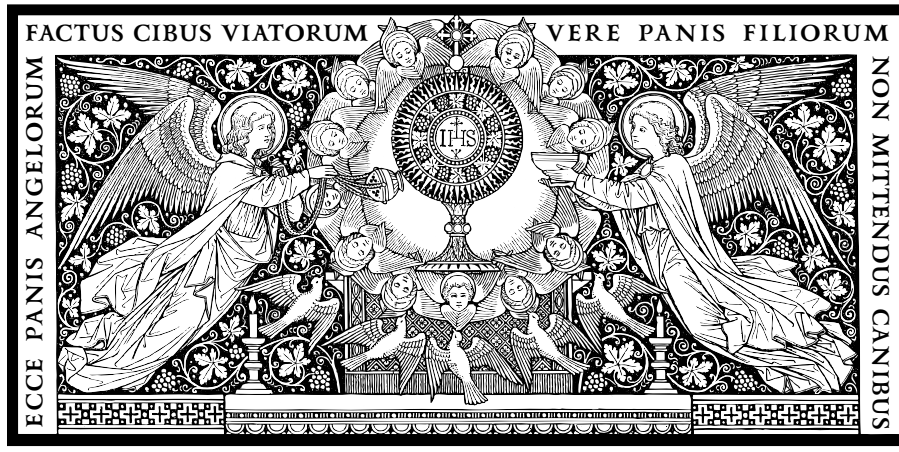

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Editoral

Motu Propio

How can music ensure the sacrality and beauty of both the old and new Masses?

by William Mahrt

A sacred and beautiful liturgy is the purpose of our association, and music is the principal means of achieving it. Music differentiates and clarifies the functions of its various parts and contributes a sense of transcendence to the whole. A completely sung Mass can be the most sacred and beautiful.

The role of music in the liturgy is fundamental to two recent papal documents, the first by Pope Benedict, the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* (2007), the second by Pope Francis, the Motu Proprio *Traditionis Custodes* (2021), although neither makes explicit mention of music. Both depend upon the Second Vatican Council, especially its Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium,* of which the chapter on sacred music is crucial to the sacredness and beauty of the liturgy.

Pope Benedict issued his Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* asserting the continuing validity and allowing a wide usage of the old Mass, bringing together the advocates of what he called the extraordinary (Tridentine) and ordinary (Vatican II) forms as a means of unity. He expressly decried distortions of the new form of the Mass, and wished that the more frequent celebration of the old form would allow the sacrality of these two forms to enlighten each other.

The Motu Proprio *Traditiones Custodes* of Pope Francis, on the other hand, saw the current cultivation of the old Mass as divisive and took steps to abrogate the permissions Benedict had given, claiming the Mass reformed after the Vatican Council was the sole norm for the liturgy, the sole *lex orandi* of the Latin Church. He asserted that those who cherish the old form could find in the Mass of Vatican II the elements of the tradition, such as the Roman Canon. He, like Benedict, decried distortions of this Mass, but did not address the radical departures from the old Mass normally seen in the celebration of the new.[1]

[1]Pope Francis: "In common with Benedict XVI, I deplore the fact that 'in many places the prescriptions of the new Missal are not observed in celebration, but indeed come to be interpreted as an authorization for or even a requirement of creativity, which leads to almost unbearable distortions.'" He does, however, state a principle: "I ask you to be vigilant in ensuring that every liturgy be

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Pope Benedict had taken the authorization of the celebration of the extraordinary form out of the hands of the bishops, prescribing recourse to Rome in the case of a bishop's not acceding to the wishes of a group seeking its celebration. Pope Francis, on the other hand, gave to each bishop the authority to allow or prohibit the celebration of the "Mass of John XXIII" (his document never uses the terms "Tridentine Mass" or "extraordinary form"), according to the fairly strict limitations his motu proprio placed upon its celebration.

