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20

THE POLITICS OF
PLAINCHANT IN
FIN-DE-SIECLE FRANCE

KATHARINE ELLIS



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The Politics of Plainchant in *fin-de-siècle* France

This book tells three inter-related stories that radically alter our perspective on plainchant reform at the turn of the twentieth century and highlight the value of liturgical music history to our understanding of French government anticlericalism. It offers at once a new history of the rise of the Benedictines of Solesmes to official dominance over Catholic editions of plainchant worldwide, a new optic on the French liturgical publishing industry during a period of international crisis for the publication of plainchant notation, and an exploration of how, both despite and because of official hostility, French Catholics could bend Republican anticlericalism at the highest level to their own ends.

The narrative relates how Auguste Pécoul, a former French diplomat and Benedictine novice, masterminded an undercover campaign to aid the Gregorian agenda of the Solesmes monks via French government intervention at the Vatican. His vehicle: trades unionists from within the book industry, whom he mobilized into nationalist protest against Vatican attempts to enshrine a single, contested, and German, version of the musical text as canon law. Yet the political scheming necessitated by Pécoul's double involvement with Solesmes and the print unions almost spun out of control as his Benedictine contacts struggled with internal division and anticlerical persecution. The results are as musicologically significant for the study of Solesmes as they are instructive for the study of Church-State relations.

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IN FESTO
IMMACULATÆ CONCEPTIONIS
 Beatæ Mariæ Virginis.

Introitus. Ton. I.

Gaudens gaudé-bo in Dó -
 - mi-no, et ex-sul-tá - bit
 á-ni-ma me - a in De - o me - o:
 qui-a ín - du-it me ve-sti-mén - tis sa -
 - lú - tis. et ín - du-mén-to ju - stí - ti - æ cir -
 - cúm - de - dit me, qua - si spon - sam or - ná - tam
 mo - ní - li - bus su - is. Ps. Ex - al - tá - bo

Graduale de tempore et de sanctis (Regensburg, New York and Cincinnati: Friedrich Pustet, 1871), p. 353 showing Franz Xaver Haberl's chant for the introit 'Gaudens gaudebo in Domino'. It opens the Mass for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, for which Pius IX had commissioned new Proper texts in 1863.

For Sonia, wise and true friend

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Preface

This book arose by accident. The research catalysed by a single folder in the Archives Historiques de l'Archevêché de Paris in 2005 developed into a detective investigation of unforeseen complexity and obsessive grip for which I can only apologize to those indulgent souls – my husband Nigel above all – whom I have regaled with its intricacies. Enabled by an AHRC Small Grant in the Creative and Performing Arts and a British Academy Research Development Award, on an intellectual level the project benefited decisively from the knowledge and scholarly openness of various people: Catrina Flint de Médicis led me towards the initial archival find in Paris; Jean-Pierre Noiseux gave invaluable and generous advice about sources and commented on the entire manuscript, as did David Hiley; and last but certainly not least, a single sentence from Daniel Saulnier transformed the map of the entire book. Sincere thanks also go to staff at the archives of the Archevêché de Paris, to Br Thomas Zanetti O.S.B. at the Abbaye Saint-Wandrille de Fontenelle, to Dom Louis Soltner, Dom Daniel Saulnier and Dom Patrick Hala O.S.B. at the Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, and to all those whose hospitality made my Benedictine visits as restorative as they were fruitful. Among the many librarians and archivists in regional French libraries, who were unfailingly helpful, I owe special thanks to staff at the Archives Diocésaines in Lyon, and to Philippe Ferrand at the Bibliothèque Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence – for granting me access to the seven boxes of uncatalogued papers that comprise the Pécoul archive on Gregorian chant, for allowing me to number its folders, and for providing photographs. I am of course greatly indebted to my anonymous referees, to Mark Everist and Simon Keefe as former and current editor of the RMA Monograph series, and to others who have provided suggestions, support and information: Katherine Bergeron, Tony Cross, Fr Richard Finn, O.P., Rachel Moore, Susan Rankin and Sonia Taylor. Finally, warm thanks are due to the team at Ashgate, who have supported the project through production with efficiency and care. The misapprehensions and errors of fact that inevitably remain are mine alone.

The history that has resulted from this research is so complex, and much of its archival source-base so unruly, that I would be foolish to claim that I have reached every corner of it. But this extended essay offers what I hope is a useful step forward. One aspect of the narrative is likely to appear strikingly topical. It concerns the tension between individual and collective intellectual property rights that became fatally enmeshed with the process of chant restoration and liturgical publication at Solesmes. Just as the move of its senior palaeographer, Dom Joseph Pothier, to another abbey in 1893, raised questions of ownership and dissemination rights no one had hitherto needed to ask,

so, as I write, my own academic community in the United Kingdom faces new intellectual property challenges relating not only to research ownership but also, in a flexible and competitive labour market, to the institutional right to claim credit (and associated State funding) for any demonstrable public benefit or ‘impact’ the active dissemination of that research might yield over a period of up to 25 years. We are engaging in an experiment as to who owns what, and for how long, after a researcher’s first or further move to an institution other than that which fostered the initial work. Where academics’ research is concerned it is even unclear how much longer the traditional waiver of employer copyright, in favour of the individual scholar, will last. Furthermore we are grappling with the niceties of what should happen if the research itself is split between institutions, either from the outset or over time, and of rights over ‘impact’ if a researcher who has changed institution returns to earlier work, to revise it in light of new evidence. Yet these are not new problems. Those faced by the French Benedictines of the 1890s and 1900s were strikingly similar, which makes the monastic politics of *fin-de-siècle* plainchant, and their shifting relationship with the state and with government, appear suddenly resonant. Given the fraught nature of what happened, they also appear discomfiting enough to force the question: if this aspect of the Solesmes story can be read as an allegory – and I think it can – will we collectively heed its message?

Katharine Ellis

List of Abbreviations

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES: FRENCH REGIONS

<i>AIXm</i>	Aix-en-Provence: Bibliothèque Méjanes
<i>Boa</i>	Bordeaux: Archives Départementales de la Gironde
<i>Lad</i>	Lille: Archives Départementales du Nord
<i>LYai</i>	Lyon: Archives Diocésaines
<i>Rad</i>	Rouen: Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime
<i>Sad</i>	Strasbourg: Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin
<i>SO (mon.)</i>	Solesmes: Archives Monastiques de l'Abbaye de Saint-Pierre
<i>SO (paléo.)</i>	Solesmes: Archives Paléographiques de l'Abbaye de Saint-Pierre
<i>*SWF</i>	Saint-Wandrille: Archives de l'Abbaye Saint-Wandrille de Fontenelle

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES: PARIS

<i>*AHAP</i>	Archives Historiques de l'Archevêché de Paris
<i>*MAE</i>	Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères
<i>Pan</i>	Archives Nationales
<i>Pn</i>	Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

OTHER

<i>SCR</i>	Sacred Congregation of Rites
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* Asterisked archive sigla are supplementary to those in RISM listings.



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Prologue

In a book chapter of 1991 colourfully entitled ‘Why Republicans and Catholics Couldn’t Stand Each Other in the Nineteenth Century’, the historian Ralph Gibson took issue with Theodore Zeldin on the thorny matter of Third-Republic anticlericalism in France. Contrary to Zeldin’s view that after 1870 more united these opposing factions than divided them, Gibson argued that the superficial similarity of Republican and Catholic views on family, property, alcohol, sexual mores, and women’s subservience to men, could not compensate for deeper antipathies of principle which effectively rendered them two incompatible religions locked in civil war. Moreover, he added, even when the Dreyfus affair of the late 1890s allied the clergy to the army, the two sides were irreconcilable on questions of national loyalty and patriotism. Catholics, especially within the religious orders, were Catholics: they looked to Rome first, and France second; Republicans were citizens, and looked to France alone.¹ Perhaps because questions of nation, identity and Republican enthusiasm for ideological control of French culture have come under particular scrutiny and have thereby spotlighted an essential point of dispute, recent work within musicology has tended to sit closer to Gibson’s view than to Zeldin’s.²

This book picks up aspects of the same conversation from a new perspective. It uses the history of plainchant publication to illustrate how even the hardline government anticlericalism of the 1890s and 1900s could be neutralized, reversed, circumvented or subverted, given the right cultural conditions. Touch the correct Republican buttons – workers’ rights, national pride, cultural supremacy, or the preservation of a glorious heritage – and anticlericals could find their loyalties split and their decision-making suddenly complicated. They could also find themselves working willingly in support of Catholics who displayed the requisite care and consideration for official French values, or be persuaded to set aside the idea that a cause was itself ‘Catholic’ and to concentrate instead on its more obviously Republican merits. The results are not simply a reflection of the effectiveness of Pope Leo XIII’s plea of 1892 for ‘Ralliement’ – for French clergy and lay Catholics to find a way to cohabit productively with the Republican government to which he had given belated official recognition. Neither do they confound the familiar binaries of Catholic and Republican; indeed,

¹ Ralph Gibson, ‘Why Republicans and Catholics Couldn’t Stand Each Other in the Nineteenth Century’, in Frank Tallett and Nicholas Atkin (eds), *Religion, Society and Politics in France since 1789* (London, 1991), pp. 107–20, at pp. 107–8; pp. 116–17.

² For two important studies of such questions see Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: from the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York and Oxford, 1999) and Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2009).

they sometimes depend on them. Instead, they do something more interesting. They offer a precious case study of anticlerical boundaries and trade-offs – of the maximum social, cultural and economic price the French government was willing to pay to weaken Catholic influence on French life, and of the level of potential benefit necessary to transform anticlerical policy into supportive action in matters of Catholic concern.

Plainchant, then, tested the mettle of French anticlericalism. It could do so partly because of the manner in which it was itself highly politicized within Catholic circles. Different traditions of plainchant in parts of Spain, Germany and Italy were a matter of local and national pride, yet in the name of unity officials at the Vatican spent the last third of the century guiding its notated form towards the status of canon law. Whose plainchant would emerge victorious, and which runners-up would be permitted to remain in use? These were matters of international importance liturgically, culturally and commercially, and French Catholics and the French government each had a recognizable stake in the outcome. Moreover, on a cultural and musicological level, while progress theories thrived elsewhere we find a countervailing view gaining ground vis-à-vis plainchant. Unlike youthful genres such as the symphony, for instance, or opera, plainchant did not ‘develop’ as it aged through history. It degenerated. According to this view, which was most successfully pursued by Benedictines at Solesmes in the north-west of France, while organic and local change weakened a ‘pure’ Gregorian chant through centuries of practice, the Counter-Reformation fatally stunted its medieval beauty when the Council of Trent commissioned an abridged edition of the Gradual – the so-called Medicean [Medici] Edition of 1614/15 – as part of the imperative to rebuff Protestant charges about luxuriant aesthetic abuse by restoring textual clarity and intelligibility to the sung liturgy. Thereafter, degeneration had merely accelerated, in France as elsewhere, and in the teeth of opposition from those who preferred modern music in church, and those who used plainchant but were settled in post-Tridentine ways, from the 1860s onwards it became the French Benedictines’ signature project to stop the rot and to replace post-Tridentine chaos with a full restoration of the ‘original’ Gregorian vision. The musicological detail of their controversial project would fill another book, and is of only secondary importance here. What matters more is the standard narrative that after four decades of research, public advocacy, publication, and diplomacy at the Vatican, the Solesmes Benedictines eventually won the plainchant competition: their Gregorian revival finally attained generalized Vatican approbation under a new pope, Pius X, in November 1903, followed in April 1904 by the award of an explicit leadership role in the production of a model plainchant text to be used internationally. The outcome was not only the production of the first Vatican Edition (1908–13) but, thereafter, the placing of the monks of Saint-Pierre de Solesmes at the head of chant research on behalf of the Catholic church worldwide.

What, then, of France specifically? Traditional claims to national exceptionalism notwithstanding, the country's situation was indeed unusual within Europe. The *ancien régime* had seen distinctive plainchant-based practices contribute to a fully fledged musical liturgy supported by a network of cathedral choir schools and supplied with a variety of seventeenth-century plainchant books that survived the Revolution and were eventually reinstated, in revised form, during the French Catholic revival that followed the 1814 Restoration and the 1830 July Monarchy. Before that, Napoléon I had fundamentally changed the nature of the relationship between the French State and the Vatican in ways intended to retain control of the Church within France: the Concordat of 1801 made French bishops state employees first and foremost, thereby mitigating any individual's capacity to lead a diocese towards full embrace of ultramontane (i.e. Vatican-defined) principles. More aggressively, with the Organic Articles of 1802 (which no pope ever signed) the French state gave itself a veto over any Vatican decree with which it disagreed.³ Neither was revoked until the formal Separation of Church and State in 1905.

For the whole of the century, then, canon law and French law were muddled. That did not matter too much during periods of monarchy and empire, and indeed it was between the 1830s and the 1860s that Catholic France experienced its most striking acceleration of institutional expansion and renewal. Once the Charter of 1814 had made Catholicism the state religion, even King Louis-Philippe (ruled 1830–48), who was so unenthusiastic about institutional Catholicism that he closed his own royal chapel, could exert little braking power. It was from 1830 that many of the cathedral choir schools destroyed by the Revolution were reinstated; that a French liturgical publishing industry began in earnest;⁴ that the monastic orders regrouped, with Dom Prosper Guéranger founding the French Benedictine congregation at Saint-Pierre de Solesmes in 1833; and that in response to the Vatican's increasing determination to unify the liturgy irrespective of international borders and customs, France began, with Guéranger

³ Article 1 of the 1802 law read: 'No bull, brief, rescript, decree, mandate, provision, signature serving as a provision, or other missive from Rome, even relating to private individuals, may be received, published, printed or otherwise put into practice, without government authorization.' [Aucune bulle, bref, rescrit, décret, mandat, provision, signature servant de provision, ni autres expéditions de la cour de Rome, même ne concernant que les particuliers, ne pourront être reçus, publiés, imprimés, ni autrement mis à exécution, sans l'autorisation du Gouvernement.] I use original orthography throughout.

⁴ For an insight into the most extreme manifestation of this phenomenon there is no better guide than Howard Bloch's monograph on the cut-price publishing empire of the abbé Jacques-Paul Migne, whose Ateliers Catholiques published a book 'every ten days for thirty years' between 1836 and 1868 – a staggering total of over 1,000 new publications targeted at a rapidly expanding clergy. Howard Bloch, *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne* (Chicago and London, 1994), p. 1. Migne did not print liturgical music, but the example is still instructive.

himself as a driving force, to move away from diversified Gallican traditions and towards liturgical unity with Rome. Accordingly, during the 1840s and 1850s, administrative centralization from Paris was countered by its ultramontane version – though not without resistance both from within the Catholic community and from without.

Musically speaking, the Second Empire was even more propitious for Catholic expansion. Where Louis-Philippe's government had in 1834 closed the state-funded school for sacred music run by Alexandre Choron, in 1853 the government of Napoléon III opened a new one, the Ecole Niedermeyer, to train organists and choirmasters via a diet which replaced musical traditions that were sacred only by virtue of their text, with a repertory centred on Bach, Palestrina, and plainchant. But politically speaking the events of 1869–70 changed a great deal. The fall of the Second Empire and the declaration of the Third Republic in 1870 coincided with the First Vatican Council (1869–70), at which Gallican clergy, now seen as French-leaning, were routed by ultramontane French Catholics who helped pass the vote to institute papal infallibility. As France became more ultramontane in its brand of Catholicism, Republicans became more anticlerical; and by 1879, with a Republican government confidently in place, Gibson's two 'religious' extremes – which we can now term ultramontane Catholicism and official French Republicanism – were truly oppositional. A new wave of anticlerical laws culminated in the 1901 'Loi d'Association', which rendered 500 monastic orders illegal and allowed the French government to seize and sell their property on behalf of the French state. Therein lies the irony that by 1903, when a repertory deemed French because of its early dissemination by Charlemagne and its restoration by French Catholics based in France finally achieved decisive Vatican recognition, the entire Solesmes community was *persona non grata*, exiled mostly in Belgium or in England. Moreover, because the monks at Saint-Pierre had been forced to move their publishing operations out of the country it was debatable whether the material product of their chant books was French at all.

By 1907 the Ecole Niedermeyer had placed nearly 300 church organists and 41 choirmasters across the country.⁵ It remains unclear, however, what they actually did. Musicologically, we have only a sketchy idea of which communities sang what, and for how long, or of how aesthetic, practical and canonical imperatives intersected during periods of transition. And yet, perhaps because the trauma of the Revolution had made Catholic France exceptionally protective of its *ancien régime* traditions, plainchant remained in general use, in a variety of forms, longer than elsewhere. However, the archival record within diocesan and French département collections is patchy, and one finds that a richness of sources up to the Revolution is often followed

⁵ Ikuno Sako, 'The Importance of Louis Niedermeyer in the Reform of Nineteenth-Century Church Music in France' (PhD Diss., University of Melbourne, 2007), pp. 210–49.

by relative dearth for the periods of rebuilding that followed.⁶ The invaluable series of weekly diocesan newsletters that spread across France under the *Semaine religieuse* banner, and which complements the broadsheet and specialist periodical press, starts only in the 1860s, and its acid-paper copies are disintegrating faster than library priorities can see them digitized. Moreover, while the period boasts abundant published narratives of degeneracy and reformism, some of them draw so closely on erroneous accounts that they do little more than solidify historiographical myth, and as many are anonymous or pseudonymous polemics. In short, there is a lot still to do with an uneven source-base that is neither well mapped nor well understood. Linking practice, culture, policy and debate in historically explanatory fashion is no small challenge.

The archival find that catalysed this book involved documents revealing how federated French print unions representing thousands of workers lobbied government ministers during the 1890s, copying their protests to Cardinal François-Marie Richard de la Vergne, Archbishop of Paris, to try to preserve from the threat of German overthrow the diversity of plainchant publication France had enjoyed for the previous half-century as part of the Catholic revival.⁷ Their nemesis, the Bavarian publisher Friedrich Pustet of Regensburg, had the ear of the most influential officers within the Vatican and aimed to dominate the international market for plainchant books by having his own edition enshrined in canon law as the sole authorized text. He had won monopoly rights to the printing of a new luxury edition of the Medicean text in 1868, and it did not take long to see how ambitiously he planned to build on it.

Familiar though they may be, the implications for France of Pustet's privilege need summary treatment here in order to flesh out the questions of patriotic and protectionist grievance the print unions deployed in their various petitions. In the context of Vatican discussion about the merits of establishing a single official edition of chant, on behalf of the Vatican's committee on liturgical policy – the Sacred Congregation of Rites – its then Secretary, Mgr Domenico Bartolini, granted Pustet a 30-year exclusive privilege on 1 October 1868 in return for his offer to prepare and publish an official folio edition of the Medicean Gradual of 1614/15.⁸ Pustet was to restore the original text, and to add newly-composed chants to cater for festivals authorized or revised since 1615 – such as the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (see Frontispiece).

⁶ This archival imbalance across the Revolutionary divide is well illustrated in the pathbreaking documentary study of plainchant in small French communities by Xavier Bisaro: *Chanter toujours: plain-chant et religion villageoise dans la France moderne (XVIe–XIXe siècle)* (Rennes, 2010).

⁷ AHAP: 2 G 1, 2 folder 'Edition de chant grégorien. Protestations contre le Privilège Pustet'.

⁸ Bartolini (1813–87) had been Secretary to the SCR since 1861, and was made its Prefect in 1878.

He was to do so entirely at his own expense and supposedly under the watchful eye of a select Vatican commission. The new chants were to be composed by the Cecilian and editor of Palestrina, Franz Xaver Haberl, whose enthusiasm for the project was driven by his mistaken belief that Palestrina had himself contributed to the Medici edition.

The mismatch between the informality of process leading to this agreement and the enormity of its consequences invited suspicion. So did the litany of extra concessions that followed. First, to 'compensate' Pustet for the financial demands of the undertaking, a further privilege was issued on 11 March 1869 to cover smaller and more saleable versions of his new books, so long as they appeared after the monumental folio edition.⁹ More slippage ensued: not only did Pustet request and gain approval from the SCR for the smaller-format editions before the folio edition was complete, but from January 1870 while Vatican I was in session he also began a publicity campaign aimed at an international market, seeking a whole series of further endorsements. In prefatory material he began to claim increasing numbers of his chant books as official contributions to Gregorian chant restoration (despite the post-Tridentine date of his sources) and to present them as a recommended means of effecting the unity of chant ardently desired by Pope Pius IX.¹⁰

In an unwelcome expression, for any French patriot, of sympathy with the birth pains of a unified Germany, two of the endorsements Pustet secured from the SCR explicitly accepted his reasoning that the delay in the appearance of the folio edition was due to the 'difficulties of the times'.¹¹ Those times, of course, took in the Franco-Prussian War, the sacrifice of Alsace-Lorraine, the forcing of its French inhabitants either to leave or to adopt German nationality, and the occupation of several French cities by Prussian troops. Subsequent documents showed worrying signs that the Vatican was supporting what we would now call 'mission creep' to an extent amounting to decisive German favouritism. By the end of 1878, via an endorsement of 15 November from the new pope, Leo XIII, Pustet was described as the official printer to the Vatican and purveyor of the most accurate edition in Rome – an 'authentic' edition.¹² Such language, combined with the string of claims to unique authority that Pustet added to his front-matter and the intellectual defences published by his editor Haberl, began to seem threatening to the wider ecology of plainchant editions, and to the freedom to undertake and apply research such as that of Solesmes, which pointed

⁹ Mgr Robert Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Harrison, NY, 1979), p. 153.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5. One result of the series of announcements from the SCR was that the expiry date of the 30-year privilege itself became unclear: 1898 (in line with the original decree), 1901 (dating from the first edition of the Gradual ready for sale in 1871) or even 1903 (dating from the appearance of the monumental folio edition in 1873).

¹¹ Endorsements of 12 January 1871 and 27 November 1873, in *ibid.*, pp. 154, 156.

¹² Text in *ibid.*, p. 157.

in a very different direction. Also at stake in France were pride and tradition, and the continuity of a musical experience with which men and women of all social classes would have been able to identify: the sung Mass. The whole story extended across the reign of three popes – Pius IX, Leo XIII and Pius X – and crossed from the Catholic-friendly Second Empire to the anticlerical and highly centralist Third Republic that would finally effect the Separation of Church and State in 1905.

Here, I thought, was an ideal project on local variation in French Catholic musical experience as seen through the unusual prism of labour history. Moreover, the story unfolded during a time of nationalist stress not too distant from the French defeat of 1870 by Prussia, and when a new unity of liturgical practice was supposedly already in place across France. Local pockets of resistance would surely yield rich detail on a variety of practices and expectations across the country. There were further, counter-intuitive, aspects of interest: well beyond the period of early 1890s Ralliement, French civil servants and ministers alike were taking the printworkers' grievances seriously, and the unions themselves were extraordinarily (indeed, suspiciously) well-informed about Vatican policy-making. The more I read, the more the political story of this defence of liberty in French chant publication demanded attention. Finally, there was growing concern within the print and publishing industry about a second and apparently equally centralizing force – none other than the Solesmes Benedictines – who seemed poised to displace Pustet and to replace one Vatican monopoly with another. Since the unions scored an apparently resounding victory over 'Belgian' Solesmes books in July 1904 by precipitating a government circular discouraging the use of non-French plainchant editions, the story also seemed to offer a fascinating instance of Republican resistance to an unauthorized and unwelcome form of centralization, and of the exercise of French anticlericalism via protectionist support for patriotic workers.

I was wrong on several counts. The story was both richer and darker, with a cruel twist in the early 1890s. The relationship between the aggrieved printworkers and Solesmes was entirely different from that which their petitions to ministers indicated, and it threw into question every hypothesis emanating from my initial archival find. There were pseudonyms, codenames, half-truths and epistolary winks between those in the know. All got in the way of a clear perspective. The story that finally emerged was of an outrageous and largely successful attempt at subterfuge undertaken via the French government, at the Vatican, on behalf of the Benedictines. It was, however, a venture which turned sour because of doctrinal and political fissure within the very community the original subterfuge was supposed to help. And it culminated in the paradoxical phenomenon of Emile Combes, who was at once France's *Président du Conseil* [Prime Minister] and *Ministre de l'Intérieur*, using the weapons of Republican anticlericalism in unintentional support of an exiled monk from a congregation that

Combes's own courts had judged illegal. For the unions' July 1904 victory over Solesmes was not, as it had seemed, that of French workers in liturgical music publishing vanquishing a centralist and unpatriotic (now 'foreign') Benedictine business about to deprive them of income. In fact, it was not primarily their victory at all. Rather, it was a disguised attack aimed at one side of a Benedictine chant divide, and launched indirectly on behalf of the other.

Had the 1904 circular discouraging foreign plainchant in French dioceses signalled a purely commercial and protectionist victory for French industry, it would still have offered valuable insight into why, with Separation of Church and State looming, a government ministry led by an extreme anticlerical such as Combes should have agreed to help a broadly Catholic cause; it would also have revealed how obvious the general area of 'political tipping-point' appeared to astute observers keen to exploit its instability for their own ends. But knowledge of the post-1893 Benedictine politics that precipitated the circular sharpens the focus considerably. Would the outcome have been the same had Combes and his officers been aware that there were two competing Benedictine plainchant traditions in play, and that they were helping decide their respective commercial fates? The evidence suggests not.

As is clear from their interweaving into the discussion thus far, the Solesmes Benedictines are central to this book's exploration of anticlerical politics. Musicologically speaking, they are also central in and of themselves, because of the unexpectedly new historiography that emerges from analysis of the wider import of chant publication in France. Accordingly, what follows is in effect a revisionist version of a seemingly familiar narrative – that of Gregorian chant politics within the congregation of Solesmes across the turn of the century. It is well known that those politics were fraught, but the embedding of the unions' story within it allows us to reconceptualize the increasingly dysfunctional relationship between Dom Joseph Pothier, who led the Solesmes plainchant revival from the 1860s, and his pupil Dom André Mocquereau, who arrived at the abbey in 1875 and led its palaeographical operations from 1893. On the basis of new evidence I argue that, where chant was concerned, the internal power relationship between the two men was decisively reversed from early 1893 because of the institutional crisis that lay behind Dom Pothier's move from Saint-Pierre de Solesmes to become Prior at Saint-Martin de Ligugé, and because of the steps the monks of Saint-Pierre subsequently took to protect the intellectual property rights vested in the research he had led there. Concomitantly I suggest that Dom Mocquereau's intellectual legacy is more complex than many modern scholars have suspected, and that his intellectual and musical differences with Dom Pothier, as evidenced in their editions, writings and public statements, are at root a consequence of the institutional competitiveness catalysed by the 1893 crisis, of new commercial imperatives that mapped onto internal divides within the congregation, of the ways in which internal

politics intersected with anticlerical policies pursuant to the 1901 Loi d'Association, and of the need for the younger monk to build a profile for Solesmes that was distinct from that of a former mentor who nevertheless remained, to outsiders, the doyen of Gregorian chant research.

How, then, are these two stories of plainchant publication – that of the unions and that of the monks – linked, and how precisely did the subversion of Republican anticlericalism work? The answers are tortuous; indeed the best way of explaining them is by analogy with the structure of a multiply-connected maze. Near its entrance lies the arena of civil politics and international diplomacy, of publishers, unionized workers and the workers' lawyer. A little deeper in, and we find that the trades-union contribution is only indirectly civil: it is better described as a political cover for a Benedictine propaganda project that cannot be undertaken openly and which is led by a third party from beyond abbey walls. That propaganda project, however, hits a series of dead ends from 1893. It turns back and in on itself because of a crisis of internal politics made worse by the partisan activity of a former monastic novice – activity that brings ever more complicated changes of direction. Finally, at the centre of the maze, we meet a lone individual. He is at once the lawyer, the third party and the monastic novice – the hidden connection between the maze's three layers. He alone can lead us back to the entrance, and we must understand his story if we are not to misunderstand the others.



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The Invisible Man

Anonymity was his invariable guarantee to those from whom he requested information, and invisibility his stock in trade. Publishing widely beneath a succession of masks while nevertheless evading citation, press debate, biographical dictionaries and posthumous recognition, from a house just off the Place de la Concorde in Paris and from his family mansion at Draveil (now rather close to Orly airport), an independently wealthy former diplomat whose novitiate at Solesmes had been halted by family tragedy was by turns the mastermind and orchestrator of a turn-of-the-century battle with the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of Rites (SCR) over the future of plainchant. His ostensible role from 1891 to 1904 was to act as 'lawyer' to a broad coalition of French print unions who aimed to prevent the German publisher Friedrich Pustet of Regensburg, and his editor the Palestrina scholar Franz Xaver Haberl, from suffocating a vibrant French industry in the publication of liturgical chant. His battles had, however, started in earnest as a solitary journalistic campaign in 1889, and from 1891 his primary aim had little to do with unions: it was to help his Benedictine friend Dom Joseph Pothier (1835–1923) secure a place for Solesmes chant reform at the centre of liturgical practice, via audacious undercover diplomacy that ran first in parallel to, and then in conflict with, an intellectual campaign led by Pothier's former pupil and younger colleague Dom André Mocquereau (1849–1930). His role as 'intermediary extraordinaire' is testimony to the extreme anxiety of a body of researchers two generations' worth of whose palaeographical findings seemed to be on a collision course with emerging canon law and whose place within the French polity was, to put it mildly, increasingly beleaguered.¹

Over much of the period his daily life was as much a game of political snakes and ladders as it was an expression of unflinching loyalty to a friend in need from his monastic days. Had the Loi d' Association of July 1901 not been promulgated and had the monks within the Solesmes congregation of monasteries remained a cohesive force, the papal *Motu proprio* of 25 April 1904 (*Col nostro*) would have signalled triumph for his Benedictine cause and a modest but probably acceptable victory for the print unions, since the decree announced preparation of an official but (crucially) monopoly-free Vatican Edition of chant, its text to be prepared by the monks of Solesmes working with a commission of

¹ During the period 1880–1922 increasing French anticlericalism meant that the Solesmes community at the abbey of Saint-Pierre was either expelled from or exiled from the monastery itself for all but the six years from 1895 to 1901 plus a brief spell in 1882.

oversight headed by Dom Pothier. Instead, a combination of monastic division and national politics perverted his original goal. His loyalty to Dom Pothier, whose reluctant monastic progress saw him move again, in 1895, from Ligugé to Saint-Martin's own daughter monastery, Saint-Wandrille de Fontenelle, became counterbalanced by such disdain for Dom Mocquereau that the twentieth-century phases of his battle were as much about neutralizing and discrediting what he called the 'New' Solesmes as about carving out a future for the 'Old' – a position cemented after a failed attempt, starting in 1901, to bring the two sides together.²

His techniques were aggressive and exploitative, their success reliant on a combination of information control, manipulation and political spin. He corresponded with groups whose members seem to have been unaware of each other's existence or of their mentor's involvement in spheres other than theirs; he bought the loyalty of the inexperienced by aiding their preferment (he knew everyone who mattered); and he twisted the truth when doing so was useful and deniable. For various reasons he benefited from extraordinary levels of confidentiality from friends and foes alike. Yet he was his own worst enemy. In November 1893, when in lurid terms he leaked details of a doctrinal dispute relating to Solesmes and its neighbouring Benedictine convent of Sainte-Cécile to the anticlerical press, the monks at Saint-Pierre knew precisely where to point the finger. The ensuing war of words had nothing to do with chant; but it ensured that as far as those at Solesmes were concerned its perpetrator contaminated everything he touched – which rendered him as much a liability as a facilitator to the friend he continued to support in chant matters. He was, in short, a prominent and divisive figure in the story of Solesmes, from 1891 to the withdrawal of the Saint-Pierre monks from the Vatican Edition project in 1905 and the débâcle of the rival Vatican (unrhythmed) and 'Solesmes' (rhythmed) chant editions that followed. And his name – when he did not use 'Schmidt', 'Gallo-Romain', or his clients' signatures on a multitude of ghost-written petitions – was Auguste Pécoul (Figure 1.1).

Pécoul, born at the family seat of Villiers, at Draveil, came from Provençal high-bourgeois Catholic stock, the family having since the eighteenth century made its fortune in the Martinique sugar and rum trades.³ He entered Solesmes in 1860 and left in 1863, when as sole heir

² References to 'Old Solesmes' in current literature usually refer to the traditions of Dom Mocquereau (as distinct from Dom Cardine's innovations of the 1950s). Here, by contrast, they refer to Dom Pothier throughout.

³ b. Draveil, 20 November 1837; d. Lausanne, 3 November 1916. The most detailed biography, which nevertheless omits mention of plainchant, is by local historian Jacques Macé: *Les fantômes de Villiers: chronique du château de Villiers à Draveil de 1550 à nos jours* (Draveil, 1997), esp. pp. 107–21.



Figure 1.1 Auguste Pécoul at the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Solesmes c.1860.

of Villiers since the death of his second and last sibling, he yielded to pressure from his mother to secure the family line.⁴ After entering

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 107–8. As correspondence with Dom Guéranger reveals, the death of Pécoul's younger brother Edgard in 1859 was an obstacle to his entry at Solesmes (see Guéranger to Pécoul, 26 November [1859], *Pan*: 376 AP 26 folder 6). Further notes from the abbey (19 November 1859 and 20 November 1860) confirm the fierce resistance of Pécoul's mother in particular, in the face of a vocation that was already six years old when

the Ecole des Chartes and writing a thesis on the abbey of Cluny in Burgundy (1865) he served as attaché to the French ambassadors to Madrid (from summer 1866) and the Holy See (from November 1868). In Rome he met his future wife, with whom the history of his childhood breavements repeated itself cruelly: of their three children, two died in young adulthood – their son in 1904, and Pécoul's adored younger daughter two years later. On 'retirement' from the diplomatic service in 1870 he served briefly as a town councillor in Draveil (1870–72) and pursued the study of canon law, amassing a library of around 20,000 books which he later donated to the Bibliothèque Méjanès in Aix-en-Provence. He remained closely involved in non-musical developments at the Vatican up to 1906 and devoted twenty years and significant wealth to the establishment of the Musée Ochier de Cluny, where he was its founding curator but where his name is apparently forgotten.⁵ As will become clear, the networks he established during the 1860s, together with his insider knowledge of monastic, Vatican and diplomatic life, rendered him the perfect undercover agent in the turbulent *fin-de-siècle* politics of plainchant.

Within studies of chant reform authored by Benedictines from Solesmes, Pécoul has either been avoided or has remained in the shadows. Both forms of neglect are attributable to the fact that lifting this particular stone would have revealed more than was bearable, especially given the fallout from his part in the events of 1893. Indeed, the causes, consequences and memories of '1893' itself were so painful that only recently has historical transparency begun to replace silence. The detailed but tantalizingly incomplete account of Solesmes chant restoration by the abbey's former archivist Dom Pierre Combe mentions Pécoul only from 1901; moreover he appears as if from nowhere as an enemy without a cause via a paraphrase of Ernesto Moneta-Caglio (one of Combe's Italian secondary sources) which is equally allusive.⁶

he entered Solesmes (*Par*: 376 AP 26 folder 1). Abbey records are unclear, indicating entry on either 20 March or 20 November 1860; but the document of 20 November 1860 cited above specifically mentions Pécoul's 'prise d'habit' (his taking on of monastic clothing) as a momentous event all the more symbolic for taking place on his birthday.

⁵ Macé, *Les fantômes*, pp. 116–17.

⁶ See Dom Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. †Theodore N. Marier and William Skinner (Washington, D.C., 2003). The original, entitled *Histoire de la restauration du chant grégorien d'après des documents inédits: Solesmes et l'Édition Vaticane*, was published by Solesmes in 1969. I reference both French and English versions throughout. Combe's own bibliography, which complemented his archival work at Solesmes with insights from the Vatican archives, was entirely Italian, based on articles published by the Jesuit priest Fr Francesco Bauducco in the *Bollettino Ceciliano* and the *Civiltà cattolica* between 1961 and 1968, and by Mgr Ernesto Moneta-Caglio in *Musica sacra*, Milan (1960–64). Cited in Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 466–7; *Restoration*, pp. 435–6. The most extensive study, also most extensively used by Combe, is Moneta-Caglio's, 'Dom André Mocquereau e la restaurazione del Canto gregoriano', *Musica sacra*, Milan 84/1 (January–February 1960) – 87/3 (May–June 1963). Pécoul appears twice, briefly, and is introduced simply as a former Solesmes novice who had since become the abbey's implacable enemy (*ibid.*, 86/3: May–June 1962, p. 72).

And while the book's genesis as a series of articles doubtless explains some of the lacunae, it cannot account for the consistency with which the text becomes opaque at precisely those points in the post-1900 narrative where Pécoul and his unions feature. To say as much is not to downplay the importance of Combe's account; it is simply to acknowledge its limits.⁷ It is possible that in the 1960s Combe could not be sure of Pécoul's early, and positive, involvement with the campaign to promote Solesmes chant, but equally likely that he had no wish to look very hard for proof. Whatever the case, his research methods, which involved filleting boxes of correspondence to create new archive files of relevant material, left most of the evidence for Pécoul's early 1890s connections in what seemed during my research of 2010/11 to be their original locations within Dom Mocquereau's correspondence.⁸ An unpublished typescript 'supplement' of January 1973, written after Combe had seen Saint-Wandrille files that confirmed many of his suspicions about Pécoul's unions-related activity, also begins the story from 1901 only.⁹ Its contribution to the hidden politics of Solesmes lies in the fact that in it Combe misidentifies a mysterious 'good Mr Schmidt'. 'Schmidt' was Pécoul's alter ego, as Combe might have known had he paid closer attention to earlier Saint-Wandrille sources, along with clues in a couple of Pécoul's letters of 1892 to the Abbot of Solesmes, Dom Paul Delatte.¹⁰ The details are telling. Seemingly foxed by Pécoul's custom of referring to himself by this codename, on the basis of a letter from Pécoul to Dom Lucien David (26 June 1905), Combe described 'Schmidt' as attached to one of the print unions; a similar letter from two days later prompted him to cast Pécoul as one of Schmidt's 'army reserves'. Ironically, Pécoul had bragged in this very letter of 28 June that in a phase of the battle that precipitated nothing less than Dom Delatte's resignation as Abbot of Solesmes the same day,¹¹ and which would signal Solesmes' temporary withdrawal from

⁷ We find the same reticence 20 years later in a retrospective by the then choirmaster at Solesmes, Dom Jean Claire: he mentions no politics but follows Combe's teleology of the pupil overtaking the master; he also provides the germ of a 'Romantic'/'modernist' split between Pothier and Mocquereau respectively, explained as an example of generational change focusing on differences over the *Paléographie musicale* in 1888/89. See Dom Jean Claire, 'Dom André Mocquereau cinquante ans après sa mort', *Études grégoriennes*, 19 (1980): pp. 2–23, at p. 5. In addition, Hayburn's immensely useful documentary account of the various chant-related battles nevertheless omits all mention of internal Benedictine politics until 1905 – and even then they must be inferred (Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, p. 263). Hayburn's work at Solesmes was undertaken in consultation with Dom Combe and Dom Joseph Gajard.

⁸ Dom Mocquereau's incoming correspondence, which used to be grouped by sender in ancient shoeboxes devoted to particular years, is now being reorganized and recatalogued.

⁹ Combe's 1973 supplement, entitled 'La restauration du chant grégorien. Etude historique. Complément', is conserved at Pn Musique 4° Vm pièce 348.

¹⁰ Letters of 27 April, 7 August and especially 10 August 1892. *SO (paléo.)*.

¹¹ Dom Delatte was promptly re-elected by his community in October 1905. See Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 413–14; *Restoration*, p. 367.

the Vatican Edition project, Mr Schmidt had remained ‘invisible to the naked eye’.¹²

The literature emanating from Saint-Wandrille shows the reverse of the coin. In the mid-1940s, Dom Lucien David, Pothier’s closest aide in Rome, paid tribute to him in a biographical study whose writing of Mocquereau out of the script of Gregorian triumph at the Vatican did nothing to heal relations with Solesmes, despite its studious avoidance of such dangerous territory as Pécoul’s contribution to events.¹³ Dom Albert-Jacques Bescond – writing in the 1970s in response to Combe, and looking to defend Dom Pothier where Combe had found him wanting – avoids such territory too.¹⁴ Nearly thirty years after Dom David’s death, the abbey published his more extended biographical study of Dom Pothier, now revised by Dom Joseph Thiron in light of both Combe and Bescond, and benefiting from warmer relations with Solesmes which included the exchange of archive documents. While Dom Mocquereau’s visibility increased therein, Pécoul’s invisibility remained total, as did that of David himself where his personal contribution to the Vatican Edition’s genesis was concerned.¹⁵ Finally, the published work of Dom Hugues Leroy, who ran and contributed to the Saint-Wandrille periodical *Gesta* for many years from its inception in 1997, indicates in a single footnote of 2001 his knowledge of a network involving Pécoul, Pothier and the unions, and a connection with the Ministère des Cultes; but it does so in an elliptical fashion that begs more questions than it answers.¹⁶

Modern accounts from non-Benedictine sources fall into three main categories: medieval studies; musicological studies of changing chant practice in the nineteenth century; and pedagogical studies disseminating the Solesmes method. Among Combe’s bibliographical sources, Moneta-Caglio’s extensive study of Dom Mocquereau deserves special mention, caught as its author is between the implications of a narrative that effectively stops at 1905 (at which point Solesmes had withdrawn, hurt, from participation in the Vatican Edition), and a wish to champion Dom Mocquereau, the eventual victor over Dom Pothier. As with Combe’s account, but potentially for different reasons,

¹² Pécoul to David, *SWF*: 1 W 23, 26 June 1905, no. 247 and 28 June 1905, no. 252: ‘M Schmidt est demeuré invisible à l’œil nu’. Cited in Combe, ‘Complément’, pp. 16–17.

¹³ Dom Lucien David, *Dom Joseph Pothier abbé de Saint-Wandrille et la restauration du chant grégorien* (Saint-Wandrille, 1943).

¹⁴ Dom Albert-Jacques Bescond, *Le chant grégorien* [1972], rev. ed. Giedrius Gapsys (Paris, 2000).

¹⁵ Dom Lucien David, revised and completed by Dom Joseph Thiron, ‘Dom Joseph Pothier abbé de Saint-Wandrille et la restauration du chant grégorien’, *L’abbaye S. Wandrille de Fontenelle*, 32–36 (1983–87). The final instalment (1987) is an additional chapter by Dom Thiron alone, entitled ‘Dom Pothier intime’. Original manuscript and copy at *SWF*: 1 W (3 and 4).

¹⁶ Dom Hugues Leroy, O.S.B., ‘Les mesures anticléricales de 1880 et 1901 et la congrégation bénédictine de France’, *Gesta*, new series no. 18 (April–June 2001): pp. 53–75 at pp. 66–7.

material that touches on either the politics of revival or the motivations of its central actors is on occasion based on partial or selective evidence, or misapprehension; and the filiation of later literature from Moneta-Caglio via Combe has resulted in the perpetuation of several myths. Moreover, the volatility of Solesmes' fortunes from 1900 onwards has produced its own historiographical warping effect. For, although the Commission of oversight for the preparation of a Vatican Edition, which Pothier chaired, had effectively been non-functional from shortly after the rupture with Solesmes in summer 1905, the terms of its official disbanding in 1913 signalled a decisive transfer of authority back to Dom Mocquereau, and a final return of Vatican-backed Gregorian research to the exiles from Saint-Pierre (Figure 1.2). It became eminently possible, in other words, to compress the Solesmes history and to sideline or reinterpret potentially distracting episodes of struggle in favour of a seamless progression from master to pupil and beyond. At the extreme, 'Solesmes' could almost become monolithic, and moreover such presentation could work equally well within paean, critique or chronicle.



