the field of liturgical musicology, and to the field of research into the Alleluia, with its attendant historical and inherent contradictions. The imperative dialogic and doxological qualities of the Alleluia emerge as singular factors in its relationship to both text and music in liturgical worship. In the final analysis, these paradoxes and contradictions in the history and nature of the Alleluia are to be celebrated, rather than reconciled, as embodying the enduring doxological power of *alleluia* as the ultimate vehicle of Christian praise.

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APPENDIX