However, this very delegation of the authority to the bishops has meant that most bishops have said that the present usages may continue until a greater clarity can be established about what to do. Some bishops with several extraordinary-form Masses in their dioceses have said that the status quo will remain in force. And one bishop, Thomas Paprocki of Springfield, Ill. has cited Canon Law (Canon 87, §1), which permits a bishop to dispense from such limitations that Pope Francis has imposed, and has proceeded to authorize existing extraordinary-form Masses in parish churches to continue in his diocese. Very few have taken negative action based upon the motu proprio, though it is too early to see how the practice will settle down in the long run. Still, at present, the usage appears to be quite diverse from diocese to diocese—not the unity that the new motu proprio was intended to foster.

But what about music? How does it come into play? All of the discussion by both popes concerns the missals, designated by John XXIII (extraordinary form) and Paul VI (ordinary form), with no discussion of music. Both popes, however, give hints. Pope Francis says, "Whoever wishes to celebrate with devotion according to earlier forms of the liturgy can find in the reformed Roman Missal according to Vatican Council II all the elements of the Roman Rite, in particular the Roman Canon which constitutes one of its more distinctive elements." Pope Benedict has famously given the principle of a "hermeneutic of continuity," reading any reform in the context of the tradition in which it was enacted. Thus when celebrated correctly, the two forms can approach one another more closely than might be thought.

So what is to be done about the sacrality and beauty of the liturgy, particularly with how music ensures it? By the hermeneutic of continuity, it is important to go back to the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium,* of the Second Vatican Council and particularly Chapter 6, "Sacred Music," which begins by saying that it "forms a necessary or integral part of the solemn liturgy," serving a dual purpose, "the glory of God and the sanctification of the faithful" (¶112).

Considering Pope Benedict's hermeneutic of continuity, and Pope Francis' encouragement to find the traditional elements in the Mass of Paul VI, the two forms can potentially have many things in common:

- Both forms can be celebrated in Latin.
- Both forms can be celebrated *ad orientem* or facing the people.[2]
- Both forms should be sung as a Missa cantata or Missa solemnis, that is, a completely sung Mass, with everything

celebrated with decorum and fidelity to the liturgical books promulgated after Vatican Council II, without the eccentricities that can easily degenerate into abuses." Books, but no music!

[2]The pope has always celebrated his Mass at St. Peter, even in the Tridentine form, facing the people.

to be spoken aloud being sung. This is taken for granted for the EF, and prescribed by the council: "Liturgical worship is given a more noble form when the divine offices are celebrated solemnly in song, with the assistance of sacred ministers and the active participation of the people." (¶113)

- The Propers of the Mass should be sung in Gregorian chant.

- Classical polyphony is completely at home in both forms, including the great polyphonic ordinaries (Palestrina, Lassus, Victoria, Byrd, Josquin).

- The participation of the congregation can include the singing of at least the responses (at the orations, gospel, preface), as well as potentially the chants of the ordinary.

It seems that, at least for the present, the extraordinary form will be available; it will be celebrated by the several orders which are dedicated to it and frequently in churches where it has been celebrated. From a musical point of view, the old form is the soil out of which our music grew; most of the music we sing, both chant and polyphony, and even concerted music, such as the masses of Mozart and Haydn, had its formation in this form. But to follow up on Pope Francis' suggestion, many of the elements of the extraordinary form may be used in the ordinary form. He cites the Roman Canon, but the entire Solemn High Mass is authorized by the council, as the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy prescribes (¶113).

Moreover, Pope Benedict's purpose that the two forms should mutually influence one another, can be allowed to enhance the celebration of each. For example, the celebration of the extraordinary form can be improved in several ways that are customary in the ordinary form:

- Cultivate the "actual participation" of the people by always providing printed text for everything sung (i.e., printed Mass booklets; supplementary pages for the proper); members of the congregation have the option of following the texts literally or meditating on the action.

- Understand that any absence of vocal participation can still be an indication of interior participation.