Figure 1.2 Members of the Vatican Commission on Gregorian Chant, with associated experts. Taken at the home of the Saint-Pierre de Solesmes community in exile, Appuldurcombe House, Isle of Wight, 9 September 1904. Front row, L to R (associated experts in italics): Peter Wagner, Angelo de Santi, Dom André Mocquereau, Dom Joseph Pothier, Dom Laurent Janssens, François Perriot, H. Worth. Second row, L to R: *Dom A. Gatard*, *Clément Gaborit*, *P. Guillaume*, Dom Raphael Molitor, Alexandre GrosPELLIER, *M. Moloney*, *Giulio Bas*. Back row, L to R: *A. Booth*, Amédée Gastoué, Dom Michael Horn, René Moissenet, *Dom W. Corney*.

Much work in medieval studies uses such historical compression as shorthand, not least because mention of Solesmes' nineteenth-century history, while perhaps contextually necessary, is unlikely to be the main point. But the same happens where history provides a fundamental basis for critique of more recent traditions at Solesmes itself. Terence Bailey's writing on Dom Joseph Gajard as a purveyor of theories approaching Romantic speculation takes in not only the work of Gajard's predecessor Dom Mocquereau, but also that of Dom Pothier – and in the same terms. William P. Mahrt's performance-based examination of plainchant rhythm laments methodological tunnel vision at Solesmes, again presenting the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a smooth teleology.¹⁷ Compression reappears in a reference work such as David Hiley's *Western Plainchant*;¹⁸ and it is implicit in the otherwise much more nuanced treatment of Solesmes publications in the former Benedictine Michel Huglo's 1996 historical survey of medieval musicology – to which I shall return.¹⁹ Among historical studies, the most recent account, by Robert Wangermée, follows suit.²⁰ And on the pedagogical side, a Solesmes friend and tenacious Mocquereau supporter such as the American Justine Ward airbrushed out the general problem of internal politics via a delicious in-joke. Her 1940s vignette for the faithful presented the Benedictines of the early twentieth century working united on the Vatican Edition against unnamed opponents. However, among those opponents she mentioned the Chair of the Vatican Commission of oversight (none

¹⁷ See Terence Bailey, 'Word-Painting and the Romantic Interpretation of Chant', in Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (eds), *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer* (Ottawa, 1990), pp. 1–15. Bailey compares the entire Benedictine revival pejoratively to that of Viollet-le-Duc and the heavy-handed Victorian restorers of English medieval churches (*ibid.*, pp. 1–2). William P. Mahrt, 'Sacred Music: Chant', in Ross W. Duffin (ed.), *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music* (Bloomington, 2000), pp. 1–22, at pp. 17–19.

¹⁸ In separate portions of his monumental chant handbook, David Hiley discards Mocquereau's chironomic theory – the use of hand gestures to indicate the shape of a musical line – as unprovable (p. 370), describes his rhythmic theory as exemplifying one practice among many (p. 379), and in a coda, almost, to the entire book provides as deft a summary of the Solesmes revival as any, while nevertheless giving the impression of solidarity between Pothier and Mocquereau right up to 1905 (p. 626) and pondering whether the Vatican Edition disagreements were simply inevitable given the project's complexity (p. 627): Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993).

¹⁹ Michel Huglo, 'La recherche en musicologie médiévale au XXe siècle' [*Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 1996], in Huglo, *Les sources du plain-chant et de la musique médiévale* (Aldershot, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 67–84. Among medievalists approaching the Solesmes story as a linear trajectory, see also Mary Berry [Sr Thomas More], 'Gregorian Chant: The Restoration of the Chant and Seventy-Five Years of Recording', *Early Music*, 7/2 (April 1979): pp. 197–217, esp. pp. 199–201 and pp. 203–4; and her notes to *The Gregorian Congress of 1904: Plainchant and Speeches recorded in Rome by The Gramophone Company* (Discant Recordings DIS 1–2 1982).

²⁰ See Robert Wangermée, 'Avant Solesmes. Les essais de rénovation du chant grégorien en France au XIXe siècle', in Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour (eds), '*La la la ... maître Henri: mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 407–14, at pp. 412–14.

other than Dom Pothier), and she ended by recounting a Solesmes tradition whereby the Vatican Edition's weakest chants were reserved for use as artistic penance during Lent. All ostensibly as though it had nothing to do with distaste for Dom Pothier's enduring palaeographical legacy.²¹

Clear breaks in this historiographical tradition come with the work of Katherine Bergeron, Catrina Flint de Médicis and Thomas Muir. Bergeron's studies of Mocquereau as 'modernist' pioneer and Pothier as 'Romantic' dreamer challenge aspects of the unilinear and the monolithic tendencies alike,²² and *pace* a closing historical discussion of the Vatican Edition which is rooted in Combe's account, *Decadent Enchantments*, along with her related work, concentrates on the aesthetics and divergent historical philosophies of the Solesmes restoration story. As it turns out, effects in both areas tend to short-circuit back to political causes; but it is difficult to imagine researchers visiting Saint-Pierre in the 1990s being made aware of that.²³ All the more striking, then, to see Bergeron give Pécoul the closest of musicological shaves, musing as she does on whether Dom Pothier might have authored an article in the *Revue du chant grégorien* of 1895, published under the name 'Schmidt'. She was absolutely right – with one important qualification. Pothier sent the text to Pécoul to adapt as he pleased, and Pécoul published the result under his favourite *nom de plume*.²⁴ The two were thus a doubly-invisible journalistic team. Of the remaining scholars to break the mould, Flint de Médicis, whose main focus in her doctoral thesis is the Schola Cantorum rather than Solesmes itself, deals astutely with the crosscurrents of civil and religious politics in France, but does not, in her analysis of relationship between Charles Bordes and

²¹ See Justine Ward, *Gregorian Chant*, vol. 2: *A Study of Phraseological Rhythm, Psalmody, Form and Aesthetics* (Washington D.C., 1949), pp. 169–70.

²² Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1998). See also her 'A Lifetime of Chants', in Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (eds), *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons* (Chicago and London, 1992), pp. 182–96, and her 'Elite Books, Popular Readers, and the Curious Hundred-Year History of the *Liber Usualis*', in Kate Van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York and London, 2000), pp. 39–65. Jann Pasler's review of *Decadent Enchantments* interprets Bergeron's stance differently, since she perceives her as taking the 'Romantic' side (i.e. that of Dom Pothier) in a polarized debate, and of attacking Dom Mocquereau's 'modernism' in her earlier work. See her review in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52/2 (Summer 1999): pp. 370–83, at p. 373.

²³ Bergeron's main Solesmes contact was Dom Claire, who explained the 'Romantic'/positivist binary of the rival monks in purely generational and philological terms (see Jean Claire, 'Dom André Mocquereau', p. 6; Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, p. 103). I am grateful for her confirmation of my hunch that in conversation at Saint-Pierre, Dom Claire ventured nothing about internal political or doctrinal tensions such as form the core of the present study.

²⁴ Pothier to Pécoul, 22 January, 16 February, 16 September 1895. *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Pothier'. See Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, p. 58. The article was entitled 'La typographie et le plain-chant'. It appeared in both the *Revue du clergé français* and, at Pothier's suggestion of 16 September, the *Revue du chant grégorien* (4/3–4: 15 October–15 November 1895).

Dom Mocquereau, take full account of the fractured political background at Solesmes, which turns out to be especially pertinent given the timing of the Schola's foundation in 1894.²⁵ By contrast, Muir, tracing a panorama of Catholic liturgical music in England, takes the Pothier–Mocquereau rivalry as the springboard for much of his historical analysis of plainchant usage and debate both during and beyond the period of the Solesmes exile on the Isle of Wight, but understandably presents it as a case of simple musical disagreement.²⁶

There remains an important 'outsider'. The only published study of Pécoul's chant-related activism thus far seems to be nested within studies of the History of the Book, in the form of Claude Savart's narrative of 1989 about a diverting find in the files of the Ministère de l'Intérieur et des Cultes held at the Archives Nationales and based around twenty-seven unions-related letters from Pécoul to the energetically anticlerical Charles Dumay, Directeur des Cultes.²⁷ The story takes in the entire sweep of the unions' battle, and an initial reading suggests that we could simply plug this account into Combe and complete the Solesmes history rather neatly. Yet we cannot: Savart's is an incomplete view from a single archive, and his archive also replicates the compartmentalization of user knowledge that represented one of Pécoul's essential techniques of misinformation. It was not for nothing that Pécoul demanded that Dumay have a copy made of any document that might otherwise reach the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in his unusual and easily recognized handwriting: the ministry staff apparently wanted him back; by contrast, he wanted to avoid his continuing interest in such diplomatic affairs becoming known.²⁸ In like vein, Pécoul's signed and apparently frank letters to his 'friend' Dumay²⁹ leave Savart, as they left Dumay himself, unaware

²⁵ Catrena [sic] Flint de Médicis, 'The Schola Cantorum, Early Music, and French Political Culture from 1894 to 1914', 2 vols., PhD Diss., McGill University, 2006, vol. 1, pp. 239–43.

²⁶ T.A. Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791–1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* (Aldershot, 2008). See especially chapters 5 and 10 on plainchant reinterpretation and Solesmes in England, respectively.

²⁷ Claude Savart, 'La querelle des livres de chant liturgique, vue du Ministère des Cultes (1889–1905)', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 64–65 (1989): pp. 295–312. I am grateful to Jean-Pierre Noiseux for pointing me towards this article, based on the contents of *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437. On Dumay's anticlericalism, see M. Prévost et al., *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, vol. 12 (Paris, 1970), col. 152.

²⁸ Pécoul to Dumay, *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437. Dumay seems to have complied, at least until 1902, which is the date of the first document in Pécoul's handwriting to be found in MAE: 'Corr. Politique et Commerciale, 1897–1914 [Nouvelle Série]. Saint-Siège, 97' (henceforth Saint-Siège, N.S. 97.) Pécoul's reticence is also possibly due to the fact that his campaign involved attacking the professional competence of an old diplomat friend: comte Edouard Lefebvre Béhaine, French ambassador to the Holy See, writes to Pécoul as his 'Bon et cher ami' in the 1870s and 1880s. *Pan*: 376 AP 35 folder 'Divers' and 376 AP 37 folder 'Béhaine'.

²⁹ Savart, 'La querelle', p. 297. It is notable, however, that Dumay's extant missives to Pécoul (*Pan*: 376 AP 37 folder 'Dumay', of which Savart cites the last) are much warmer in tone than Pécoul's letters to Dumay.

of his longstanding advocacy for Dom Pothier, his fierce opposition to Dom Mocquereau and Abbot Delatte, and his chant-related (as opposed to his unions-related) pamphleteering. Accordingly Savart sees the relationship between Dumay and Pécoul as one of simple Ralliement complicity. In this reading, a nationalist Catholic sensitive to traditionally Republican causes, and a trusted anticlerical civil servant in charge of religious matters, embark on a joint diplomatic venture of benefit to French secular society. Indirectly, Savart poses my own question, of the 'price' at which the French government is prepared to soften its anticlerical policies. In helping French workers by supporting the Catholic publishing industry, Dumay undoubtedly calculated that the end justified the means, even when those means suddenly involved leniency towards a religious order. But since Dumay was acting on Combes's behalf we can ask the same of him as of his minister: would he have acted thus if he had known that he was, in the end, intervening in a monastic dispute? Savart's data set does not allow him to ask about the implications of Pécoul's multivalence, or about his impact within the history of chant restoration; so he is not led to consider whether Pécoul might have spent nearly fifteen years using the Directeur des Cultes, just as he used two French Ambassadors to the Vatican and even his print union friends, as a vehicle in the furtherance of Dom Pothier's palaeographical cause.³⁰ However, he knows the limitations of an occasional piece and ends with pertinent questions and an invitation to expand his work – an invitation I am pleased to accept.

³⁰ The civil servant Dumay was a constant throughout the campaign; between 1882 and 1896 the French Ambassador to the Holy See was the increasingly ailing comte Lefebvre de Béhaine, who died in 1897, followed by Armand Nisard (to July 1904). At ministerial level (Affaires Etrangères, Commerce and Cultes), turnover was frequently annual. The five papal nuncios who covered the period 1882 to 1904 do not feature in the correspondence received at the Ministère des Cultes.



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2

Romanization, Nationalism, Protectionism

The French plainchant battles of the 1890s and early 1900s traded on long-standing debates opposing art and liturgy, commerce and religion, patriotism and papal authority, liberty and unity, and authenticity, custom, and practical necessity. Passions ran high. Among French publishers fear prevailed of a Vatican decree on liturgical unity that would outlaw all chant editions except those of Pustet, worldwide; and French Benedictines involved in palaeographic work had no wish to see the continuation of their research become a revolt against Rome. Real, too, was concern as to what might fill the vacuum created once the 30-year privilege issued to Pustet by the Vatican in 1868 finally expired: among French publishers many expected a renewal awarded to Pustet himself; but in the intervening period it had also become apparent that any marked commercialization of Solesmes editions – which would eventually begin with the revised *Liber gradualis* in 1895 – would pose a significant threat.¹

Keeping quiet about the Solesmes question, Pécoul's response to such fear was to exploit and indeed fuel it, mobilizing a constituency of print union representatives protective of their members' livelihoods, who sent wave after wave of protests about Pustet's monopoly to the ministries of Cultes, of Commerce et Industrie and of Affaires Etrangères, thereby offering ample evidence of solidarity and urgency and supplying arguments to help bolster attempts at redress via diplomatic intervention from the French Ambassador to the Holy See.² The first petition was dated 23 December 1891, from Georges Chamerot of the Chambre Syndicale des Imprimeurs Typographes. The ploy was indirect but plausible, the latter not least because the petitions as such began only after a meeting of the Chambre des Députés on 26 October 1891 had seen the Ministre des Affaires Etrangères promise action on the Pustet question via this very channel of communication. In any

¹ Bergeron gives the erroneous impression that the 1883 *Liber gradualis* was already openly available (Bergeron, 'Elite Books', p. 50). In the interim, the major book published by Solesmes was the 1891 *Liber antiphonarius*; but this volume was devoted to the monastic, not the secular, Office.

² It is likely that Pécoul approached the print unions, although he invited Dumay to infer otherwise (Pécoul to Dumay, 16 January 1892, cited in Savart, 'La querelle', p. 299). One of his two initial contacts, Georges Chamerot, told his union members in 1901 that Pécoul (unnamed) had sought him out. *Huitième congrès des maîtres-imprimeurs de France, tenu à Dijon en salle des délibérations de la Chambre de commerce, du 17 au 20 juin 1901. Compte rendu* (Dijon, 1901), p. 134.

case the Organic Articles of 1802 gave France a potential veto over unwelcome Vatican decisions.³

The Ambassador would not have been short of cards to play, but direct protest from workers themselves could only help. That said, the position of French Catholic workers in 1891 was complicated. For although Pope Leo XIII was known to be sympathetic to labour reform, his strategy for showing that support, notably via massed worker pilgrimages to Rome, raised Republican suspicions that the patriotism of French pilgrims was being undermined in favour of a politicized ultramontanism. That suspicion seemed to be confirmed in 1891 when a worker on one such pilgrimage wrote 'Long Live the Pope' in the visitors' book at the tomb of King Victor Emmanuel, thereby taking the wrong side in the struggle between the Vatican and Republican France's new ally, the Kingdom of Italy, over the fate of the former Papal States.⁴ In response to this attack, French worker pilgrimages were suspended for five years. Any such protest on behalf of a Catholic cause, then, had to play the patriotic card strongly and consistently if it was not to be thrown straight into a ministerial bin.

Even though Pustet was Bavarian rather than Prussian, he fitted the bill perfectly, his German nationality offering an open invitation to patriotic or nationalistic rhetoric. And although Pécoul's early plans involved working with publishers too, having printworkers as his primary lobby was more useful.⁵ First, he could benefit from greater force of numbers within the various federated unions. Second, while publishers already wedded to certain editions were likely to lose out from any new Vatican favouritism towards Solesmes texts, especially if allied to ideas of future unity of practice, printworkers across the

³ An appeal to the Organic Articles had lain at the centre of the fierce debates in Lyon over Romanization that came to a head in 1864. They resulted in a temporary papal compromise over the new liturgy known as the *Rituel Romano-Lyonnais*, for which Félix Clément retained as much local chant as he could (*LYai*, no shelfmark, box labelled 'Cantiques'). The dispute revolved around whether an unwilling clergy was bound by French law to submit to a papal brief (dated 17 March 1864) requiring adoption of a Roman liturgy (*Par*: F¹⁹ 5435). The interpretation of these events in Vincent Petit's *Eglise et nation: la question liturgique en France au XIXe siècle* (Rennes, 2010), pp. 91–5, emphasizes the extent of diocesan powerlessness against the Vatican machine, but in doing so risks underestimating the relative liberality of the eventual outcome, which included concessions to local practice. My evaluation accords more closely with that of Vincent A. Lenti, in 'Music and Liturgy in Nineteenth-Century Lyons', *Sacred Music: Journal of the Church Music Association of America*, 123/1 (1996): pp. 7–12. An annotated copy of the *Rituel Romano-Lyonnais* dating from 1875 in *LYai* indicates that from 25 August 1885 it was banned outright.

⁴ See Joan L. Coffey, 'The Aix Affair of 1891: A Turning Point in Church–State Relations before Separation?', *French Historical Studies*, 21/4 (1998): pp. 543–59, at p. 550. Thanks to Catrina Flint de Médicis for drawing my attention to this article.

⁵ Pécoul's letter of 27 April 1892 to Dom Delatte mentions that two liturgical publishers (Mingardon and Lecoffre) are helping him distribute the first union protest, while two others (Vatar and Poussiégué) have refused, fearing that they will compromise themselves. *SO (paléo.)*.

country would potentially benefit from new contracts. So long as the 'Solesmes' side of Pécoul's campaign was restricted to rearguard action against Pustet in the name of a free market, not only were the two causes not in conflict but the one could be used to carry the other. Both involved lobbying for a commitment from the SCR to stop conferring enhanced privileges on Pustet, and ideally to withdraw those that had already been issued. Collectively, then, the unions were at least in part a front for Pécoul's Benedictine cause, and they would remain so from their first protests of 1891–94 through a second wave in 1901–2 to a third and final phase in late spring 1904. At that point the tables turned: the promised rupture of the Concordat that same summer rendered the unions redundant as either a weapon or a cover-story and badly in need of some sort of closure. Despite his apparent cynicism, Pécoul seems genuinely to have believed in their plight, and became anxious to effect such closure on their behalf.⁶

The belated start date for pro-French battles requires explanation, given that the privileges of the 1870s were taking place during a period of extreme nationalist sensitivity; and it becomes all the more pertinent in that Pécoul's diplomatic transfer of 1868–71 made him an attaché at the French embassy to the Holy See – a posting he had specifically requested.⁷ The initial diplomatic silence of 1868 was doubtless attributable to there being more important items than plainchant on the French/Vatican agenda as Napoléon III tried to intervene ever more closely in the fate of the Papal States. Moreover there was an ambassadorial interregnum at precisely the time the Pustet privilege was issued.⁸ As for the situation immediately after 1870: Pustet's new editions simply had little salience in France.⁹ High levels of chant-related publishing activity throughout the country meant that they filled neither a void nor a market niche; and while dioceses in England, Holland, Ireland and the United States took them up, in practical terms France could ignore them because of their generic closeness to the Belgian edition from Malines/Mechelen, in circulation since 1843

⁶ There are indications of such sincerity in letters to Dumay reporting on French successes (such as Pustet's ordering of typefaces from the Paris company Deberny in 1905: Letter of 3 March, *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437), and in Pécoul's attempts to give Chamerot's company work at the publishing house set up at Saint-Martin de Ligugé (Dom Marcel Bluté to Pécoul, 17 April 1894, *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Bluté').

⁷ Request granted in a ministerial letter of 6 November 1868. *Pan*: 376 AP 24.

⁸ Ambassador Eugène de Sartiges left Rome in August, and, although Gaston de Banneville, under whom Pécoul worked, was appointed the same month, he did not arrive in Rome until early November. The interregnum was covered by M. Armant, First Secretary at the Embassy (*Le Gaulois*, 11 September 1868, p. 2, which also reports that De Banneville is not expected for a few weeks). For De Banneville's start date, see M. Prévost et al., *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1951), entry 'Gaston-Robert Morin, marquis de Banneville', col. 77.

⁹ Here I disagree with Flint de Médicis, who gives the impression that after the First Vatican Council the Pustet edition was 'forced on the French' with success, and therefore had to be 'ousted' actively from French dioceses. See Flint de Médicis, 'The Schola Cantorum', vol. 1, p. 240.

and adopted in many dioceses as part of the French transition from a Gallican to the Roman liturgy. Indeed, France had almost completed the diocesan upheaval of chant reform, following a sometimes painful transfer to their new and universal liturgy, by the time the first officially recommended Regensburg edition appeared.¹⁰

More than a decade later, an international conference of 1882 in Arezzo, ostensibly celebrating the contribution of Guido to sacred music, provoked a step-change in sensitivity to the question of Pustet's dominance of plainchant. It unleashed huge numbers of books, pamphlets and journalism, some of which included warnings within France that Pustet's Regensburg company had the capacity to harm national commercial interests.¹¹ Moreover, the pro-Solesmes resolutions passed at the end of the conference backfired when presented at the Vatican: the ensuing SCR decree of 10/26 April 1883 (*Romanorum Pontificium*) only cemented Pustet's official status further, now bringing him a foothold within France.¹² There are signs of journalistic activism from Pécoul in the late 1880s, but what seems to have kick-started his campaign in 1889 specifically was trustworthy news from Victor Lecot – an army chaplain during the Franco-Prussian War who had become the first of a trio of nationalist bishops at Dijon – that there was now serious talk within the SCR of making the Regensburg edition obligatory. It would have conferred on Pustet the ultimate commercial prize.¹³ For anyone sympathetic to the cause of Gregorian restoration in France the timing of such rumours was cruel: the first volume of Dom Mocquereau's *Paléographie musicale* – the series of facsimiles and critical essays that was intended to persuade the Vatican of the depth and probity of the research underpinning Dom Pothier's *Liber gradualis* of 1883 – had reached its subscribers earlier that same year.¹⁴

¹⁰ For a concise introduction, see Petit, *Eglise et nation*.

¹¹ An early warning regarding commercial interests comes from Antoine Dessus, writing as 'A. Super', in his *Décadence et restauration du chant liturgique* (Paris, 1883), pp. 47–8. Pécoul knew and admired him (*AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 6).

¹² Discussed in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, pp. 172–4.

¹³ Mentioned in Dom Etienne [Esteban] Babin to Pécoul, 23 November 1889 (*AIXm*: Ms 1976 [1842], letter 18); see also Robert du Botneau to the Archbishop of Reims, 20 November 1889 (*AHAP*: 2 G 1, 1), discussed below. Despite his patriotism, Lecot, Archbishop of Bordeaux from 1890, was so wedded to the cause of Catholic workers as to inspire especially close monitoring from the Préfecture (*Boa*: 1 V 37). He became closely involved in the rearguard action against Pustet and organized a pro-Gregorian conference on plainchant in Bordeaux in July 1895.

¹⁴ Expressed most explicitly in Combe's introduction to his 'Préliminaires de la réforme grégorienne de S. Pie X', *Études grégoriennes*, 7–8 (1967): pp. 63–145, at p. 65; the analogous passage opening Part II of Combe's *Histoire* is more anodyne. Mocquereau's later claims that Dom Pothier paid inadequate attention to the comparison of sources are undermined by Jean-Pierre Noiseux's discovery at Saint-Wandrille of a comparative table of source transcriptions of precisely the kind one would expect from Mocquereau's workshop, compiled by Alphonse Pothier in late 1868 to demonstrate his elder brother's working practices. The tables show 73 sources (66 MSS) being marshalled to establish the text of a single chant. See Jean-Pierre Noiseux, 'Les manuscrits de chant en communication à

In France the consequences, for publishers, of an exclusive Pustet licence would have been dire, and the more general state of French music publishing in comparison with that of Germany, which was fast achieving international domination for its cheap editions of the classic repertoire, provided nothing but gloomy precedents. One of the saving graces of liturgical publishing was its relative stability, with the same editions being reprinted time and again, safe from competition from imports. Elsewhere within music publishing of the 1860s the French market was imploding as a result of progressive reductions in import tariffs from 1862 (dwindling from 10 per cent in 1860 to 0.7 per cent in 1865 and then zero until 1888) and increased industrialization in Germany. Tariffs for music were not reset at protectionist levels until 1892, and although Germany was only one problem among many for the French music industry, between 1860 and 1896 73.5 per cent of French imports of music by weight came from Germanic lands.¹⁵ In 1864, the French still exported four times as much music as they imported; in 1867, imports decisively outstripped exports for the first time, and despite tariff increases the gap between France and her competitors did nothing but widen thereafter.¹⁶ As Anik Devriès puts it (and her language could have come from a Pécoul protest), between 1866 and 1914 even the establishment of consortia among French music publishers could not counter the ‘invasion’ of German editions: ‘nothing could stop this phenomenon, fatal to French music publishing’.¹⁷

Throughout the Second Empire the French liturgical publishing industry seems to have bucked this trend; indeed, although figures such as those of Devriès are unavailable perhaps because of the decentralization of the industry, more general evidence indicates that it had mushroomed in the face of an expanding number of dioceses the vast majority of which needed to formalize, publish and implement their response to Romanization. Moreover, competition among publishers and printers was traditionally local or national, rather than international; for while Romanization brought increased liturgical unity across France in textual and ritual terms, plainchant still occupied a rather free-floating position as a ubiquitous accessory to the liturgy rather than as one of its constituent parts, and considerable variation in local usage could and did prevail. Chamerot’s petition of 1891 was explicit on this point. His federation’s requests for the 10/26 April 1883 decree to be annulled rested in part on the non-canonicity of plainchant’s music as opposed to its texts:

Solesmes (1866–1869), *Etudes grégoriennes*, 32 (2004): pp. 153–76, at pp. 156–9, p. 174). The *Liber gradualis* of 1883 was to all intents and purposes finished by this point (*ibid.*, p. 161).

¹⁵ See Anik Devriès, ‘Le commerce de l’édition française au XIXe siècle: les chiffres du déclin’, *Revue de musicologie*, 97/2 (1993): pp. 263–96, at p. 271 n. 12. Thanks to Rachel Moore for drawing this article to my attention.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹⁷ ‘rien ne permettra d’enrayer ce phénomène fatal à l’édition musicale française.’ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

And the question is not even that of the text of the liturgy, but of *an accessory to the liturgy*, of [musical] notation. The waiver that our diplomacy would call for as regards notation would not entail the slightest attack on the unity of the Latin liturgy ...

[Et il ne s'agit même pas, dans la question présente, du texte de la liturgie, mais *d'un accessoire de la liturgie*, de la notation. La dispense que réclamerait notre diplomatie au sujet de la notation ne porterait pas la moindre atteinte à l'unité liturgique latine ...]¹⁸

Nevertheless, it was the Vatican's late nineteenth-century shift towards understanding both parameters of chant as liturgy that would decisively raise the stakes in relation to chant publishing, since it threatened to bring the minutiae of its musical notation within the realms of canon law for the first time. During the first phase of Romanization, the traditional privilege system, in which a local bookshop was given exclusive permission to order, bind with title-page imprimatur and sell 'by appointment' to a diocese or archdiocese, remained in place; but at the level above it – that of the editing, commissioning or production of the editions themselves – the landscape changed dramatically to one of rapacious mercantilism, not least because, alongside the portions of the liturgy for which the off-the-peg chant editions could cater, each diocese needed to commission a Proper, the supplementary book that would include texts and plainchant covering those local festivals and traditions that remained authorized by the SCR. It is difficult to think of another period in which such a level of investment in new print materials had been required of French dioceses, collectively; and it was all concentrated into a few heady decades.

The merest hint that a diocese was ready to clothe its newly approved Roman liturgy in chant brought a swarm of publishers' agents to episcopal doors, brandishing sample pages and publicity material that not only gushed about each publisher's product but routinely condemned the opposition.¹⁹ Nor were antiquarians, music archaeologists or philologists spared the kind of involvement that could lead to victimhood. In the unseemly rush to corner new markets, publishers fed off the capacity of heated academic debate to provide them with free publicity, quotable opinion, 'impartial' expert reports, and access to the new musical material its protagonists could supply. Further along the production process, market expansion affected foundries, typesetters and binders alike, with foundries especially investing in new designs for specialist chant typefaces on which they

¹⁸ Georges Chamerot to Alexandre Ribot at the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 23 December 1891. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

¹⁹ In Toulouse, the abbé Féral, member of a commission of 1859 to select a new chant edition, described precisely such a barrage of publicity. Féral, *Le chant du diocèse de Toulouse vengé de ses ennemis. Réponses au Mémoire adressé à Monseigneur l'Archevêque, aux autres objections, avec comparaison du chant romain avec le toulousain* (Toulouse, 1860), pp. 1–2.

expected to be able to recoup handsomely and long. It was within a mature version of this environment for liturgical publishing – which Pécoul estimated as having a turnover of 30 million francs per year (chant and texted publications taken together) – that the battles of the turn of the century were fought. Nevertheless there was an irony in such expansion of the French liturgical publishing industry: it was brought about by pressure, from an increasingly centralist Rome, for unity – a drive that not only squeezed out much local practice and undermined any remaining sense of a ‘national’ church, but which showed no signs of stopping and was now becoming counter-productive for those who had originally prospered by it. Moreover, in France the liturgical overhaul had itself been catalysed by the writings of ultramontane Catholics among whom featured not just the oft-cited Félicité de Lamennais, but also his disciple Dom Prosper Guéranger, Abbot of Solesmes, whose three-volume *Institutions liturgiques* (1840–51) constituted a call to arms. After such a contribution to French Romanization it must have been disconcerting indeed for the monks of the 1880s and 1890s at Solesmes to find themselves so at odds with SCR policy during the next phase of this very same drive for liturgical unity. But to muse thus is, for the moment, to jump too far ahead.

As a by-product of Guéranger’s calls for liturgical reform, French plainchant had gained sudden momentum from the 1840s, moving in several intellectual directions at once. Competing French and Belgian chant books appeared in swift succession. Books based on pre- and post-Tridentine sources; books presented in modern and square notation; books with and without notation implying rhythm and metre; books retaining elements of the old Gallican liturgy, notably the Henri Dumont *Messes royales* but also local chant tunes and variants; finally, a few diocesan editions (Toulouse and Rouen for instance, and to a certain extent Lyon) where attempts were made in the 1850s and ‘60s to retain as much local chant-melody as possible. Given the additional complication of diocesan Propers, as things stand at present the complete array of versions, editors and publishers remains well beyond musicological control. The later a diocese decided to adopt Roman chant, the greater the range of available options but the more oppressive the weight of conflicting theory. In particular, for most dioceses, deciding between books based on either pre- or post-Tridentine sources – all of which had Vatican approval of some kind – meant stepping into the minefield of whether a living tradition incorporating seventeenth- or eighteenth-century musical texts should be supplanted by that of a distant past –

always assuming, as was hotly contested, that such a distant past was indeed recoverable.²⁰

From the point of view of French dioceses, this particular debate took wing in 1851 via an edition prepared by a commission from Reims and Cambrai in the wake of Félix Danjou's momentous discovery in 1847 of the Montpellier manuscript now designated H. 159. That the commission preparing the edition did not include Danjou himself was not only a snub but also an early symptom of tension between the competing claims of archaeology, practical utility and commercial gain. As Charles Vervoitte, *maître de chapelle* at Rouen Cathedral and a Gregorian restoration sceptic, recalled events in 1856, Danjou's intention had been to publish a handwritten facsimile. (Louis Lambillotte would do likewise with the Saint-Gall manuscript in 1851.²¹) He had a raft of international subscribers signed up, but was outflanked in 1850 by the publisher Jacques Lecoffre and the archbishops of Reims and Cambrai, who secured access to the manuscript for the purposes of liturgical, rather than archeological, publication, and put the abbé Tesson at the head of the edition's commission to prepare a practical edition around it. An embittered Danjou called the new venture a 'speculation'.²² From a palaeographical point of view, Reims-Cambrai had limitations aplenty; but it gained authorization from Pius IX for liturgical use and served to encourage further work.²³ It was also successful. By the

²⁰ For a detailed account of an early example of chant Romanization, in Rennes, see Xavier Bisaro, 'Le diocèse de Rennes et la question grégorienne au XIXe siècle: manifestations et conséquences d'une réforme globale', in Daniel Deloup and Marie-Noëlle Masson (eds), *Musique en Bretagne: images et pratiques. Hommage à Marie-Claire Mussat* (Rennes, 2003), pp. 133–48. The third, and most famous, edition of Rennes plainchant (1848) was overseen by the abbé Théodule Normand (*dit* Théodore Nisard), an opponent of the idea that Gregorian chant could be restored to its original state (*ibid.*, p. 141). However, he would later support the Gregorian-based Reims-Cambrai edition (discussed below) on nationalist grounds, especially in the face of competition from Pustet's *Gradual* (see *ibid.*, p. 143, on Nisard's pamphlet *Que faut-il penser des nouveaux livres de chant liturgique de Ratisbonne?* (Rennes, 1879)).

²¹ Louis Lambillotte, *Antiphonaire de Saint-Grégoire, fac-simile du manuscrit de Saint-Gall* (Paris, 1851).

²² Charles Vervoitte, 'Considérations sur le chant ecclésiastique, à propos du retour à la liturgie romaine' [21 Nov 1856], in *Précis analytique des travaux de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Rouen pendant l'année 1856–1857* (Rouen, 1858), pp. 406–55, at pp. 437–8. On Nisard's involvement in the affair, first as detractor of Danjou's proposed edition and then as its official copyist for the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, see Wangermée, 'Avant Solesmes', pp. 407–14. Félix Clément was similarly disillusioned over publisher Le Clere's unauthorized resale, to four other dioceses, of the chant Clément had adapted for Sézès from the Dijon edition. Clément claimed he had lost 12,000 francs in royalties because of such sharp practices. Clément to the abbé Bonnardet, 27 June 1870. *LYai*, no shelfmark, box labelled 'Cantiques'.

²³ In view of later events it is highly ironic that, when asked by Pius IX whether the edition should be made official and obligatory, the Archbishop of Reims suggested not, on grounds that such status was premature and could stunt research. As reported in *Semaine religieuse du diocèse de Cambrai*, 39/25 (18 June 1904): p. 386.

early 1890s around a quarter of French dioceses used it,²⁴ and, far from disappearing in 1904 with the announcement of a Vatican Edition, it came out from Lecoffre in a new version prepared by a member of the Vatican Commission itself: Amédée Gastoué. It is worth underlining that fact because focus on the raw publication dates of the Solesmes editions as beacons of revival can too easily obscure the importance of Reims-Cambrai as the primary source of Gregorian experience within cathedrals and major parishes throughout the period under consideration here. In terms of the development of French Gregorian practice we cannot, for instance, legitimately join the dots between Reims-Cambrai in 1851 and the *Directorium chori* which Pothier prepared with Dom Paul Jausions and published in 1864, for the latter was for use within the Congregation and was unavailable for public purchase. The situation is similar for all Solesmes chant editions until the *Liber gradualis* of 1895 and the small-format compendium *Liber usualis* of the following year: the earlier prints were sold within monastic circles but posed no threat whatever to external commercial concerns, whether in France, Belgium or Germany, and had no practical impact beyond the limited amount Pothier could effect via the masterclasses and demonstrations he began in 1879 and the small pieces published from 1892 onwards in the Grenoble-based *Revue du chant grégorien*. As retail items, only the treatises – notably his *Les mélodies grégoriennes* of 1880 – reached French dioceses, after which the *Liber gradualis* of 1883, which might have been released commercially had the aftermath of Arezzo not signalled a need for caution, indicated the degree of maturity of Pothier’s palaeographical work while keeping it largely hidden from view.²⁵ In terms of mass circulation, then, what we might term a ‘pre-Solesmes’ period of French plainchant extended well beyond what the raw publication dates might suggest.

Meanwhile the Romanization of French chant practice had continued apace. Two contrasting examples, from Orléans (1875) and Toulouse (1877), help elucidate what went through the minds of those in charge of chant provision towards the end of this first, pre-Solesmes, phase of French reform. Until 1875 the Orléans diocese, which was part of the archdiocese of Paris, had used its local chant. As part of the Romanization process (about which he, as a Gallican, was distinctly unenthusiastic) bishop Félix Dupanloup, like many before him, set up a commission. Its members’ first thoughts were to retain local distinctiveness: could they put together something new – ‘a chant

²⁴ *La typologie-Tucker: revue de l'imprimerie et de la lithographie*, 6, no. 282 (15 December 1893): p. 136, fn. 2.

²⁵ There is an important exception in that Dom Mocquereau and Dom Fernand Cabrol made significant headway disseminating the 1883 *Liber gradualis* in Rome from 1890, both at the French Seminary and, more importantly, the Vatican Seminary. See Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, p. 180. Dom Pothier was also energetic in disseminating his work and in providing dedicated service music for monastic and educational foundations. See David, ed. Thiron, ‘Dom Joseph Pothier’, *L'abbaye de S. Wandrille*, 33 (1984): pp. 5–52, at pp. 11–26.

edition unique to the diocese of Orléans' [une édition de chant propre au diocèse d'Orléans] – perhaps adapting the new texts to existing Orléans chant melodies? It was, as the concluding report said, 'seductive' [séduisante] as an idea; but they decided it was unworkable.²⁶ Equally unsatisfactory was the idea of picking piecemeal from the various post-Tridentine editions available; similarly the preparation of a new edition from pre-Tridentine sources. They reconciled themselves to choosing an existing edition.

At this point their criteria began to mix the aesthetic and the practical, and although they considered the Regensburg edition, the idea that it might command the canonic authority Pustet had tried to secure for it via successive Vatican recommendations did not seemingly arise. Rather, their main concern was pragmatic: the relative floridity (and therefore the relative difficulty for inexperienced singers) of editions whose musical texts they viewed as fundamentally similar. With a broad-brush approach that would make any self-respecting palaeographer blanch, they divided the available editions into three groups. Firstly, there were those abridged editions such as Malines/Mechelen and Regensburg, which derived from the Medici edition of 1614/15. The commissioners reported as follows:

The melodies they contain are characterized by a stark simplicity. But the cuts made by the editors have been so radical that the chant, now nearly syllabic, lacks expansiveness and suppleness. The musical phrase is truncated and incomplete; it is like a painfully thin body, or one whose skeleton alone remains. There is obvious over-reaction here, and for this reason we would reject the editions in this category.

[Les mélodies qu'elles contiennent sont caractérisées par une simplicité sévère. Mais les retranchements opérés par les éditeurs ont été tellement radicaux, que le chant, devenu presque syllabique, manque d'ampleur et de moelleux. La phrase musicale y est écourtée et incomplète; c'est comme un corps amaigri à l'excès, ou dont il ne resterait plus que la squelette. Il y a donc là exagération manifeste et, pour ces motifs, nous repousserions les éditions dont il s'agit.]²⁷

The conflation of exaggeration and ugliness present in this analysis reflected a widespread conception of the weakness of French plainchant practice as a series of loud, undifferentiated syllables hammered out with no thought for semantics, pacing, phrasing or line. The symbiosis of visual and aural appeared complete: syllabic, square, often spatially undifferentiated notation meant ugly performance practice. It was a view on which Pothier would capitalize when visiting cathedrals and seminaries, and which proved most effective in a notorious singing duel with Haberl which transformed the 1882 Arezzo conference on

²⁶ *Rapport présenté à Monseigneur l'Evêque d'Orléans par la Commission du chant liturgique sur le choix d'une édition de chant romain pour le diocèse* (Orléans, [1875]), p. 2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

liturgical music into a chant battleground. By all accounts Dom Pothier seduced his listeners with the sheer beauty of the performance style he inferred from his neumatic texts. At the same time his teaching of new methods of plainchant singing, in the knowledge that they would be applied to editions other than his own, revealed a pragmatist who encouraged a new sound-world for chant to take precedence, temporarily, over his own source-work. One gains a sense of this pragmatism in a report of a visit to Lyon in summer 1885, where the *Rituel Romano-Lyonnais* was still in force. He was reported in the *Revue hebdomadaire du diocèse de Lyon* as being very satisfied to see, at the cathedral of Saint-Jean, 'that the method of plainchant performance which he had explained in Lyon a while ago, was being successfully followed'.²⁸ Similarly, the *Semaine religieuse du diocèse de Cambrai* noted with pride in 1894 that the Petit Séminaire de Versailles used the Reims-Cambrai edition, sung according to Solesmes principles.²⁹ Doubtless because of the limited availability of Solesmes editions, even as late as the Bordeaux chant conference of summer 1895, Pothier's contribution to plainchant research was understood most readily as a radical change of performance style.³⁰ Meanwhile, publicity for the work of canon C. Cartaud, on how to apply Pothier's methods to all the 'Roman' editions of chant available in France, reinforced that same impression while simultaneously presenting the Benedictine text as superior to the rest.³¹ Such a work brought to a new audience a half-century-old tradition of interpretation according to the principles of 'rythme oratoire' initiated at Solesmes by Guéranger himself.

But in 1875 the first attempts at such proselytizing were still four years away, and when the Orléans commission debated the Reims-Cambrai edition of 1851, as revised into its definitive form in 1852, they saw nothing but theory. To them, the edition was archeologically important but wholly impracticable in a church setting because of its extreme floridity and the seeming arbitrariness of its rhythmic indications and neume groupings. (This latter criticism was not unfair.) In a comment which prefigured complaints that Solesmes editions represented specialist monastic traditions foisted on ordinary parishes, it was noted that dioceses using Reims-Cambrai also routinely abridged it to make it workable liturgically, thereby introducing yet more arbitrariness. It, too, was rejected.³² Thirdly, the commission debated the middle ground of French *chant traditionnel* – editions preserving what they called the *fond* of Gregorian chant, while still abridging it. Here

²⁸ 'que la méthode d'exécution du Plain-Chant, qu'il a naguère expliquée à Lyon, est suivie avec succès'. *Revue hebdomadaire du diocèse de Lyon*, 10 (12 June 1885): p. 63.

²⁹ *Semaine religieuse de Cambrai*, 29/1 (6 January 1894): p. 18.

³⁰ See *L'Aquitaine*, 31/16 (17 April 1896): p. 249.

³¹ C. Cartaud, *L'édition bénédictine et les diverses éditions modernes, ou résumé pratique des principes d'exécution de l'édition bénédictine et leur application aux diverses éditions modernes* (Orléans, [1893?]).

³² *Rapport*, pp. 5–6.

they found themselves on much more familiar territory, and perhaps unsurprisingly they decided they liked what they knew. From among the available editions they chose Rennes (prepared by the restoration sceptic Théodore Nisard), their reasons being almost entirely practical. Its level and manner of abridgement were workable locally, and it conformed to current Orléans practice in that Nisard's text contained no rhythmic differentiation. This, the least disruptive option, was adopted unanimously.³³

Two years later we find hints of dissent in the south-west, in Toulouse, where bitter polemic had accompanied a decision of 1859 to adapt local traditional melodies to the new Roman texts. In the culmination of a new quarrel extending from 1874 to 1877, an anonymous member of the Toulouse clergy protested at the proposed replacement of this Gallican chant with the Reims-Cambrai edition rather than with Regensburg. The new archbishop, Mgr Florian Desprez, had contacted the Vatican to ask whether the Toulouse chant could remain in use. In the name of Church unity, the answer was no: it was not Roman. The quoted papal words clearly burned into the conscience of Desprez's anonymous protestor: 'Non expedit, ... non licet'.³⁴ For him, Desprez's selection of Reims-Cambrai was invalid in relation to the Pope's wishes and the need to obey them: the fact that Pustet had applied for and received approbation for an 'official' edition was enough to recommend Regensburg irrespective of its quality. Accordingly, into the French plainchant debate there now came questions about religious duty and responsibility to a text Rome regarded as in some way 'official', 'typical' and 'authentic' (meaning both 'authorized' and 'authoritative'), and whose widespread adoption Pope Pius IX apparently desired ardently. As it happened, Archbishop Desprez issued a dusty response to his cleric, reminding him that obedience began at home;³⁵ and he stuck to his plan to introduce the Reims-Cambrai edition as a replacement for Toulousain chant. But the terms of future debate were set. Both Pustet and Haberl clung to the principle and the proofs of canonic authority in the face of challenges grounded in ideas of historical authenticity, art or tradition, all of which their interests dictated were irrelevant. Whatever the intrinsic merits of Reims-Cambrai or its Solesmes successors as Gregorian texts, between 1868 and 1901 Regensburg acquired the strongest imprimatur of any single plainchant edition, anywhere.

The earliest known rumour that the Sacred Congregation of Rites planned to impose the Pustet edition on every diocese worldwide

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁴ Un prêtre du diocèse de Toulouse, *Observations sur le chant à adopter dans le diocèse de Toulouse* (Paris-Auteuil, 1877), pp. 3–4.

³⁵ Mgr Florian Desprez, *Pourquoi, dans le diocèse de Toulouse, l'on ne peut adopter l'édition de chant de Ratisbonne* (Toulouse, 1876), p. 3.

had reached Pécoul by early 1879.³⁶ However, in what would become a tradition of mixed messages from the Vatican, that same year Archbishop Caverot of Lyon – where Félix Clément's adaptation of *chant traditionnel* was in use as part of the hard-fought *Rituel Romano-Lyonnais* – received direct from Leo XIII a written assurance that the Pustet edition was not mandatory.³⁷ The temperature was raised decisively only in 1883 in the hardline response of the SCR to the pro-Gregorian resolutions passed at the 1882 Arezzo congress. Such outright protest against the 1868 privilege granted by Pius IX was swiftly quashed, with Pothier first in the firing line since his singing duel with Haberl had precipitated it. The SCR decree *Romanorum Pontificium* condemned the Arezzo resolutions and assigned the work of Solesmes to the library rather than the choir stall. In addition, two papal briefs sent to Solesmes the following year did nothing but raise (8 March) and then dash (3 May) hopes that the Vatican could accept Pothier's research as being acceptable for liturgical use. The latter was devastating in the context of the 1883 decree, which contained hardened Vatican language regarding the Pope's wish to bring about unity within liturgical chant, the authenticity of the Regensburg edition, and the moral obligation of bishops to adopt it.³⁸ In an attempt to strengthen its case, the SCR's justification in *Romanorum Pontificium* for favouring Pustet was explained for the first time via a reference, within the decree, to a circular of 2 January 1868 from Mgr Bartolini inviting international publishers to tender for the contract to produce the monumental edition of the Medici Gradual – a call to which only Pustet had apparently responded, but which Pothier's research for Pécoul suggested no publisher had ever received.³⁹ Whether clergy interpreted the 1883 decree as a preceptive law (binding) or a directive one (for guidance) was left to their own consciences, but in the meantime

³⁶ Copy of letter, unsigned but written as from the Paris publisher Adrien Le Clere, proprietor of the 'Digne' chant books, to 'Vuillaume, agent d'affaires ecclésiastiques', in Rome, 8 February 1879. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 15.

³⁷ See Etienne Romain [*pseud.* Robert du Botneau], *Lettre d'un chanoine à un canoniste: à propos des livres de plain-chant édités à Ratisbonne par M. Pustet et approuvés par la S. Congrégation des Rites* (Les Sables d'Olonne, 1888), p. 7. Charles Robert du Botneau is identified as author by friend and foe alike (respectively, Stéphen Morelot and abbé Pierre Denis, both from the Luçon diocese). See Morelot to Mocquereau, 17 September 1889, *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau; and Abbé P. Denis, *Léon XIII et Dom Pothier. Etudes sur la question actuelle du chant liturgique* (Paris, 1891), p. 8.

³⁸ Full text in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, pp. 159–61.

³⁹ It is now widely accepted that the 2 January 1868 circular was fabricated for the purposes of the April 1883 decree. Pothier called it a search for 'the white blackbird' [le merle blanc] (Letter to Pécoul, 10 May 1892; *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul Box 40 folder 21). The two investigated the matter at some length in 1892 while Pécoul prepared documents on behalf of the print unions, because, as Pécoul put it, 'For me it is a major argument that no trace of this competition dates from the time when it would have happened' [Pour moi c'est un grand argument qu'il n'y ait pas trace de ce concours au moment où il aurait eu lieu']. Pécoul to Pothier, 8 May 1892. *SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 11. The Vatican archives apparently yield nothing. See Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, pp. 151–2.

Pustet retained his moniker of 'Printer to the Vatican', revelled in the victory, and loudly advertised the authoritative status of his editions – just as one would expect.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ His publicity material for France was distributed by the Lethielleux publishing house. An undated circular sent to French clergy shortly after the 1883 decree stressed the need for unity and pointedly noted how backward France was in responding to the desires of the Holy See. The Regensburg chant – authentic, official and simple enough to be of widespread utility – was now also described not as German but as 'originating from Rome'. Lethielleux signed himself 'French agent for publications of the Official chant'. Pécoul thanked Pothier for the loan of this 'infamous circular' [fameuse circulaire] on 11 April 1893 (*SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 13); see also *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 15.

3

Regensburg, Solesmes and the French Print Unions

What happened next caused the situation in France – at one level at least – to begin to unravel. Ever-obedient to Rome, on 15 September 1883 bishop Etienne-Antoine-Alfred Lelong of Nevers ordered his diocese to switch from Dijon to Regensburg chant.¹ Just how extraordinary that response was can be gauged by that fact that it had taken fifteen years for a single French bishop to acknowledge that the Pustet privilege carried a practical imperative. Even the diocese of Strasbourg, under German administration since the aftermath of 1870, was resisting successfully.² However, in Nevers bishop Lelong had difficulty persuading his clergy to comply. The decision had to be re-ratified at his synod of 1891 and given a new implementation date of Advent 1893, for which he tried to prepare his clergy via an extended article in the diocesan magazine, the *Semaine religieuse de Nevers*. Even then a spirit of concession reigned. Having presented the case for the Regensburg edition at great length, mostly via appeals to Vatican authority, the article's anonymous author ended somewhat surprisingly:

To assuage those who cling zealously to the old chant, let me note further that it will not be forbidden to sing our old 'Tantum ergo' at the Benediction service any more than to sing it to a chorale tune. It will not be forbidden to sing our

¹ See *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437, which contains the response to a request of 10 November 1893 from the Ministère des Cultes for a police report on whether either Nevers or Périgueux had acted upon a Vatican communication that had no force in France – i.e. an invocation of the Organic Articles. See also the unsigned article 'Une circulaire aux maires de la Nièvre à propos des livres de plain-chant', *Semaine religieuse de Nevers* 30/41 (14 October 1893): pp. 497–502, which outlined the Nevers history and described the unions' recent call for mayoral action as perfidious and an incitement to potentially illegal behaviour (*ibid.*, p. 497).

² Among dioceses under German administration Strasbourg would have been the prime scalp. It joined the Caeciliaverein in 1882 but signed up to its policy on figured sacred music alone. Liturgical chant was kept separate and a strong coalition of bishops (Raess and then Fritzen) and Fritzen's co-adjutant Marbach, together with canons Charles Hamm and L. Lutz, ensured that each major overhaul of chant books preserved local traditions while working along Gregorian rather than Regensburg lines. See *Sad*: 1 VP 355, and G. Jost, *Vie de Monseigneur Marbach, évêque de Paphos in partibus, premier coadjuteur de Mgr. Fritzen, évêque de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg, 1925), p. 60, citing Marbach's disciple L. Lutz. Lutz, an editor of *Caecilia* in Strasbourg, wrote to Dom Mocquereau on 24 March 1904 of his delight at the recent turn of events at the Vatican, and expressed relief that the local transition to a Vatican Edition would be easy, since 'Luckily in Strasbourg we have held firm, despite Regensburg' [Heureusement qu'à Strasbourg nous avons tenu bon, malgré Ratisbonne ...]: *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

old masses from time to time any more than to sing a mass setting in music; indeed, they will be preferable. But all that [shall take place] with no detriment, of course, to the official chant, to which we shall grow accustomed such that we desire no other. In any case, the diocesan authorities did not want us to break completely with our old traditions; this is why they have had the tunes most familiar to our Nevers communities added to our chant books, as a supplement.

[Pour consoler les tenants opiniâtres du vieux chant, notons encore qu'il ne sera pas plus défendu de chanter notre ancien '*Tantum ergo*' au salut qu'il n'est défendu de le faire entendre sur un choral quelconque. Il ne sera pas plus défendu de chanter, de temps en temps, nos anciennes messes qu'il n'est défendu de faire entendre une messe en musique: encore auront-elles la préférence. Mais tout cela sans détriment, bien entendu, du chant officiel, auquel on s'habitue au point de n'en vouloir plus d'autre. Du reste, l'autorité diocésaine n'a pas voulu nous faire rompre complètement avec nos anciennes traditions; c'est pourquoi elle a fait ajouter à nos livres de chant, comme supplément, les mélodies les plus connues de nos populations nivernaises.]³

France's second pro-Regensburg bishop, Nicolas-Joseph Dabert of Périgueux, experienced similar resistance when he attempted to follow bishop Lelong's example. In 1889 he decided he would, in accordance with Pustet's preferred sales policies, buy copies of the Regensburg edition for his entire diocese (reputedly at a significant cost of 40,000 francs);⁴ but he was unwilling to impose the edition on his clergy and found them equally unwilling to buy it. Having given up the project in 1894 after government pressure, in 1901 he was reported by Chamerot (i.e. Pécoul) as having died with his residence stacked full of official German Graduals, while his clergy continued to use their old French editions.⁵ After Dabert, in the early 1890s Pécoul's research revealed that the bishops of Chambéry, Agen and Evreux had considered adopting Regensburg, but that none of them carried the project through; meanwhile German books were apparently becoming prevalent in the diocese of Luçon.⁶

There was, then, no stampede to adopt Regensburg in the wake of the 1883 decree, although there were worrying signs that would

³ *Semaine religieuse de Nevers*, 30/23 (10 June 1893), pp. 280–84, at p. 284.

⁴ Th[éophile] Beaudoire, *Les livres de liturgie notée. Le décret de la Congrégation des Rites de 1883 et la concurrence allemande* (Paris, 1893), p. 9. See also Pécoul's report given indirectly to the conference of French master printers, Dijon: *Huitième congrès*, p. 284.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 144–5.

⁶ Beaudoire, *Livres de liturgie*, 9. For Luçon, see the Fédération Française des Travailleurs du Livre pamphlet to the Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, *Les livres liturgiques et les privilèges accordés par le Vatican à l'éditeur de Ratisbonne* [28 February 1894] (Paris, 1894), [p. 3]; for Chambéry and Agen, L[éon] Gruel, *Les livres liturgiques et les privilèges accordés par le Vatican à l'éditeur de Ratisbonne* [22 February 1894] (Paris, 1894), [p. 2]. Hayburn also mentions Cahors as using Regensburg – which perhaps comes from Haberl himself (Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, 148). The Cahors question is raised at Solesmes by J. Bour, who regularly sent Mocquereau translations of Haberl's articles, in a letter of 20 May 1901. SO (*paléo.*): Corr. Mocquereau.

crystallize in late 1888 and 1889 into fear. The pivot is illustrated best by Robert du Botneau, archpriest at Les Sables d'Olonne. Under the pseudonym Etienne Romain, in November 1888 he had written a moderate anti-Regensburg pamphlet in which he tried to calm matters by highlighting the extent to which Pustet's supporters wanted to take Rome beyond what Rome had decreed in canon law. He suggested it was unlikely that the SCR would send out a new ruling that would maim French traditions, and warned against continued protest in case it caused a Vatican backlash.⁷ A year later, in light of advice from Stéphen Morelot among others, he had changed his mind. He wrote to both the Archbishop of Reims and the Archbishop of Paris to express his concern at the possible imposition of 'books universally recognized as the most lamentable product of a decadent era', and of the potentially devastating impact on France of the rumoured decree.⁸ Meanwhile Pécoul went into action, laying bare and intensifying fear via *Le matin*, at the time a moderate Republican purveyor of journalistic scoops. The title of his article of 6 December read like a cross between a telegram and a tabloid: 'Prussia Gets the Lot! German Plainchant Forced on the Universal Church. An Old Scandal. Decree Imminent ...'.⁹ The author, supposedly writing from Rome, challenged the French Church to defend itself. Leo XIII was apparently ready to indulge his pro-German sympathies by strengthening the already notorious decree of 1883 and making Pustet (now redesignated Prussian, presumably for greater impact) the sole purveyor of Vatican-authorized chant worldwide. The Pope was thereby snubbing the thousands of French workers who had recently made a pilgrimage to Rome and among whom there might well have been some direct victims of a new decree that would ruin the French liturgical print industry at a stroke. Moreover (and this was the article's only reference to Solesmes-related concerns), the 1883 decree had been drawn up 'without even taking into account the discoveries that might result from the research and study being undertaken to restore Gregorian chant to its original purity'.¹⁰ The likely loss to French industry was 30 million francs per year. Would French bishops be brave enough to protest, asked the anonymous Pécoul, and (more

⁷ Robert du Botneau, *Lettre d'un chanoine*, pp. 8–10.

⁸ 'des livres reconnus universellement comme le produit le plus lamentable d'une période de décadence'. Letter of 20 November to Cardinal Langénieux, Archbishop of Reims. The letter to Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris (27 November 1889) contained a copy of the 20 November letter. *AHAP*: 2 G 1, 1. Etienne Babin, too, wrote to Pécoul on 23 November 1889 that 'people are talking about a new decree' [on parle d'un nouveau décret']. *AIXm*: Ms 1976 [1842]: letters from Dom Babin, no. 18.

⁹ 'Tout à la Prusse! Le plain-chant allemand imposé dans l'Eglise universelle. Un ancien scandale – Bref imminent – Des éditeurs bien en cour – La librairie prussienne privilégiée – Projet de M. de Bismarck réalisé – Une musique productive – Le rite de Ratisbonne', *Le matin*, 6 December 1889.

¹⁰ 'même sans tenir compte des découvertes que pourraient donner les recherches et les travaux entrepris pour la restauration du chant grégorien dans sa pureté primitive.' *Ibid.*

subversively) were they ready to deal with the inevitable patriotism of their clergy?

Those who knew Pécoul well had no doubt about his authorship. A letter of 11 December from the head of the Solesmes print works, Dom Etienne Babin, began a long series in which he advised 'le bon Mr Schmitt' to curb his enthusiasm and above all to stay one step ahead of the opposition.¹¹ It has proven impossible to pinpoint the moment at which Solesmes itself became involved in the more general polemic, but we can trace it back via correspondence with Pothier to the summer of 1891 at least – ironically, a point at which Dom Mocquereau's direct negotiations at the Vatican seemed to be bearing fruit. Indeed, the first known letter on this subject from Pothier to his 'Bien cher ami' Pécoul (8 July 1891) is actually a request to step back: 'You can see that things are going fairly well; and it would be a real shame to compromise the situation in a bid for something better.'¹² In what would become a characteristic pattern Pécoul ignored him, instead offering reassurances about his own safety (Figure 3.1):

My very Reverend and dear Father, / [...] M. Schmidt considers his guerrilla role over; he regards himself as satisfied and is content to serve as scout for the regular army which he has persuaded to join battle. There will be no imprudence and you will be mixed up in nothing, whether up close or at a distance. A venture by printers and booksellers (all very secular) to defend itself against foreign competition, cannot compromise you.

[Mon très Révérend et cher Père, / [...] M. Schmidt estime que son rôle de guerillero est fini; il se tient pour satisfait et se contente de servir d'éclaireur à l'armée régulière qu'il a décidée à entrer en campagne. Il n'y aura aucune imprudence et vous ne serez mêlé à rien de près ni de loin. Une démarche d'imprimeurs et de libraires tout ce qu'il y a de plus laïcs, pour se défendre contre la concurrence étrangère, ne saurait vous compromettre.]¹³

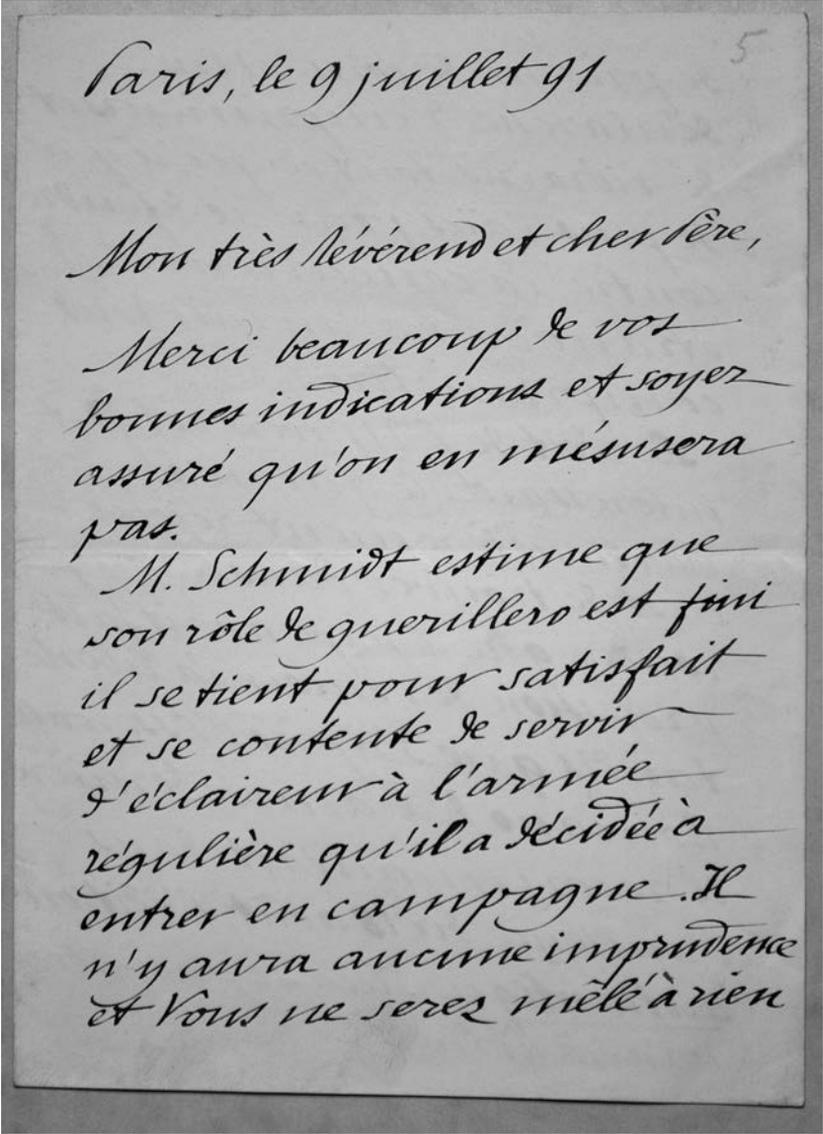
And a couple of weeks later:

My Reverend and dear Father, / Faithful to his promise, M. Schmidt has returned to private life, but he has handed things over to someone who will take the matter further than he can. The evidence: the *Chambre Syndicale des Imprimeurs* is making the cause its own. It's no longer about liturgy or music but about business and commercial interests. / The little Jesuit [Dom Babin] will receive, if he has not already done so, the *Bulletin of the Chambre Syndicale*.

¹¹ *AIXm*: MS 1976 [1842]: letters from Dom Babin, starting at no. 19 (11 December 1889).

¹² 'Vous constatez que les affaires marchent assez bien; et ce serait vraiment dommage de compromettre la situation en voulant exiger mieux.' Pothier to Pécoul, 8 July 1891. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 21.

¹³ Pécoul to Pothier, 9 July 1891, *SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 5.



Paris, le 9 juillet 91 ⁵

Mon très Révérend et cher Père,

Merci beaucoup de vos
bonnes indications et soyez
assuré qu'on en méusera
pas.

M. Schmidt estime que
son rôle de guerillero est fini
il se tient pour satisfait
et se contente de servir
d'éclaireur à l'armée
régulière qu'il a décidé à
entrer en campagne. Il
n'y aura aucune imprudence
et vous ne serez mêlé à rien

Figure 3.1 Auguste Pécoul to Dom Pothier, 9 July 1891, supposedly renouncing his 'guerilla' tactics. SWF: 1 W 23, item 5.

I shall not hide from you that the notes were provided by M. Schmidt; he sent them his file on a purely private basis. / It's a real trump card, having this Chambre Syndicale.

[Mon révérend et cher Père, / Fidèle à sa promesse, M. Schmidt est rentré dans la vie privée, mais il a passé la main à qui mènera plus loin que lui les affaires; en preuve, la chambre syndicale des imprimeurs fait la cause sienne. Il ne s'agit

plus de liturgie, de musique mais des intérêts industriels et commerciaux. / Le petit jésuite recevra, s'il ne l'a déjà reçu, le Bulletin de la chambre syndicale. Je ne vous cacherai pas que les notes ont été fournies par M. Schmidt; il a tout bourgeoisement communiqué son dossier. / C'est un gros atout que d'avoir cette chambre syndicale.]¹⁴

If there were relevant letters earlier than these between Dom Pothier and Pécoul they have not come to light. Nevertheless Pécoul's updates on progress suggest strongly that Pothier turned to him for advice, and that it was Pécoul's diplomatic understanding of the need for distance, deniability and secularism that led him to think of the print unions, the earliest known contact with whom dates from April 1891. It is also surely pertinent that the aspects of Papal policy with which Pécoul remained involved after his departure from the Embassy in 1870 included Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum* (14 May 1891) on the condition of workers.¹⁵

As befitting a junior partner, Dom Mocquereau seems to have been brought into this circle somewhat later, the first known letter from Pécoul (though one of very few extant) dated 23 September 1892 and displaying even more theatricality:

Mr Schmidt hasn't enough handkerchiefs to dry the tears of regret that he did not know from 1883 that Solesmes was also interested in the matter. He would have opened fire the moment the decree came out, and given Bartolini something to enjoy. / He will do what he can, unto death. However, it goes without saying that in this polemic the name of Dom Pothier will never be mentioned.

[M. Schmidt n'a pas assez de mouchoires [sic] pour sécher les larmes que lui arrache le regret de n'avoir pas su dès 1883 que Solesmes était aussi intéressé à la question. Il aurait ouvert le feu aussitôt la divulgation du décret et donné de l'agrément à Bartolini. / Il fera ce qu'il pourra jusqu'à extinction. Mais, il est bien entendu que, dans sa polémique, le nom de D. Pothier ne sera jamais prononcé.]¹⁶

In between, there is evidence that knowledge of Pécoul's activity went right to the top, in the form of the Abbot of Solesmes and Supérieur Général of the Congregation, Dom Paul Delatte. Via Dom Babin, Pécoul sent him Georges Chamerot's union petition of December 1891 and foreign minister Alexandre Ribot's response to it.¹⁷ He also, in August,

¹⁴ Pécoul to Pothier, 21 July 1891, SWF: 1 W 23, no. 6. The relevant article in the *Bulletin de la Chambre syndicale des imprimeurs typographes* is the 'Cri d'alarme', 1re année; no. 7 (15 July 1891). Pécoul's annotated copy identifies the author as Chamerot, who worked from the *Matin* article and other notes provided by its author. AIXm: Fonds Pécoul box 44, loose papers.

¹⁵ Macé, *Les fantômes*, p. 116.

¹⁶ Pécoul to Mocquereau, 23 September 1892. SO (*paléo.*): Corr. Mocquereau.

¹⁷ Pécoul to Delatte, 27 April 1892. SO (*paléo.*).

tried in vain to persuade him of how a recent gold medal for Dom Babin's typographical team at the Amsterdam World Fair might be publicized via orchestrated congratulation and used indirectly as anti-Pustet ammunition in the service of something Dom Delatte longed for and on which Pécoul was working against formidable odds: permission for the expelled Solesmes community to re-enter its own abbey. Dom Delatte's plea for modesty and restraint ends: 'And yet I am no less grateful to you for your affection for Solesmes and your devotion to all its interests. Now find me a way of removing our policemen, and I promise you the profoundest thanks ...'¹⁸

There appears to be no way of knowing how Pothier and Mocquereau envisaged the dovetailing or otherwise of the two modes of attack against Regensburg that were in train by the autumn of 1891. But in the medium term their responses to Pécoul's initiative were very different. Pothier undoubtedly condoned the action, providing Pécoul with material at regular intervals, and with some enthusiasm; Mocquereau distanced himself in the autumn of 1893 but kept a watching brief. In this regard the two men's philosophical differences over the wisdom of the entire *Paléographie musicale* project are themselves suggestive. Since 1890 Mocquereau had been in touch with a crucial ally at the Vatican, the Jesuit priest Fr Angelo de Santi. Both Mocquereau and De Santi put their faith in an intellectual campaign in which overwhelming proof of consistency across sources (such as those provided by the *Justus ut palma florebit* concordances of the *Paléographie's* second and third volumes) would win over members of the SCR to the Solesmes way. Moreover, De Santi made it clear from the start that he deplored the press campaign and received due assurances from Dom Mocquereau that Solesmes had nothing to do with it.¹⁹ De Santi's reaction to the union campaigns would be broadly similar. According to Moneta-Caglio, Pothier saw tactical risk for Solesmes in the putting into the public domain of large amounts of primary evidence not all of which suggested the same answers; and he advised against the *Paléographie musicale* project for that reason.²⁰ It is not difficult to see that he would incline to the view that a political solution to stop Pustet was both more pressing and more likely to be effective against an SCR minded to sweep away intellectual arguments with authoritative invocations of canonicity. At the same time, as he revealed repeatedly over the next two decades, he was not tough enough to fight his own battles.

¹⁸ 'Et pourtant, je ne vous remercie pas moins de votre affection pour Solesmes et de votre dévouement à tous ses intérêts. Trouvez moi maintenant un biais quelconque pour expulser nos gendarmes, et je vous promets la reconnaissance la plus profonde ...'. Delatte to Pécoul, 9 August 1892 (*Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Delatte'). Pécoul replied on 10 August 1892. *SO (paléo.)*.

¹⁹ See Combe, *Histoire*, p. 147; *Restoration*, pp. 126–7.

²⁰ Moneta-Caglio, 'Dom André Mocquereau', *Musica sacra*, Milan, 84/2 (March–April 1960): p. 49. On the *Paléographie musicale* question, see Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 130–32; *Restoration*, pp. 110–12.

The Pécoul archive at Aix-en-Provence reveals just how much drafting, information gathering and revision that attempt at a political solution entailed. Over more than a decade the print unions issued innumerable pamphlets, briefings, open letters of protest, petitions and reports, all tailored to the needs of members of the clergy and the main ministries involved in the case – Affaires Etrangères, Cultes, and Commerce et Industrie. The French Ambassador to the Holy See, accessible only via the *Ministre des Affaires Etrangères*, was the official conduit for all such protests to the SCR and, ultimately, to the Pope himself. Many such documents were drafted from scratch by Pécoul, with musicological help from Pothier and others when required; almost every one of them went across his editorial desk. The unions involved represented those lying both upstream and downstream of the main liturgical publishers; and despite understandable tensions between the two camps they represented both owners and workers. Central to the protest were Georges Chamerot, president of the *Chambre Syndicale des Imprimeurs Typographes* (foundries and printshops); Armand Templier and Henri Bélin, successive presidents of the *Cercle de la Librairie* (general book industry); Léon Gruel, president of the *Chambre Syndicale de la Reliure* (binders); and the lowlier and most loyal Auguste Keufer, delegate for and later secretary-general of the *Fédération Française des Travailleurs du Livre* (general printworkers). Among company owners the most outspoken was Théophile Beaudoire, director of the *Fonderie Générale des Caractères Typographiques*, who also represented the *Chambre Syndicale des Maîtres-Fondeurs Typographes Français* (although interestingly his pamphlets do not reveal his union status and he wrote to Pécoul on company, not union, paper). His correspondence, like that of Chamerot, was unusually strategic, and Pécoul recognized and respected him as the unions' collective leader from 1893 until 1895,²¹ when Dom Pothier's dim view of his professional competence seems to have weakened a close relationship of mutual support.

It was Beaudoire who advised against mounting a rearguard action against the Church's drive for unity. In an analogy that many right-wing Catholics would have found rebarbative, he argued that France had become a political unity only through the suppression of all its Duchies and Counties, and that it was a good thing for worshippers to find a familiar ritual wherever they travelled. In any case he viewed any argument to retain the status quo as unwinnable. Instead, he favoured attacking the question of monopoly.²² Beaudoire quickly demonstrated that he was on Pécoul's wavelength both politically and diplomatically. He too considered that the French government was the only agent through which the battle could be won, and that

²¹ Pécoul to Pothier, 25 January 1894. *SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 21.

²² Beaudoire to Chamerot (copy), 21 June 1893. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 13.

certain anticlerical moves, such as an increase in State control over church fabric funds (promulgated in September 1893), were necessary to give the committees that managed such funds adequate protection from Vatican pressure to spend them on German books. This particular measure was, as Beaudoire put it, 'a response from the shepherd of France to the shepherd of Nevers.'²³

None of this is to indicate that the unions pursued the battle without a second thought. Chamerot nearly buckled in August 1891, wanting to stop the campaign altogether; and in November he reported that Templier was refusing to sign ministerial petitions for fear of being hauled up and asked how he knew what he knew.²⁴ Fear among the unionists, however, was nothing as to fear elsewhere. Although the main liturgical publishers – Poussielgue, Le Clere, Lecoffre and Repos in Paris, Vatar in Rennes, Mame in Tours and Mingardon in Marseille – were in regular touch either with Pécoul or his correspondents, they did not put their names to the early 1890s phase of the battle. By February 1891 Mingardon was placing Pécoul's articles as widely as he could, but would not do more, writing eleven months later that the publishers were talking to each other and feared a Vatican reprisal if the press campaign continued.²⁵ On 4 June 1891 Lecoffre replied to Pécoul's offer to ghost-write him a letter by extricating himself from any direct part in the battle, at least in the short term. By 13 August he was willing to help but sought safety in numbers by suggesting a joint publishers' petition (which never materialized).²⁶ Equally, the publishers managed to stay out of the firing line in 1895–97 when Pécoul, via Poussielgue's agent Etienne Védie, tried to corral them into signing a joint letter of protest to ministers and into lobbying for papal endorsements that would give their publications a similar level of authority to those of Pustet. Védie, who dubbed them 'the audacious ones', admitted after toning down Pécoul's draft protest for a fourth time that they merited their nickname only in the negative [par anti-phrase].²⁷ By July 1897 the petition had still not been sent and the political situation at the Vatican suggested it should be dropped. Despite having the courage to print a sustained Pécoul attack on the Pustet edition in his *Revue de musique religieuse et du chant grégorien*,²⁸ Mingardon had refused to sign the petition; and

²³ 'C'est une réponse du berger des Français au berger des Nivernais.' Beaudoire to Pécoul, 7 September 1893. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 13.

²⁴ Chamerot to Pécoul, 9 August and 28 November 1891. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 9.

²⁵ Mingardon to Pécoul, 3 February 1891 and 12 January 1892. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 20.

²⁶ Victor Lecoffre to Pécoul, 4 June and 13 August 1891. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 5.

²⁷ Védie to Pécoul, 1 March 1897. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 1.

²⁸ The article, signed 'Un Gallo-Romain', was a revision of an article Pécoul had originally published in *Le monde* under the title 'Le plain-chant de Ratisbonne', 15/16–18 July 1896. Mingardon published it as 'Plain-chant et musique sacrée', *Revue de musique religieuse et de chant grégorien*, 1/12 (November 1896) – 2/16 (March 1897).

while Mame had been awarded a papal imprimatur that could be duly celebrated in the press with a little publicist work from Pécoul, both Lecoffre and Mingardon had declined to seek a similar honour.²⁹ Such reticence across the entire 1890s suggests that Pécoul was exaggerating only slightly when he began his peroration to a petition entitled 'Les livres liturgiques. La notation de Ratisbonne' thus: 'Terrorized by the Vatican, the publishers of liturgical books dare not protest nor provide information. The bishops have forced them into silence. We cannot count on them.'³⁰

The burden of protest against Pustet's advance thus fell on those who supplied essential services to publishers. Under Pécoul's leadership, and starting modestly via Chamerot's petition of 23 December 1891, they implemented strategies of information saturation, sending waves of well-informed protests to mayors, prefects, deputies and ministers, to archbishops, bishops, clergy and the press. They also invited direct lobbying of the Vatican. Pécoul kept them on a short leash. He was not averse, it seems, to a little scare-mongering if it appeared that his lobby was flagging. By his own account what turned into the most intensive wave of protests was spurred by news of 1893 that Pustet was about to set up a branch in Toulouse with the help of the organist and composer Aloys Kunc, and a local printer.³¹ Given that Kunc was effectively an

²⁹ Védie to Pécoul, 10 April 1897. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 1. The clergy, too, were cowed. A cleric in bishop Lelong's diocese of Nevers balked in 1893 at an approach from Pécoul that must have suggested protest, and pleaded for confidentiality: 'no one here will dare write direct to Rome; terror is the order of the day, especially in the higher ranks. [... *personne n'osera* ici s'adresser directement à Rome; la terreur est à l'ordre du jour, surtout dans les hautes sphères.] P. Nillieu [?] to Pécoul, 28 August 1893. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 25.

³⁰ 'Terrorisés par le Vatican, les éditeurs de livres liturgiques n'osent protester ni fournir des renseignements. Les évêques leur imposent le silence. On ne peut compter sur eux.' Fair copy; destination unknown. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 8.

³¹ To give an idea of volume, the Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie alone received the following in 1893–94: Th[éophile] Beaudoire: *Les livres de liturgie notée. Le décret de la Congrégation des Rites de 1883 et la concurrence allemande. Mémoire adressé à M. le Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie* (10 July 1893); Les syndicats des industries du livre: *Les livres de liturgie notée. Réponse à la note de l'Osservatore romano du 2 août 1893* (1 October 1893); G[eorges] Chamerot: *Les livres de liturgie notée. Les éditions allemandes et le Vatican. Mémoire adressé à M. le Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie* (19 October 1893); four different texts under the same title, *Les livres liturgiques et les privilèges accordés par le Vatican à l'éditeur de Ratisbonne. Mémoire adressé à M. le Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie*, sent by H. Bélin, the Fédération Française des Travailleurs du Livre, G[eorges] Chamerot (all 14 February 1894) and L[éon] Gruel (22 February 1894); another, under same title, sent to the Ministre des Affaires Étrangères by the Fédération Française des Travailleurs du Livre (28 February 1894); L[éon] Gruel, *Les livres liturgiques et les privilèges accordés par le Vatican à l'Éditeur de Ratisbonne. Lettre adressée à M. le Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie* (22 February 1894). See also the anonymous *Les livres liturgiques. Réclamations des industries du livre* (March 1894). To these can be added two more general pamphlets which Pécoul wrote anonymously but on his own behalf: *Les livres de chant liturgique. Invasión de la librería alemana* (Paris, 1892, extracted from the *Bulletin de la Chambre syndicale des imprimeurs typographes*); and *Un Parisien ami des Arts, L'édition de plain-chant de Ratisbonne. Étude critique* (Paris, [1893]). At the same time, the unions sent several handwritten petitions,

agent for the Digne edition, this news would have had the shock value of a defection for those familiar with Toulousain chant politics. It is no wonder that, as Pécoul crowed to Mocquereau, it ‘galvanized’ the union leaders.³² The initial unionist demands were simple: repeal of the 1883 decree and an unequivocal undertaking that the Regensburg monopoly would not be renewed on its expiry, which it was initially assumed would fall on 30 September 1898. In addition, unionists repeatedly reminded ministers of the availability of a nuclear option: that the first of the Organic Articles of 8 April 1802 could be used to subvert the Vatican’s authority over its French bishops.

Unsurprisingly, we find similar arguments and rhetorical strategies across the union petitions, although each one is different and their argumentation is cleverly inconsistent. Their ‘authors’ hint that Pustet’s original deal involved bribery. Their claims regarding the fabrication of the 1868 competition become increasingly strong, leading to demands for the repeal of the 1883 decree as based on inaccurate evidence. The urgency of the case is emphasized by presenting the 1883 decree either as a *de facto* imposition of Regensburg (Beaudoire) or its near-imposition (Chamerot). The prospect of a new hardline decree complementary to 1883 is viewed as financially catastrophic and is claimed to be widely feared on account of news that the SCR is already, through a biased commission on the regulation of chant, trying to engineer a pro-Pustet outcome.³³ The ‘authors’ milk Leo XIII’s sympathy for the working classes. Pustet’s offer to waive his monopoly for France and to allow the French to copy his edition is rejected as an unacceptable invitation to the French to expose themselves to unfair competition and to promote German products. They condemn the low artistic quality and Gregorian inauthenticity of the Regensburg edition, but Solesmes is never mentioned as an alternative. Finally, they engage in informed speculation that the executive officers of the SCR (now, following the death of Bartolini, led by Cardinal Cajetan Aloisi-Masella) are working against the wishes of the Pope and keeping him ignorant of their activities, and that a direct approach from the Ambassador will disabuse him to decisive effect.

one in Pécoul’s most characteristic scribal hand, to Archbishop Richard of Paris (*AHAP*: 2 G 2).

³² See Pécoul to Mocquereau, 16 September 1893: ‘The Toulouse plan has set the gunpowder alight; ever since they heard that Kunc is Pustet’s man, the union leaders have been beside themselves, and things could go far.’ [Le projet de Toulouse a mis le feu aux poudres; depuis que l’on sait que Kunc est l’homme de Pustet, les présidents des chambres syndicales ne se connaissent plus et les choses peuvent aller fort loin.] *SO (paléo)*: Corr. Mocquereau. In a letter of the same date, Dom Babin wondered whether the rumour had any foundation (*AIXm*: Ms. 1976 [1842], no. 82). The Toulouse question never resurfaces, and the pages of Kunc’s own journal, *Musica sacra*, suggest no links of this kind.

³³ A major consideration here was the presence of a single, supposedly pro-Pustet, Frenchman on the commission in question: Kunc himself.

To an extent these tactics worked: Lefebvre de Béhaine, the French Ambassador to the Holy See, did indeed raise the temperature by asking how the Vatican would react to a government ban on the Pustet edition in France. He returned from discussions with both Cardinals Aloisi-Masella (SCR) and Rampolla (Secretary of State) with verbal and informal written assurances that the Pustet edition would not be imposed and that there was no question of its monopoly being renewed.³⁴ Even Fr De Santi, who viewed the union campaign with a mixture of irritation and concern, admitted that the rearguard action had worked, not least because the Vatican's newspaper, the *Osservatore romano*, stated explicitly on 2 August 1893 that no imposition of Pustet's editions had ever been intended by the Holy See.³⁵ On 19 January 1894, Circular no. 617 from the *Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, Beaux-Arts et Cultes* was sent to bishops nationwide, enclosing the two letters from the Ambassador reporting on his diplomatic mission and relaying the news in a tone that suggested the matter was closed satisfactorily. This was the circular that allegedly prompted bishop Dabert of Périgueux to change his mind about imposing Pustet's edition on his diocese.³⁶ An unusually explicit and knowing letter from within the Solesmes circle expresses a sense of relief, albeit qualified. The chant palaeographer René-Marie-Raoul de Sainte-Beuve, based at Notre-Dame de la Brèche in Chartres and one of Dom Mocquereau's closest friends, wrote to him on 8 February 1894: 'I am personally happy at the outcome [i.e. of ministerial intervention], but am sorry that a question of canon law should be approached like this; for I have no faith in the device of using expedients.'³⁷ Nevertheless, Pécoul begged to differ on the question of whether the matter was closed, and sparked further synchronized protests (mostly dated 14 February) from the unions to the *Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie*, complaining at Lefebvre de Béhaine's incompetence and arguing that nothing short of repeal – of the decree and of the endorsement of the Regensburg editions as authoritative – was acceptable. New within this round of protests was an important claim relating to the pitiful number of churches in Rome that used the Pustet Gradual, described by Bartolini in the 1883 decree as the chant belonging to the Church of Rome: a mere three out of over 300.³⁸ In

³⁴ The two reassuring letters from Lefebvre de Béhaine to Jules Develle (*Ministre des Affaires Etrangères*) were dated 19 and 29 October 1893.

³⁵ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 181; *Restoration*, p. 157. Combe himself is harder-edged where the print union and press protests are concerned (*Histoire*, p. 181; *Restoration*, p. 156–7).

³⁶ Reported by Chamerot (via Pécoul) to his union colleagues in 1901, *Huitième congrès*, p. 144.

³⁷ Sainte-Beuve to Mocquereau, 8 February 1894, 'Pour moi je suis heureux du résultat, mais je regrette qu'une question canonique se traite de cette façon; car je n'ai pas confiance dans le système des expédients.' *SO (paléo.)*; Corr. Mocquereau.