- Conferences on the EF ought to focus more upon its beauty and sacredness and less upon the faults of the OF.[3]

The ordinary form can learn from the extraordinary:[4]

- The completely sung Mass (Missa Cantata) is essential to the EF; it can be cultivated for the OF[5]—everything can be sung, as the melodies noted in the

[3]While occasionally harsh criticism of the OF can be heard from advocates of the EF, equally harsh criticism of the EF can often be heard from liturgical progressives.

[4]I have often observed that priests who normally celebrate the OF, after having had to celebrate the EF, often apply elements from the EF in their celebration of the OF.

[5]Second Vatican Council, Instruction on Music in the Liturgy, *Musicam Sacram* (1967) provides that "the distinction between solemn, sung, and read Mass . . . is retained." Although it provided for a progressive introduction of the elements of the sung liturgy, this was not for the sake of "progressive solemnity," varying which parts of the Mass are sung according to the degree of the feast, as many would have it today, but for the gradual accomplishment of the completely sung Mass.

most recent liturgical books for the OF provide, both Latin[6] and English;[7] this even includes the lessons.

- The Solemn High Mass (Missa Solemnis) can be celebrated with the three-fold symmetry of ministers, as is now occasionally done, by using a deacon of the gospel and one of the altar.
- All ministers should be vested, including lectors.
- The Gregorian propers should be first choice.
- The nine-fold Kyrie can easily be sung, giving the congregation a little more rehearsal of the chant.
- The great polyphonic ordinaries (Palestrina, Lassus, Victoria, Byrd, Josquin, et al.) should be sung.
- The singing of the EF might no longer be taught in seminaries, as it has been in some; but, if so, the singing of the OF must be all the more thoroughly taught. If the priest does not sing his parts, the singing of the congregation and choir seems less an intrinsic part of the liturgy.

Some things, however cannot be transferred: Pope Francis' mention of the Roman Canon overlooks one of its principal features in the EF—the blessed silence of the Canon; this is a significant element of its sacrality, but not possible in the OF. But the custom of hammering out the text of the Eucharistic prayer as if it were addressed to the congregation[8] is not necessary; it can be said audibly but in a subdued tone of voice that conveys the high sacredness of this part of the Mass. The singing of the Canon can elevate it to a level of greater sacrality than the customary recitation. Those accustomed to the EF will miss the prayers at the foot of the altar and the last gospel, but it should be recognized that even in the high Middle Ages (thirteenth century) both of these were prayers of the priest, either in the sacristy or on the way to and from the altar. They will also miss the old offertory prayers, which were replaced with prayers that did not convey the theology of the upcoming sacrifice; but in a sung Mass, these are said *sotto voce* while the offertory chant is sung. We were always taught to make our personal offering at that time: we can still do so.

We are fortunate that bishops have allowed the continuation of the old form. Its presence can remind us that the council provided that any revision should bear a continuity with the old. This was scarcely done, and now the preservation of the EF can be a means of restoring the proper beauty and sacredness of the liturgy in the whole church. ❖

[6] *Ordo Missæ in Cantu* (Solesmes: Abbaye St. Pierre, 1995) includes the melodies of the priest for the Ordinary of the Mass, as well as for the four principal Eucharistic Prayers and eighty-four prefaces; the *Graduale Romanum* (Solesmes: Abbaye St. Pierre, 1979) includes the chants of the proper and ordinary as well the formulae by which the orations and lessons are to be sung; *The Parish Book of Chant,* revised version (Richmond, Va.: Church Music Association of America, 2017) includes additional chants for the dialogue of priest and people (*Confiteor, Orate fratres,* & *Ecce Agnus Dei).*

[7] *The Roman Missal,* English translation according to the third typical edition (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, et al., 2011) provides melodies in English for dialogues between priest and people, for the priest's part of the ordinary, prefaces, and formulae for singing orations and lessons.

[8] I have heard instruction that the gospel and the Eucharistic Prayer should be "proclaimed" in a similar manner; it should be quite the opposite.