³⁸ See for instance Bélin, *Les livres liturgiques*, p. 6.

addition, the Embassy's embrace of the new 'freedom' offered by Pustet to enable his edition to be copied in France, prompted outrage. How could the Ambassador have acceded to such mockery of French printers, who would have to pour new investment into copying a German edition with which they would find it difficult to compete, and which in any case wounded their national pride?³⁹

As his writings reveal, Pécoul's reasoning, which peppered these protests in more or less indirect language, was born of experience. He feared doublespeak and delaying tactics.⁴⁰ The parallel story told by Combe in 1969 demonstrates that such fears were well-founded and that the Pustet lobby within the SCR was highly effective. Combe's central witness to Vatican decision-making on chant was De Santi, exiled in January 1894 for showing active disloyalty to the Pustet edition, in favour of Solesmes, and allowed back by Cardinal Aloisi-Masella the following November only on condition that he took no part in anything relating to sacred music or chant.⁴¹ Moreover, following a meeting with Archbishop Richard, Dom Laurent Janssens wrote from the Benedictine College of St Anselm in Rome in June 1894 to impress upon him that Aloisi-Masella conducted a reign of terror reaching all the way to the papal antechamber, and showed consistent hostility both to French interests and to the interests of those who sought to defend chant's traditions.⁴² Quite apart from the exiling of De Santi, which he did not mention, Janssens dwelt on how Cardinal Aloisi-Masella routinely neglected to circulate meeting times to troublesome members of the commission that was preparing a new regulation on sacred music, in order to enhance the likelihood of decisions going in Regensburg's favour. One such excluded member was Cardinal Lecot, Archbishop of Bordeaux, who had raised the initial alarm while bishop of Dijon; another was Archbishop Richard himself, whom Janssens urged in a letter of 14 June 1894 (as indeed he had done in person) to speak directly with the Pope, who was known to be sympathetic to the Benedictine cause. Four letters from Janssens, from 2 March to 22 June, kept Pécoul abreast of some of the twists and turns of this phase, which also involved Aloisi-Masella attempting to remove the secretary to the SCR for refusing to distribute a Haberl defence of Regensburg as an

³⁹ Keufer kept up the pressure the following year in an article for his union magazine: A.K., 'Les livres d'église', *Typographie française*, 14, no. 318 (1 January 1895): pp. 3–4.

⁴⁰ See the section of his anonymous 1892 article/pamphlet *Les livres de chant liturgique* entitled 'Solutions proposées', p. 18.

⁴¹ Combe, *Histoire/Restoration*, Part II, sections 36 and 38.

⁴² Letter from Janssens to Archbishop Richard's office, 14 June 1894. Janssens notes 'l'hostilité ouverte que le Cardinal Préfet a montrée aux défenseurs de la tradition et des intérêts français', and the 'espèce de terreur qu'il exerce autour de lui, jusque dans les anti-chambres du Souverain-Pontife'. *AHAP*: 2 G 2, 1. Janssens nevertheless reported in sanguine fashion to Pécoul (13 June 1894) on his conversation of that same day with Archbishop Richard. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 42 loose letters. Similar news regarding Cardinals Lecot and Richard reached Mocquereau via Daniel Choissard of the Solesmes Seminary on 30 June 1894 (*SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau).

official document.⁴³ Elsewhere, memos from Ambassador Lefebvre de Béhaine to Gabriel Hanotaux, the new *Ministre des Affaires Etrangères*, reveal the extraordinary lengths to which he and Archbishop Richard went to try to ensure there was no slippage between promises elicited from Secretary of State Rampolla in a note of 28 May, and the final wording of the SCR document.⁴⁴

Meanwhile Pécoul had spent March preparing a seventeen-page project of unusual sensitivity in which he tried to persuade the Vatican to say – explicitly, incontrovertibly, officially and via the Pope but without Aloisi-Masella losing face – that the Pustet privilege was annulled. He devised a series of closed questions to be sent to the SCR in the guise of an episcopal request for clarification. Taken together, he believed, the answers to the questions would force the SCR to draw up an Act, clarifying the matter once and for all, and in the manner Pécoul desired. In a covering note he wrote to Cardinal Langénieux, Archbishop of Reims, clearly hoping to find a willing agent:

This would be a response to a communication from a bishop who would lend his name to the project. If the Cardinal Prefect of Rites refused to sign the response, [which would be] by special order of the Pope – that order specified at the end of this response – the most senior member of the Congregation would sign, the prefect being presumed unwell. / Because of the subtleties of Roman Latin one would need to be very careful that the response differed in no way from the original plan and that no restriction [i.e. on liberty] was slipped in to favour the *official* character of the Regensburg notation.

[Ce serait une réponse à la communication d'un évêque qui se prêterait à la chose. Si le Cardinal préfet des Rites se refusait à signer la réponse, par ordre spécial du pape, ordre mentionné à la fin de cette réponse, le doyen des membres de la Congrégation signerait, le préfet serait supposé malade. / A cause des finesses du latin romain il y aurait à veiller à ce que la réponse ne diffère en rien du projet et qu'il ne s'y glisse aucune restriction en faveur au caractère *officiel* de la notation de Ratisbonne.]⁴⁵

The same day, 26 March 1894, a troubled Dom Pothier wrote to Pécoul about the new wave of activity: 'I fear all this polemic will simply end in disaster. We used to have a freedom that was workable. What shall we end up with now? / Forgive my pessimistic tone ...'⁴⁶

⁴³ Information on the Haberl 'Histoire des livres choraux romains' comes from Janssens letter to Pécoul, 11 May 1894. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 42 loose papers.

⁴⁴ Memoranda dated between 2 May and 29 June 1894. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

⁴⁵ Pécoul to Mgr Langénieux, 26 March 1894, as cover note to 'Annulation par acte authentique des privilèges conférés à l'éditeur de Ratisbonne pour sa notation et ses éditions des livres liturgiques'. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38, folder 9.

⁴⁶ 'Je crains bien que toute cette polémique n'aboutisse qu'à un catastrophe. Nous avons une liberté qui pouvait nous suffire, qu'allons-nous avoir maintenant? / Pardonnez-moi ce ton pessimiste ...'. Pothier to Pécoul, 26 March 1894. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 42 loose papers.

There is no evidence that Pécoul implemented his plan to trap the SCR into making an incontrovertible statement. Perhaps Cardinal Langénieux declined to be involved; perhaps Pécoul himself realized that such an obvious ruse was unlikely to work. Whatever the case, within months the SCR had all but resiled from the verbal concessions given to Lefebvre de Béhaine – in precisely the manner Pécoul and others feared. With De Santi still exiled from Rome the promised decree (*Quod St Augustinus*, 7 July 1894) arrived, together with an internal regulation on sacred music, and closely followed by an encyclical letter (21 July 1894) addressed to a restive Italian clergy but widely interpreted as relevant internationally. Together, the documents reinscribed the validity of all previous decrees, exhorted unity of chant practice, strengthened Pustet's claim to authority (while nevertheless mentioning freedom to choose among available editions), and attempted to muzzle protest by forbidding discussion of either the decree or the regulations in print. They said nothing about non-renewal of the Pustet privilege. Moreover, and doubtless to avoid a repeat of Arezzo, the 'Regulation' banned all congresses or committees on liturgical chant unless they had been formally authorized.⁴⁷ While French ambassadorial officers patted themselves on the back for having ensured that the clause on liberty appeared in the final decree, members of the Pustet camp, via the *Semaine religieuse de Nevers* and the *Typologie-Tucker*, claimed victory for themselves. But for all his public bullishness, Lefebvre de Béhaine warned Cardinal Rampolla in August that the presence of the 'liberty' clause would not be enough to stop the polemics because the text surrounding it was too severe.⁴⁸ As Savart notes of Dumay, it is no wonder that he shook his head and asked, in a note to self, 'Who is deceiving whom in this business?'⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Full texts in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, pp. 163–5 (decree) and pp. 140–42 (regulations and encyclical letter).

⁴⁸ Mentioned in report from Lefebvre de Béhaine to the Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, 8 August 1894. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

⁴⁹ 'Qui trompe-t-on dans cette affaire?' Cited in Savart, 'La querelle', p. 306. *Semaine religieuse du diocèse de Nevers*, 31/33 (18 August 1894): pp. 401–2; *Typologie-Tucker*, vol. 6, no. 290 (15 August 1894), 'Livres liturgiques', unsigned pp. 229–32; see also Eugène Chaminade, *La musique sacrée telle que la veut l'église* (Paris, 1897). The *Typologie* article explicitly says the Beaudoire/government campaign has been pursued on behalf of the Benedictines; but this statement, unlike those relating to the 1883 Vatican decree, goes unannotated by Dumay. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437. In the revised 'Gallo-Romain' article of 1896–97 that appeared in the *Revue de musique religieuse et de chant grégorien*, and in which he attacked Pustet for the benefit of an audience that needed persuading not to bow to commercial pressure, Pécoul would explain the meaning of the events leading to the 1894 decree in precisely the opposite fashion: the verbal and written guarantees about freedom of choice emanating from the Vatican were, he wrote, sincere, trustworthy, and had precisely the same value as an official Act repealing that of 1883 (2/16 (March 1897), p. 286).

The double reference in Janssens's letter of 14 June to Archbishop Richard, citing 'French interests' and 'the defenders of tradition', raises the question of who knew what, when, about the asymmetries of Pécoul's allegiance in the French plainchant battle. For by 'French interests' Janssens would have meant the unions, and by the 'defenders of tradition' he would have meant Solesmes. Pécoul, although adept at subterfuge, must have realized that the increasing prominence of Dom Pothier's work was not only threatening the French unions under whose aegis he was lobbying, but that it might also eventually limit his capacity to appear impartial. The Marseille publisher Mingardon clearly suspected where Pécoul's primary allegiance lay when he wrote: 'The greatest foe, the enemy I dread the most, for my editions is not a Bavarian; you know as well as I do, better than I do, where he resides.'⁵⁰ Beaudoire, commenting on an anonymous article in *Le soleil*, was under no illusions; indeed he accepted Pécoul as an 'enthusiastic partisan of the Benedictines' while elsewhere addressing him as 'Dear Companion in Arms'.⁵¹ He even wrote to him, admiringly: 'Dear Sir, God gave humans words to disguise their thoughts'.⁵² From the point of view of Pécoul's official protests via government, this compliment held true. No reading of his articles or letters to government officials gives a hint of his devotion to Pothier's Solesmes reform per se. It is evident in every pamphlet that the print unions have access to an informant with Vatican connections, but that in itself, as we have seen, did not equate to support for Pothier's research. Nevertheless the perpetual high-pitched scream raised eyebrows, especially regarding the purported level of threat to French industry when so few dioceses had purchased Pustet's editions. In particular Lefebvre de Béhaine, and his secretary Raymond Lecomte, smelt a rat. The Ambassador had been surprised to see copies of his confidential reports to the then foreign minister Alexandre Ribot in the hands of anti-Pustet Jesuits at the Vatican (including De Santi) the previous November, and jumped to the wrong conclusions: 'nothing has been neglected, even here, by

⁵⁰ 'Le plus grand ennemi, l'ennemi que je redoute le plus, pour mes éditions n'est pas un Bavaois, vous savez comme moi, mieux que moi, où il perche'. Letter from Mingardon to Pécoul, 19 March 1894. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 42 loose letters. Mingardon wrote in similar vein, citing Pothier by name, on 24 July 1896. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 20. Bergeron discusses the manner in which this rivalry came out into the open in the pages of Mingardon's *Revue de musique religieuse et de chant grégorien* and the pro-Pothier *Revue du chant grégorien* in 1896 and 1898 respectively. Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, pp. 54–5.

⁵¹ Beaudoire to Pécoul, 25 September [1894], and 4 February 1894. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 13.

⁵² Beaudoire to Pécoul, 31 August 1893. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 13.

the opponents of the Medicean notation, to team up with the French typographers'.⁵³ Lecomte was more general:

to me, the actual harm caused to our books industry does not seem entirely in proportion with the agitation to which it has given rise, and I cannot help asking myself whether the emotion shown by the signatories to the protest does not stem in some way from another quite separate cause. I note in passing and not without surprise that certain specialist publishers, M. Lecoffre among others, have remained outside the debate.

[le préjudice réel causé à notre industrie du livre ne me paraît pas tout-à-fait en proportion de l'agitation à laquelle il a donné lieu et je ne puis m'empêcher de me demander si l'émotion manifestée par les signataires de la protestation ne proviendrait pas en partie de quelque autre cause étrangère à la question. Je note en passant et non sans surprise que certains éditeurs spéciaux, M. Lecoffre entre autres, sont restés en dehors du débat.]⁵⁴

From the point of view of the print unions, Pécoul's hitching of the two causes together was duplicitous but arguably not yet abusive. It was also effective in that I have found no evidence that, even up to 1910 when the last of them ceased to be involved in the battle, Bélin, Chamerot, Gruel or Keufer realized the level of service they had rendered to others. However, the potential for abuse was there almost from the outset. For what Pécoul and indeed the Benedictine actors assumed, but which the print unions could not have guessed so easily, was that, for purposes of SCR policy on liturgical unity, chant had as early as the 1890s become a two-horse race in which the various forms of French *chant traditionnel* and even the Gregorian Reims-Cambrai edition looked as though they would be discarded as irrelevant.⁵⁵ Certainly, freedom of choice was becoming increasingly provisional and, whatever happened at the Vatican, French printers and publishers alike would sooner or later have to reinvest and to re-establish their markets from scratch. Pécoul's pamphlets for the unions railed at the Ambassador's inertia, but Pécoul was being disingenuous, playing on the hapless Comte de Béhaine's need to prove his utility to the government amid annual, ritual, attempts by radicals in the Chambre

⁵³ 'rien n'a été négligé, ici même, par les adversaires de la notation médicéenne en vue de se solidariser avec les typographes français'. Lefebvre de Béhaine report to Jean Casimir-Perier (Ministre des Affaires Etrangères), 17 March 1894. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

⁵⁴ Lecomte to music publisher Auguste Durand, 18 May 1894, which Durand must have sent to Pécoul for comment. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 15.

⁵⁵ In the event, Reims-Cambrai proved more resilient, its new edition of 1904 cementing acrimony between its editor Amédée Gastoué, who was the Schola Cantorum's head of educational policy, and Dom Mocquereau, who had accused Gastoué of plagiarism the year before. Gastoué to Mocquereau, 31 January, 2 and 13 February 1903. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau. Moreover, even after the Vatican Edition was announced, other chant publications based on Gregorian sources continued to receive papal sanction. Such continued pragmatism amid a drive for liturgical unity could not, however, have been foreseen in the 1890s.

des Députés to abolish the ambassadorial post once and for all.⁵⁶ Pécoul would have known precisely why Lefebvre de Béhaine was reluctant to press the case for maintaining diversity as such, whether in France or elsewhere. Equally, he knew in 1894 that repelling the threat whereby French publishing became a 'tributary' of German publication via copies of the Regensburg books would in the medium term save only their pride, not their profits.

Among his correspondents, Beaudoire saw the problem of a new 'Pustet v. Solesmes' battle first. He 'warned' Pécoul as early as July 1893 that the Benedictines had recently entered the arena in order to have Pothier's restored melodies adopted by the Vatican, and that any preference accorded to Pothier that approached a monopoly would expose the French to the very same opprobrium that the French had heaped on the Germans.⁵⁷ In public, tension on the 'new monopoly' question, amounting to the notion of an 'enemy within', was exposed with considerable perspicacity by Pustet's camp at the end of that year. Much of Pécoul's hidden agenda was laid bare, aided by the fact that someone had, in the paper *La liberté*, unwisely broken his rule of keeping the religious and secular sides of the debate apart. Either he or close ally Hyacinthe Poivet, director of the Petit Séminaire at Versailles, had inserted a puff for sung Vespers à la Pothier at the Seminary – a service to which Poivet wanted to invite Chamerot.⁵⁸ In a single breath it mentioned the Pustet privilege, the threat to French workers, and the involvement of Chamerot's union in representations to the Ministry of Commerce. An unknown writer for the pro-Pustet *Typologie-Tucker* of 15 December 1893 cited the puff at length and sarcastically attributed it to the Chambre Syndicale des Imprimeurs as inspired by Dom Pothier's friends. Luckily for Pécoul, who must have wondered whether the game was up, the author identified the central agitator as Beaudoire and proceeded to pillory him for preposterous claims to omniscience in canon law, chant history, musicology, Vatican politics, French diplomacy and union affairs. In short, with the exception of musicology, which came from Dom Pothier, he deconstructed Pécoul's skill set with alarming accuracy. Moreover, attentive readers would have associated this article with a previous one (15 October) which asked incredulously why, instead of simply demanding a rise in import tariffs to hold Pustet's books at the French border, Beaudoire

⁵⁶ Savart lists député Gustave-Adolphe Hubbard's attempt of 26 October 1891 as already one of many (Savart, 'La querelle', p. 300). Dumay took a leading role in these attempts.

⁵⁷ 'C'est alors que les peuples hostiles à la France diront ce que nous disons de l'Allemand Pustet: nous ne voulons pas subir un privilège français, ou quelque chose l'approchant.' Beaudoire to Pécoul, 25 July 1893. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 13 (two letters bear this date). In the same letter Beaudoire also explained the implications of the 1886 Bern Convention on royalties payments, which would become a critical issue in 1901.

⁵⁸ Poivet [sometimes Poyvet] wrote to Pécoul on 16 November 1893 about the possibility of inviting Chamerot. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 21.

had in his pamphlets taken the long route of calling for annulment of the monopoly via diplomatic channels.⁵⁹ In December a link with Solesmes was made explicit: Dom Pothier was named and shamed as a magpie thieving ideas from others and presenting them as his own, and dubbed the ‘Amerigo Vespucci’ of chant (a codename Pécoul later used for Dom Mocquereau; see Appendix).⁶⁰ Publication of the revised *Liber gradualis*, the first Solesmes publication to be intended for use beyond the Benedictine community, was a step towards colonization. Hence the presentation of the entire French publishing industry as breathtakingly naive in the face of infiltration by stealthy imperialists seeking world domination.

A number of liturgical publishers have perhaps believed, on the say-so of the printers, that their greatest enemy was Mr Pustet, that Mr Pustet was going to compete with them such that they lost their liturgical clients. How wrong they are! [...] While they play at being nightwatchman [...] the brothers and friends of Dom Pothier clamour in the softest of voices for the universal and general use of the *Liber gradualis* as the official chant for all dioceses; the publicity is starting up; here is the third thief getting ready to cut the ground from under the feet of publishers Mignardon, Vatar, Lecoffre and Poussielgue.⁶¹ Is that what they want? / The Benedictine edition is typeset and ready to go; the presses at Solesmes have only to start rolling; where, pray, is the sense in printers defending this edition? [...] The type is Belgian and the [original] *Liber gradualis* was printed in Belgium.

[Quelques éditeurs liturgiques ont peut-être cru, sur la parole de ces imprimeurs, que leur plus grand ennemi était M. Pustet, que M. Pustet allait leur faire une concurrence telle qu’ils perdraient leur clientèle liturgique. Combien grande leur erreur! [...] Pendant qu’ils font le guet [...], les frères et amis de dom Pothier réclament doucement l’emploi général et universel du *Liber Gradualis* comme chant officiel pour tous les diocèses; la propagande se fait active; c’est là le troisième larron qui s’appête à couper l’herbe sous le pied des éditeurs Mingardon, Vatar, Lecoffre et Poussielgue. Sont-ce là leurs désirs? / L’édition bénédictine est conservée en mobile ou en clichés prêts à tirer; les presses de Solesmes n’ont qu’à rouler, où est, s’il vous plaît, l’intérêt des imprimeurs à défendre cette susdite édition? [...] Les caractères sont belges et le *Liber Gradualis* a été imprimé en Belgique.]⁶²

This analysis, while skewed, misleading and deeply ironic given Beaudoire’s compliment to Pécoul about his capacity for disguise, was also unwittingly prophetic: the next decade’s battles would indeed revolve around questions of Belgian competition. But more immediately, the *Typologie-Tucker* exposed the increasing tension between the two causes Pécoul wanted to keep yoked together. In this

⁵⁹ *Typologie-Tucker*, 6 no. 280 (15 October 1893): pp. 113–14, at p. 114.

⁶⁰ *Typologie-Tucker*, 6 no. 282 (15 December 1893): pp. 133–8, at p. 136.

⁶¹ In La Fontaine’s fable ‘The Thieves and the Ass’, two thieves arguing over a stolen ass are outwitted by a third, who quietly leads it away.

⁶² *Typologie-Tucker*, 6 no. 282 (15 December 1893): pp. 136–7.

two-horse race run supposedly under the banner of ‘freedom’, the more actively Pécoul supported a Gregorian party that itself began to appear threatening to the status quo, the more difficult he would find it to retain the trust of his lobbying force, the starkest reason being that many of its members would have found the reproduction of Pothier’s editions, as opposed to those they customarily serviced, impossibly challenging.

Publishers, too, would have been right to worry. Despite the decree of 10/26 April which effectively prevented the Solesmes *Liber gradualis* of 1883 going on public sale, what Pécoul seems to have had in mind from early in his campaign was the wide dissemination – as far down the social scale as possible – of the fruits of Dom Pothier’s Solesmes research.⁶³ Ironically, such dissemination would not happen until the appearance of the small-format *Liber usualis* in 1896,⁶⁴ by which time Pécoul, now alienated from Solesmes, saw such ‘silent’ popularization of his friend’s work as arrogant misappropriation by the mother abbey of the congregation. Indeed, by the time the *Typologie-Tucker*’s October article came out, on this question Pécoul’s mind was already made up.

⁶³ Pécoul to Mocquereau of 23 September 1892. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

⁶⁴ The reception of this book, as compared with its more expensive antecedents of 1891 and 1895, is the subject of Bergeron’s ‘Elite Books’.

4

The Solesmes Crisis of 1893

Whoever was the author of the *Typologie-Tucker* article, he quite reasonably conflated ‘Solesmes’ and ‘Pothier’ in what would become a common error throughout the period under scrutiny here. Dom Pothier had already left the abbey of Solesmes by April 1893, but Dom Mocquereau was unknown as far as I can tell in union and printworker circles, and would remain so considerably longer; moreover, the *Paléographie musicale* was at that time published anonymously, as a collective Solesmes work. The significance of the resulting error takes us to the heart of internal politics at Solesmes. In one sense such conflation was logical, in that Pothier’s move to become Monastic Prior at Saint-Martin de Ligugé did not affect his identity as a member of the Solesmes congregation of monasteries, and indeed he continued to contribute to publications emanating from Saint-Pierre de Solesmes until the end of 1895. Viewed from Saint-Pierre or Saint-Martin, however, the situation rapidly appeared rather different, for the year 1893 saw the public outbreak of an internal dispute that had already been simmering for over two years and which would serve to fracture plainchant reform within the French Benedictine congregation because Dom Pothier and Dom Mocquereau took different sides.¹ Moreover, Pécoul sided, in extreme fashion, with Dom Pothier.

The crisis itself seems to have erupted around the time of Dom Delatte’s election as abbot in 1890, although its main subject was Mère Cécile Bruyère, the Abbess of the associated Solesmes convent of Sainte-Cécile, located a short walk from the abbey. Recent accounts from within Solesmes interpret the motivations of the principal actors variously,² and it is possible that a definitive account will forever remain elusive. Suffice it to say that via formal complaints from two Solesmes monks – Dom Joseph Sauton and Dom Martin Coutel de La Tremblaye – to whom she had acted as spiritual director during their novitiate, the Abbess found the avowed mysticism of her religious doctrine diagnosed as both potentially heretical and symptomatic of personality disorder.³ In addition, a decree of 17 December 1890 from Rome aimed

¹ I am indebted to Dom Daniel Saulnier for sharing this piece of institutional memory, on which histories of Solesmes chant reform have hitherto remained silent (beyond a highly cryptic hint in Combe, *Histoire*, p. 269; *Restoration*, p. 236).

² See Dom Louis Soltner, ‘Solesmes en Calcat et Dourgne. Une amitié monastique en des temps difficiles’, *Lettre aux amis de Solesmes*, no. 74 (April–June 1993): pp. 9–28, at pp. 24–5; and the much more extended account in Dom Guy-Marie Oury, *Lumière et force: mère Cécile Bruyère, première abbesse de Sainte-Cécile* (Solesmes, 1997), chapter 31.

³ Dom Sauton’s testimony takes up most of Albert Houtin’s *Une grande mystique: Madame Bruyère, abbesse de Solesmes, 1845–1909*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1930). In this second

at ensuring freedom of confession in religious communities prompted concern that by acting as spiritual guide to those – nuns and monks alike – over whom she exercised direct or indirect authority, she had brought condemnation on the Solesmes congregation.⁴ On a political level, Dom Sauton and Dom de La Tremblaye also considered she had manoeuvred towards achieving Dom Delatte's election as a way of securing her influence over him and turning the two Solesmes communities into a double monastery over which she would effectively preside. The collision between perceptions of mysticism and of mental illness, much-discussed later within the literatures of psychiatry and theology,⁵ came from Dom Sauton, who had trained under Jean-Martin Charcot at the Salpêtrière and whose testimony also revealed blind panic at the idea that any woman could with God's blessing command authority over a man. His fear was palpable: he foresaw a community of men rendered hysterical as a result of multiply inappropriate spiritual direction. Also relevant during this period of the monks' exile within the village was the enforced informality of relations between male and female religious communities which occasionally even worshipped together, overlaid by Mère Bruyère's exceptional role as confidante to three successive abbots – Dom Guéranger, Dom Couturier and now Dom Delatte. When the abbey and the convent were put under emergency jurisdiction simultaneously in April 1893 (by which time Vatican investigations had already been running for nearly a year), local rumour sparked, and to the alarm of the families of the Sainte-Cécile nuns it took no time whatever for the idea to take hold that Mère Bruyère and Dom Delatte's relationship was more than a meeting of minds.⁶

edition, published after Houtin's death, his literary executor Félix Sartiaux included the entire psychiatric diagnosis of hysteria [histrionic personality] complicated by erotic delirium, which Houtin had excised from the 1925 version on the grounds that the late Dom Sauton would have considered it too sensitive to publish. Part IV of Sauton's account portrays a dysfunctional monastery during 1891. Dom Mocquereau is presented as one of the Abbess's favourites; Dom Pothier as someone she wanted kept at a distance (*ibid.*, pp. 113, 117).

⁴ Dom Guy-Marie Oury suggests that Mère Bruyère was indeed vulnerable on these latter grounds in that she had inherited from Dom Guéranger a holistic vision of spiritual leadership at odds with the most recent Vatican doctrine. *Lumière et force*, pp. 291–2.

⁵ The extremes and middle ground are represented by three classics of the period immediately following: Pierre Janet, *De l'angoisse à l'extase: études sur les croyances et les sentiments* (Paris, 1926); Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* [1911], 12th, rev. edn (London, 1930), esp. ch. 3, 'Mysticism and Psychology'; and William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature, Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion delivered at Edinburgh in 1901–1902* [1902], (New York, [1936]), esp. Lecture 1 on 'Religion and Neurology'. Thanks to Sonia Taylor for pointing me towards these texts.

⁶ Oury, *Lumière et force*, pp. 294–5. Dom Pothier attributed this aspect of the later press storm to the publicist Jean de Bonnefon, and feared a new iteration in 1898. See his plea to Pécoul (23 January 1898): he asks him to prevent Bonnefon, who had already lost a related lawsuit for defamation of character, reigniting this scandal. *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Pothier'. It is entirely possible that Pécoul masterminded these attacks, with Bonnefon accepting the consequences in return for salacious copy. Pécoul had used Bonnefon as

Although most of the doctrinal charges were aimed at the Abbess, it was Dom Delatte who bore the brunt. By the summer of 1892 he had already granted transfers to Ligugé to both Dom Sauton and Dom de La Tremblaye in the vain hope that separation from Solesmes and life under Abbot Joseph Bourigaud, who supported them, would bring calm.⁷ In the meantime, after the death of his Prior at Ligugé, Abbot Bourigaud broached the question of whether Pothier, whose stance was considered moderate, might be released from Solesmes to replace him.⁸ Delatte's biographer Dom Augustin Savaton relates that the requests, which began at the end of 1892, were couched in terms of a hope that Dom Pothier would form 'a bond of peace and understanding between the two houses'.⁹ He arrived, without apparent enthusiasm, on 10 April 1893, having already told his new abbot that the impending transfer felt like a 'wrench' [déchirement] from Solesmes.¹⁰ But the instability continued: during the eight months of his suspension from duty pending the Vatican decision, Dom Delatte was replaced by Abbot Christophe Gauthey of Marseille, a friend from Pécoul's novitiate who soon found himself in an impossible position. Fundamentally supportive of the complainants he was nevertheless under suspicion from both sides, and he had the unenviable task of managing requests from unhappy monks to leave Saint-Pierre for Ligugé or elsewhere, as a community wedded by its own Rule to 'stability' at one's monastery of profession shook itself out painfully into opposing camps.¹¹

publicist since at least 1889 and he admitted authorship of the attack on co-education that came out under Bonnefon's name in the *Eclair* of 13 November 1896, entitled 'Cempuis mystiques' – the reference being to the orphanage at Cempuis that ran on experimental co-educational lines between 1880 and 1894 until halted by a press campaign. Pécoul's admission of authorship is reported by Dom Heurtebize, in the 'Chronique du R. P. D. B. Heurtebize', *SO (mon.)*: 20 October 1897. Here he described Pécoul as 'our defamer and the insulter of all that is respectable' [notre diffamateur et l'insulteur de tout ce qui est respectable]. Certainly, from the time of Delatte's reinstatement Pécoul routinely referred to 'M. et Mme de Solesmes' in private correspondence. The article did likewise. Nevertheless, the initial rumour indicated by Oury antedated the November 1893 press storm by several months, and I have found no conclusive evidence to connect Pécoul to it.

⁷ Oury, *Lumière et force*, pp. 289 and 293. A summary chronicle of the doctrinal dispute held at Saint-Wandrille dates their transfers as authorized on 25 June 1892 (Undated typescript, SWF: 2 D 3 (b)).

⁸ For Pothier's own justification of his position, see his letter of 23 January 1898 to Pécoul: Sauton and de La Tremblaye were 'people who simply wanted to do their duty, and made use of an unquestionable right' [des gens qui ont seulement voulu faire leur devoir et usaient d'un droit incontestable]. *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Pothier'.

⁹ 'un lien de paix et de concorde entre les deux maisons'. Augustin Savaton, *Dom Paul Delatte, abbé de Solesmes* (Paris, 1954), p. 159.

¹⁰ Undated letter to Dom Bourigaud [late March 1893], cited in David (ed. Thiron), 'Dom Joseph Pothier', *L'abbaye S. Wandrille*, 33 (1984): p. 28.

¹¹ *The Rule of Benedict*, trans. Carolinne White (London, 2008), pp. 85–6 (para 58). Of course, Benedictine monks moved – not least to establish new foundations – but in normal circumstances the link between Dom Pothier and the palaeographical workshop at Solesmes would surely have been too precious to the community to be broken.

And then, around two weeks before Rome pronounced, came the storm in the national press. It was Gauthey himself who, on 22 November 1893, rebuked Pécoul for releasing details of the mystical/heretical aspects of the dispute to *Le matin*, an act whose aggression was underscored by his being a conservative Catholic placing anonymous attacks in a Republican and infamously scandalmongering newspaper:

My dear friend, I have returned from an eight-day visit to Corsica to find myself in the middle of the uproar caused by the dreadful articles in newspapers that have taken it upon themselves to cover Solesmes. If it was you who wrote or advised on that of *Le matin* on 13 November, you have done something very wrong. What utility can there be in putting these things into the public domain? I beg you, halt any further articles of this kind if you can, and let Rome be the judge of that which lies within its authority.

[Mon cher Ami, Je rentre de Corse où j'étais depuis huit jours, et je me trouve au milieu du tumulte causé par les déplorables articles des journaux qui ont jugé à propos de s'occuper de Solesmes. Si c'est vous qui avez fait ou conseillé celui du *Matin* du 13 nov., vous avez fait une mauvaise action. Quelle utilité peut il avoir à mettre ces choses dans le domaine public? Je vous en prie, arrêtez si vous le pouvez tout article quelconque et laissez Rome juge de ce qu'elle a à faire.]¹²

But Pécoul did not stop. He is undoubtedly author of a second front-page article, in the rampantly anticlerical *La lanterne* – which purported to offer independent clarification of the news from *Le matin*, which named names, and which focused on the real source of Pécoul's anger: that Mère Bruyère's 'double monastery' model was a recipe for moral turpitude.¹³ He was also, as the abbey's chronicler Dom Heurtebize suspected, in regular touch with Dom de La Tremblaye about the further conduct of the press affair.¹⁴ Moreover, in Mgr Albert Battandier, who was *Consulteur* [Official Adviser] to the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and in touch with Dom Pothier (also in Rome

Gauthey's correspondence to Pécoul is in *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Gauthey'. See esp. the letter of 13 October 1893.

¹² Gauthey to Pécoul, 22 November 1893. *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Gauthey'. Ironically, in his letter of 13 October Gauthey had expressed relief that so far nothing had got into the press. The unsigned 13 November article, which made headline billing on *Le matin*'s front page and portrayed the abbess in a distinctly Sautonesque light, was entitled 'Une abbesse. Les dessous d'une affaire pendante à Rome.'

¹³ Unsigned, 'Dans les couvents. Moines et moniales. L'abbaye de Thélème. – Mysticisme transcendantal. – Pieux exercices en commun. – Hérésies et flirtations.' *La lanterne. Journal politique quotidien*, 17, no. 6043 (16 November 1893): p. 1. The Thélème reference is to Rabelais's evocation, in *Gargantua*, book 1, of monks and nuns living in a perfect community of noble and decorous conduct motivated by a shared spirituality. Irrespective of Rabelais's allegorical intent here, Pécoul would have found the idea dystopian.

¹⁴ 'Chronique du R.P.D.B. Heurtebize', *SO (mon.)*: entry for 14 November 1893; letters de La Tremblaye to Pécoul, esp. 5 December 1894 (*Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'De La Tremblaye'). The dated letters from de La Tremblaye extend from 1889 to 1896.

during some of the inquiry), he had benefited from corroboration or otherwise for the news he had been receiving from the Vatican via other sources. That news, which had seemed promising for those who, like Battandier himself, considered the Abbess to have flouted canon law, suddenly began to transform in a letter of 27 October into talk of a campaign of dirty tricks by the Abbess's supporters (now dubbed 'Céciliens') and of a potential diplomatic solution responding to intervention from the highest-born of the nuns' families. The proposed solution would, it seemed, leave the Ligugé contingent and its new Prior, disgraced.¹⁵ On 11 November, Battandier mentioned that there was split opinion within the Vatican itself as to whether simply to bow to pressure from European royalty, or to judge the matters of doctrine and governance on grounds of canon law.¹⁶ Pécoul's first newspaper article followed two days later, and when the eventual judgement went broadly in favour of Solesmes in that both Mère Bruyère and Dom Delatte resumed their former duties, he seethed at the injustice of an apparent whitewash brought about by blue blood anxious only to smother a scandal that indirectly threatened its standing.¹⁷

Nevertheless, there is evidence that Pécoul's ire was fuelled as much by a sense that Pothier was an injured party as by his own failure to win the argument. Despite their very different characters the bond between the two men was both exceptionally close, and enduring. If their friendship was not forged in 1860, it was certainly given a particular meaning from November of that year, when Pécoul acted as 'godfather' [parrain] at Dom Pothier's taking of first vows. In a letter marking the thirty-seventh anniversary of this ceremony (and despite a sharp exchange just a couple of months before), Pothier wrote a lyrical recollection of how Pécoul had held a corner of the shroud under which he lay in symbolic death to his old life.¹⁸ Nostalgia broke through when he wrote, in the same letter, that 'although currently relegated to the depths of Normandy, I preserve the sweet memory of that true day of my birth'.¹⁹ He might as well have written 'because ...', not 'although': his point is about (be)longing.

¹⁵ Battandier to Pécoul: see the sequence of ten letters from 12 September to 19 December 1893. *Pan*: 376 AP 36 folder 'Battandier'.

¹⁶ Letter of 11 November 1893. *Pan*: 376 AP 36 folder 'Battandier'.

¹⁷ Oury's account details the Austrian, Portuguese and Spanish nobility and royalty who intervened at the Vatican from the late spring of 1893 onwards. *Lumière et force*, p. 295. The final Vatican decision was not entirely favourable to Solesmes: Dom Soltner highlights the humiliation of the fact that Dom Delatte was reinstated on terms that amounted to permanent probation. Soltner, 'Solesmes en Calcat et Dourgne', p. 25.

¹⁸ Letter of 1 November 1897: *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Pothier'. That said, the 'parrain' relationship did not always work so powerfully: Pécoul also acted as Dom Paul Cagin's 'godfather', but Cagin was on the Solesmes side of the ensuing chant dispute.

¹⁹ 'quoique réléguée à cette heure au fond de la Normandie, je conserve la douce souvenance de ce vrai jour de ma naissance.' Pothier to Pécoul, 1 November 1897. *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Pothier'.

In 1893, Dom Pothier had not been exiled from Solesmes, or anything like it, but he writes as though that is precisely what happened. For Pécoul that sense of forced separation became a point of contact that went very deep, arguably intensifying a protective instinct that was already strongly present. For Pécoul, too, was in some senses an exile from Saint-Pierre, his novitiate having been terminated by family circumstance. His family papers are poignant here, including monastic keepsakes of unexpected delicacy: a calico apron; two pressed pansies; a slim booklet of farewell messages (including from future anti-Céciliens Pothier, Gauthey and Alphonse Guépin, but also from Mocquereau's future close colleague Dom Paul Cagin).²⁰ In addition, after his departure in 1863 he kept in touch with Dom Guéranger, who wrote on 20 June 1866 that he continued to regard Pécoul as a son, 'irrespective of God's will for you'.²¹ Finally there was the matter of his books: he left them there, and expanded the library of Saint-Pierre with donations over the next thirty years such that right up to 25 April 1893 Dom Cagin addressed him as 'Seigneur Mécène'.²² In the period before the doctrinal débâcle his stock at the abbey was high – which, as we have seen, included cordial relations of 1892 with Dom Delatte – and his contacts with the press found favour the following February when Prior Cabrol asked for help in publicizing his latest book, with a coy, 'Could you perhaps help it along with a discreet notice in one of the innumerable journals in which M. Schmidt's prose is always gratefully received[?]'²³

The sense that his close connection to Solesmes is being undermined by disapproval over recent events appears only later in the year. With the encouragement of both Dom Gauthey and the new acting Prior, Dom Jean-Louis Pierdait, Pécoul visited the abbey in late August 1893 and discussed the progress of the plainchant campaign against Pustet with Dom Mocquereau – a matter of days before Dom Heurtebize reported Dom Pothier's attitude towards Dom Delatte as being extremely negative.²⁴ Yet by 2 September – before he had received Dom Mocquereau's letter declining support – he had submitted anonymous, second-hand and undoubtedly anti-Cécilien testimony to the investigating Visitor, Mgr César Sambucetti, via comte Paul de

²⁰ *Pan*: 376 AP 26 envelope 'Souvenirs de Solesmes'.

²¹ Guéranger to Pécoul, 20 June 1866, 'J'ai reçu avec une grande joie votre bonne lettre mon très cher fils; car je vous regarderai toujours comme tel, quelle que soit la volonté de Dieu sur vous.' *Pan*: 376 AP 26, folder 6.

²² *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Cagin', *passim*.

²³ 'Peut-être pourriez-vous y aider au moyen d'une discrète annonce dans l'un des innombrables journaux où la prose de M. Schmitt est reçue toujours avec reconnaissance.' Dom Fernand Cabrol to Pécoul, 27 February 1893. *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Cabrol'.

²⁴ Gauthey to Pécoul, 19 August 1893, and Pierdait to Pécoul, 23 August 1893 (*Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Pierdait'); Heurtebize 'Chronique', entry for 9 September 1893: 'D. Pothier is very ill disposed towards D. Delatte and he has been abreast of all the dealings of D.S. and D. de la Tr.' [D. Pothier est fort mal disposé pour D. Delatte et il a été au courant de tout les menées de D.S. et D. de la Tr.] *SO (mon.)*.

Malijay, a Benedictine-friendly former Chartiste.²⁵ The critical month of November 1893 indicates increased tension in his thinking, although its manner of expression is unsurprising: playing Republican and Catholic preoccupations off each other while keeping his identity concealed. Having launched his campaign against Abbess Bruyère in the Republican *Le matin* on Monday 13 November, on the Thursday he published in the Catholic-friendly *Libre parole* a pro-unions article entitled 'Invasion allemande dans l'Église', this one signed 'Francus'. And it was on the following day in this very same paper that Edouard Drumont, its editor, wrote his first riposte on behalf of the Céciliens to Pécoul's exposé of the previous Monday.²⁶ In acting in such contradictory ways vis-à-vis Solesmes, did Pécoul view the chant question and the doctrinal one as having nothing to do with each other? Did he hope that, by working anonymously, under pseudonyms and through intermediaries, he could fix what he considered to be Solesmes's governance problems via covert aggression while he continued the chant campaign about which all the main Solesmes actors knew? The correspondence with Pothier and his colleagues now kept at Saint-Wandrille does not help elucidate Pécoul's thinking during this period, not least because there is a suspicious gap between the end of July 1893 and 25 January 1894. What is abundantly clear, however, is that amid all the antagonism that followed Dom Delatte's reinstatement and Dom Mocquereau's withdrawal from the unions-based chant campaign, psychologically Pécoul never fully left Saint-Pierre. Only when the Loi d'Association made them a target for confiscation did he attempt to reclaim the books and other rare materials he had brought with him in 1860 and donated since 1863.²⁷ It is difficult not to conclude that his repeated lashing out at both Dom Mocquereau and Dom Delatte was fuelled by something rather more complex than unalloyed hatred. Equally, it soon became obvious that, where the question of chant was concerned, he could no longer work on behalf of anything called 'Solesmes'. On 25 April 1894, Pécoul updated Pothier on recent events in Paris, suggesting to him that he might get involved (again) in the press war. Both Dom Mocquereau and Dom Antoine Delpech, he said, were briefing against Ligugé and Saint-Wandrille on behalf of Dom Delatte, as indeed were other

²⁵ Acknowledgement from De Malijay together with promise of anonymity, 2 September 1893. *Pan*: 376 AP 38 folder 'Malijay'. The count had donated the buildings that enabled Dom Guéranger to found the Priory of Sainte-Madeleine de Marseille in 1865.

²⁶ The difference between the two papers would become clearest in the later 1890s, at the height of the Dreyfus case. *Le matin*, run by Alfred Edwards, was Dreyfusard; Drumont's anti-Semitism was well-known by the mid-1880s, and *Le libre parole* was stridently anti-Dreyfusard.

²⁷ Pécoul to Delatte, 4 July 1901. *SO (paléo.)*. The letter requests return of most of the eighteen crates of books and historic artefacts he had brought with him in 1860, with a request to protect the rest of his possessions as circumstances permit. At the end of a letter that is civil but cool, he also mentions that he is writing similarly to the abbeys at Saint-Wandrille, Ligugé and Marseille.

'Céciliens' and 'mystiques' he had encountered in Paris.²⁸ Heaping derision on the defences of Solesmes that had recently appeared via Edouard Drumont in *Le Figaro*, Pécoul offered Dom Pothier an explicit declaration of support in adversity: 'Here is the *peace, the conciliation, the brotherly union* they offer you, adding oppression to slander!'²⁹ His next known letter advocated little short of the setting up of a rival establishment at Ligugé: Pothier should create a *schola cantorum* at his new abbey and train another team of musicologists. For Pécoul, direct competition was now the only option.

Even if we discount Pécoul's love of colourful language, the change of political landscape in 1893–94 is significant, with Pothier decisively losing authority within the congregation even as he gained promotion within its ranks of senior monks. His presence on the losing side of the doctrinal and governance dispute meant that his physical separation from Solesmes was exacerbated by abraded relations with his abbey of profession, with his former abbot, and with his obvious successor alike. More importantly from the perspective of the history of chant reform, Abbot Delatte's reinstatement meant that, through political misjudgement and a move towards high-level monastic administration, Pothier risked leaving the field of chant restoration entirely open for the loyal Dom Mocquereau, who could position himself as both the inheritor and the reformer, at will. Most of all, Dom Mocquereau now had both an incentive and a mandate to take a 'New' Solesmes team in whatever direction he wished, while keeping hold of the abbey's valuable brand name for chant research. At the same time one might see his promotion as a poisoned chalice, in that its circumstances meant he could do nothing that was not liable to challenge. The stage was set, in short, for a power struggle whose effects were musical but whose main causes lay elsewhere. The explosive by-product was that Pécoul's chant-related goals changed radically, turning him into an implacable adversary of New Solesmes and encouraging him towards two modes of attack: the first against the inappropriate assimilation and dissemination of Pothier's work by Dom Mocquereau (which in itself had the capacity to bring questions relating to the intellectual ownership of Solesmes scholarship to crisis point), and the second against Dom Mocquereau's innovations. At the risk of breaking the chronological flow, at this central point in the narrative it is worth taking the internal politics and consequences of these two strands

²⁸ Dom Mocquereau had been talking to the literary historian and palaeographer Léon Gautier, a friend of Pécoul's and a fellow Chartist; Dom Delpech had visited Charles Bordes, maître de chapelle at Saint-Gervais, director of the celebrated Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais and a future founder of the Schola Cantorum. Pécoul to Pothier, 25 April 1894, SWF: 1 W 23, no. 24.

²⁹ 'Voilà la paix, la conciliation, l'union fraternelle qu'on vous offre; c'est l'oppression après la calomnie!' Ibid. The reference is potentially related to Pothier's role as a moderate, and even as a potential peacemaker within the dispute.

together right up to 1904, so that the impact on the later phases of the unions' story becomes apparent.

Crucial here are the events of the 26 May 1894 Chapitre Général chaired by Dom Hildebrand de Hemptinne in his newly created role as Abbot Primate of the international Benedictine order. In the wake of the 1893 crisis, two brand-new sections – on 'stability' and on 'property' – were added to the constitution of the French congregation. Bar one article they were passed unanimously, and since other piecemeal revisions attracted a variety of voting patterns, these two blocks of votes give every impression of having resulted from a three-line whip.³⁰ In a clear reference to '1893', one question on monastic 'stability' asked whether the Abbot of Solesmes, as Superior General of the Congregation, had the right to transfer elsewhere monks who caused difficulty in their monastery of profession; but for my immediate purposes the more important clauses were those referring to property. Question 57 read: 'Do the fruits of the work of a monk in residence at a monastery belong to that monastery?'³¹ And Question 61: 'If the work was started in one monastery and continues in another, is it necessary for the two Superiors to reach agreement?'³² Both questions received a unanimous 'yes', which means that Dom Pothier, who as Prior of Ligugé was a voting member of the Chapitre Général and who signed the resulting Acts, voted for the work he had undertaken at Solesmes to remain the property of his monastery of profession, and for future arrangements about any contribution to Solesmes chant projects to be arranged between Dom Bourigaud and his former abbot, Dom Delatte. In short, the constitutional change precipitated by the 1893 crisis institutionalized Pothier's alienation from his former life except on such terms as Solesmes might dictate – even after he, too, became an abbot, in 1898.³³

Doubtless for this reason, as far as chant was concerned the struggle between Pothier and Mocquereau was slow-burn, with the first readily discernible moment of crisis arising only in 1901–2. It was also often

³⁰ In the more conciliatory biography of Dom Pothier published by Dom Thiron in the 1980s, Dom David merely mentions that these clauses reflected the need to bring further precision to certain aspects of the Statutes, and cites a letter of 11 June in which Dom Pothier commends the chairing of Dom de Hemptinne as staying well above the personal, and ensuring that all was agreed 'calmly' [*pacifiquement*]. David (ed. Thiron), 'Dom Joseph Pothier', *L'abbaye S. Wandrille*, 33 (1984): p. 30.

³¹ 'Le fruit du travail d'un moine en résidence, dans un monastère, appartient-il à ce monastère?' *SO (mon.)*: folder 'Chapitre Général 1894. Appendice: révision des constitutions.'

³² 'Si le travail a été commencé dans un monastère et continue dans un autre, y aura-t-il lieu à accord entre les Supérieurs?' *Ibid.*

³³ These changes represented a particular interpretation of Rules 1 (in essence, on the desirability of 'stability') and 33 (on the renunciation of personal property) of the Benedictine Order, with, in the background, an implicit recognition of the force of Rule 57 on the humility required of artisan monks: '[I]f one of them becomes arrogant because he is skilled at his craft, he should be removed from that craft ...', *The Rule of Benedict*, pp. 11–12; 55; 84.

vicarious, in that its most characteristic outward feature was strident negative campaigning from rival supporters, which belied the two men's pained and ultimately doomed attempts to sustain cordiality and to display mutual respect.³⁴ Dom Pothier's 1895 contributions to Solesmes chant books are illustrative of the new Constitution in action, as he worked to commission on the new *Liber gradualis* – the partner volume to the 1891 monastic *Liber antiphonarius*.³⁵ He appears to have sought *rapprochement* with Solesmes at every turn – which entailed iterated attempts to rein in his protector. Quite apart from his natural tendency to seek consensus, on a practical level the reasons related to the new asymmetry of status vis-à-vis Dom Mocquereau. Dom Pothier had had to leave behind too much in the way of tradition, expertise and bibliographical support to be able to turn Ligugé into an institutional rival to Solesmes as Pécoul envisaged, and the move to Saint-Wandrille in 1895 necessitated yet another new start at precisely the moment the Solesmes community was enjoying relative calm, having returned to the abbey of Saint-Pierre after fifteen years dispersed in houses within the village. Finally, the fact that Dom Pothier's move to Ligugé did not involve any transfer, to him or to the abbey of Saint-Martin, of rights to the *Liber gradualis* of 1883, effectively tied his hands in respect of any related or independent editorial venture. A new Gradual, for instance, that was very different from 1883, would serve to cast doubt on his editorial probity; a publication building incrementally on his Solesmes work would necessitate an agreement between his abbot and Dom Delatte; once he himself became abbot at Saint-Wandrille such a project would necessitate an agreement with Dom Delatte in person. Until the French government overturned the politics of monastic property in 1901 and threw into confusion the ground-rules as to who owned (and who, strategically, should claim) the copyright of the editions Pothier had overseen, his behaviour indicated his acceptance, in line with his monastic vow of obedience, that any continued stake in chant reform had to come from collaboration with Saint-Pierre, rather than from separatism.

Even before the Rome judgement and the reinstatement of Dom Delatte, Dom Mocquereau had disengaged – elegantly – from Pécoul's

³⁴ Mocquereau's incoming correspondence contains attacks on Pothier that match the vitriol of Pécoul and David against him; by contrast, the extant letters from Mocquereau to Pothier at Saint-Wandrille (SWF: 1 W 102) are gracious until the Vatican Edition resignation crisis of summer 1905, although the relationship, as we shall see, was put under severe public strain in Rome a year earlier.

³⁵ He seems to have received one-off payments for the 1895 revision of the *Liber gradualis* (Combe, 'Complément', p. 18, n. 3, in refutation of a claim by Dom David that no such payments had ever been made). There appears however to be no contract, notwithstanding the new provisions of the 1894 constitution.

union campaigns. Although he and his team would follow the ‘great manoeuvres’ from afar, he wrote, on 21 September 1893, ‘we cannot accompany you on the battlefield you have chosen’.³⁶ The letter followed Pécoul’s August visit to Solesmes. It was generous in tone and at that stage Pécoul did not apparently bridle, writing a couple more, upbeat, notes including a direct response which acceded to the disengagement in somewhat ironic terms but asked Dom Mocquereau to ‘keep a sympathetic eye’ on progress.³⁷ As Combe relates it, thereafter Dom Mocquereau himself became immersed in theoretical work, surfacing only in 1896 to begin a series of lectures and other public appearances.³⁸ In fact, his ideas were already being disseminated, notably in articles written by a new breed of professional musicologist: from 1894 by the new doctorand Jules Combarieu, and from 1895 by the medievalist Pierre Aubry. Combarieu regularly sent articles in draft to Dom Mocquereau, and while both men queried aspects of Mocquereau’s practice at various points, they would be a musicological touchstone of support for Solesmes reform over the next decade and more.³⁹ Moreover, early letters from them both include requests for corrections and advice, with Combarieu inviting Dom Mocquereau to treat one draft as he would that of a student [élève],⁴⁰ and Aubry discussing in detail the plan of a proposed review of the *Paléographie musicale*, offering to make changes where Mocquereau suggested.⁴¹ Both musicologists would in due course express reservations about Dom Mocquereau’s work, but in the mid-1890s they acted for him in a manner that was both similar to and distinct from Pécoul in relation to Dom Pothier: as ventriloquist and spokesman. But notwithstanding their modesty they operated from a position of musicological authority, and where Pécoul signed Pothier’s articles in the name of a third party, as far as is known Combarieu and Aubry signed their own articles in their own names.

It is only from the late 1890s that one can detect a leitmotif emerging in Pécoul’s correspondence, and, with added venom, in his private papers, to the effect that Dom Mocquereau, his friends and the abbey itself were actively appropriating Pothier’s birthright as a

³⁶ ‘grandes manœuvres ... nous ne pouvons vous accompagner sur le champ de bataille que vous avez choisi.’ Mocquereau to Pécoul. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 20.

³⁷ Dom Mocquereau was to ‘loucher de ce côté (avec sympathie)’. Pécoul to Mocquereau, 22 September 1893. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

³⁸ Combe, *Histoire*, 198; *Restoration*, 172. Nevertheless, volume 4 of the *Paléographie*, which contains Part II of Mocquereau’s extended study *De l’influence de l’accent tonique latin et du cursus sur la structure mélodique et rythmique de la phrase grégorienne*, bears a publication date of 1894 and is dated by Combe as beginning publication in October 1893 (*Histoire*, p. 190; *Restoration*, p. 165).

³⁹ See Dom Patrick Hala, O.S.B., ‘Solesmes et les musiciens au tournant du 20^{ème} siècle’, *Etudes grégoriennes*, 38 (2011): pp. 245–61, at pp. 257–8. Combarieu’s thesis (1893) was the first on music ever to be accepted for the Docteur ès Lettres degree at the Sorbonne. See Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics*, p. 57.

⁴⁰ Combarieu to Mocquereau, 1 May 1894. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

⁴¹ Aubry to Mocquereau, undated letters of 1895. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

palaeographer. Questions of succession and of ownership – moral and legal – started to loom large. On 24 September 1897, Pécoul wrote, to an unidentified ‘Cher Monsieur’ at Saint-Wandrille, about a recent article in the *Univers* (3 September) which presented a Gregorian manifesto: ‘But what I find abominable is the partisanship of all categories of Solesmes supporters, whereby they seek to push Dom Pothier aside in order to make Dom Mocquereau look better – a hard-working scholar of great merit but who is doing nothing more than develop the discoveries of Dom Pothier.’⁴² Such perceived unfairness required reversal, and Pécoul thereby helped establish a string of publications in which authorship or credit for chant reform was taken silently from one former colleague and given to the other in order to present the Solesmes revival in a light appropriate to the allegiance of the writer concerned. His pamphlet *Le chant grégorien*, written in 1901 under the pseudonym ‘Un Gallo-Romain’, was one such; another took the form of an article for *Le Gaulois*, signed ‘A. Louis’ (8 March 1904) in which he outrageously named Pothier as the founding spirit behind the *Paléographie musicale*.⁴³

Rewriting history via deniable polemics was one thing; activism had to be more direct. Pécoul did not let go of the idea that Pothier and his work needed both renewal and sponsorship – and that notion drew him ever closer to a position where he was on the one hand arguing for liberty on behalf of the unions and on the other becoming involved in potential business deals to benefit Dom Pothier and either Ligugé or, later, Saint-Wandrille. Part of the problem was, very probably, the lethargy and lack of motivation that several correspondents reported in Dom Pothier’s attitude to his chant-related work. Increasingly, Pécoul thought about creating competition with Solesmes on Dom Pothier’s behalf, and in 1897 we see the first signs of a possible chant edition to rival those coming out of the Saint-Pierre print works. On hearing that Grenoble was preparing new liturgical books, in 1897 Pécoul wondered whether Alexandre Gropellier, who edited the pro-Pothier *Revue du chant grégorien* and was preparing the diocesan Proper, would be willing to consider a new chant edition from the Mame publishing house – implicitly a new Pothier edition from a business with which Pécoul had enjoyed close connections via the agent Etienne Védie since at least

⁴² ‘Mais ce que je trouve abominable c’est le parti pris par les *solesmiens* de toute robe de chercher à mettre Dom Pothier de côté pour faire la part plus belle à Dom Mocquereau, érudit laborieux, de grand mérite, mais qui ne fait que développer les découvertes de Dom Pothier.’ Pécoul to unidentified recipient at Saint-Wandrille, 24 September 1897. *SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 43.

⁴³ Un Gallo-Romain, *Le chant grégorien* (Paris, 1901). Combe writes (*Histoire*, p. 293; *Restoration*, p. 260, fn 181) that vol. 8 (1901–5) of the *Paléographie musicale* is the first in which Mocquereau is named (in self-defence) as director of the series. In fact, he already appears as such in vol. 7 (1901); and he names himself in the Latin dedication of vol. 5 (1896) to Dom Delatte. The legacy of Pécoul’s behaviour is keenly present in Dom David’s 1943 biography of Dom Pothier; less so in the expanded version published by Dom Thiron in the 1980s.

early 1895. Nothing came of the proposal immediately. Instead, rather unhelpfully from Pécoul's perspective, GrosPELLIER himself suggested in 1897 that a stalemate might arise, in that a new Gregorian edition would not be different enough from those coming out of Solesmes to find its market niche, and Solesmes would be unlikely to license another publisher to publish its texts. (It was only the previous year that the Saint-Pierre printshop had released the low-cost *Liber usualis*, which contained the Gradual and Antiphoner texts prepared by Dom Pothier but whose transformation into an affordable format was down to Dom Mocquereau.) The only crumb of comfort GrosPELLIER offered Pécoul was a promise that no one from Grenoble would seek the SCR's advice on which edition to select.⁴⁴

A third response to the need to promote Dom Pothier developed later, especially after 1903, and focused on Mocquereau's famous innovation: his new theory of chant interpretation and the system of rhythmic signs that conveyed his musical readings. This book is not the place to analyse Dom Mocquereau's rhythmic theories in depth; suffice it to say that at stake was the question of whether one viewed the delivery of chant melody as governed by textual rhythm and stress (the 'accentualist' approach of Dom Pothier) or whether one regarded the written melody as containing rhythmic differentiation, metrical patterns and melodic intensity curves of its own, which commanded respect even if they conflicted with textual rhythm and flow ('non-accentualist', Dom Mocquereau). At the core of the 'non-accentualist' approach, and important for dealing with long melismas, lay the idea of the *ictus* – a kind of elastic musical scansion via groups of two or three notes, which Dom Mocquereau described in its simplest form as a stressed but lifted upbeat (*arsis*) followed, across a metaphorical barline, by a soft landing (*thesis*): a musical heartbeat, in other words, and the accentual opposite of what contemporary musicians would have understood as the 'rule of the down-bow'.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the implication for Mocquereau was that the alliance of melody and text in any edition had to be explicable via the principles of an over-arching theory whose expert application would eventually make performance decisions self-evident. But Mocquereau's need to demonstrate the implementation of his theory (even as that theory continued to develop), together with his granting of such importance to the musical side of chant singing, necessitated his infamous new signs (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). And so appeared the *punctum mora* (a dot to double or otherwise lengthen a single note), the horizontal *episema* (a short line, to broaden out a neume element), and the vertical *episema* or *ictus* (eventually marked only where there might be doubt as to where a melodic onset began). Solesmes used them routinely for a little over a century.

⁴⁴ GrosPELLIER to Pécoul, 20 November 1897. *Pan*: 376 AP 37, folder 'GrosPELLIER'.

Festa Decembris. 8. 371

8. Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. M. V.

Introitus. 3.

G Audens gaudé- bo in Dó- mi-no, &
 exsul-tá-bit á- nima me- a in De- o me- o : qui-
 a indu- it me vestimén- tis sa- lú- tis, &
 induménto ju- sti- ti- æ cir- cùm- de- dit me, qua- si
 spon- sam orná- tam mo- ní- li- bus su- is. *Ps.* Exaltá- bo
 te, Dómi- ne, quó- ni- am susce- písti me : nec de- lectásti
 in- imi- cos me- os su- per me. Gló- ri- a Patri.
 E u o u a e.

Figure 4.1 *Liber gradualis juxta antiquorum codicum fidem* (Solesmes: Imp. Saint-Pierre, 1895), p. 371, showing chant for the introit 'Gaudens gaudebo in Domino' as adapted from Gregorian sources by Dom Pothier to serve for the Mass of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, for which Pius IX had commissioned new Proper texts in 1863 (cf. Frontispiece, showing Haberl's chant).

Festa Decembris. 8. 721

DIE 8. DECEMBRIS.

IMMACULATÆ CONCEPTIONIS B. M. V.

Duplex I. Classis cum Octava.

IN I. VESPERIS.

Omnia ut in II. Vesperis, 724, præter :

Ad Magnif.
Ant. 8. G

B E-átam me dicent * ómnes gene-ra-ti-ó-nes,
qui-a fé-cit mihi mágna qui pótens est, alle-lú-ia.

E u o u a e.

Ad Completorium, *Hymnus cantatur in tono Festorum B. M. V., 86, et in fine dicitur : Jesu tibi sit glória, Qui natus es de Virgine. Et ita per totam Octavam. Eodem modo cantantur et terminantur omnes Hymni ejusdem metri in Festis occurrentibus infra Octavam. Dominica vero quæ occurrit infra Octavam, ad Vesperas servatur tonus proprius, sed ad Completorium resumitur tonus B. M. V.*

AD MISSAM

Intr. 3.

G Audens gaudé- bo * in Dó- mi-no, et
exsultá-bit á- nima mé- a in Dé-o mé- o : qui-
a indu-it me vestimén- tis sa-lú- tis, et in-
duménto justí- ti-æ circúmde- dit me, quasi spón- sam

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Figure 4.2 *Liber usualis missæ et officii* (Rome and Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre et Cie, 1904), p. 721, showing Dom Mocquereau's rhythmically pointed version of Dom Pothier's Gregorian adaptation.

While Pécoul was by no means alone in objecting to these signs and their performance implications, they became his *bêtes noires*. The new markings were ‘parasites’, ‘microbes’, or simply ‘gothic’,⁴⁵ and we can gain a sense of the intensity of his opposition to them if we consider that when from 1904 he embraced the possibility of another international pamphlet war catalysed by the anti-Mocquereau writings of the English Benedictine Dom T.A. Burge, he seemed untroubled at the fact that his language skills left him unsure of the author’s precise case.⁴⁶ It was enough that a case existed, that Dom Pothier supported it, and that his legacy was under threat. As is well known, Dom Pothier’s disapproval of Dom Mocquereau’s innovations covered both the use and the implications of rhythmic signs in any authoritative or normative edition of chant. His most explicit statement on the matter came as part of a late attack on Solesmes, stage-managed by Dom Lucien David, Pécoul and Charles-Marie Widor around the time of the Burge polemic. It took the form of a clarificatory letter of 16 January 1906 requested from Pothier by Cardinal Merry del Val at the Vatican, and sent to Widor. In it, Pothier wrote:

these supplementary signs have nothing traditional about them, nor have they any exact relation with the well known Romanian signs of the St. Gall Ms. of which they profess to be a reproduction. Even were these signs (of St. Gall) faithfully represented, in as much as they belonged to a particular school, they would have no right to impose their special ideas on the universal practice in a typical and official edition.⁴⁷

He did not quite accuse his former student of inventing a tradition; but he exposed the faintness and local nature of the historical trace underpinning Dom Mocquereau’s theory. And where extreme examples of his own ‘invented’ Gregorian melodies (Figure 4.1) as replacements for Haberl’s compositions (Frontispiece) represented particular solutions to particular problems such as the need to create Gregorian-sounding chant for a redesigned festival, his difficulty with Dom Mocquereau’s theory was rooted in its claims to generalized

⁴⁵ *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 5, loose notes. Pécoul’s contempt for the gothic comes through in his letters to Dom Georges Guerry, especially that of 20 November 1897 in which, in a discussion of restoration, he identifies the architectural gothic as essentially un-Benedictine and sets it against the Roman, which is appropriate (*SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 50). The monumental gothic extension to the Solesmes abbey was well advanced at this point.

⁴⁶ Burge was based at St Austin’s Abbey, Grassendale, Liverpool. He wrote for the *Catholic Times*, the *Tablet* and the *Ampleforth Journal*, where his most influential attacks on Mocquereau’s theories were published. See his ‘An Examination of the Rhythmic Theories of Dom Mocquereau’, *Ampleforth Journal*, 10/3 (May 1905): pp. 301–25; and ‘The Examination of Recent Rhythmic Theories Criticised and Defended’, *Ampleforth Journal*, 11/2 (December 1905): pp. 181–91.

⁴⁷ Translated in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, p. 276.

applicability. Palaeographical research, including recent work emanating from Solesmes itself, has broadly agreed with him.⁴⁸ Pécoul was in no position to make such judgements. Instead, what little we have on the specifically musical side of his objection to Dom Mocquereau's innovations is, predictably, related to liturgical appropriateness and doctrinal propriety rather than to musical theory. His objection was to the drawing of chant performance too far into the gap between the heightened expression of a text and the abstract beauty of a musical line. On a basic level, the diagnosis of these two poles accurately reflected the contrasting backgrounds of Dom Pothier as a liturgist and Dom Mocquereau as a cellist. But for Pécoul it had doctrinal and possibly political implications. Nor was it out of line with contemporary thought among Dom Mocquereau's supporters: correspondence between Dom Mocquereau and the musicologist and critic Louis Laloy, for instance, sees Laloy praising the Mocquereau system in 1902 simply because 'to me your rhythm seems the only musical one, and therefore the only true one'.⁴⁹ Had he ever seen that letter, Pécoul would have jumped on the appeal to logic in the word 'therefore', since he conceptualized Mocquereau's entire project as a betrayal of the principles of 'chant liturgique'. In this vein a note to self, probably from 1903, condemned New Solesmes as a conservatoire pure and simple:

The two monasteries of Solesmes, the abbeys of St-Pierre and Ste-Cécile, are conservatoires of Gregorian chant. Perhaps the first in the Catholic world, but *conservatoires*. / Performance perfection is brought to unsurpassable heights, and responds fully to the musical sense. But are these chants still *prayer*?

[Les deux monastères de Solesmes, les abbayes de St-Pierre et de Ste-Cécile, sont des conservatoires de chant grégorien, peut-être les premiers du monde catholique, mais des *conservatoires*. / La perfection de l'exécution y est portée à un degré qui ne saurait être surpassé et qui satisfait pleinement le sens musical. Mais, ces chants sont-ils une *prière*?]⁵⁰

Immediately afterwards Pécoul began to summarize an article by Pierre Aubry on decadence in liturgical music of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, taken from the *Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, to which he subscribed.⁵¹ Aubry's text was light-hearted and built around a satire – Guibert of Tournai's 'Premier sermon aux moines noirs', in which

⁴⁸ For the latter, see especially Dom Daniel Saulnier, 'Un nouvel antiphonaire monastique', *Etudes grégoriennes*, 33 (2005): pp. 153–221.

⁴⁹ 'votre rythme me paraît le seul musical, donc le seul vrai'. Laloy to Mocquereau, 2 January 1902, cited in Hala, 'Solesmes et les musiciens', p. 259.

⁵⁰ *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 5.

⁵¹ Pierre Aubry, 'Les abus de la musique religieuse au XIIe et au XIIIe siècle d'après un sermon de Guibert de Tournai', *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 9/2 (February 1903): pp. 57–62, at p. 59. Aubry and Pécoul had been in touch briefly in 1900, in cordial terms, with Aubry asking Pécoul leading questions about his view of current palaeographic practice at Solesmes. Letter of 28 August 1900. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 24.

the Franciscan Guibert attacked inappropriate kinds of Benedictine liturgical singing, among them those ‘of a kind to please the people rather than to please God’. According to his note, for Pécoul, this description fitted certain New Solesmes singers perfectly – and he perhaps took it all the more seriously because of Aubry’s post-translation musing as to whether the sermon had a double meaning which might render it more a condemnation of recent mensuralist theory than a satire on ridiculous performance practice.⁵²

In fact, for different reasons, both sides recognized the increasing delicacy of the situation as Dom Mocquereau began to detach himself from the further elaboration of Dom Pothier’s theories and to strike out on his own. With that in mind, I shall return in due course to the evolution of the *Paléographie musicale*, and concentrate here on the evidence from Dom Mocquereau’s colleagues and contacts. After his *Petit traité de psalmodie* was published in 1896, the notes of congratulation he received reflected one aspect of this transition. One such note even came from Dom Pothier’s former Ligugé colleague Dom Raphaël Andoyer, who had left Solesmes in 1893 at his own request.⁵³ Dom Andoyer went so far as to ask with some enthusiasm when Solesmes planned to adopt Mocquereau’s psalm-singing system more generally, and to opine that he would be surprised if the implementation of such a system at Ligugé caused the least difficulty.⁵⁴ Others welcomed the new practical help Dom Mocquereau was offering performers, especially where rhythmic aspects were concerned, and looked forward to the development of the full ‘method’ at which Mocquereau had hinted within the publication.⁵⁵ Dom Andoyer was among those, too, urging a full version of the theory he saw being prepared in the two latest volumes of the *Paléographie musicale*.⁵⁶

By 1901, however, we find internal evidence from Solesmes of a wish to do the opposite – to slow the pace of published innovation, with the evolving rhythmic signs proving especially troublesome. Between 1898 and 1900 Solesmes published four *livraisons* of organ accompaniments to chants for the Ordinary of the Mass, Vespers, and the Requiem Mass, the project being undertaken reluctantly, as the preface made crystal clear, in the name of popular dissemination.⁵⁷ Almost invariably their organ parts indicated each *ictus* by means of dots representing an early version of the vertical *episema*; they also contained horizontal *episemas*

⁵² ‘de manière à plaire plutôt au peuple qu’à Dieu’. Aubry, ‘Les abus’, p. 60.

⁵³ Gauthey to Pécoul, 13 October 1893. *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder ‘Gauthey’.

⁵⁴ Andoyer to Mocquereau, 27 January 1897. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

⁵⁵ Among others, Dom Mocquereau received congratulatory notes from Chanoine Perriot at Langres, De Sainte-Beuve at Chartres, J. Méraud, Sr Laurentia McLachlan at Stanbrook Abbey, A. Vigourel (Director of the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice), Hyacinthe Poivet, Daniel Choisnard at the Grand Séminaire, Cambrai, Charles Hamm in Strasbourg, Robert du Botneau at Sables d’Olonne, and Peter Wagner.

⁵⁶ Andoyer to Mocquereau, 26 August 1901. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

⁵⁷ Unsigned preface, *Livre d’orgue contenant les chants ordinaires de la Messe et des Vêpres* (Solesmes, 1898–1900), p. v.

and a hatchet-like sign translating the *pressus* neume element, alongside metronome and *rallentando* or *ritenuto* markings. The vocal parts contained nothing additional save for the *punctum mora* used mostly to mark a breathing space at phrase-endings. These were innovations about which Dom Delpech, who was working with Dom Mocquereau on the project, had strong reservations; but a letter of 1901 reveals a further problem. Dom Mocquereau, it seems, wanted to add more signs to the vocal line. Writing from Solesmes on 28 February, Dom Delpech spoke his mind, outlined new dangers to Dom Delatte and began to bargain over what he would and would not do, editorially.

The immediate reason seems to have been that, on sending his manuscript of the fifth instalment of the *Livre d'orgue* to chant scholar Peter Wagner for his opinion, Delpech had received a warning shot in reply: Wagner hoped Delpech would be allowed to publish it as it stood and that he would not be 'obliged to adopt a system which has no serious scientific basis'. Moreover, Delpech added that the organist Don Giovanni Pagella had written recently, objecting to the harmonization style of the 'Dies irae' (already published in the fourth *livraison* of March 1900), lamenting that Mocquereau had become 'so very *hardened* in his view' of how to write an organ accompaniment, and adding that it was only his affection for Solesmes that prevented him writing a journal article about it.⁵⁸ Delpech then treated Dom Delatte to a disquisition on Dom Mocquereau's obsession with non-accentualist approaches to chant delivery and accompaniment.

What to do? In the face of criticism from experts on these two fronts, Dom Delpech suggested two courses of action: to seek a second opinion from Vincent d'Indy, and to ask Dom Mocquereau to withhold his rhythmic signs from the vocal part in the fifth *livraison*. Assuming Dom Mocquereau granted this concession, Delpech undertook to apply himself to the task of accustoming the public gradually to his unusual style of accompaniment. This he would do for texts in prose, where some flexibility between accentualist and non-accentualist approaches was warranted; but where verse was concerned he was implacably opposed to Dom Mocquereau's practice. He closed with an attempt at strategy:

Eliminating the rhythmic pointing would be a first step on the new path. It would enable us to say to one set of people: 'I am a bird; just look at my wings'. To another set: 'I am a mouse; long live the rats.' Besides, it is always easier to move ahead than to retreat.

[La suppression des points rythmiques serait un premier pas dans la voie nouvelle. Elle nous permettrait de dire aux uns: 'Je suis oiseau, voyez mes

⁵⁸ 'obligé d'adopter un système qui ne repose sur aucune donnée scientifique sérieuse'; 'tellement *induratus* dans sa manière de voir'. Delpech to Delatte, 28 February 1901, included in *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

ailles.' Aux autres: 'Je suis souris, vivent les rats.' Et puis, il est toujours plus facile d'avancer que de reculer.]⁵⁹

It is an indication of the sensitivity of the situation that there should have been such concern, at Solesmes, to find the appropriate management strategy for introducing Dom Mocquereau's divergence from the traditions established by Dom Pothier, and such fear of critique from the side of the 'rats'. After all, the first experiments in the use of rhythmic signs dated from 1897.⁶⁰ However, Dom Delpèch was right to be cautious, not only about the rhythmic signs but also about the organ parts. For it was not long before Dom Mocquereau would elicit howls of protest on grounds that via his theory of stressed and unstressed syllables his method introduced the horror of syncopation into plainchant singing.⁶¹ Further, the almost constant use of chord-changes on unstressed syllables in the 'Dies irae' harmonization had highlighted not only that very syncopation question but also the problem of how one might combine Dom Mocquereau's *arsis/thesis* theory with resolutely trochaic verse. It is surely no coincidence that the 'Dies irae' is the only movement in the entire *Livre d'orgue* whose organ accompaniment does not include *arsis/thesis* dots above the organ line (whereas they return for its 'Amen'). A final piece of circumstantial evidence suggests either an impasse within the palaeographic workshop, an opportunity grasped to cease publication of a contentious and unwanted project, or both: Delpèch mentions two instalments of the *Livre* as well advanced towards publication, but neither appears to have seen the light of day.

Where Pécoul was concerned, the more successfully Mocquereau emerged as a charismatic Young Pretender the more determined he became to see him and his supporters routed. The change in the language of his private correspondence says much, for although he had always used codenames, from 1901 they became ubiquitous as the increasing directness of his activity demanded ever more covert modes of communication. Some were invented or codified by Etienne Védie that same April (see Appendix); others – more insults than codenames, and with little attempt to conceal identities – harked back to 1893. In the company of trusted friends, three themes were especially prominent: the doctrinal failings at 'Mysticopolis-sur-Sarthe' under 'M. et Mme de Solesmes', and the arrogant behaviour of those who allowed themselves to become 'moccrottés'.

⁵⁹ Delpèch to Delatte, 28 February 1901, included in *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

⁶⁰ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 235; *Restoration*, p. 207.

⁶¹ Corr. Mocquereau. Mocquereau's former disciple Jules Combarieu would be among those who deplored his apparent introduction of 'syncopation' into chant. See the latter's 'Temps fort et temps faible: comment faut-il battre la mesure?' in his own journal, the *Revue musicale*, 4/10 (15 May 1904): pp. 256–60. Burge would follow in 1905. Dom Mocquereau was at pains to explain that syncopation as such had no place in his theory or in chant interpretation. See his *Le nombre musical grégorien*, vol. 1 (Rome and Tournai, 1908), pp. 124–8.

Well before such dismissive language reached the realms of obsession Dom Pothier seems to have decided enough was enough. On 2 August 1897, replying to a letter from Pothier that cannot be dated from internal evidence, Pécoul described himself as a 'leper', and protested petulantly: 'I thought nevertheless that we would be able to talk about questions relating to Gregorian chant, my having done enough, I believe, to defend it.'⁶² But in any case, Pothier's duties as Prior, and then Abbot, of Saint-Wandrille, meant that Pécoul began to communicate much more frequently with assistants such as Dom Georges Guerry and, later, Dom Lucien David.⁶³ Chant-related matters were reserved for Dom David, Dom Pothier's secretary and palaeography student from 1904, in whom Pécoul found a kindred political spirit and whom he schooled in matters diplomatic such that tensions between Solesmes and Saint-Wandrille would continue for decades. In between, Pécoul contacted Dom Pothier direct only when important business justified it. Around the century's turn, it would do just that.

⁶² 'lépreux ... / Je croyais cependant que nous pouvions nous entretenir des questions qui se rapportent au chant grégorien ayant assez fait, je crois pour sa défense.' Pécoul to Pothier, 2 August 1897. *SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 42.

⁶³ The vast majority of the letters in the Saint-Wandrille collection *SWF*: 1 W 23 thereafter are to these two figures. Those to Guerry mostly concern Pécoul's philanthropy in extending Saint-Wandrille's library and providing the monastery with ecclesiastical treasures, not least in time for Pothier's installation as its first abbot of modern times, in 1898.



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5

The Battles of 1901–1902

Pustet's monopoly was supposed to run to 30 September 1898, but there was yet more slippage. In February 1894, Pécoul himself was unsure of the expiry date, and informed Cardinal Richard, on behalf of union delegate Keufer, that it was either 1898 or 1900.¹ Two years later he clarified, in angry italics, that Pustet had secured an extra two years of monopoly, to 1900, '*because of the difficulties caused in Germany by its war with France*'.² In the event, on 1 January 1901 the Vatican belatedly declared the Regensburg privilege expired, the 1883 decree having already been quietly removed in 1899 from the roll of decrees in force.³ The July 1894 decree, however, stood, and on behalf of Pustet, Haberl continued to argue that, until it was annulled by the same authority as had bestowed it, the Regensburg edition's canonic authority remained untouched by the expiry of the privilege.⁴ Nevertheless, Vatican chant policy took a new turn. There, Fr De Santi gained an ally in Mgr Carlo Respighi, who to Pécoul's delight published a rebuttal of Haberl's claim that the Pustet edition had a Palestrina connection via the Medicean edition.⁵ Moreover, from the point of view of the French campaigns, Pécoul and De Santi had made friendly contact on the subject of Pécoul's elder daughter Augusta's wedding: indeed, De Santi (who would surely have shunned Pécoul had he known at that stage who was behind so much of the anti-Pustet polemics and union activism) even passed him confidential information about Haberl's abusive behaviour and its impact in Rome.⁶ Finally, with a new Prefect of the SCR in place in the form of Cardinal Domenico Ferrata, De Santi had ensured that an SCR decision to make the Regensburg edition mandatory in the

¹ Pécoul on behalf of Keufer, handwritten insert to handwritten letter to Cardinal Richard, 14 February 1894. *AHAP*: 2 G 2, 1. By contrast, Circular 617 from the *Ministre de l'Instruction Publique des Beaux-Arts et des Cultes* to all archbishops and bishops (19 January 1894) was unequivocal: the privilege expired in 1900.

² '*en raison des malheurs causés à l'Allemagne par sa guerre avec la France*', Un Gallo-Romain, 'Le plain-chant de Ratisbonne', *Le monde*, instalment of 37^e année, no. 194 (17 July 1896): p. 1.

³ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 200; *Restoration*, p. 175.

⁴ Translations of Haberl's writings by J. Bour from between December 1900 and June 1901 would have brought this point home to Mocquereau, too. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

⁵ Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 207–9; *Restoration*, pp. 181–3. Pécoul was admiring of Respighi's action but took some of the credit for the fact that, after ten years of campaigning, a member of the Curia now had the courage to publish such a pamphlet (which was a substantial 140-page document) in Rome itself. Pécoul to Pothier, 3 April 1900. *SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 135.

⁶ De Santi to Pécoul, 26 July 1900. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 25.

diocese of Rome – the Papal diocese – was reversed before it could be implemented.⁷ Pécoul declared himself satisfied, writing to Dumay on 3 May 1901 that Pustet's edition was defeated: 'the Congregation of Rites can no longer legitimately impose its use anywhere. / Liberty is gained'. He thanked Dumay warmly and, in tones that suggested the file could now be closed, congratulated him on supporting a successful campaign.⁸

Yet victory lasted less than a fortnight, and on hearing that Pustet had been trying to reach a new agreement with Cardinal Ferrata, on 12 May Pécoul assured Pothier that he was ready to send his 'reserves' back into battle if necessary.⁹ He started drafting ministerial appeals from the print unions that nuanced the old arguments while demanding repeal of the Pustet edition's status as 'official' and 'typical' via a formal decree now that the monopoly had expired (Figure 5.1). One draft (which became Keufer's union protest of 25 May) noted that, even though French bishops had remained remarkably patriotic in not ordering Pustet's editions wholesale, his company was still both harming the French export industry and generating ruinous competition internally because clergy preferred to buy the SCR's recommended text for personal use. A final flourish mentioned the benefits of a formal decree for the working classes and (in something of a non sequitur) noted that gaining such a document should be easier now that the Pustet edition commanded so little support in Rome.¹⁰ On 5 June, Alexandre Millerand, *Ministre du Commerce*, forwarded the final protests to Théophile Delcassé, his opposite number at the *Ministère des Affaires Etrangères*, as meriting 'very serious consideration' [*très sérieuse considération*], requesting that Delcassé work together with the *Ministre des Cultes* to 'free French bookselling from competition that acts as though it enjoys monopoly rights'.¹¹

Elsewhere, signs suggested that Pustet was indeed defeated but that one monopoly was about to be replaced by another. On 17 May, Pope Leo XIII wrote a laudatory brief (*Nos quidem*) to Dom Delatte to congratulate him officially on the work of the previous decades. Given the internal politics, how was such a brief to be interpreted? Why, if it was intended to applaud Dom Pothier, was it not sent to Saint-Wandrille? Was it simply in acknowledgement of Dom Delatte's position as Superior of the congregation, or did it indicate a preference between Dom Pothier and Dom Mocquereau? And from the outside: was it simply a general indication of liberalization? If in hindsight the

⁷ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 210; *Restoration*, p. 184.

⁸ 'la Congrégation des Rites ne peut plus prétendre l'imposer nulle part. / La liberté est conquise.' Pécoul to Dumay, 3 May 1901, *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437, cited in Savart, 'La querelle', p. 308.

⁹ Pécoul to Pothier, 12 May 1901. *SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 177.

¹⁰ Draft union petition. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 5.

¹¹ 'affranchir la librairie française d'une concurrence qui se donne le caractère d'être privilégiée.' *MAE*: Saint-Siège, N.S. box 97.

Jusqu'ici l'ambassade n'est contentée de la promesse que
 la notation de la habonne ne sera point publiée sans l'ordre
 garde que secrets et acts privés de la cour de Rome et la
 garde de la Congrégation des Rites rendent. Il y a par conséquent
 engagement diplomatique de la Secrétairie d'Etat d'indiquer
 au Pape si le décret de 1883 ~~est~~ n'a pas été revoté
 dans la nouvelle édition de l'acte de la Congrégation des Rites
 celui renou ~~est~~ est mis en faveur de la notation de la habonne
 qui a été réimprimé et est sur les recueils des Congrégations et non
 sur ~~celles~~ celle de la Diplomatie que les évêques et les communaux
 religieux regardent le contraire. Il est donc essentiel que ~~l'acte~~
~~soit~~ qui favorisent la notation de Ratibonne non
 seulement ne soient pas renouvelés en aucune
 forme mais a broyé par une déision qui ne permette
 plus à la Congrégation des Rites ni aux membres de la
 cour de porter de contredire comme ils ~~ont~~ ~~ont~~
 n'ont cessé de le faire depuis le jour de l'engagement
 que prend le Cardinal Secrétaire d'Etat vis-à-vis des
 représentants du gouvernement de la République
 Française.
 C'est un acte liturgique & conçu en termes clairs
 et ~~exhaustifs~~ toute indétermination et permet tant aucune
 interprétation équivoque qui peut servir à ce que
 situation sont souffrent grandement des indistinctes
 du livre.

Figure 5.1

Paste-up draft of union petition dated May 1901 from Pécoul to unnamed government minister, demanding ambassadorial lobbying for an act to cement the demise of the Pustet edition in the wake of its expired privilege by formally repealing the Vatican decree of April 1883. AIXm Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 5 (p. 8, detail).

answer seems obvious, in 1901 it was not. The *Semaine religieuse du diocèse de Cambrai*, joint home of France's most established edition of Gregorian chant, saw the Pope's message as indicating a transfer of allegiance to Solesmes but marking the long-awaited end of Pothier's, not Mocquereau's, battle with Pustet.¹² Nevertheless one searches in vain for hints of concern that the Reims-Cambrai edition's days might be numbered. By comparison the actions of the bishop of Grenoble suggest that he detected a more decisive change: he immediately moved to replace his previous chant books with those from Solesmes, meaning the *Liber usualis* of 1896.¹³ At Solesmes, according to Moneta-Caglio, Dom Mocquereau responded to *Nos quidem* by embarking immediately on a revision of the very same *Liber usualis*, adding rhythmic signs.¹⁴

The move at Solesmes towards wide dissemination was highly ironic in view of the ideas for affordable book-production about which Pécoul had evangelized to Dom Mocquereau as early as 1892 – in the letter in which he had promised to support Dom Pothier 'unto death'. Moreover, it provided yet another reversal of roles, noted already by Moneta-Caglio when he compared unfavourably Pothier's indirect journalistic mouthpiece, the 'populist' *Revue du chant grégorien* of Grenoble founded in 1892, with the élite and large-format *Paléographie musicale*.¹⁵ Back in 1892, the 1883 decree and the papal counter-brief of 3 May 1884 defining Solesmes research as of only archeological utility still posed a stumbling block to the dissemination of any of Pothier's work. Publication of the *Liber usualis* suggested growing confidence at Solesmes despite the decree of July 1894; but now all such pro-Pustet language had been gloriously replaced by an explicit statement of support, and despite (or because of) all that had taken place in the interim Pécoul was determined its congratulation should be seen as directed towards Pothier alone. With that in mind, one passage of his new pamphlet of 24 June 1901 entitled *Le chant grégorien* was especially trenchant: 'To forestall any confusion, let us remember that there is just one *Gregorian* notation – that restored, according to the ancient manuscripts, by the eminent Abbot of Saint-Wandrille, Dom Pothier'.¹⁶ As Combe relates it, Pécoul's chosen by-line of 'Un Gallo-Romain' – reused from his extended 1896 attack on Pustet in *Le monde* – was

¹² *Semaine religieuse du diocèse de Cambrai* 36/24 (15 June 1901): pp. 376–7. Unsigned news item.