Articles

An Organist Contract of 1824 with the Lutheran Church in Vienna: Curiosity or Needed Correction?*

What should be spelled out for the musician, and what should be presumed as common knowledge amongst hired musicians?

by Jane Schatkin Hettrick

The contract that Johann Sebastian Bach signed in May 1723 when he accepted the post of cantor of the Thomas-Schule contained a job description of fourteen points, listed in a two-page document.[1] This contract exemplifies what Peter Williams has called "the kind of contract the holder of an important church position in Protestant Germany signed." In summary it

[1]Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds., *The Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1945), pp. 91–92; Peter Williams, *Bach: A Musical Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 255–56; German text in: *Schriftstücke von der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs*, eds.Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, vol. 1 of *Bach-Dokumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982), pp. 177–78.

In the course of my work on this article, I depended on assistance of several colleagues. I want to express my gratitude for their help and contributions. First, through the good offices of Dr. Hannelore Köhler, I was able to work in the archive of the Evangelische Kirche in Vienna. I also appreciate the church staff, especially Frau Doris Vater, for granting me access to that material and for permission to make copies of this contract and other documents. Univ. Prof. Mag. Werner Horn, Superintendent (ret.) in the Lutheran Church in Austria, affiliated with the Evangelisches Museum in Kärnten, Austria, generously answered numerous questions and sent by post material not presently available to me. Prof. Mag. Dr. Karl Schütz graciously provided from his Österreichische Orgeldatenbank the organ disposition and history of the organ(s) in the Evangelische Kirche. Finally, Dr. Robin A. Leaver shared generously his vast knowledge of Lutheran music and liturgy.

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makes two main points: "first, to perform duties obediently and willingly; and secondly, to lead a blameless life."[2] Two contracts between Franz Joseph Haydn and the Esterházy Court survive. When he was named *Vice-Capel-Meister* in May 1761, he signed a document entitled "Convention and Rules for Behavior." Though somewhat longer than Bach's contract, it is still relatively short, containing fourteen clauses. It too addresses matters of behavior and personal character in addition to the duties of the office. H. C. Robbins Landon considers it representative of its time and characterizes it as "fair and proper" for a princely court of the Holy Roman Empire.[3] In 1779 a new contract was drawn up with Haydn, who had risen to become *Capelmeister* in 1766. Compared with the 1761 "Convention and Rules for Behavior," this later contract is "very modern in its terse essentiality."[4] Duties are summarized rather than detailed, and personal conduct must be "edifying, Christian, and God-fearing." Unlike the 1761 agreement, the 1779 document provides the remuneration in specific terms (both cash and in-kind supplies).

When Franz Lachner accepted the post of organist of the Evangelische Kirche (Lutheran Church) in Vienna in 1824, the church drew up a contract of twenty-nine pages. The word "contract" is suitable here because this document was a condition of employment that contained the job description, and it required the signature of the prospective organist. But compared to Bach's job in Leipzig and Haydn's responsibilities in Esterháza, the organist position in Vienna involved significantly less work. One questions, then, how such a lengthy contract came about, and what objective the contract was intended to fulfill for the congregation and its music. Why would a congregation employing one, or at most two musicians (organist and possibly a cantor), need a twenty-nine page contract for the organist?

The contract is preserved in the archive of the Evangelische Kirche in Vienna (1010 Wien, Dorotheergasse 18).[5] This article presents the first study of the document, which is published here for the first time (in my English translation; see the following entry in this issue). The essay provides an analysis of the content, placing it in a contextual history of the church and its music.[6] The contract is entitled *Instruction für den Herrn Organisten beÿ der evangelischen Gemeinde Augsburg. Confession* (hereafter: *Instruction*).[7] The document is hand-written in old German script, except for Latin script in a few non-German terms (e.g., *preludium*), some headings, and

[2]Williams, ibid.