¹³ *Semaine religieuse de Grenoble*, 22 November 1900, cited in *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 7/1 (January 1901): p. 27. The change was to be immediate at the cathedral and phased in elsewhere over five years, following the conclusion of work on the new Proper.

¹⁴ Moneta-Caglio interprets the brief as suggesting that the Vatican wished to negotiate with Solesmes alone, leaving Saint-Wandrille aside. See his 'Dom André Mocquereau', *Musica sacra*, Milan 84/6 (November–December 1960): p. 172.

¹⁵ Moneta-Caglio, 'Dom André Mocquereau', *Musica sacra*, Milan, 84/4 (June–July 1960): p. 112.

¹⁶ 'Rappels, pour prévenir toute confusion, qu'il n'existe qu'une seule notation grégorienne, celle restituée, d'après les plus anciens manuscrits, par l'éminent abbé de Saint-Wandrille, Dom Pothier.' Un Gallo-Romain, *Le chant grégorien*, p. 3.

recognized at Solesmes, along with the more general import of a text that celebrated the papal brief without once mentioning the name of the abbey to which it had been sent. Solesmes, he writes, went on full alert.¹⁷

By contrast, within the French government the view, stemming from Armand Nisard, now Ambassador to the Holy See, was that the brief denoted general liberalization of policy and answered the vast majority of the unions' concerns. Accordingly, the reports Nisard filed, on 6 June in response to Pécoul's May 1901 protests and especially to those of later in the year, all characterized the current problems of French chant publication as due more to commercial apathy than to political vulnerability. The last of this batch of reports (17 March 1902) even described union fears about the continuing authenticity of the Pustet edition as 'imagined' [chimérique],¹⁸ and pointed to countervailing evidence, in the form of recent SCR assurance given to the publisher Charles Poussielgue, that the Vatican would not in principle disapprove of a new Gregorian edition (rescript of 10 July 1901). Since Pécoul had, from March 1901, been providing backstage support to Poussielgue and his new agent, who was none other than Etienne Védie, he must have found Nisard's response as frustrating as that of Gropellier in 1897, when he tried his first 'new edition' venture: for the aim in 1901 was to produce a new, official, edition of Gregorian chant for which Poussielgue would have preferential republication rights in exchange for paying the costs of an edition whose first printing would be the responsibility of the Vatican Press.¹⁹

Although various elected politicians knew of Pécoul's attempts to crush Pustet's edition via journalistic polemic, there is no hint in the ambassadorial or ministerial papers that anyone in government, including Dumay, knew of his involvement in the publication project he hoped would supplant it. Nevertheless, the silence of the Ministère des Cultes files hides a new twist. In the summer of 1901 Pécoul apparently signalled to Dumay that the anticlerical severity of the impending Loi d'Association imperiled a particular repertory of French plainchant – Dom Pothier's Gregorian restoration. In light of the papal brief of 17 May he would also have been able to point to the irony that the Vatican's new 'Gregorian turn' presaged market renewal that would under normal circumstances benefit the French. Whatever Pécoul said, and whether in his own name or in his 'lawyer' guise, Dumay's complicity immediately reached a new level, and the idea of safeguarding Dom Pothier's plainchant for France took root within the ministry.

¹⁷ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 230; *Restoration*, p. 202. Nevertheless, Combe was wrong to claim that Poussielgue published the essay – and implicitly to connect it with the new Vatican Edition Pécoul tried to put together in 1901.

¹⁸ Reports of 6 June, 4 July, 22 July, 19 December 1901 and 17 March 1902. MAE: Saint-Siège N.S. box 97.

¹⁹ Combe, *Histoire/Restoration*, Part II, section 51. The initial plan was to establish an international editorial commission headed by Pothier.

As Pécoul wrote to Pothier, Dumay was now ‘counting on [him]’ [il comptait sur moi] in respect of Pothier’s affairs.²⁰ By contrast, among Catholics Pécoul had a lucky escape. Had the novelist and civil servant J.-K. Huysmans remained in his post at the Ministère de l’Intérieur much beyond 1898, there might indeed have been a difficulty, for Huysmans was a long-standing friend of Solesmes, and had actually succeeded where Pécoul failed (or stopped trying): he had secured the monks’ return to their abbey in 1894. By 1898 Huysmans also had personal reasons to deplore Pécoul’s continuing ‘anti-Cécilien’ activity because it had contributed to his being forced out of office as too ‘clerical’; and he knew about Pécoul’s anti-Pustet campaign.²¹ But Pécoul’s problem was broader-based. It was that members of his various cells began to mingle and confer to his disadvantage, partly because of his own direct contact with De Santi regarding Pustet, and also because of the decreasingly ‘sympathetic eye’ of Dom Mocquereau in the face of a silent attack such as the *Chant grégorien* pamphlet. Dom Mocquereau, after all, knew a great deal about Pécoul’s aims and working methods. Védie had warned Pécoul as early as 1 June 1901 that he should stay well in the background where the ambassador was concerned, because there were suspicions within the Vatican that he was behind this new wave of ‘trumped-up’ [factices] protests.²² Irrespective of the support of Dumay and Millerand, it must have started to become clear in 1901 that the anti-Pustet argument had only a limited lifespan, and that Pécoul would have to find a new approach.

Some of that approach, and indeed a sense of transition, is detectable in his involvement at one remove in the Congress of French Master-Printers held in Dijon in June 1901, where delegates began muttering fearfully about a Pothier/Solesmes monopoly that might replace the Regensburg one.²³ The background history that former union president Georges Chamerot provided to master-printer delegates in June evoked their ‘lawyer’, whom he did not name even when asked, arriving a decade earlier with an offer to guide them through the thickets of a dangerous

²⁰ Pécoul to Pothier, 3 July 1901. SWF 1 W 23, no. 179. See also no. 182, 16 July 1901. I return to the Loi d’Association below.

²¹ Despite Pécoul’s involvement in ‘1893’, in the wake of Huysmans’s *En route* (1895) he had indirectly and unsuccessfully solicited an anti-Pustet article from the author the same year. In 1898, Huysmans’s indecision over whether to spend his retirement at Solesmes was hijacked by press rumour which implicated him in the recent round of Pécoul’s anti-Solesmes journalism. Huysmans to Dom Ernest Micheau, 23 November 1897 (in which he already feels uneasy on the matter of his branding as ‘clerical’); and, on Pécoul/Pustet, copies of Huysmans letters of 29 March and 24 April 1895 to either Dom Besse or Dom Chamard. SWF: 4 N 1). See also letters of 1 and 5 February 1898 to Dom Delatte, cited in Dom Patrick Hala, *Solesmes, les écrivains et les poètes* (Solesmes, 2011), pp. 183–5.

²² Védie to Pécoul, 31 May/1 June 1901. AIXm: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 24.

²³ *Huitième congrès*, 1901, pp. 141–2.

campaign. Now, he told them, that same person was anxious to ensure that no new monopolies were issued. Pécoul's own anonymous report to the meeting mentioned neither Solesmes nor Pothier, and presented the 17 May *Nos quidem* brief rather differently from 'Un Gallo-Romain' in the pamphlet *Le chant grégorien*, which would be dated 24 June – just a few days after the congress. For the purposes of Pécoul's Dijon unionists the papal brief was a sign that the Vatican favoured absolute freedom of choice. His account also mentioned the news from Grenoble but neglected to specify which new edition the bishop had chosen and once more related the decision to the question of freedom.²⁴ Conflating Pothier and Solesmes (they referred to him as its Superior), the delegates themselves made erroneous but entirely understandable connections between the Grenoble decision, Pothier, his right to royalties in the event of any new edition being marketed, Solesmes more generally, and a possible new monopoly at the Imprimerie de Saint-Pierre. Pustet seems to have been far from their minds. What they feared was history repeating itself, now within France.²⁵ Nevertheless they were eventually persuaded to pass a unanimous motion calling for renewed government action for a declaration that the Regensburg privilege and the status that went with it, were null and void.²⁶

Chamerot, telegraphing Pécoul on 18 June for information that would clarify matters relating to Pothier's copyright and the date on which it would expire, received an instant response.²⁷ First, Pécoul corrected the minor question of a tenfold error in Chamerot's report as to the cost to Périgieux of the Regensburg books. Then, after another potted history of the Pustet affair, he gave assurances that the papal brief was a simple congratulation imposing nothing on anyone; and in an attempt to keep delegates on message, he stressed that it did nothing to annul the favours previously issued to a German. But on Pothier and intellectual property he appears either confused or misleading, offering delegates everything and nothing at once:

We should also note that Dom Pothier's Gregorian is not, strictly speaking, a personal work in the manner of the Regensburg notation (on account of the fantastical corrections which differentiate the latter from the original Medicean text). After twenty years of work, Dom Pothier has succeeded in finding the key to neumatic notation, which has enabled him to decipher and to compare the most ancient manuscripts better than his predecessors, and to establish a critical edition. But he has offered up this key and whoever has the required skill can attempt an edition from the same manuscripts, without however replicating

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 136–40.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 141–2

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 141–8.

²⁷ His telegram starts: 'Vœu adopté malgré objection de transport de monopole a[ux] bénédictins de Solesmes.' [Motion passed despite objections to a transfer of the monopoly to the Benedictines of Solesmes]. He then asks Pécoul what Pothier's rights are, and when they will expire. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 9.

his readings, which are in law his own literary [intellectual] property. The only challenge is to be equal to the task ...

[Il faut remarquer encore que le grégorien de dom Pothier n'est pas, à proprement parler, une œuvre personnelle comme est la notation de Ratisbonne à cause des retouches de fantaisie qui la différencient du premier texte médicéen. Après vingt ans de labeurs, dom Pothier est parvenu à retrouver la clef des neumes, ce qui lui a permis de déchiffrer et de comparer entre eux les plus anciens manuscrits mieux que ses devanciers et d'établir un texte critique. Mais il a livré cette clef et quiconque a les capacités requises, peut tenter une édition des mêmes manuscrits, sans toutefois reproduire sa lecture, qui est devant la loi sa propriété littéraire. La seule difficulté est d'être à la hauteur du travail ...]²⁸

The final section of Pécoul's response returned at length to the fact that the Pustet question remained unresolved, not least because the 1894 decree was still in place. Perhaps it was due to the structure of the letter – with comments on Dom Pothier buried in the middle – that the debate on property rights was not reignited. But the chair of the meeting was more concerned with rectifying the error of fact Pécoul mentioned at the outset, and none of the remainder of the report was discussed. It was just as well, because two aspects of what Pécoul had written were disingenuous, and a third would appear so in a matter of weeks.

Firstly, the scenario of 'freedom' which Pécoul had presented to the Dijon delegates in respect of Solesmes chant involved precisely the kind of new investment that he had argued in 1893–94 would be humiliatingly detrimental to the French industry. Secondly, and despite his arguments about unfair competition with a foreign press, as we know Pécoul never intended that freedom from Pustet should bring equality of opportunity within the French chant publication industry. His *Le chant grégorien* of 24 June mentioned the 17 May brief as a sign of liberty but immediately followed that statement with a qualification he must have been sure the unions would never read or attribute to him, and which in its bolstering of Pothier's cause undermined all the earlier union protests against the decrees of 1883 and 1894:

This recognition of *freedom*, already present even in the 1883 and 1894 decrees, ratified by the declarations of the Cardinal Secretary of State, has now been proclaimed by the Pope himself. This confirmation of freedom takes on a particular character in that it immediately follows the praise bestowed on Gregorian melody; it becomes an encouragement to give preference to the Gregorian; and to adopt the Gregorian notation not only avoids going against the wishes of Leo XIII, but actually means one adheres to them.

[Cette *liberté* reconnue, même dans les décrets de 1883 et 1894, ratifiée par les déclarations du Cardinal Secrétaire d'Etat, est maintenant proclamée par le Pape lui-même. Cette confirmation de la liberté emprunte un caractère particulier à ce fait qu'elle suit immédiatement l'éloge des mélodies grégoriennes; elle

²⁸ *Huitième congrès*, p. 285.

devient un encouragement à donner la préférence au grégorien; et, adopter la notation grégorienne, non seulement n'est pas aller contre la pensée de Léon XIII, mais c'est s'y conformer.²⁹

Thirdly, externalities intervened. Within a fortnight of the Dijon conference the Waldeck-Rousseau law of 1 July, otherwise known as the Associations Law (and known in Catholic circles as the Anti-Congregations Law) put all French monastic claims to property and commercial activity within the country in jeopardy, requiring each congregation to seek government authorization within three months if it wished to continue to exist legally on French soil.³⁰ Illegal congregations would have their property seized by the government and sold on behalf of the nation, the proceeds to be lodged within the Caisse des Dépôts. The passing of such a law against groups which the government feared as a state within a state would have come as no surprise: Waldeck-Rousseau's core text had been available since its presentation as a bill on 14 November 1899 and was being discussed openly in the press as a prelude to a Separation of Church and State once the congregations had been successfully stripped of their property. The monks of the Solesmes congregation did not submit to such summary judgement: as early as their Chapitre Général of 28 April 1901 their abbots and priors had come to an understanding that seeking authorization was not the right way forward;³¹ and Dom Delatte himself favoured and recommended non-compliance via exile.³² Members of Saint-Pierre subsequently settled at Appuldurcombe House on the Isle of Wight, and those of Saint-Wandrille under a reluctant Pothier sought what he referred to as a 'gîte' in Belgium, finding it at Voneche.³³ In early September the Solesmes publications business was hastily sold into Belgium to Henri Desclée of Tournai, but in such a manner, it was hoped, as to allow

²⁹ Un Gallo-Romain, *Le chant grégorien*, p. 6.

³⁰ As Jacqueline Lalouette and Jean-Pierre Machelon note, most recent histories of the Loi d'Association focus on the freedoms contained in Articles 1 and 2 (which finally overturned Napoleonic restrictions on the forming of civic associations), rather than on the repression directed against religious congregations concentrated in Article 3. In 1901, the understanding of the law was the reverse: that Article 3 was its driving force. See the preface by Alain Boyer to their *Les congrégations hors de la loi? Autour de la loi du 1er juillet 1901* (Paris, 2002), p. 9.

³¹ *SO (mon.)*: 'Capitulum generale 1901 (28 April 1901), VIII'. The meeting extended to 2 May; discussion of the Loi took place on 30 April.

³² Article 'Examen de conscience d'un religieux', *La vérité française*, 24 July 1901. Signed 'N'.

³³ Pothier to Pécoul, 17 August 1901. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 21. Pothier needed some persuasion to accept exile, and a reading of Dom Hugues Leroy in light of the history presented here clarifies the latter's view as being that he vacillated because he thought Pécoul had made enough progress with Dumay on the question of the value of his work to the French nation to buy him and his monks favourable treatment and perhaps even the option to remain legally in France. See Dom Hugues Leroy, 'Les mesures anticléricales', pp. 66–7.

the print shop to continue to function under its new management.³⁴ The abbey's orders were, by early October, being completed as fast as possible and other materials crated up in the (vain) hope that 'on account of the precautions we have taken, not a single penny's worth will fall into government coffers'.³⁵

Saleable material goods were one thing: what of the longer-lasting value of the intellectual property rights vested within them? Suddenly the copyright of the Solesmes editions, notably the 1895 *Liber gradualis* and the 1896 *Liber usualis*, became critically important both at Solesmes and beyond. In the case of both books the unions had assumed that any licence to republish would involve royalty payments to Pothier as per the Bern Convention. But the Associations Law now aggressively begged the question of whether civil law should take precedence over monastic or even canon law. In a dispute that continued until 1904, everyone with a vested interest in the restored plainchant of Solesmes claimed ownership. Ostensibly on behalf of the unions and in dialogue with Dumay, Pécoul would claim the copyright as Dom Pothier's in civil law. In light of monastic tradition and the 1894 revision to the constitution, Solesmes claimed it as theirs. Accordingly – and not least because in November 1901 a local tribunal at La Flèche declared the sale of the print shop to Desclée unlawful³⁶ – Amédée Ménage, the newly appointed liquidator of Solesmes' property, would implicitly claim that it belonged to the French Republic. Dom Pothier was caught in the middle.

Having received a green light from the Vatican in July, Poussielgue's agent, Védie, approached Solesmes about the new edition, with initially encouraging results. Pécoul mentioned the possibility of a new text to Dom Pothier on 1 August 1901,³⁷ and they began haggling over possible names for the international commission that was to support the venture. Extraordinary as it may seem, discussions continued despite the process of exile from both Solesmes and Saint-Wandrille. Yet Dom Pothier's actions would soon become inflammatory. In the wake of the La Flèche judgement, on 20 November 1901 he signed a solo contract with Poussielgue for the proposed Vatican chant books. The contract would come into effect if, and only if, it could be established that he had been within his rights to sign it in the first place – which effectively meant securing a waiver of monastic law as agreed in 1894

³⁴ Dom Guy Oury, 'L'imprimerie de l'Abbaye (1880-1901)', in *Lettre aux amis de Solesmes*, no. 4 (1979): pp. 7–21, at p. 17. Contract of 8–10 September 1901.

³⁵ 'Moyennant les précautions prises, pas un recouvrement ne tombera dans les caisses gouvernementales'. Dom Védaste Démaret to Dom Delatte, 9 October 1901, included in *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

³⁶ Dom Heurtebize, 'Chronique', 9 November 1901. *SO (mon.)*.

³⁷ Pécoul to Pothier, 1 August 1901. *SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 189.

at Solesmes, in favour of either canon law or civil law. To establish such rights thus entailed direct confrontation with Solesmes in the middle of an emergency in which everyone risked losing everything. Given that Dom Delatte had steadfastly refused to agree to any contract in which Pothier was even a negotiating party [*partie prenante*],³⁸ that unspecified ‘antagonisms’ and ‘differences of opinion’ between Pothier and Solesmes were now being acknowledged,³⁹ and that Dom Delatte was determined not to consort with the French government, a successful outcome with Solesmes was unlikely. Védie had now, in November, been informed at Solesmes that Dom Delatte would ‘declare himself the sole author and master of the proposed Poussielgue book, for whose make-up he would delegate certain tasks to Dom Pothier, making it his personal responsibility to pay him for his work’.⁴⁰ Dom Mocquereau reported exactly the same to Mgr Respighi at the Vatican, adding not only that Dom Delatte reserved all distribution rights for work past and future, but that the wisdom of the decision was self-evident to prevent ‘innumerable difficulties which would arise between monasteries if it were not followed’.⁴¹

It is possible that Charles Poussielgue’s relative inexperience with monastic clients showed through here: in the light of Védie’s report he was too shocked at the notion of Pothier’s being treated as a ‘hired hand’ [*un manoeuvre*] whose past and future intellectual rights seemed to be being confiscated, to see any acceptable basis for a contract involving Solesmes. He could not believe that the congregation’s constitution prescribed such a *modus operandi*. Moreover, he was convinced that nothing would stop a sequestration process that would leave the rights to the entire raft of Solesmes books as fair game for the French government to sell to the highest bidder, unless something radical were done to stop it. To Dom Pothier he accordingly recommended a bilateral agreement without Solesmes or Desclée, and the swift publication of a brand new book that would present Solesmes with a *fait accompli* and which, he predicted, would encourage Dom Delatte to change his mind.⁴²

The wounds of 1893 were decisively reopened at this point. Dom Mocquereau was in any case revolted at the idea of Pécoul’s involvement

³⁸ Poussielgue to Pothier, 6 November 1901, reporting Védie’s unsuccessful Solesmes negotiations. *SWF*: 1 W 20 (4) item 16.

³⁹ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 223; *Restoration*, p. 196, citing a letter of 30 May 1901 from De Santi to Mocquereau. It reported on Védie’s negotiations and in particular on his warning that, if forced to choose, he would support Dom Pothier over Solesmes.

⁴⁰ ‘entendait se déclarer seul auteur et maître de la collection, pour la constitution de laquelle il confierait certains travaux à Dom Pothier, faisant son affaire personnel de le rémunérer de son travail’. Poussielgue (Védie’s hand) to Pothier, 6 November 1901. *SWF*: 1 W 20 (4) item 16.

⁴¹ ‘des difficultés sans nombre qui s’élèveraient entre monastères, si elle n’était pas suivie’. Mocquereau to Respighi, 25 November 1901, cited in Combe, *Histoire*, p. 232; *Restoration*, p. 204.

⁴² Poussielgue (Védie’s hand) to Pothier, 6 November 1901. *SWF*: 1 W 20 (4) item 16.

in the Vatican project.⁴³ However, merely raising the question of civil versus monastic property rights at a time of government persecution pitted Dom Delatte and Dom Mocquereau directly against their old adversary, whose preferred political sidestep of having Dom Pothier accepted as the owner, in civil law, of the edition's content necessarily entailed negotiation with the government. Worse – in that, if used selectively, it gave Pécoul leverage against Solesmes when arguing Dom Pothier's case – there was an 1880s precedent for precisely such an understanding of civil ownership, also in circumstances of persecution but without the complexities precipitated by the 1893 dispute or by the 1901 liquidation. For, a couple of decades earlier, the contract with Desclée for what became the 1883 *Liber gradualis* had been signed, at Desclée's request, by Dom Pothier rather than by Abbot Couturier. As Henri Desclée explained in April 1904:

If one recalls that the contract itself for the *Gradual* was signed by Dom Pothier, one can easily see that it was uniquely from the point of view of *civil law* – we were the first to request it – to avoid the difficulties of ownership resting on the head of an Abbot unrecognized in law, especially amid the persecutions that started at that time.

[Si l'on invoque que le contrat lui-même du *Graduel* a été signé par Dom Pothier, il est facile de considérer que c'est uniquement au point de vue du *droit civil* – nous avons été les premiers à le demander – pour éviter les difficultés d'une propriété reposant sur la tête d'un Abbé non reconnu par les lois, au milieu surtout des persécutions qui commençaient alors.]⁴⁴

Did this mean that Pothier owned the rights as far as Desclée was concerned? No: Desclée's entire argument of 1904 rested on evidence, especially from Dom Pothier himself, that when drawing up agreements with agents from Solesmes the firm had always understood it was dealing with monastic rather than individual property. Indeed, Desclée cited the specific case of the *Liber gradualis* later in the 1880s. The immediate persecution of the Solesmes community over, his firm had ceded the edition to the Solesmes print works via an agreement with Dom Babin as the monastery's representative, and without Dom Pothier's involvement. The 'civil law' aspect of the original contract was, then, an insurance policy and a legal fudge. All the evidence from Solesmes suggests that in 1901 no such legal fudge could be entertained. The burden of recent history meant that the odds against it were indeed formidable: negotiating teams that replicated the opposing forces of 1893, a lack of confidence in Pécoul's motives, and, in light of the decisions of the 1894 Chapter, the problem of what intellectual property

⁴³ His word was 'répugnance'. Mocquereau to Respighi, 25 November 1901, cited in Combe, *Histoire*, p. 232; *Restoration*, p. 204.

⁴⁴ Report from Henri Desclée to support Solesmes' ownership claim, dated April 1904. SWF: 1 W 20 (7) item 20.

rights negotiations might be necessary in the event of a return from exile to ‘normal’ monastic ownership. In any case, Dom Delatte had interpreted the political landscape of ownership differently from Dom Couturier. His 1901 version of the ‘civil law’ fudge of the 1880s had been to sell the print works out of the country, to Desclée, in September. Like Dom Couturier, as abbot he would retain moral rights over the contents of any new book, but the legal rights had (he hoped) been parked safely elsewhere.

Nevertheless, so long as Desclée and Poussielgue could themselves reach agreements acceptable to Solesmes, the resulting publication could still benefit Dom Pothier. Developments in December 1901 and January 1902 worked towards precisely this end, but at high cost. By 19 December a frustrated Poussielgue had all but given up on Desclée, which meant trying to extricate himself from Solesmes. He decided to take the matter over Dom Delatte’s head and to request recognition from the Abbot Primate Dom de Hemptinne of Dom Pothier’s right as an author to sign a bilateral agreement for the new chant edition.⁴⁵ A month later, Védie advised Pécoul to start a parallel move via Dumay, to keep the Solesmes books within France by requesting ambassadorial intervention. The idea was that, in return for some relaxation in the terms of the Waldeck-Rousseau law for the Solesmes congregation, the Vatican would be persuaded to forbid Dom Delatte to contract with a non-French publisher over a French one.⁴⁶ By 22 January 1902 Poussielgue was awaiting a telegram from Dom de Hemptinne giving permission to approach liquidator Ménage direct with the 20 November contract and a list of Dom Pothier’s authored works, to seal the question of civil ownership and forestall exposure to the liquidation process. He was working on a trustworthy tip-off, he said; and he would not bother to inform Dom Delatte, who was in any case not replying to letters.⁴⁷ All such separatism came to a halt with bad news from Rome and a breathless note of 27 January 1902 from Védie, who summoned Pécoul to Poussielgue’s office on the rue Cassette and announced: ‘Vespucci [Dom Mocquereau] has handed everything over to the Belgian!’⁴⁸ That same day Védie wrote to Pothier to attempt to restart *trilateral* negotiations between Solesmes, Poussielgue, and Desclée.⁴⁹ In the meantime untold political damage had been done, leading to the project’s failure before 1902 was out.

The conflicting modes of thought and behaviour here, and the assumptions behind them, need some unpicking. Technically, even with the 1 July law in place, negotiations could have continued unhindered if Solesmes had applied successfully for legal status. As

⁴⁵ Poussielgue (Védie’s hand) to Pothier, 19 December 1901. *SWF*: 1 W 20 (4), item 28.

⁴⁶ Védie to Pécoul, 13 January 1902. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 1.

⁴⁷ Poussielgue (Védie’s hand) to Pothier, 22 January 1902. *SWF*: 1 W 20 (5), item 1.

⁴⁸ Védie to Pécoul, 27 January 1902. *AIXm*. Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 1.

⁴⁹ Védie to Pothier, *SWF*: 1 W 20 (5) item 2.

it turned out, success was 99 per cent unlikely;⁵⁰ but in the summer of 1901 it was Delatte's decision to move into exile and to render the abbey community illegal in France that immediately changed the negotiation of a new plainchant edition into a politically charged guessing game as to who would have ultimate power over the edition's intellectual property rights, and a battle of principle over the acceptable price of resistance to government persecution. However, Dom Delatte's resolve to yield nothing to Dom Pothier, especially via anything involving Pécoul, meant that the internal battle over ownership would have happened anyway. It was simply given a new, nationalist, twist by the legal complexities of exile and the attempted sale of the Solesmes print works across the border – a sale that was judged illegal in November 1901 but contested by Desclée, with the government finally disposing of the print shop's contents by public auction only on 30 and 31 January 1906.⁵¹ If they wished, on behalf of the Vatican, to publish Gregorian chant as restored by Pothier at Solesmes and with Pothier at the helm, Poussiègue and Védie had no option but to find a way to contract – as Desclée had done eighteen years before – according to civil law. Either that or, as they belatedly acknowledged, they should have sacrificed Dom Pothier altogether for the purposes of the contract.⁵²

What of Dom Pothier himself? For all that the central questions of the events of 1901–3 revolved around his own work, he could hardly appear as less of a primary agent. His contract with Poussiègue was full of conditions that recognized Solesmes' authority, and he was prepared to defend his 'separatist' actions on those terms;⁵³ but the contract's very existence was enough to increase hostility such that in the subsequent negotiations with Desclée he backpedalled, recommending concessions to Solesmes of which Pécoul and Védie despaired. He also tried yet again to bring Pécoul's union activity to a halt, and refused on grounds of monastic obedience to take any proactive role in the battle over what, of his creative and restorative work, he might or might not own.⁵⁴ As for Pécoul: his recent alliances and direct action, born of overconfidence especially following the Vatican declaration of 1 January 1901, meant that his options were considerably narrowed. The print unions would expect another protectionist campaign, this time against Belgium. In one sense this was relatively unproblematic in that Pécoul could now argue that, as an unintended consequence of anticlerical policy, a French-restored plainchant might end up enriching

⁵⁰ Of 500 applications for authorization, all but five were rejected. Pierre Pierrard, *Les papes et la France: vingt siècles d'histoire commune* (Paris, 1981), pp. 246–7.

⁵¹ Oury, 'L'Imprimerie', p. 19.

⁵² Védie to Dom Pothier, 13 June 1902. SWF: 1 W 20 (5) item 25.

⁵³ Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 229–30; *Restoration*, pp. 201–2.

⁵⁴ See Védie's letters to Pécoul, 21 August 1902, 3 January and 23 March 1903. AIXm: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 24. This pattern of trying to avoid conflict through compromise would also characterize his role in the Vatican Edition in 1904–5, to the exasperation this time of Pécoul and Dom David (SWF: 1 W 23 *passim* for these years).

print and publishing houses everywhere except France. However, he was now inextricably immersed in the Poussielgue project, whose actors also knew of his activity with the unions⁵⁵ and indeed begged him to stop the agitation.⁵⁶ And although Dumay's loyalty and his only partial knowledge of Pécoul's motivation meant Pécoul's cover remained firmly in place where government ministers were concerned, his covert actions were suspected at the Vatican via De Santi, and his very name inspired loathing at Solesmes. He had boxed himself in such that the only way out was through open attack. Moreover, if in any new campaign Dom Pothier (and Poussielgue) were to benefit, New Solesmes had to suffer.

It is at this point that the narratives of both Combe and Savart begin to merge more closely with my own perspective, not least because Pécoul belatedly enters Combe's field of vision in 1901, and Dom Pothier and Solesmes do likewise for Savart the following year, when Pécoul and Keufer 'ignite' the intellectual property questions that Pécoul wished to resolve in Dom Pothier's favour. In fact, the Solesmes move of its publishing operations to Belgium was in many ways convenient for Pécoul, since it gave new bite to nationalist special pleading and it was born of a genuinely political problem the gravity of whose implications all three ministries involved in the affair would recognize. Pécoul's impetuosity and prejudice however, served him badly both before and after he knew of the Desclée agreement, and the sticking point appears to have been working out how he was to redirect government antipathy towards Solesmes/Desclée as a threat replacing that of Pustet, while persuading them to support Dom Pothier – all on protectionist grounds alone.

Against Védie's advice he had sent a premature appeal to the print unions in mid-January 1902 – one that had found fewer of them ready for another attack. The ever-loyal Auguste Keufer at the Fédération

⁵⁵ The complicity with Védie intensified here. After receiving the mandate of 10 July 1901 from the SCR, he delivered it to the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, where a note of 9 August, his business card attached, announces that he will himself tell the other interested parties, unionists Paul Delalain (Chambre Syndicale des Imprimeurs Typographes) and Auguste Keufer (Fédération Française des Travailleurs du Livre), about the decision he had obtained in favour of French printers and booksellers. MAE: Saint-Siège N.S. box 97. What did he tell them, exactly? Given that Védie had made every possible attempt to have the wording drawn up so as to ring-fence the benefits of the decision for Solesmes chant alone (i.e. the new Poussielgue project), there is less altruism here than first appears (see Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 225–26; *Restoration*, pp. 198–9). See also Poussielgue's account of these negotiations in a letter of 12 July 1901 to Pécoul. AIXm: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 24.

⁵⁶ Védie's letter of 13 January 1902 (AIXm: Fonds Pécoul box 40 folder 24), in which he advocates a direct approach to Dumay to secure special treatment for Solesmes, contains a firm postscript to the effect that Poussielgue wanted no more union action.

Française des Travailleurs du Livre supported sending yet another letter to ministers,⁵⁷ and Pécoul was still in contact with Léon Gruel at the binders' union; but in the end only Keufer's federation took part. The circumstances of the withdrawal from the dispute of the *Chambre Syndicale des Imprimeurs Typographes*, now under Paul Delalain, are significant. On 18 May 1901, it, too, had sent a letter to the *Ministre du Commerce* calling for the official annulment of the *Regensburg* privilege.⁵⁸ But the union council was not convinced that the response it had received from the *Ministère du Commerce*, and which Delalain had accepted on 28 August as 'real progress' [du progrès réel], was now under threat.⁵⁹ On receipt of Pécoul's new exhortation to action, Delalain thanked him for his help in the past but reported that his council had 'decided that the fears which were drawn to its attention proceeded from internal politics and that the strategy proposed lay outside its professional orbit'.⁶⁰ If the pamphlet entitled '*Propriété littéraire des livres notés*', which exists in fair draft in the *Fonds Pécoul*, reflects what Pécoul suggested as his plan of action, then it is no wonder Delalain's council declined to act, and it becomes clear to what 'internal politics' refers.⁶¹ The exaggerated though plausible argumentation of earlier pamphlets was replaced by character defamation of Abbot Delatte and Abbess Bruyère in relation to the 1893 crisis. Here and there, and notably at the close, Pécoul included references to the consequences to French workers of chant publication being taken to Belgium, and he scattered brief parallels with the *Pustet* story throughout; but in the absence of any monopoly for *Solesmes* such a parallel could not be substantiated, and the relevance of the unions' plight remained unproven amid an all-too transparent expression of *parti pris* on behalf of the Abbot of *Saint-Wandrille*. No anticlerical government officer was likely to be impressed by it, and as far as I can establish Pécoul never made it public.

Instead, and ignoring a plea from Dom Pothier for silence,⁶² by late February Pécoul had prepared a revised pamphlet on intellectual

⁵⁷ Keufer to Pécoul, 16 January 1902. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 21. The protest letter to the *Ministre du Commerce* was dated 31 January 1902 (*MAE*: *Saint-Siège* N.S. box 97).

⁵⁸ Union president, Paul Delalain, to Pécoul, 21 May 1901. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 21.

⁵⁹ Delalain to Pécoul, 26 August 1901 (*ibid.*). A copy of the letter from Delalain to Millerand (*Ministre du Commerce*) is in *MAE*: *Saint-Siège* N.S. box 97.

⁶⁰ 'a jugé que les craintes qui lui étaient signalées étaient de conséquence de faits de politique intérieure et que la démarche qui lui était proposée ne rentrait point dans ses attributions professionnelles.' Delalain to Pécoul, 28 January 1902. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 39 folder 21.

⁶¹ '*Propriété littéraire des livres notés*', *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 15.

⁶² Pothier to Pécoul, 25 February 1902. *AIXm*: Ms 1976 [1842], no. 184; and Pécoul to Pothier, 26 February 1902 (*SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 204) where he says it is too late: a new brochure [*'La notation grégorienne et sa propriété littéraire'*] is done, and ready for the addition of some 'cayenne pepper' [poivre de Cayenne].

property questions which Keufer duly sent to the *Ministre du Commerce* and in which Pécoul tried once more to engage the services of the ambassador. This time it was to secure a papal order that would see the 1894 Solesmes statutes on intellectual property waived. Via Keufer, his argument to Ambassador Nisard was that the Benedictines were using internal laws unrecognized in France to misappropriate the civil rights of a Frenchman, and that, unless stopped by a higher clerical authority (the Pope), the Abbot Primate would continue to favour the Solesmes/Desclée alliance because he was financially beholden to the firm (the Desclée family had contributed significantly to his own abbey of Maredsous), and politically well-disposed to it on nationalist grounds (he too was Belgian). Everything would conspire against the French book industry, and the Pustet victory would be squandered, its trophies for France being handed across another national border.⁶³ Nisard was in two minds. Certainly he was anxious that whatever happened French interests should prevail; but he was also chary of setting a precedent by becoming mired in the question of why the French state might support a member of an illegal congregation who refused either to avail himself of religious channels of appeal or to recognize civil ones.⁶⁴ Nevertheless the matter was pursued in detail at the *Ministère des Affaires Etrangères*, dragging on for six months from the 31 January protest and involving a call for independent legal advice – advice which effectively said that the situation was unprecedented because of its entangling of monastic, canon and civil law, and intractable because the French state had no capacity to take the initiative.⁶⁵ A parallel approach to the Solesmes liquidator Ménage, conducted with Dumay's authorization and possibly along the lines of Védie's plan, also seems to have stalled,⁶⁶ and Pécoul found himself, on 17 December 1902, writing rather guardedly to Dumay about yet another campaign at the Vatican.

He returned to the notion that a diplomatic approach to Leo XIII was the only way forward, though he also queried rather lamely whether, given the commercial implications for French industry, Ménage might not turn a blind eye to the small change represented by the intellectual property rights vested in restored Gregorian chant.⁶⁷ His plea rested

⁶³ Protest 'La notation grégorienne et sa propriété littéraire'. MAE: Saint-Siège N.S. box 97.

⁶⁴ Reports of 10 March and 1 April 1902 to Delcassé. MAE: Saint-Siège N.S. box 97.

⁶⁵ Report of Louis Renault, 12 June 1902. MAE: Saint-Siège N.S. box 97.

⁶⁶ Pécoul claimed, writing to De Santi on 9 March 1904, that it might have worked had he had a proper mandate. *SO (paléo.)*: 'Commission Vaticane, 1904: I'.

⁶⁷ Letters of 17 and 20 December 1902. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437. In the first he distanced himself from the Solesmes questions by implying that Keufer had understood their implications first and that he was simply, as lawyer, following the commercial fight into a new phase; in the second, after a suspiciously long disquisition on the *Paléographie musicale*, he reassured Dumay that, as Dumay himself knew better than anyone, he no longer had any connection with Solesmes and was not pleading its cause [Je ne plaide pas ici pour les Solesmiens avec qui je n'ai plus la moindre relation, vous le savez mieux que personne].

ostensibly on the conviction that because of the sequestration there could be no pro-French outcome to any auction of Solesmes intellectual property rights. No Catholic publisher other than Desclée would touch them, he told Dumay, because they would leave themselves open to punishment via the Congregation of the Inquisition's 8 July 1874 law on excommunication for those who bought, otherwise acquired or aided the sale of church property without prior authorization.⁶⁸ But it is possible that during his exchanges with Ménage earlier in the year Pécoul had seen problems further ahead, because on a nationalist level Ménage's vision was actually perilously close to Pécoul's ostensible goals for the unions, and therefore utterly incompatible with his wishes for Dom Pothier. Ménage wanted not to sell the press to the highest bidder but to appropriate it as a national venture for the financial benefit of the Republic – an outcome that would immediately have solved the 'Belgian problem' for the nation and the unions, but only at the price (for Pécoul) of separating Dom Pothier and his new abbey from his work for ever.⁶⁹

Thus Pécoul failed in his second attempt to secure Pothier access to his Solesmes research. Where the first attempt had been predicated on agreement with Saint-Pierre, this second one was openly hostile; a third would take Pécoul to a bruising encounter at the centre of Vatican chant politics and eventually catalyse the rearguard action of the 1904 government circular.

He was equally careful to pretend to incomplete knowledge of who was directing the *Paléographie*.

⁶⁸ Pécoul to Dumay, 17 December 1902. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

⁶⁹ Oury, 'L'Imprimerie', p. 18.

6

Ruptures: 1904–1905

The advent of Pius X to the papacy brought two *Motu proprio* statements on music in quick succession: one establishing the hierarchy of specifically Gregorian chant and Counter-Reformation polyphony (*Tra le sollecitudini*, 22 November 1903, but released only after Christmas); and a second laying out the terms of a future, and monopoly-free Vatican Edition (*Col nostro*, 25 April 1904).¹ In between, a decree of 8 January 1904 from the SCR had cemented the terms of the *Motu proprio* of the previous November, indicating in very general language that Gregorian reform was to replace older practices as quickly as possible.² Solesmes responded immediately. By 24 February Desclée had secured new authorization from the SCR for the abbey's current chant books. All were endorsed as being consistent with the terms of both the 22 November *Motu proprio* and the 8 January decree, and were formally signed off on 1 March. None of Dom Pothier's chant books was among them, and neither was the *Liber usualis* of 1896. Clearly they were obsolete. By contrast, the newly approved books included the *Paroissien romain* (1903); and the new *Liber usualis* (1904) also squeaked in.³ Identical in all but the language of their rubrics and titles, these latter books contained Dom Mocquereau's rhythmic indications in their most advanced form. From the point of view of the Old/New Solesmes disputes over rhythm, and the asymmetry of political power between Dom Pothier and Dom Mocquereau, it was a breathtaking move.

The winter and spring of 1903–4 were chaotic, momentous and polarizing for those involved in plainchant publication. Even before *Tra le sollecitudini* was released, De Santi began unofficial negotiations with Dom Mocquereau and Dom Delatte to provide yet another chant book – one that satisfied his preference for a non-rhythmed, slightly larger-format version – which he hoped would capture the market and become official by default. At the same time, an alarmed Pustet began clamouring for a new official edition; finally, and ignorant of De Santi's private enterprise at Solesmes, Dom Pothier was pushed, by Dom David

¹ Full translated texts in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, pp. 223–31 (1903) and pp. 256–7 (1904).

² Full translated text in *ibid.*, pp. 253–4.

³ Both books were nearly ready when the Solesmes print shop and contents, now owned by Desclée, were seized by the government after the tribunal judgment of November 1901. Desclée and the Solesmes Benedictines decided to start again. Preface to *Paroissien romain contenant la messe et l'office pour tous les dimanches et fêtes doubles* (Rome and Tournai, 1903), [p. vii]. The *Paroissien* was first authorized by the Vatican on 9 October 1903; later editions conserved the original date but included a page with the 1904 imprimatur. The internationally popular Latin version followed in January 1904.

and Pécoul together, into offering his services in respect of a Vatican edition.⁴ In this context, preparation of the second *Motu proprio* quickly became complicated. In addition, public and external events in April raised the temperature where French input was concerned. A week-long conference celebrating Saint Gregory helped launch the Vatican Gregorian revival, but no one could avoid a stand-off between Dom Pothier and Dom Mocquereau; and the same month also saw the official visit of French President Emile Loubet to Victor Emmanuel III – an inflammatory act returning the Italian king's visit of the previous October.⁵

This period, extending to July, saw Pécoul (who was now into his mid-sixties; Figure 6.1) working on five and possibly six overlapping fronts to advance Dom Pothier's cause at the expense of New Solesmes. He seems to have been aided by some serendipity in that Robert de Courcel, the son of a family friend, became *chargé d'affaires* to Ambassador Nisard in September 1903. After providing him with letters of introduction in Rome, Pécoul proceeded to run De Courcel as a courier for messages to the Pothier camp via the diplomatic bag.⁶ From January to late March Pécoul was engaged in a misguided attempt to bring Angelo de Santi definitively on-side.⁷ From mid-March to late June his focus was another round of union protests aimed against Desclée. From April he began intensive code-laden correspondence with Dom David (who having left Saint-Wandrille to undertake theological study in Rome was now Dom Pothier's secretary) on the subject of how to muscle Pothier to the head of the command structure of the proposed Vatican Edition. From late June, faced with inertia at the previously compliant ministries of Commerce and Foreign Affairs and the winding-up of the ambassadorial office to the Holy See, he began direct action, catalysing the circular that would come out under Combes's name. Meanwhile, at Solesmes the airbrushing of Dom Mocquereau from a report of the Vatican Gregorian congress in *La vérité* was attributed to Pécoul's influence, and Moneta-Caglio

⁴ Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 258–67; *Restoration*, pp. 226–35.

⁵ In the absence of any treaty with the Italian state, the Vatican view remained that the Papal States were being occupied. In solidarity, the heads of Catholic countries had agreed not to recognize Italy. Loubet was himself Catholic, and feared the visit's consequences (having received Vatican warnings via Delcassé at the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères of what would happen in the event of any such trip). See Pierrard, *Les papes*, p. 253.

⁶ Letters of 15 September and 24 November 1903; 15 July 1904 from Robert; 20 February 1904 from his father George. *Pan*: 376 AP 37 folder 'Courcel'. It is unclear whether Robert de Courcel knew anything of the unions side of Pécoul's activity, on which he was called to write an official report on 5 July 1904. This latter was the last report on the plainchant saga. It closed off all possibility of ambassadorial intervention on the question of whether Pustet's legal monopoly had been replaced, courtesy of a loophole in the 25 April *Motu proprio*, with a de facto monopoly for Desclée. *MAE*: N. S. Saint-Siège box 97. In any case, the office's days were numbered: the Chambre des Députés had already on 27 May voted for the recall of the Ambassador and the abolition of his post.

⁷ Letters in *SO (paléo)*: 'Commission Vaticane 1904, I'.

mentions sightings of him at the Rome congress itself, distributing offprints of a newspaper article from the *Gaulois* in which he claimed Dom Pothier as the inspiration behind the *Paléographie musicale* – doubtless that of 8 March which he had signed ‘A. Louis’.⁸

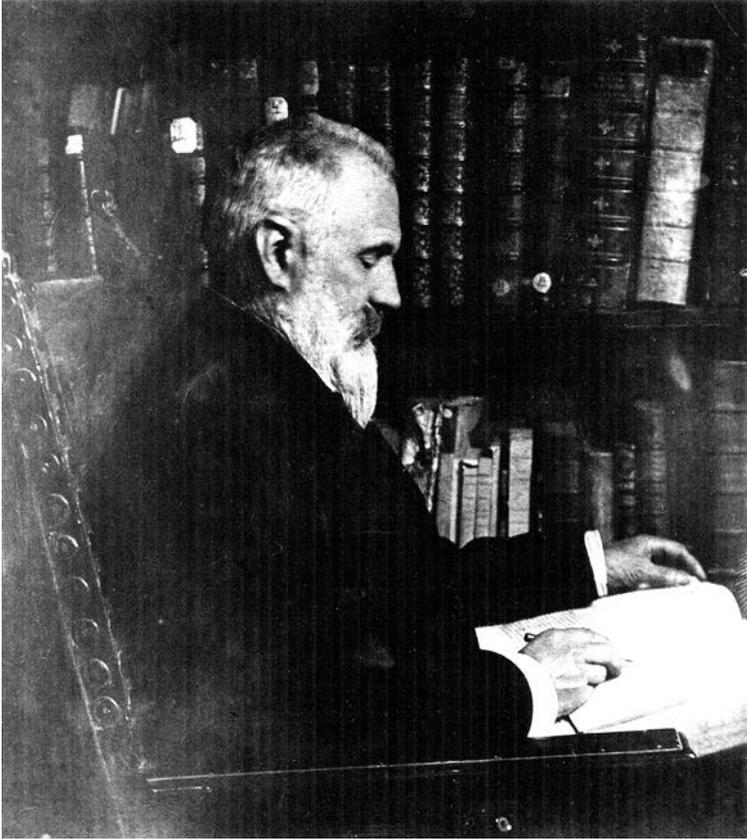


Figure 6.1 Auguste Pécol in later life, precise date unknown.

At the centre of all such activity, though never mentioned as such to De Santi, was his mission to aid Dom Pothier by blocking the French dissemination of the rhythmic editions of plainchant by which Dom Mocquereau was defining himself as Dom Pothier’s successor, and which had achieved such important new exposure with the Desclée *Paroissien romain*. In this respect, during the first part of 1904, following Charles Poussiégué’s decision to work with Dom Pothier on new

⁸ Heurtebize, ‘Chronique’, entry for 13 April 1904. *SO (mon.)*. Joseph Bonnet’s article appeared in *La vérité française*, 13 April 1904, [p. 2] under the rubric ‘Lettres de Rome’. Moneta-Caglio, ‘Dom André Mocquereau’, *Musica sacra*, Milan 86/4–5 (July–October 1962): p. 116.

publications supposedly free of copyright pitfalls, and then in the wake of Poussielgue's sudden death in April 1903, Pécoul had been actively supporting Mme Poussielgue's continuation of her late husband's projects. The question of a new French edition of Gregorian chant (to be based, of course, on Pothier 1895) also surfaced anew, led by Mme Poussielgue herself. Along with Dom Georges Guerry of Saint-Wandrille, Dom David was at the Vatican centre of investigations and negotiations, and stressed when he wrote to Dom Pothier on 2 February that Pécoul's help might again be needed to restart the idea of a French chant edition: 'It will perhaps also be good to have the support of the French government but, I think, only in the wings, and to set in motion that war machine so familiar to M. Pécoul'.⁹ Mgr Alphonse-Gabriel-Pierre Foucault, bishop of Saint-Dié and another ally, was also closely involved, writing to Cardinal Richard the same month:

The Catholic world has for too long been the tributary of a German publisher. Ought we now to become tributaries to a Belgian publisher? I don't think so. / Might there not be a place for establishing a French edition, on French manuscripts, published with a French publisher, for the use of French dioceses?

[Le monde catholique a été trop longtemps le tributaire d'une maison allemande. Devrons-nous maintenant devenir les tributaires d'un éditeur belge? Je ne le pense pas. / N'y aurait-il donc pas lieu d'établir une édition française, sur manuscrits français, chez un éditeur français, et à l'usage des diocèses de France?]¹⁰

However, as further news reached him about a dedicated Vatican Edition, Pécoul began to reconsider the Poussielgue case from a strategic point of view. He dropped support for it in favour of an attempt to secure a Roman edition that would be commercially neutral. A loose leaf among documents for 1904 in his papers contains a single sentence to this effect: 'The only solution is that there are no official publishers of printed liturgical books, put out by individuals or by commercial companies.'¹¹

Such a conclusion became unavoidable during early 1904 as he wrote a series of fourteen misguidedly candid letters to De Santi, attempting to steer the process by which the putative Vatican edition would be put together and to ensure that the New Solesmes cause did not prevail.¹² At the outset his confidence was not misplaced: De Santi

⁹ 'Il sera bon d'avoir peut-être l'appui du gouvernement français, mais, je crois, seulement dans la coulisse, et faire agir cette machine de guerre, bien connue de M. Pécoul.' David to Pothier, 2 February 1904. SWF: 1 U 42.

¹⁰ Mgr Foucault to Archbishop of Paris, 22 February 1904. AHAP: 2 G II, 1.

¹¹ 'La seule solution est qu'il n'y ait plus d'éditeurs typiques des livres liturgiques imprimés, édités par des particuliers ou des sociétés industrielles.' Private note. AIXm: Fonds Pécoul box 43 folder 2.

¹² Pécoul to De Santi, letters of 28 January to 4 April, with a note from after 25 April. SO (paléo.): 'Commission Vaticane 1904: I'.

appears to have been extraordinarily direct, not only about finding Dom Mocquereau's theory 'wrong' [fausse],¹³ but also, in conversation with Pius X, opining that 'at Solesmes they rid themselves of Dom Pothier by giving him an abbey' – to which Pius was reported as responding that it amounted to 'a small compensation'.¹⁴ Sycophantic in establishing common cause with someone who had been exiled in the name of Gregorian reform, and confident that he could win a new and influential ally, Pécoul revealed almost everything: one of his codenames (Tristan, not Schmidt), his fifteen-year involvement in press and government campaigns, his contempt for the incompetence and duplicity of members of the SCR, and (increasingly) his fury at what he eventually called the 'arrogance' and 'intellectual swindles' [escroquerie intellectuelle] of Solesmes in respect of the heritage Pothier had been forced to leave behind when he was called to Ligugé.¹⁵ He also informed De Santi of another imminent unions-related campaign via the French government (passages which are consistently marked up in red crayon in the originals given to Dom Mocquereau), and requested confidentiality about everything. None of this turned out to be wise given that, in a head-to-head battle with Dom Pothier in Rome, Dom Mocquereau would, before the end of the correspondence and within a week of his belated arrival on 12 March, have won De Santi over with his editorial tables of concordances and with the Solesmes view of the intellectual property rights vested in Gregorian chant as restored at the abbey.¹⁶ Worse for Pécoul, as is well known De Santi had a hand in the drafting of the 25 April *Motu proprio*.

Alongside the fulmination there was strategy which had its roots in past history and a determination to obstruct Dom Mocquereau and Dom Delatte. Reopening the vexed question of Pothier and copyright, Pécoul tried at first to guide De Santi towards the idea that the 'Doyen des Grégorianistes', as the most suitable person, could simply be asked to revise earlier texts, which would then be published anonymously. But by 21 March he seems to have realized, rather belatedly, that he

¹³ As reported to Dom Mocquereau by Giulio Bas (who would become an expert attached to the Vatican Commission), 7 November 1903. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

¹⁴ 'à Solesmes on s'était débarrassé de Dom Pothier en lui donnant une abbaye'; 'c'était une petite compensation'. As reported by Dom Guerry to Pécoul, 25 February 1904. *Pan*: 376 AP 27 folder 'Guerry'.

¹⁵ Pécoul to De Santi, 3 April 1904. *SO (paléo.)*: 'Commission Vaticane 1904: I'.

¹⁶ There are at least four narratives of the power struggle and of the behaviour of the two main protagonists. Primary documents include the Heurtebize 'Chronique' (*SO (mon.)*), and De Santi's Journal (Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 346–8; *Restoration*, pp. 432–4). Combe and Bescond offer understandably different accounts. Combe alone, taking information from Dom Gajard, relates the story of Mocquereau's deference to Pothier in standing aside as a possible Chair of the Roman Commission (Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 282–3; *Restoration*, p. 250). While this exceptional account might seem suspicious, given Combe's allegiances, it is entirely in line with Mocquereau's attitude in a letter of 4 March 1904 to De Santi on Gregorian theory, just before the power struggle reached its Roman phase later in the month. See copy in *SO (paléo.)*: 'Commission Vaticane 1904, VIII–X'.

could not be an interested party. He now argued *ab initio* for an official edition to be brand new (so it could not end up being New Solesmes in new bindings), unchanging (to retain its authority as a canonic text), overseen by a commission (to dilute New Solesmes input), and printed with an international copyright waiver at the Vatican press (to avoid a repeat of the Pustet scenario in which any one publisher – Desclée for instance – could gain monopoly status).¹⁷ At the same time, guilt over his U-turn caused him to plead briefly, and in vain, for special dissemination rights for Mme Poussielgue as either the first or even the only depository of the Edition in France. He also tried, indirectly, to block the Solesmes rhythmic editions by suggesting stringent authorization procedures for each copy of the Vatican Edition proposed by a publisher. De Santi engaged at first and then cooled,¹⁸ the switch detectable in his letter of 27 March, written after Pécoul challenged him about an article in the *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* (intriguingly signed ‘G. Romain’) which cited him as saying, despite all Pécoul’s interventions, that the general ‘Benedictine’ edition would suffice as a model for any new one.¹⁹ In the meantime, as Pécoul stressed relentlessly in letters from 22 March onwards, Desclée was indeed flexing his muscles *à la* Pustet, and (according to a Pécoul letter of 3 April) touting himself as the new monopoly printer to the Vatican by dint of the fact that a neutral ‘typical’ edition would never happen, leaving his editions for Solesmes as de facto official. Therein, of course, lay the genius of his speed in capitalizing on the 8 January decree with the block endorsement of the latest Solesmes books. Pécoul begged De Santi for some kind of official announcement to clarify the situation and stop the rumours – an announcement which Mgr Foucault was able to supply on behalf of Pius X himself, to the 1200 assembled delegates at the Vatican’s Gregorian Congress on 9 April.

There is, however, another twist to the story around the time of the 9 April announcement. It has some bearing on the union campaign that followed the *Motu proprio* itself, but more on the Combes circular; and it brings us back to the question of Dom Mocquereau’s theories and the status of the rhythmic signs used within the Solesmes editions. Two late-arrival footnotes in Combe detail what became the copyright waiver offered by Solesmes to the Holy See in respect of the relationship between its works and the proposed Vatican Edition – a move that

¹⁷ For Combe’s gloss on this correspondence, see *Histoire*, pp. 279–80; *Restoration*, pp. 246–7.

¹⁸ De Santi’s replies to Pécoul (the latest dated 31 March) are in *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 43 folder 2, alongside several other letters, from David, Gastoué, GrosPELLIER and notably Guerry, covering this period.

¹⁹ See G. Romain, ‘Les premiers effets du “*Motu proprio*” à Rome’, *Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, 10/2 (February 1904): pp. 50–52, at p. 51.

superficially mirrored an undertaking Pothier had already given the Vatican on 8 March, before the tide of Vatican opinion on copyright ownership turned against him.²⁰ A very general statement on 23 March is nuanced by a more specific minute from the Chapitre of Solesmes on 5 April. Here was unanimously agreed ‘the release into the hands of His Holiness of the rights of Saint-Pierre de Solesmes to the property of the chant books, to the extent that this gift might serve the designs of the Sovereign Pontiff’.²¹ For Solesmes, the clause beginning ‘to the extent that’ was not a formulaic expression of respect and courtesy. Neither was it a sacrifice. It was there to ensure that anything not specifically required by the Vatican would remain Solesmes property. And it intersected with the arguments still raging at the Vatican over whether the mooted official edition should contain rhythmic indications along the lines of the 1903 *Paroissien* – arguments that Combe suggests had been resolved definitively in the negative in 1903 when the Vatican solicited a sample edition from Solesmes so that there was a model to point to when the *Motu proprio* was published.²²

As emerged many years later via De Santi himself, Pius X agreed at a meeting of 23 March 1904 that, in line with Solesmes’s wishes, their rhythmic signs would not be part of any copyright waiver offered by the abbey and that, while the signs would not feature in the Vatican Edition itself, they would nevertheless be permitted in any Solesmes version of it.²³ The signs had implicitly achieved Vatican approbation the previous month, via the blanket endorsement of 24 February; now was not the moment to see that approbation removed. Moreover, if the signs were not to be adopted officially as part of the Vatican Edition, then the most important consideration for Dom Delatte, bursar Noetinger and Dom Mocquereau was surely that they should be safeguarded as a means by which the abbey could provide and benefit from ‘value-added’ in respect of its own products. Contested they undoubtedly were, but the signs were the abbey’s ‘unique selling point’, and via the sale to Desclée the community’s control over their use was still so tight that Jules Combarieu, reviewing the *Paroissien* – adversely as far as the rhythmic apparatus was concerned – expressed frustration at the fact that he could not even reproduce via a music example the new elements of

²⁰ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 275; *Restoration*, p. 242. Where Combe saw only monastic rights in play here, David’s biography (ed. Thiron) posits the idea of parallel intellectual property rights: personal/civil for Pothier; institutional and commercial for Solesmes. See ‘Dom Joseph Pothier’, *L’abbaye S. Wandrille*, 34 (1985): p. 18.

²¹ ‘L’abandon entre les mains de Sa Sainteté des droits de Saint-Pierre de Solesmes sur la propriété des livres de chant dans la mesure où cet abandon pourrait servir les desseins du Souverain Pontife.’ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 285, n. 171 bis; *Restoration*, p. 252, fn. 171 bis.

²² Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 258–62; *Restoration*, pp. 226–30.

²³ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 286; *Restoration*, p. 253. According to his journal, the following day De Santi told Dom Guerry of the changed circumstances for Dom Pothier that had now arisen; but he gives no detail. Combe, *Histoire*, p. 347; *Restoration*, p. 433.

which he disapproved, because the typography constituted part of the innovation.²⁴ He could not access it.

Unsurprisingly, Dom Mocquereau was ultra-sensitive to anything that threatened that 'value-added'. When, in January 1905, he discovered that the Vatican printer Scotti was planning a commercial edition using the Solesmes rhythmic signs he raged at De Santi in terms that precisely accord with Combe's account of the 23 March 1904 meeting, while also emphasizing the financial imperatives at stake and the sense of betrayal. For him and for the abbey, the entire system and its signs were 'our only means to [seul moyen pour nous].'²⁵ And an annotation to an incoming letter of the previous year speaks volumes about abbey policy. When Clément Gaborit warned Dom Mocquereau that, because of the vacuum created by the absence of a Vatican 'recommended edition', Pustet would be at liberty to prepare his own edition from original sources, someone (not Dom Mocquereau) wrote: 'Put as many rhythmic signs as possible in the Gradual and the Antiphoner.'²⁶ Given the situation of all French Benedictine communities in the wake of 1901, the exclusion clause for the rhythmic signs was a move born of necessity. Nonetheless the entire deal was a model of financial and political acumen. In return for its concession of the basic copyright, Solesmes offered the Holy See free labour on the edition itself, thereby ensuring enhanced control of the editing process. In addition, having established the abbey's copyright claims over those of Dom Pothier to the satisfaction of both De Santi and Pius X, Solesmes collectively removed any basis for continued activism over the question of whether Dom Pothier or indeed anyone else – for the Abbot Primate had designs of his own – had legitimate copyright claims over existing Solesmes texts.²⁷ Among the principal actors no one, after all, would be likely to complain that their copyright had been offered to the Pope, and Dom Pothier had in any case already offered up what he considered his own copyright.

²⁴ Combarieu in his own journal, *Revue musicale*, 4/1 (1 January 1904): pp. 14–15, at p. 15.

²⁵ Typed copy of letter to De Santi, 19 January 1905. *SO (paléo)*: 'Commission Vaticane 1905, XIII'. The dots, which are original, might either be an intentionally deafening silence or a private breaking off from copying, Mocquereau having no need to explain to himself what was patently obvious. The former interpretation seems more plausible, given that no other letter I have seen contains such a gesture.

²⁶ 'Mettez le plus possible de signes rythmiques dans le Graduel et l'Antiphonaire'. Annotation to a letter from Gaborit to Mocquereau, 20 January 1904. *SO (paléo)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

²⁷ New ventures such as Pothier's *Cantus Mariales* published by Mme Poussièlgue were, however, a different matter. Noetinger, for one, viewed them as theft. *SO (paléo)*: undated note to Mocquereau. It is also interesting that, in a section preceding his account of the transfer of copyright to the Vatican, Combe leaves the copyright question in limbo, claiming that it belonged to Solesmes but only while Pothier remained there (*Histoire*, p. 268; *Restoration*, pp. 235–6). Such an interpretation is inconsistent with the resolutions of the Chapitre Général in 1894.

Now back in France, Pécoul got to know something of the situation only as it was revealed rather differently via Amédée Gastoué, who presented it as either a gesture of surrender or of personal sacrifice. The thread ran after the Gregorian Congress was over, from 12 to 29 April, starting with news that Dom Mocquereau had been censured on all sides for over-reaching himself, and that Mgr Foucault had received assurances that Mocquereau would not have charge of the Edition. Then, a week later, news of contrition:

Dr [Peter] Wagner has written to tell me that Dom M. is setting entirely aside his theories and his manner of rhythmic interpretation of the MSS of St Gall; in order to be able to participate in the typical edition he has even, it seems, formally promised that he will steer clear of these self-same viewpoints within the work assigned to him. In any case, his work will be revised by D. Pothier and his aides. This is not to say that D.M. is abandoning his personal ideas, his musical mission: no. But he is *rallying*, to use an expression that was once fashionable. / Accordingly I think, and you will doubtless think so too, Dear Sir, that we should not be too severe in how we deliver the hammer-blow [due in a forthcoming article by Gastoué].

[Le Dr Wagner m'écrit pour me dire que Dom M. laisse absolument de côté ses théories et sa façon de rythmer les MSS. de St Gall; il a même, paraît-il, formellement promis, afin de pouvoir participer à l'édition typique, que il [sic] ferait absolument abstraction des dites manières de voir dans le travail qui lui serait confié. En tout cas, son travail sera révisé par D. Pothier et ses aides. Cela ne veut pas dire que D.M. abandonne ses idées personnelles, son apostolat musical: non. Mais il se *rallie*, pour employer une expression qui fut à la mode. / Je crois donc, et vous le penserez aussi sans doute, Cher Monsieur, qu'il faut ne pas être trop sévère dans la façon de donner le coup de massue.]²⁸

Finally, on 29 April, more general surrender:

I hear that the Solesmes flag is getting lower and lower. They have, it seems, already accepted – and even affirmed their most ardent desire (?) on this point – they have, I confirm, accepted that several of the points of notation in dispute will be submitted to the experts on the commission; they have promised to bow to the decisions whose supreme judge will be D. Pothier.

[J'apprends que Solesmes baisse pavillon de plus en plus. Ils ont, paraît-il, déjà accepté – et même affirmé leur plus ardent désir (?) sur ce point – ils ont, dis-je, accepté que plusieurs des points de notation en litige soient soumis aux consultants de la commission; ils ont promis de s'incliner devant la décision dont le juge suprême sera D. Pothier.]²⁹

If such messages were indeed coming from Dom Mocquereau then they were both disingenuous and effective: the Pécoul camp thought they had themselves beaten back the threat of rhythmic signs from the

²⁸ Gastoué to Pécoul, 19 April 1904: *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 43 folder 2.

²⁹ Gastoué to Pécoul, 29 April 1904: *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 43 folder 2.

Vatican Edition, and Pécoul undoubtedly assumed that the signs would therefore be outlawed generally. He had no idea of an agreement in which the income stream from any future rhythmic editions had been split off from the Vatican Edition for the opposite reason: in order to guarantee it for Solesmes, and for Desclée to boot.

The abrupt reversal of fortune between Dom Pothier and Dom Mocquereau in respect of the forthcoming Vatican Edition was already clear to both men at the Rome celebrations of Gregory the Great that started on 6 April 1904: De Santi had spoken to Dom Pothier on 15 March about the question of palaeographical leadership, having been won over by the comparative tables of manuscript variants Dom Mocquereau and Dom Cagin showed him (something of a repeat of 1890); and he may well have known of the Solesmes copyright agreement as early as 24 March, when De Santi met with Dom Guerry.³⁰ And while during the formal addresses and lectures De Santi was as diplomatic as possible to everyone – Haberl was present and was duly congratulated on the general work of the *Caecilienverein* – the two Benedictines were not. The precious LP recording of the 1904 ‘speeches’ provides welcome immediacy here, but is also misleading. Firstly, Dom Mocquereau’s speech as recorded was just the prelude to a substantial lecture, later printed in the *Rassegna gregoriana* and in pamphlet form, the latter parts of which directly attacked Dom Pothier’s palaeographical technique.³¹ Secondly, and following a lecture given by Dom David which outlined the early years of Solesmes revival under Pothier, Dom Pothier himself gave an address at the conference,³² but then for the purposes of the recording wrote an entirely different, short piece entitled ‘Le caractère fondamental du chant liturgique’ in its place. Within recent musicology this latter text has erroneously been taken for the original speech, or at least as part of it, and its Romantic aspects in particular have attracted attention.³³

Perhaps surprisingly, Dom Mocquereau’s contribution to the celebration did not centre on rhythm: indeed he had agreed to speak on condition that he was not required to lay himself open to attack on

³⁰ De Santi, Journal, cited in Combe, *Histoire*, p. 347; *Restoration*, p. 433.

³¹ Dom André Mocquereau, *L'école grégorienne de Solesmes* (Rome, 1904); *Rassegna gregoriana* III/4–8 (April–August 1904): cols. 233–44; 311–26; 397–420.

³² Pothier, ‘Le chant grégorien est un art’, *Rassegna gregoriana* 3/5–6 (May–June 1904): cols. 325–32. In col. 329 he responds to Dom Mocquereau’s palaeographical case-study of ‘the other day’ [l’autre jour] – which establishes that this is indeed the speech Pothier gave at the conference.

³³ See Berry, ‘The Restoration of the Chant’, p. 201: ‘Mocquereau, terse and scholarly, describes the work of the research team on the manuscripts. Pothier launches into a somewhat romantic assessment of the nature of liturgical chant’. See also Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, pp. 139–42, who contrasts Mocquereau’s well-schooled rhetoric with Pothier’s ‘touching exordium’ in a country accent (*ibid.*, p. 139). Combe discusses the two men’s contributions but bases his analysis on the texts printed in the *Rassegna gregoriana* (April–August 1904) (Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 292–3; *Restoration*, pp. 259–60) and therefore correctly cites Pothier’s text as given at the Congress.

the subject.³⁴ Instead, in his 7 April lecture he focused on the team work at the abbey's palaeographic workshop and the exponential increase in source-collecting that the *Paléographie musicale* had effected, taking his cue from Guéranger's observation that agreement between dispersed sources was a sure sign that the true Gregorian had been unearthed. The latter part of his text contained a case-study on how to correct a false reading in the 1883 *Liber gradualis*, and lent itself naturally to its final form as a didactic pamphlet which presented anything short of the latest palaeographical working practices of Solesmes as the product of dilettantism or scholarly irresponsibility. Synoptic tables were Dom Mocquereau's insurance against three problems implicitly associated with Dom Pothier: working from insufficient sources, working from dispersed sources, and reliance on memory.³⁵ Working even from 100 sources in this vein was an example, for Dom Mocquereau, of 'short-lived and muddled critique' [critique confuse fugitive]; quixotic decisions in light of the results they yielded were worse – 'hasty critique' [critique trop sommaire] – especially if one's aim was, as Pothier had once indicated (and Dom Mocquereau quoted him from the *Mémoires grégoriennes*), to enable the appreciation of music in its original form, in the manner in which one appreciated early architecture.³⁶

In reply, Dom Pothier, too, restated many of the principles of the *Mémoires grégoriennes*, not least that excellence in chant rested upon remaining flexible and knowing how to 'pray by singing and to sing by praying' [prier en chantant et chanter en priant]. And in a plea for flexibility of utterance not to be stifled by combinations of long and short notes all in regular proportion, it was he who tackled the question of rhythm.³⁷ Twice. For the three short paragraphs he later recorded had potentially even more negative bite than the original speech. For the recording, he began with a characteristic comment on the subject of heightened speech metamorphosing into song. The second paragraph, however, suggested what might happen if the proper boundaries of sung prayer and indeed of sacred music more generally were breached:

Music can emancipate itself from words. It can seek artificial effects, since there are innumerable metrical or melodic ways of combining the notes, which are isolated, now, from the words. In general such effects are more inclined to flatter the senses than to assist the soul. Sacred music, which speaks to the soul to unite it to God, particularly Gregorian chant, which is sacred music par excellence, rejects these artifices, or at least rejects whatever is too human in them.

³⁴ Letter to De Santi, 4 March 1904. He feared what friends from various countries had assured him was being planned as a 'crushing of D. Mocquereau' [un écrasement de D. Mocquereau]. *SO (paléo.)*: 'Commission Vaticane 1904, VIII–X'.

³⁵ Mocquereau, *L'école grégorienne de Solesmes*, pp. 4–5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–14; p. 24.

³⁷ Pothier, 'Le chant grégorien est un art', col. 330.

[La musique peut s'émanciper de la parole. Elle peut chercher des effets artificiels, tant il y a de combinaisons, soit métriques, soit mélodiques auxquelles les sons, que l'on a abstraits des paroles, peuvent être soumis. D'ordinaire, de tels effets sont plus propres à flatter les sens qu'à aider l'âme. La musique religieuse, qui s'adresse à l'âme pour l'unir à Dieu, surtout la musique grégorienne, qui est la musique religieuse par excellence, rejette ces artifices, ou du moins, ce qu'il y a de trop humain dans ces artifices.]³⁸

The paragraph reads, on the surface, as a standard denunciation of the use of instrumental music in church. But if that is what is meant by emancipation and isolation, in this specifically Gregorian context why did it need saying at all? It is only if these references to separation and artifice are intended to refer to texted music that has lost sight of its text, that a rationale for making the point becomes clearer. Moreover, with the references to the resulting artifice as dealing in the flattery of the senses, we find ourselves suddenly in the semantic territory of Pécoul's accusation of c.1903, expressed via his reading of Pierre Aubry on thirteenth-century mensuralist decadence, that Dom Mocquereau was turning Solesmes into a conservatoire. The probability that Dom Mocquereau's musical approach to chant was the specific target is then increased in the closing paragraph, which returns to the fundamental necessity of chant rhythm as flowing from text alone.

This was, then, the fraught Benedictine context in which the final phase of the print unions' battle was conducted from May 1904 onwards. In relation to those of the early 1890s the supposed benefits of success were meagre: a level playing field in which everyone would have to invest anew and rebuild markets from scratch. Yet again Pécoul played the patriotic-protectionist card, now mimicking the very rhetoric that had been used in late 1893 by the pro-Pustet journal the *Typologie-Tucker*. French editions, he said, were now under serious threat from *Belgium*. Two factors made Pécoul's job easier; a third could have complicated them. First, as De Santi acknowledged, Desclée's behaviour vis-à-vis Gregorian chant was becoming aggressive;³⁹ second, the fact that his publishing house appears to have been a target for the impounding

³⁸ My translation is adapted from the booklet to *The Gregorian Congress of 1904*, n.p., in which Mary Berry (as I assume) tones down the mention of 'rejection' of the effects of art, and substitutes 'makes little use of'.

³⁹ Letter De Santi to Dom Mocquereau, 10 July 1904 complaining about the latest union protest (and Pécoul's twisting of the historical record). *SO (paléo)*: 'Commission Vaticane 1904, VIII-X'. Partially cited in Combe, *Histoire*, p. 311; *Restoration*, pp. 276-7, although what Combe does not mention is that in this letter De Santi opined that Desclée's aggressive marketing was partly to blame for the continued agitation. Mocquereau's secretary at Appuldurcombe, René Le Floch, also noted that Mocquereau and Noetinger's cause had suffered because of Desclée's behaviour. Le Floch to Mocquereau, 2 April 1904. *SO (paléo)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

of Catholic anti-government literature sent across the border to his branch in Lille suggests he was not in good standing with the French authorities in any case.⁴⁰ Anyone with a long enough memory might perhaps have reflected that throughout the successful history of the Malines/Mechelen edition, no such nationalistic squabbles had erupted; what made this situation different was the distinct possibility that Desclée would get first stab at the Vatican-approved text and would license his specialist fonts to others either at exorbitant cost or not at all (he would certainly do the latter for the neumes with rhythmic signs attached, which Combarieu could not access to illustrate his review of the *Paroissien*). The Malines/Mechelen edition had never involved such a hoarding of essential resources.

The third factor was a letter sent to Combes as Président du Conseil in January 1904 by a cleric from the Vendée named Pierre Denis – Denis being a Regensburg supporter who had, since the 1880s, been an implacable opponent of Dom Pothier’s Solesmes reforms. It was a belated act of revenge for the humiliation Denis had suffered at Pothier’s hands at a chant conference in Nantes some fourteen years earlier,⁴¹ now precipitated by panic at the very clear signs coming from the Vatican that the sun had officially set on Pustet’s chant notation, and predicated on the notion that Solesmes and Pothier were still one and the same. After an attack on Dom Pothier specifically, Denis urged a law against the purchase of Solesmes editions – chant that was absurd and mendacious in relation to ‘traditional’ forms. Denis even suggested a text for his putative law – one which, had it not inadvertently been aimed as much at Old Solesmes as at New, would have suited Pécoul very well indeed:

It is forbidden for French Catholics, on pain of the immediate closure of the churches in which the infringement takes place, to use, for their liturgical or other services, the chant books printed in Belgium under the direction and at the expense of the Benedictines of Solesmes. All editions similar to these, even if printed in France, are also banned subject to the same penalties. The other editions of chant, approved earlier by the Holy See or the Bishops, remain the only authorized ones.

[Il est défendu aux Catholiques de France, sous peine de fermeture immédiate des églises où le delit serait commis, de se servir, pour les offices liturgiques ou autres, des éditions de chant imprimées en Belgique sous la direction et aux frais des Bénédictins de Solesmes. Toutes éditions de chant semblable aux éditions précisées, alors même qu’elles seraient imprimées en France, sont également interdites sous les mêmes peines. Les autres éditions de chant antérieurement

⁴⁰ Three consignments of ‘seditious’ Desclée literature, with articles on the implementation of the 1901 law, and on Loubet’s 1904 visit to Rome, were confiscated at the border between April 1903 and June 1904. *Lad.*: 1 T 230 (3).

⁴¹ Denis’s experience of the Nantes conference of 1890 is detailed in his book *Léon XIII et Dom Pothier* (Paris, 1891).

approuvées et recommandées par le Saint-Siège ou par les Evêques, demeurent seules autorisées.]⁴²

And if Combes were not minded to grant his request, in a move that revealed how the plainchant question was testing Republican allegiance to the limit, Denis threatened to begin a press war to expose those Republicans who were becoming 'personal supporters of the monks who are being expelled'.⁴³ It was a threat which resulted in his letter being catalogued among 'Confidential and contentious matters' [Affaires réservées et contentieuses] by the office of none other than Dumay; and there is no sign that it was honoured with a reply. But Dumay must surely have felt vulnerable to the charge of anti-Republican conduct by this stage, and might even have been an intended target.

As for Pécoul: his government action came later, during the ill-advised intervention with De Santi. He had already started drafting a union petition in March, after he had taken the decision to remain a disinterested party where Mme Poussiègue was concerned. The protest, eventually dated 25 March and sent to the Ministre du Commerce, mentioned no country and no names, focusing squarely on the fact that the situation was now more serious than at the time of earlier union representations:

if our information is correct, another foreign publishing house aspires to the monopoly of this new notation and, if it succeeds in obtaining it, our books industry will be even more gravely hit given that there would, this time, be an absolute obligation to acquire the notated books.

[si nous sommes bien renseignés une autre maison étrangère briguerait le monopole de cette nouvelle notation et, si elle parvenait à l'obtenir, nos industries du livre seraient encore plus gravement atteintes attendu qu'il y aurait, cette fois, obligation absolue d'acquérir les livres notés.]⁴⁴

On behalf of the unions, Pécoul called for the Ministre des Affaires Etrangères to urge Ambassador Nisard to ensure that no such monopoly be issued, and indeed that the Vatican should publish the edition itself. But Nisard's report to Delcassé at the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères was slightly arch (he had checked the files back to 1893 and clearly saw a pattern) and viewed the new *Motu proprio* of 25 April as containing all the right reassurances. Moreover, in accordance with his consistently held view that the printworkers' problem was now a purely commercial one, he turned the protest back on the unions as a challenge, reporting that he knew of foreign publishers (doubtless he meant Desclée)

⁴² Denis to Combes, 15 January 1904. *Pan* F¹⁹ 5437.

⁴³ 'des soutiens intéressés des moines qu'on expulse'. *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 43 folder 2. Final version *MAE*: Saint-Siège. N.S. box 97.

who were readying themselves to produce editions in short order. It would be a shame, he concluded, if the French lagged behind in an international market; perhaps the book industry's representatives should talk to the publishers?⁴⁵ On the question of whether the 25 April decree was reassuring, Pécoul once more begged to differ: the *Motu proprio* contained a 'loophole'. It mentioned a Roman commission but specifically assigned the work of preparing the edition to the Solesmes monks, thereby conferring potential advantage on both Dom Mocquereau and Desclée and raising the possibility that the Vatican Edition would be a rhythméd one. As Combe notes, one paragraph of the document also specifically pointed to the Solesmes editions already in use, which suggested that a model was being recommended – a de facto monopoly made all the more iniquitous for Pécoul because it now included the *Paroissien/Liber usualis*.⁴⁶

Beyond the idea of a de facto foreign monopoly, little of that argument could be used at ministerial level, as Pécoul well knew. On the basis of what remained, this time even the faithful Auguste Keufer demurred at first, sensing that the Republican/Catholic balance was disadvantageous amid the fever pitch of anticlerical decision-making in government, and given the heightened tensions between France and Rome: 'Of course our affair concerns business interests alone, but here, as with so many things, people are more willing to help those they like, those with whom they sympathize, than to help adversaries.'⁴⁷ In fact, by this stage Emile Combes's zealous interpretation of the Waldeck-Rousseau law of 1901 had far outstripped the anticlericalism of his Directeur des Cultes; but Keufer could not possibly have known that.⁴⁸ In any case, Pécoul's response was to work more laterally and to draft a protest to the Ministre du Commerce (15 May 1904) with two strands. In the first he raised the fear that interested and influential parties on the Vatican Commission (i.e. Dom Mocquereau and De Santi, who were all but named) would use a loophole in the 25 April act to ensure that the Vatican Edition was based, with minimum modifications, on the latest Belgian texts. He called for the Ambassador to the Holy See to be given 'formal instructions' to secure the French book industry against such sharp practices.⁴⁹ He also countered Nisard's challenge to the French book industry by claiming that, as more and more information about the situation circulated in France, printers were abandoning the

⁴⁵ Ambassador Nisard to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Delcassé, 8 May 1904, copied in *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 43 folder 3.

⁴⁶ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 310; *Restoration*, p. 276.

⁴⁷ 'Sans doute que notre affaire ne concerne que des intérêts commerciaux, mais en cela comme en tant, on est plus disposé à être utile aux gens qu'on aime, avec lesquelles on sympathise, qu'avec des adversaires.' Keufer to Pécoul, 26 May 1904. *AIXm*: Fonds Pécoul box 43 folder 3.

⁴⁸ Gabriel Merle makes two references to their differences of perspective in his biography *Emile Combes* (Paris, 1995), pp. 288, 301.

⁴⁹ Petition of 15 May 1904. Copies in *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

preparations they had already made. The second strand of the protest moved away from Vatican politics and, in a foreshadowing of the text of the 4 July circular, made a new and far stronger appeal direct to Emile Combes as Président du Conseil and as Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes, to dissuade French bishops from buying anything except French chant editions.⁵⁰

The timing for such a move was as propitious as the window of opportunity was narrow. Combes was now indicating openly in speeches that he wished to free France from the 'yoke which had weighed on it for a century' – to break the Concordat.⁵¹ He promised as much to the Chambre des Députés on 27 May. Whatever he might have thought in general terms, from the point of view of his chant projects the Separation was an unwelcome prospect for Pécoul, who would have no further leverage at the Vatican via French civil servants. It became urgent, by demonizing an undifferentiated 'Solesmes', to prod the government to belligerent action in respect of any Vatican decision that might favour Dom Mocquereau's chant. A change in Pécoul's behaviour, including a new move to draw Dumay into direct action on his unions' behalf, gives every impression that, in the face of breakdown and inertia over Vatican matters within other government departments, he knew he was playing his last card at the Ministère des Cultes, which was also part of the Ministère de l'Intérieur.

Nevertheless, as usual, a union appeal was also sent to the Ministère du Commerce. It asked Combes to place his authority between the Vatican (now united with Solesmes) and the entire community of French bishops.

We also appeal to you, Minister, to ask the President of Council, the Minister of the Interior and of Religion [Combes], to intervene immediately with the bishops so that they do not authorize in the churches of their dioceses the use of liturgical books printed abroad or published in France by foreigners or intermediaries running workshops or bookshops.

[Nous vous prions aussi, Monsieur le Ministre, de demander à M^r le Président du Conseil, Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes, d'intervenir dès maintenant auprès des évêques pour qu'ils n'autorisent pas dans les églises de leurs diocèses l'usage des livres liturgiques imprimés à l'étranger ou publiés en France par des étrangers ou personnes interposées dans la direction d'ateliers de libraires.]⁵²

However, in addition, Pécoul wrote the draft text of a circular promoting national chant editions, intended to be issued by Combes's office to those same bishops of France. The usual procedure was for petitions

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Quoted from the 'Ile d'Oléron speech' in which Combes defended the single-mindedness with which his government had implemented (and strengthened) the clauses of the Waldeck-Rousseau law. *L'univers et le monde*, 26 April 1904.

⁵² Fair copy of protest dated May 1904 to Ministre du Commerce: AIXm: Fonds Pécoul, Box 41, unnumbered folder. Final versions (identical) in *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

to be sent from various departments to the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères; this time he engineered for the matter to stay within the department in which his ally Dumay resided. Accordingly, on 17 May in his guise of lawyer to the unions he met with the Secrétaire Général at the Ministère de l'Intérieur et des Cultes, who just happened to be Emile Combes's son Edgard, to deliver the text of the putative circular along with Keufer's union protest. He also made sure to mention that Dumay had been aware of the unions' cause for some time. In so doing he hoped the draft circular would be sent to Dumay's office for consideration and direct action (whereas the protest would continue its tortuous way towards the rump of the Embassy to the Holy See). In short, he was looking to secure his government ally permission to act quickly and freely, in the manner most useful to Dom Pothier, but in the name of Emile Combes himself. On 17 May he wrote to Dumay:

The simplest thing would be if you were given *carte blanche* to take action with the bishops. [...] A circular addressed to the bishops *immediately* would have a double advantage. On the one hand it would prevent the bishops from listening to proposals from foreign booksellers, and on the other, many priests would most certainly communicate the document to the Vatican, where they would understand how serious the situation is.

[Le plus simple serait qu'on vous donnât *carte blanche* pour agir auprès des évêques. [...] Une circulaire adressée *dès maintenant* aux évêques aurait un double avantage. D'une part elle empêcherait les évêques d'écouter les propositions des libraires étrangers, de l'autre, plusieurs prélats communiqueraient très certainement le document au Vatican qui comprendrait que la chose est sérieuse.]⁵³

Checking some ten days later to see whether Dumay had received the protest, and whether Edgard Combes's office had apprised him of the proposed letter to bishops, he asked Dumay for a single word on a visiting card to indicate whether he yet had a free hand [les coudées franches].⁵⁴ Dumay did not, apparently, and even by 24 June the protests of the previous month had not found their way to his office. Neither had the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, to which Keufer had sent several copies of the protest direct, alerted Robert de Courcel as Chargé d'Affaires in Rome.⁵⁵ While the contracts for the Vatican typeface were apparently going to an English foundry preferred by Desclée, and while the loyal Mgr Foucault tried in vain to sway matters at the Vatican, inertia reigned in government. Pécoul was frantic now, writing that he knew of someone highly capable who would lead a French edition of all the necessary chant books – so long as there was no *de facto* monopoly in place in favour of Solesmes and Desclée. All

⁵³ Pécoul to Dumay, 17 May 1904. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

⁵⁴ Pécoul to Dumay, 28 May 1904. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

⁵⁵ Pécoul to Dumay, 24 June 1904. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

depended on the government closing off the market to such foreign editions in France.⁵⁶ By 28 June Dumay was prepared to reframe the circular as a letter to be sent to a list of bishops known to be supportive. Pécoul recommended sending to colonial bishops too, and made sure to highlight the importance of a paragraph in his draft text that warned about the use of French cover-names or French retailers by businesses that were not in fact French. 'Thank you', he wrote in closing, 'in the name of the book-industry workers for all you are doing to save their work. I will tell them about it in a fortnight and in such a way as to ensure that their trade papers do not breathe a word about it.'⁵⁷

The end result, which came out over Combes's signature as the head of the French government as well as the head of the ministry concerned, was precisely as Pécoul hoped, with what was effectively the original text, shortened slightly as a result of diplomatic revision in Dumay's office. It was issued as circular no. 749, of 4 July 1904. Doubtless to the astonishment of recipients, it encouraged bishops to align themselves with the Pope's wishes – while still acting in such a way as to benefit France:

I am certain, Bishop, that [...] you will be the first to acknowledge that since the Holy See has declared unfettered freedom, it is important in this matter not to disadvantage French industry in comparison with foreign industries, and that accordingly you will in particular be minded to confer printing rights on pure French editions alone, prepared in French workshops and coming from publishers that genuinely belong to persons of French nationality. You will also doubtless understand that it is appropriate provisionally to retain the books that are already in use, printed in France by French publishers. / The Government has no intention of becoming officially involved in these matters, but, from the point of view of the interests of a national industry, it sees it as its duty to call your esteemed attention to the above considerations.

[Je suis convaincu que [...] vous serez le premier à penser, Monsieur l'Évêque, que le Saint-Siège laissant toute liberté, il y a lieu en cette matière de ne porter aucun préjudice à l'industrie française au profit des industries étrangères, et que vous serez d'avis notamment, dans cet ordre d'idées, de n'accorder l'*imprimatur* qu'à des éditions exclusivement françaises, exécutées en France dans des ateliers français et relevant de maisons d'édition appartenant réellement à des personnes de nationalité française. Vous croirez sans doute également qu'il conviendrait de conserver provisoirement les livres en usage, imprimés en France par des maisons françaises. / Le Gouvernement n'a pas l'intention de s'immiscer officiellement dans cette question, mais, se plaçant au point de vue des intérêts d'une industrie nationale, il croit de son devoir d'appeler votre haute attention sur les considérations qui précèdent.]⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Pécoul to Dumay, 24 and 25 June 1904. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

⁵⁷ 'Merci au nom des ouvriers du livre de ce que vous faites pour sauver leur travail. Je le leur dirai dans une quinzaine de jours et de manière à ce que leurs journaux n'en soufflent mot.' Pécoul to Dumay, 28 June 1904. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

⁵⁸ Emile Combes, Circular 749, 4 July 1904. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437. The same, for archbishops, is given in *Fonderie typographique: organe de la Chambre syndicale des maîtres-fondeurs*

Only the last paragraph, on governmental involvement, was not Pécoul's. Indeed it possibly came from Combes himself, since the entire idea had provided his government with an opportunity to make an anticlerical point at the Vatican without having to engage directly with Vatican officials – something that was in any case complicated by the fact that he had just dismantled official representation of the French state in Rome in the form of the Embassy to the Holy See.

Not until 12 July did Pécoul relay to Dumay that 'news' just arrived from Rome [la nouvelle qui m'arrive de Rome] indicated that there were several 'Gregorian' systems in play, and that while the earlier Solesmes editions were trustworthy, the one involving Desclée was a 'tarted-up' [maquillé] version condemned by authorities such as Bordes, Gastoué, D'Indy and Guilmant. Pécoul felt the need to clarify: 'Were it not for the book-industry question, which is linked to that of the Gregorian text, I would not offer you this detail. Solesmes and Desclée are one and the same now.'⁵⁹ As I read it, Dumay was taken in. Others would not have been. They would have had little trouble recognizing the attempt to block New Solesmes not primarily because it threatened national commercial interests, but simply because it was not Old Solesmes; for everyone else, the circular could be read more generally as a move to prevent a repeat of the Nevers and Périgueux sagas *à propos* Pustet; for the unions, it constituted an unequivocal indication of protectionist support against Desclée, even though it lacked the force of law; for the Vatican, which Pécoul was determined should get to know about the circular via loyal bishops such as Mgr Foucault, it was intended as a warning. The response of French bishops, all of whom had to acknowledge receipt, ranged from the guarded (Oran, Grenoble) via the confessional (Cahors – who said he had been 'vexed' [contrarié] by the Pustet saga) to the overtly patriotic (Moulins, Mende, Digne, Tarentaise in particular). No one in the extant collection of responses mentioned Pothier or Solesmes.⁶⁰ Understandably, Circular 749 incensed Mocquereau, since, as Pécoul intended, it had the capacity to cut off the financial benefits he, Noetinger and Delatte had so perspicaciously secured for Solesmes, and he cited it in its entirety in a pamphlet of 1906 protesting against a new Vatican decree that had tied his hands as to the typographical form that acceptable rhythmic versions of the Vatican Edition could take.⁶¹ Noetinger, interestingly, was more sanguine, wondering in a letter to Desclée whether the document had any legal status, and suggesting in a comment that took no account of

typographes français 6/12: No. 72 (December 1904): pp. 371–4, at p. 374.

⁵⁹ Pécoul to Dumay, 12 July 1904. *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437. 'N'était la question de librairie, qui se trouve liée à celle du texte grégorien, je ne vous donnerais pas ce détail. Solesmes et Desclée c'est tout un maintenant.'

⁶⁰ *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437 folder 'Circulaire du 4 Juillet 1904. Réceptions'.

⁶¹ See Dom André Mocquereau, *Le décret du 14 février 1906 de la S. Congrégation des Rites et les signes rythmiques des Bénédictins de Solesmes* (Rome and Tournai, 1906), pp. 16–17.

the continued dangers of sequestration that the solution was simple: nervous or politicized bishops should buy their Solesmes editions from Desclée's Lille office instead of from Tournai.⁶² And while in more recent times the circular and the history behind it clearly incensed Dom Combe on Dom Mocquereau's behalf, Dom Bescond preferred to point incredulously (as indeed had Mocquereau) to the rare spectacle of an anticlerical politician zealously promoting Catholic publishing.⁶³

That Combes' office should attack an illegal congregation via an exhortation to bishops to defer to papal wishes was extraordinary enough; but what Mocquereau knew in 1906, Combe in 1973 and perhaps Bescond, too, in 1972, was that courtesy of Pécoul he and his staff had become an arbiter – undoubtedly an unwitting one – between Old and New Solesmes. Tempted by an easy way to obstruct Vatican policy that threatened French interests, they had issued a recommendation that all but barred the door to Mocquereau's rhythmic editions while holding it open for Pothier's plainchant to return home via French printings of a Vatican Edition that would, in the end, be based on the *Liber gradualis* of 1895 and over whose musical text Pothier's commission would have the final say. Less than a month later, and still in the wake of Loubet's visit, the French cabinet declared that Pius X's behaviour in attempting to discipline two French bishops with Republican sympathies (Geay of Laval, and Le Nordez of Dijon) had shown disregard for the proper diplomatic channels and indicated that he considered those channels redundant. He had provided the perfect excuse for France to declare the Concordat ruptured.⁶⁴

By autumn 1904, the mood within the print unions appears to have been one of relief at a struggle finally over. At the Congress of the *Chambre Syndicale des Maîtres-Fondeurs Typographes Français*, the printer J. Dumoulin reassuringly summarized decisions at the Vatican regarding the running of the Commission, and predicted excellent returns for the French print industry so long as its members remained vigilant.⁶⁵ A counter-article from Pierre Cuchet, a specialist in machine-typesetting, paid tribute to Beaudoire for leading the union via his petitions to government, and for helping secure a state of affairs that would, if unions were careful, bring them new profits. But Cuchet also noted the sea-change at the centre of the debate:

In informed circles people are aware that the Benedictines of Solesmes were the most active in opposing the importing into France of German-published books:

⁶² Copy of letter of 14 July 1904. *SO (paléo.)*: Corr. Desclée, 1904.

⁶³ Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 310–13; *Restoration*, pp. 276–9; and Bescond, *Le chant grégorien*, p. 224n.

⁶⁴ Pierrard, *Les papes*, p. 255.

⁶⁵ *La fonderie typographique*, 6/9: no. 69 (September 1904): pp. 278–9, at p. 278.

their intervention in the struggle was, in truth, extremely discreet – it took place via an intermediary, so to speak; and it contributed no less powerfully to the victory of the French industry. However, although they wanted to remove the danger of the Pustet privilege, the learned monks, it seems, acted only with the secret desire of seeing their own liturgy favoured among the chant books of the various diocesan printers.

[Dans les milieux informés, on sait que les Bénédictins de Solesmes furent des plus actifs pour s'opposer à l'importation en France des livres de l'éditeur allemand: leur intervention dans la lutte était, à la vérité, extrêmement discrète, – elle eut lieu par personne interposée, pourrait-on dire; – elle n'en contribua pas moins puissamment à la victoire de l'industrie française. Cependant les savants moines, semble-t-il, s'ils voudraient supprimer le danger du privilège de Pustet, n'agissaient qu'avec le secret désir de voir leur liturgie préférée aux chants notés des divers imprimeurs diocésains.]⁶⁶

It was the closest the print unions came to acknowledging that they had been secondary players, and, if one reads the reference to Solesmes as relating to New Solesmes alone, it is also slyly consistent with Pécoul's promise of 28 June to Dumay about the manner in which he planned to disseminate news of the circular to the print unions. Indirectly it illustrates the astonishing loyalty of Beauvoire to Pécoul (who was still not named), and reinforces the notion that he was highly astute when it came to balancing his union's needs against his knowledge of Pécoul's broader aims in the early 1890s. By contrast, Keufer was simply grateful for Pécoul's interventions, keeping in touch with him until at least 1910; and at government level there is no evidence that Dumay and his Republican colleagues ever realized that in addition to facilitating a protectionist battle they had been vehicles in a monastic one.

⁶⁶ *La fonderie typographique*, 6/12: no. 72 (December 1904): p. 372. Combe cites part of the Combes circular and the reassuring words of Dumoulin, but offers no analysis (*Histoire*, p. 312; *Restoration*, p. 278–9). This is the only part of the 1969 history in which he explicitly (but indirectly) connects Pécoul and the print union battles – citing De Santi's suspicions of his involvement (Combe, *Histoire*, p. 311; *Restoration*, p. 277).



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Aftermath and Implications

After July 1904, Pécoul's battles in relation to Gregorian chant entered a new and increasingly toxic phase, based at the Vatican via Dom Lucien David and leaving the French government behind. Obsessed with the task of discrediting Dom Mocquereau's rhythmic editions, Pécoul seems to have stopped fighting Solesmes only in 1907, by which time his place had been taken by a new generation (including David himself and Amédée Gastoué). Amid the continuing polemics over the rhythmic editions – problematic because with their practical appeal they became more widely used than the 'official' one – Gastoué spearheaded a last gasp of union battle in 1910 with a protest aimed at outlawing the rhythmic signs by Vatican decree. It got nowhere.¹ Meanwhile Dom Pothier effectively finished the Vatican Edition alone, his commission depleted and non-functional. When the tables were turned yet again in 1913, with Pothier's commission formally dissolved and the monks of Saint-Pierre invited back as editors for new projects, Pécoul was too old and frail for another round of polemic, and wrote what seems to be his last letter to Dom Pothier in a spirit of weary hope that Providence might come to Pothier's aid yet again.²

In the interim Pécoul had in a sense won both his battles, waged over seventeen years against Pustet and then against New Solesmes. Firstly, as he had been so keen to argue to De Santi in 1904, he had through continued rearguard action helped keep Pustet out of France, with all that implied for French business interests;³ and secondly, aided by the union battle, he had cleared the way for a Vatican Edition over which Pothier had authority. In the process, by the summer of 1905 and at least temporarily, he had also defeated both Dom Mocquereau and Dom Delatte. When Mocquereau sent Pothier his resignation as chief editor of the Vatican Edition on 17 July 1905 he mentioned nothing of origins, tradition, variants or decadent readings. Or rhythm. The immediate catalyst had been the imposition, at the Vatican, of a 'Gordian knot' solution to the editorial impasse between his team and Pothier's commission of oversight: that the base text for the Vatican Edition would not be Solesmes 1903/4 but the 'obsolete' Solesmes 1895 – Pothier's *Liber gradualis*. Aggressively engineered by Dom David, the

¹ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 445; *Restoration*, p. 395.

² Pécoul to Pothier, 7 March 1913. *SWF*: 1 W 23, no. 359.

³ His claim was that, had he not undertaken his battle, 80 per cent of dioceses would be using Regensburg because of an SCR decree rendering it obligatory. Letter of 3 April 1904, original in *SO (paléo)*: 'Commission Vaticane 1904, I'; copy in *SWF*: 1 W 5 (1). Even Combe cites De Santi as acknowledging that the 1893 campaign, specifically, was helpful. Combe, *Histoire*, p. 181; *Restoration*, p. 157.

solution had signalled official triumph, finally, for Pécoul's cause, and a rejection of New Solesmes that uncannily mirrored the 'no-yes-no' effect of the 1883/1884 SCR decree and ensuing papal briefs for the monks at Saint-Pierre. To unrestrained delight in the Pécoul camp, Dom Delatte tendered his resignation as Abbot of Solesmes. And in the three terse sentences in which Mocquereau followed suit vis-à-vis the Edition he simply declared loyalty to his abbot and Supérieur Général – referring implicitly to a loyalty that the recipient of his letter had conspicuously failed to show in 1893, in 1901 and again in 1904.⁴

That Dom Pothier and Dom Mocquereau could not agree on the validity of alternative chant texts and were forced to abandon their collaboration in 1905 had as much to do with the internal politics of 1893, then, as anything else. For the legacy of those politics did much to ensure that their different views about restoration and chant theory became an unbreachable gulf. Dom Pothier's stated aim for the Vatican Edition was 'to make, from among the variants, a truly rational selection that fully satisfies the rights of archeology, but without underestimating the demands of practice'.⁵ The implications of 'rational' demand close attention, especially in comparison with Dom Mocquereau's comment of 1904 at the Gregorian Congress that a definitive Vatican Edition would take half a century to complete.⁶ For it bespeaks not so much a 'Romantic' or even a personal approach to selection from among variants – which is what Dom Mocquereau's lecture suggested was at work – as a pluralistic one which contrasted markedly, but for different reasons, with Dom Mocquereau's vision of a long journey towards a single correct answer.⁷ Working from Rome Dom Pothier could not access the sources with which the editorial team at Appuldurcombe worked daily, but even so his solutions had to be defensible. Nevertheless, as chair of the Vatican Commission his infuriating practice of leading from the rear and of letting his colleagues argue their case for different variants before organizing a vote suggests that solutions did not have to preclude equally valid alternatives.⁸ Otherwise he would have found himself, like Dom Mocquereau, battling until he had convinced all

⁴ The crucial sentence reads: 'The decision which he believed he had to take [i.e. Delatte's resignation] determines my own attitude and the party with which I shall ally myself from now on.' [La décision qu'il a cru prendre déterminera mon attitude et le parti auquel je me range dès maintenant.' Mocquereau to Pothier, 17 July 1904. SWF: 1 W 102 item 41.

⁵ As outlined to Pius X: 'pour faire, parmi les variantes, un choix vraiment rationnel de manière à satisfaire pleinement les droits de l'archéologie, sans méconnaître les exigences de la pratique'. Letter of 2 March 1904, cited in Bescond, *Le chant grégorien*, p. 226.

⁶ Mocquereau, *L'école grégorienne*, p. 8; also in *Rassegna gregoriana* 3/4 (April 1904): col. 243.

⁷ Encapsulated in his comment, at the Gregorian Congress of 1904, that the authentic Gregorian reading of a chant text is its only truly 'Catholic' reading. *Rassegna gregoriana* 3/4 (April 1904): col. 242.

⁸ Combe, *Histoire*, pp. 362–3; *Restoration*, p. 319, citing Pothier's own memo of 2 April 1905 on the Commission's working method.

41

ABBAYE
SAINT-PIERRE
DE SOLESMES

APPULDURCOMBE HOUSE
WROXALL, ISLE OF WIGHT

17 Juillet 1905

Mon Révérendissime Père,

Je sais que le Père
Sire Abbe De Solesmes vous
répond aujourd'hui. La décision
qu'il a eu de voir prendre
determine mon attitude et
le parti auquel je me range
des maintenant. Il n'y a
donc pas lieu de répondre
autrement à la lettre que j'ai
reçue aujourd'hui.

Veuillez agréer, Révérendissime
Père, l'hommage de mes
sentiments respectueux.

J. André Mocquereau
m. d.

Figure 7.1 Dom Mocquereau's three-sentence letter to Dom Pothier, 17 July 1905, announcing his withdrawal from work on the Vatican Edition. SWF: 1 W 102, item 41.

around him, or, like Dom Delatte, until he realized that the tradition he and his immediate community advocated could not be imposed. In other words, Pothier's concept of *la tradition*, despite always being expressed in the singular, was itself potentially multiple, and as such his acceptance of compromise – and the Vatican Edition was nothing if not a compromise – was inevitable. Certainly his bemoaning to Pécoul

of the anti-liberal situation he saw emerging at the Vatican in 1894 was not the response of a scholar wedded to absolutes.⁹ The same holds for his ease at seeing the *méthode bénédictine* of chant performance applied to the various editions with which French church choirs were familiar. From this point of view, the doctrinaire Pécoul and the 'rigorous' or 'modernist' Mocquereau are actually much more closely aligned than Pécoul and Pothier – which precisely explains the ferocity of the Pécoul–Mocquereau struggle.

Dom Mocquereau himself presents a more complex intellectual trajectory than has hitherto been acknowledged. As I indicated at the outset, medievalists have berated his rhythmic and interpretation-related theories as Romantic, unproven and indeed unprovable. The resulting portrait could hardly be further from that posited by Bergeron, most strikingly in her 1992 case-study of (New) Solesmes palaeography as a workshop for the modern discipline of musicology in which 'fables were replaced by tables'.¹⁰ Yet both sides have their point because Dom Mocquereau displayed both sets of intellectual characteristics. What one finds depends on whether one looks at pitch or at rhythm – and at first glance the inconsistency is disconcerting. The scientific drive for statistical proof that characterizes Mocquereau's work on pitch contour is replaced, in his work on rhythm and interpretation, by extrapolation from a minute body of comparative evidence and the making of creative leaps in its analysis. Dom Mocquereau provides no equivalent, for rhythm, of the huge body of raw data used in the *Paléographie musicale* to demonstrate Gregorian melodic unity via *Justus ut palma*. He cannot. Instead he does the opposite: he elaborates an aesthetically based theory of interpretation which he presents – distilled via carefully selected examples – as both general and normative.

Was he aware of the incongruity? It is difficult to believe otherwise. Moreover, once we factor in the political history of Solesmes we can perhaps see less of the Romantic and more of the diehard empiricist trapped between competing institutional and personal imperatives: to forge a new path on the basis of slender evidence but to do so in a manner that is academically respectable. In light of the rocky musicological ride Dom Mocquereau's rhythmic theories have received, that iterated appeal to academic credibility is poignantly ironic: some of the pressure for change came from the pleading of his own regular contacts for a guide to interpretation that would make their delivery of the musical liturgy simpler. And those contacts, who included Dom Andoyer, simply wanted practical solutions, not definitive answers.

Perhaps we can now detect the undertow of the late Michel Huglo's words when he discussed the variable levels of critical assessment Dom Mocquereau and his team provided for some of the facsimiles printed in the *Paléographie musicale*. Most astonishing were volumes

⁹ Pothier to Pécoul, 26 March 1894. AIXm: Fonds Pécoul box 42 loose papers.

¹⁰ Bergeron, 'A Lifetime of Chants', p. 191.

7 and 8, of 1901–5, ostensibly devoted to the Montpellier Codex, one of the most celebrated palaeographical finds of the nineteenth century from the standpoint of melodic decipherability: ‘on the subject of MS H. 159 from Montpellier, in double notation (neumatic and alphabetical), [Mocquereau] gives space in the prefaces only to the demonstration of Solesmes rhythm, without a single word of description of the famous manuscript.’¹¹ Huglo, who was a Solesmes monk between 1941 and 1960 and who contributed to the *Paléographie musicale* project for part of that time, detected a return to a ‘more extensive’ [mieux soignée] critical treatment of the chosen facsimiles only from 1909 (volume 10).¹² In some ways he overstated the problem of imbalance: the Montpellier Codex is indeed described palaeographically. But the eighteen pages it receives are dwarfed by the 350-page study that follows (‘Du rôle et de la place de l’accent tonique latin dans le rythme grégorien’), and the palaeographical discussion is in a different volume from the facsimile itself, which arrives four years later with the rhythmic study in between. This separation is symptomatic of a more general impression that the driving principles of the venture have shifted, although that impression stems in part from pragmatics – the standard practice of putting all the plates together at the end of each volume. Even volume 3 (1892) is disruptive in this way, in that Part I of Dom Mocquereau’s essay ‘De l’influence de l’accent tonique latin et du cursus’ starts a volume that ought, logically, to continue the sequence of *Justus ut palma* plates. Part II of the essay, which dominates volume 4, then separates the preface to Einsiedeln Codex 121 from its facsimile, rendering both closer to paratexts than to the focus of the actual volume.

In a survey such as his it is not Huglo’s task to explain Dom Mocquereau’s reshuffling of priorities, although he would surely have been well placed to do so; and the fact that these huge *Paléographie musicale* essays become linked – especially from 1901 onwards – to Mocquereau and Pothier’s differences over rhythm, has been acknowledged at Solesmes for decades.¹³ But if we take into account that publication of the ‘De l’influence’ essay had already begun in 1892, we can reassess the shift. Its beginnings coincide with the period of Pothier’s political downfall, the end of his reign at Solesmes and the beginning of Mocquereau’s; and the phenomenon ends with publication of the first volume of Mocquereau’s *Le nombre musical grégorien* (1908). In between, Mocquereau had dedicated two volumes – numbers 5 and 9 – to Dom Delatte and Mère Bruyère respectively. A project that started life, in 1888, as a homage to Dom Pothier’s meticulous palaeographical

¹¹ ‘dans les volumes VII–VIII, au sujet du ms. H. 159 de Montpellier à notation double, neumatique et alphabétique, il n’y a de place dans les préfaces que pour la démonstration de la rythmique solesmienne, sans un mot de description du fameux manuscrit.’ Huglo, ‘La recherche en musicologie médiévale’, p. 71.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ It appears already in Dom Eugène Cardine’s article ‘Solesmes’ for the *New Grove Dictionary* (London, 1980), vol. 17, p. 454.

work, turned in 1892 towards explanation and testing of the textual theory Dom Pothier remained unwilling to elaborate himself; and, in a third phase from 1901, was transformed into the publishing vehicle for a competing vision recognized as such by supporters and opponents alike. The political necessity of that new theory was all too apparent, especially once the failed idea of a joint Solesmes/Saint-Wandrille/Vatican Edition with Poussiègue had cemented the divisions of the 1893 crisis amid a new anticlerical order in France where monastic copyright ownership had to be forged anew and abroad.

As Dom Mocquereau found, however, political necessity and political acceptance did not always go hand in hand. His system of rhythmic signs rendered chant so accessible in traditional musical terms that the SCR's condemnation of Haberl's metrical versions of the Vatican Edition in 1910 were misunderstood in France – Combe's wording suggests wilfully – as also applying to the Solesmes rhythmic signs.¹⁴ And while it seems closer to the mark to limit the distinction between Pothier's and Mocquereau's visions of chant performance to that between pitched declamation on the one hand, and singing (but not metrical song) on the other,¹⁵ we should not dismiss altogether the possibility that there was indeed confusion among the users of Mocquereau's editions. It is at least plausible in light of his openness to the use of modern notation and barlines; it also chimes with Pécoul's fears, expressed long before publication of the *Nombre musical grégorien*, that Mocquereau seemed intent on creating music from the spirit of sung prayer, and teaching that music to others. Pécoul's reading of Aubry in 1903 suggests that, just as he viewed Solesmes as requiring protection from the doctrinally suspicious influence of Mère Bruyère and Dom Delatte, so he saw Dom Pothier's work as requiring insulation from the doctrinally-suspicious influence of music, and from a mode of teaching that approximated to that of a conservatoire. In both respects Dom Pothier warranted support against an emerging decadence.

That said, it would have been inadvisable for Pécoul to follow through such a music-centred condemnation of Solesmes as part of his government campaign, and there is no sign that he did. It would not have had the least purchase at ministerial level, and neither could it plausibly have been woven into a union protest. It might even have backfired. The danger lay not so much in the fact that the singing of the New Solesmes monks was indeed good – manifestly better than

¹⁴ Combe, *Histoire*, p. 444; *Restoration*, p. 394.

¹⁵ To this author's ears, such a distinction is alive and well in the interpretative traditions of Saint-Wandrille and Saint-Pierre respectively, though it concerns timbre not rhythm. Nevertheless, since Dom Mocquereau's death the rhythmic practice at Solesmes itself has been selective and pragmatic *à propos* his theories. Mary Berry's review of chant recordings as they stood at 1979 draws attention to the extent to which Solesmes recordings of the 1950s under Dom Joseph Gajard, coinciding with the 'moment of total triumph for the "rhythmic editions"', diverged rhythmically from Mocquereau (Berry, 'Gregorian Chant', p. 204).

anything those of Saint-Wandrille could (or wished to?) muster – but in the solidly Republican resonances of the word ‘conservatoire’.¹⁶ The problem for Pécoul is best seen in the context of a long tradition whereby the heritage-value or high-art status of a custom or artefact could ‘trump’ Republican feelings of distaste at its Catholic provenance. If the custom or artefact could be re-purposed, or recontextualized, and rendered conveniently secular in the process, it seems there were few barriers to its assimilation into the national metahistory. The widespread destruction of the Revolution notwithstanding, France had since its aftermath seen church remains enter municipal museums – not in anything prescient of the spirit of an exhibition of ‘degenerate art’ in 1930s Germany, but as a newly appropriated and legitimate part of national history.¹⁷ The stance became deeply rooted in French culture, and was not restricted to periods of Republican dominance. In more clement times for Catholics, Second-Empire France witnessed the reverse phenomenon of a minister requesting Romanizing bishops to deposit now-obsolete Gallican liturgical books in the Bibliothèque impériale, to ensure their survival for the nation.¹⁸ During the Third Republic such phenomena took two main forms which worked in queasy symbiosis: the forced assimilation into Republican frameworks of non-Republican or anti-Republican cultures, and the exercise of caution or self-censorship on the part of Catholics wishing to practise liturgically-related activity in a largely hostile environment. As examples of forced assimilation we can point to the handful of cathedral *mâtrises* of the 1880s that survived the first wave of anticlerical culls on condition that they conserved and taught the French *patrimoine* of plainchant and Palestrinian counterpoint almost in the manner of a *concert historique*.¹⁹ The same holds for the Ecole Niedermeyer, which in response to educational reforms of the 1880s shaved the ‘Religieuse’ off its official title of ‘Ecole de Musique Classique et Religieuse’ in order to remain a state institution, changing its curriculum and bringing about a reversal in the proportion of church musicians to secular

¹⁶ See Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics*, p. 26. De Sainte-Beuve was withering about performance standards at both Saint-Wandrille and Ligugé in a letter to Dom Mocquereau of 19 January 1903. *SO (paléo)*: Corr. Mocquereau.

¹⁷ Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994), p. 92.

¹⁸ Circular of 26 November 1856 from the Ministre de l’Instruction Publique et des Cultes, cited in Petit, *Eglise et nation*, p. 70. Archbishop Blanquart de Bailleul responded to this request on 12 June 1857 (*Rad*: 1 J 897, Lettres envoyées). He promised copies of all Rouen’s old liturgical books for the Bibliothèque impériale once Romanization was complete, and noted that he would also keep copies, for similar reasons, at the library of the Archbishop’s Palace. Though this request was issued under a pro-clerical régime, it forms part of a consistent trajectory for the conservation of *patrimoine*. Blanquart de Bailleul’s willingness to comply is doubtless linked to his Gallican sympathies in an increasingly ultramontane environment.

¹⁹ Discussed in my *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York, 2005), p. 199. The myth that Palestrina had been taught by Goudimel rendered him a ‘French’ composer.

composers among its graduates in the periods before, and after, the change.²⁰ In a bolder move, one of its professors, the organist Eugène Gigout, soon left, setting up a private plainchant and organ school from 1885. Yet his school did not signal a return to the training of organists and choirmasters. Rather, it was advertised in secular terms as for ‘amateurs and people of leisure’ [amateurs et gens du monde] and cost a hefty 40 francs per month. By 1888 it must have appeared not only politically harmless but genuinely valuable in the Republican sense of being of ‘utilité publique’: it attracted government subsidy.²¹ Finally, as a case of self-censorship, we can point to the progressive, and paradoxical, weakening of the Paris Schola Cantorum’s ties to institutional Catholicism and to questions of Catholic musical liturgy. Here, a reformist society for liturgical music set up in 1894 was re-established two years later to include a school of sacred music that included provision in musicology when it was attached, in 1898, to the Institut Catholique. But it moved further away from a liturgical centre of gravity in 1900, amid signs of intensified government repression for all Catholic projects. Admitting women, making plainchant an optional class (which resulted in a preponderance of women), and concentrating on educating the ‘complete musician’ via a sensitivity to early music that was often sacred but often not, its distance from a Paris Conservatoire now run by Théodore Dubois (ironically a card-carrying church musician) diminished.²² Regularly typecast in the musicological literature as simply a ‘Catholic’ institution, the fit between its original aims, the continuing activity of Charles Bordes and his Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais, and the *Motu proprio* of 1903, are indisputable; but the subtleties of its history in relation to Catholic reformism, anticlericalism, Solesmes and the French state have yet to be explored fully.

Such practices illustrate how oppositional character could be neutralized at the very least, and in some cases transformed into a virtue, simply by redefining claims to value. Pécoul had seen a similar trade-off between national benefit and doctrinal or religious curse work to his own advantage in 1901–2: his appeal to a (lucrative) palaeographical heritage restored by Dom Pothier and at risk of being lost to France convinced Dumay, and then sent other supposedly anticlerical government officers scurrying for legal advice in his support. A comparison with the end of J.-K. Huysmans’s 32-year service at the Ministère de l’Intérieur is apt here: in 1898, the author of *La cathédrale*, who wrote empathetically about Solesmes and whom the press was touting as one of the abbey’s future monks, found himself told to take early retirement; three years later, during a period of even more intense anticlericalism, the idea of saving for the nation the chant

²⁰ See Sako, ‘The Importance of Louis Niedermeyer’, p. 159, table 7.2.

²¹ Kurt Lueders, ‘Gigout’, in Joël-Marie Fauquet (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 2003), p. 515. On public utility see Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, pp. 53–93.

²² See Flint de Médicis, ‘The Schola Cantorum’, vol. 1, pp. 8–9 and 230–33.

restored at that very same monastery catalysed ministerial attempts to help. The efficacy of that aspect of Pécoul's campaign – even though in the end it yielded no material result – should have, and perhaps did, warn him off invoking such a loaded term as 'conservatoire' as a weapon with which to beat New Solesmes. Given the untruths of omission about Solesmes and Saint-Wandrille that Pécoul had peddled at ministerial level, any argument that at Solesmes liturgy had already been turned into art and was being taught successfully as such, would have shown Republicans that their work was effectively being done for them. The intentions of Ménage as liquidator, to appropriate the Solesmes print works for the benefit of the Republic, would also have acted as a warning. Both risked the spectre of Pécoul's own nationalist arguments being marshalled against his cause, precipitating high-level attempts to bring the 'wrong' plainchant back from Belgium: not from Pothier's abbey-in-exile at Voneche, but from the Tournai publishing house of Desclée.

As those last reflections suggest, Pécoul's Benedictine project offers both positive and negative evidence of the inherent tensions governing the implementation of Republican anticlericalism at the turn of the twentieth century. It helps us establish by what means, and under what conditions, temporary U-turns in policy, or exceptional concessions, could be obtained. From the historian's point of view the situation is complicated by the sheer scale and variety of Pécoul's concealment. Nevertheless, once its various aspects are understood we can gain some purchase on his assumptions, his calculations, and the political soundness of the actions that ensued. That said, it is also apparent from the content of the 'discarded' draft pamphlet of 1901 on intellectual property – as indeed of other erased passages in his drafts – that Pécoul had perpetually to restrain himself from becoming too 'Benedictine' or indeed too Catholic. Even in the draft 1904 circular to the bishops of France he twice made the mistake of referring to Pius X as 'Sa Sainteté' – an indication of deference that civil servants downgraded to 'le Saint-Siège' in one instance.²³ Balancing his two concerns, and addressing the right audience to greatest effect without creating hostages to fortune, did not come without a struggle.

In the end, appeals to protectionism, to national economic health, to workers' livelihoods and to national pride constituted his armoury to penetrate anticlerical defences. All had the advantage of being oblique. While Pothier and Haberl faced each other in person at Arezzo in 1882, and the Catholic journalistic campaigns operated on an equally personal level if one could decode the pseudonyms, in the early 1890s Pécoul gave the French government an opportunity to attack German interests

²³ *Pan*: F¹⁹ 5437.

via international diplomatic channels relating to the Universal Church. Moreover, for so long as his campaign remained that of holding Pustet in check, successive French ambassadors to the Holy See could present their petitions as national self-defence and thereby avoid accusations of either anti-German aggression or French imperialism. The latter risk became pertinent only once Pustet's monopoly had expired in 1901, at which point the Loi d'Association and a new wave of Benedictine factionalism conveniently transformed the question of why the French should appropriate an international (but Catholic) good – Dom Pothier's restored Gregorian chant – into a new protectionist battle, this time against Belgium. From a commercial perspective, the argument that chant publishing was one of the few stable sources of income for the lobbying printers would not have gone unrecognized, given the lamentable nature of the French track record in other sectors of the book industry, specifically in comparison with Germany. Highlighting the threat of destabilization in a largely internal market which had not hitherto had to compete with Germany, was especially shrewd, since the fate of those other book-industry sectors made abundantly clear the extent to which France was, nationally speaking, unready for a commercial battle in which victory would depend on access to German-standard industrial technology and distribution systems. Finally, appeals to national pride proved effective if they could be related to heritage, artistic or artisanal excellence, or other world-class forms of cultural value. Where ritual or liturgy could be conceptualized as culture or otherwise given credibility as part of secular education, the track record of French Republicanism indicated that even resolutely anticlerical doors could be prised open. The political history of French plainchant during this period thus re-enacts some of the stresses of the Revolutionary period, with an added layer of game-playing that exposes Republican fracture lines with even greater clarity. Its importance as a political story lies in the simultaneous exploitation of so many pressure points of anticlerical policy and practice that when one tack seemed to be failing, Pécoul could turn his attention to another. It is the multi-pronged approach, applied selectively, in sequence or in combination according to circumstance and audience, that marks his story out as a historically significant masterclass in the subversion of an ostensibly functional and monolithic state machinery.

Part of its subtlety lies in Pécoul's simultaneous blurring and reinforcement of the boundaries between Republican and Catholic. The blurring appears not only in terms of Pécoul's methods of 'working' the various government ministries, and his juggling of material between Catholic and anticlerical newspapers, but in the mediating role of several archbishops and bishops of France. From the outset, within Catholic circles the central question was that of remaining patriotic in a progressively ultramontane environment. Pécoul himself challenged the notion that ultramontanism and nationalist activism were incompatible, while reinforcing the salience of that very divide

by hiding elements of his true allegiance at the Ministère des Cultes. Moreover, among French bishops and archbishops there were, within the chant publication saga, plenty of patriotic or even nationalist figures whose direct or indirect involvement in Pécoul's campaign provided a necessary bridge between the Benedictines (especially after 1901), the French state, and the Vatican itself. Bishop Lecot's call to arms of 1889, Cardinal Richard's work alongside the French Ambassador to retain the 'liberté' clause in the July 1894 Vatican decree, and bishop Foucault's announcement of April 1904 to the Gregorian Congress, articulate the main turning points of the chant publication narrative as it presented to the outside world, counterbalanced by the equally principled but ultimately doomed pronouncements of the ultramontanes who welcomed the Pustet *Gradual* text into their dioceses – bishops Lelong and Dabert. At the same time, the last phase of Pécoul's campaign against a supposedly Belgian enemy involved an attack that also ran along a classic fault-line of Republican politics: determination to neutralize the religious orders. And during the earlier phases his anti-German nationalism had always appealed indirectly to the Republican need to undermine ultramontanism among the secular clergy via reminders that the French state had only to invoke the Organic Articles to clarify the question of whose employees they really were. If the Vatican wished to favour Germany, so be it; but France did not need to toe the line.

This intertwining of Catholic and Republican histories, with its embrace of the concerns of both regular and secular clergy, of the commercial world, and of cultural nationalism, offers one further strand whose implications require teasing out: that of intellectual property ownership in an environment that exalts collective identity but which experiences unexpected levels of more or less enforced mobility among key actors. Quite apart from the attempt by Pécoul and Poussielgue to secure Dom Pothier's chant research for the nation of France without its becoming a victim of Congregational liquidation, the battles over ownership (and therefore of dissemination rights) of Solesmes chant texts tested to its limits the adequacy of Benedictine internal regulation in the wake of political crisis. Here, one has to ask the counterfactual question of what might have happened without '1893'. Would Dom Pothier have stayed at Saint-Pierre? Given Dom Delatte's commitment to Benedictine 'stability' and the increasing celebrity of the abbey for Gregorian chant, one might see it as a racing certainty.²⁴ And if so, what would have happened on expiry of the Pustet privilege and, more importantly, in the wake of the Loi d'Association? Notwithstanding the possibility that the Solesmes copyright would have gone immediately to the Vatican, it is difficult, here, not to imagine something along the

²⁴ On Dom Delatte's interpretation of Rule 1 of the Benedictine code, see the anthology of his writings entitled *La vie monastique à l'école de Saint Benoît*, ed. Lucien Régnault (Sablé-sur-Sarthe, 1980), pp. 26–8.

lines of a repeat of the 1880s scenario whereby Dom Pothier's 'civil law' claims took temporary and expedient precedence over an underlying monastic ownership, with or without transfer of the Solesmes printshop out of French hands. Whether a Solesmes-friendly Pécoul would have seen and supported the necessity to effect a foreign transfer before 1 July is another matter. But such a scenario would not necessarily have been so disastrous on protectionist grounds as Pécoul would claim in his protests of 1902 to 1904. After all, French printers had been benefiting since 1848 from work related to the Belgian chant edition from Malines/Mechelen, which was still in widespread use. While the nationalist arguments relating to Belgium were not red herrings, then, they were significantly less powerful than those relating to Germany, and they were in effect predicated on Desclée's increasingly strident behaviour rather than on any clear threat of a formalized monopoly. But to my knowledge no one mentioned the fact, and it was most likely the protectionist momentum of the Pustet campaign that closed off the possibility of such thinking when Pécoul introduced Charles Dumay to Henri Desclée as his new national scourge. Moreover, in a scenario free of the 1893 crisis the Pothier-Solesmes rights would have been perceived as being in entirely friendly hands with Desclée. Not only had it been Solesmes's preferred publishing house before the abbey set up its own print works, but there were philanthropic links which made it uniquely suitable: the large donation from the family that had helped found the Belgian Benedictine monastery at Maredsous in 1872. Lastly, with the Pothier-Mocquereau hierarchy securely in place at Solesmes, the Vatican Edition's birth pains would likely have been curtailed and mitigated, perhaps even resulting in a first text emanating from the 1901 attempt rather than the much more acrimonious iteration of 1904. The implications of that possibility for Dom Mocquereau's rhythmic innovations are, of course, significant. Even if one stops short of the hypothesis that they might never have existed, they would hardly have flourished.

In closing, I return to the 'invisible man'. He illustrates both the importance of reading nineteenth-century history institutionally, and of not underestimating the agency of individual actors. His combination of opposites is disorienting: an ultramontane patriot and nationalist; a high bourgeois with a genuine interest in working-class matters; an antiquarian political strategist; a maverick loner whose network of friends stretched in all directions. Pécoul was an individualist, allied only briefly to any one institution and outwardly acting as though answerable only to himself. This man of leisure acted as ventriloquist for monks and bishops, unionists and diplomats, sometimes working against them and often speaking from within hostile newspaper territory, in the service of a cause altered but not fundamentally

deflected by an accelerating succession of external crises both monastic and governmental. He was the central force of a history whose secrets remained intact through a combination of concealment in which he and his Benedictine adversaries were, perhaps inadvertently, complicit even after his death. An outsider who needed to be in control, he was also a backroom figure adept for the most part at covering his tracks, and anxious to do so. He would not thank me for having unmasked him at last.



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Appendix: Codenames

Table 1 Names in Pécoul's Correspondence with Etienne Védie and Others (1901)

Le Pape	Converti
Cardinal Rampolla	Incorruptible
Cardinal Ferrata	Lerouge
Cardinal Respighi	Auxiliaire
R.P. de Santi, S. J.	Compère
Mgr Respighi	Hercule
Battandier	Anglomane
Dom de Hemptinne	Satrape
Dom Janssens	Equivoque
Commission Romaine	Séraphique
Congrégation des Rites	Aglae ¹
Pustet	Logre
Haberl	Dentiste
Baron Kanzler	Brèche
Abbé Perosi	Rossignol
Abbé Bègue	Cannebière
Archevêque [Richard] de Paris	Grenelle
Abbé Vigourel	Augure
M. P.	Cassette ²
M. Bordes, 269 rue S-Jacques	Hardi
M. Gastoué	Lieutenant
Abbé Bonnaire, Reims	Allié
M. Pécoul	Tristan ³
Dom Pothier	Lorain ⁴
Dom Guerry	Fluet
Dom Parisot	Via
Dom Mocquereau	Vespuce
Solesmes	Mysticité
R.P. Grospellier	Dauphin
M. Lecoffre	Laudacieux
Boyer d'Agen	Ravissant

¹ Of the three Graces.

² Address of the Poussielgue office in Paris.

³ Pécoul is never actively identified as 'Schmidt', but 'Tristan' is hardly ever used.

⁴ A reference to his coming from the Lorraine region.

Source: List supplied by Védie, April 1901. AIXm: Fonds Pécoul box 38 folder 5.

Table 2 Names Inferred from Usage in Correspondence

Auguste Pécoul	Le bon Mr Schmidt
Fr Angelo de Santi	Bacille / Basile / Ripetta ⁵
Dom Georges Guerry	Charmant
Dom Lucien David	Sous-Charmant
College of St Anselm, Rome	Maison des Adrets ⁶
Dom de Hemptinne [Abbot Primate of the Benedictine Order]	Robert Macaire
Dom Laurent Janssens [Rector, St Anselm]	Laurent Bertrand
Abbot Delatte and Abbess Bruyère	M. et Mme de Solesmes ⁷

- ⁵ Address 246 via di Ripetta, Rome. De Santi became ‘Bacille’ only once he had turned decisively towards Dom Mocquereau in 1904.
- ⁶ The reference here and in the next two entries is triply barbed in respect of Dom de Hemptinne. The first refers to the notoriously cruel François de Beaumont, baron des Adrets, whose contribution to the Wars of Religion in the 1560s was that of a mercenary adept at switching sides. It also references the satirical play *Robert Macaire* of 1834, which derived from the melodrama *L’auberge des Adrets* of 1823 and featured Macaire and his sidekick Laurent Bertrand as swindlers and thieves effectively licensed by a corrupt July Monarchy. Most famously, Honoré Daumier milked the ‘Macaire’ theme in political caricatures spanning some thirty years.
- ⁷ Used by Pécoul after 1893.

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