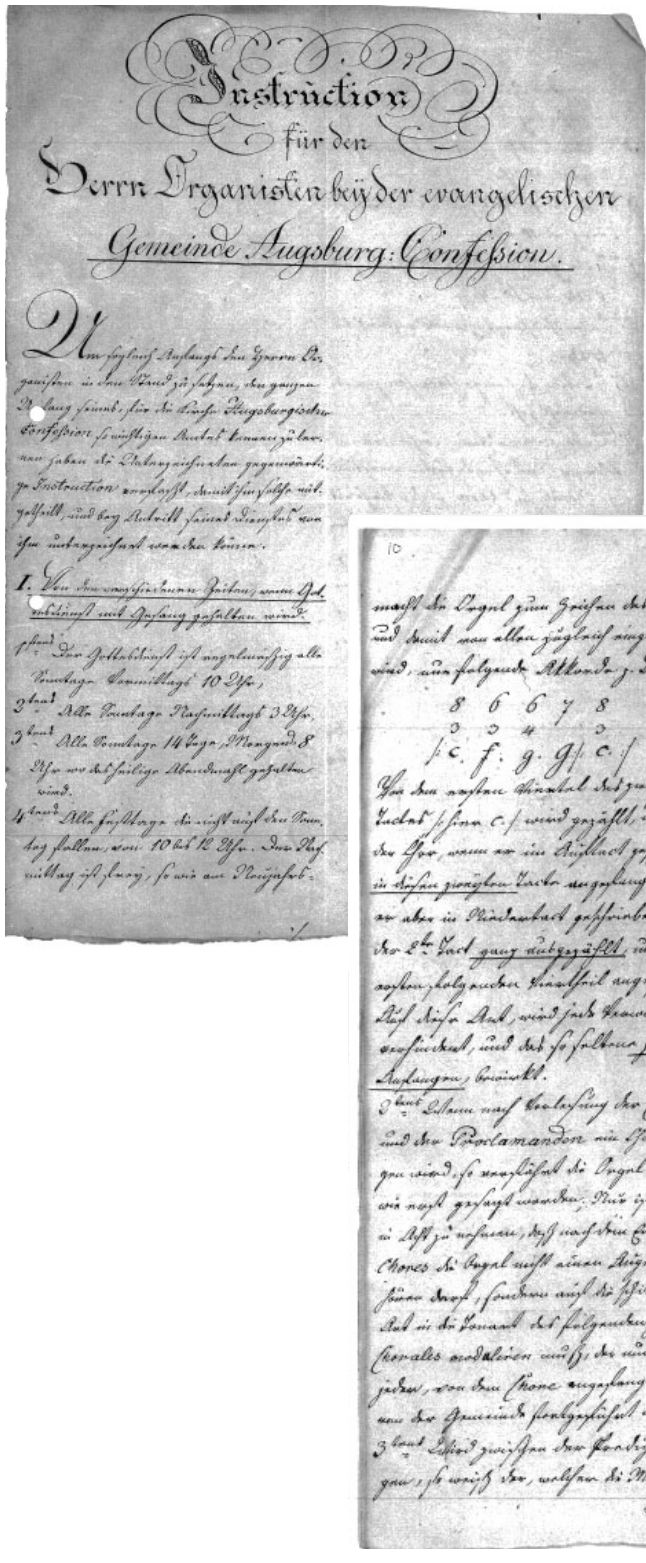
[3]H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works,* vol. 1, *Haydn: The Early Years, 1732–1765* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), pp. 350–52.

[4]Robbins Landon, *Haydn*, *Chronicle*, 2, *Haydn at Esterháza, 1766–1790,* 42–43.

[5]This is the first Lutheran church in Vienna, founded in 1783, two years after Emperor Joseph II issued the Edict of Tolerance (Oct. 13, 1781), granting non-Catholic Christians a limited freedom to practice their religion publicly.

[6]The original (German) version of this contract has not been published or studied. Adolf Wurm mentioned it briefly in "Alte Protokolle erzählen: Über Orgeln und Organisten der Lutherischen Stadtkirche in Wien," in *Glaube und Heimat: evangelischer Kalender für Österreich* (Vienna: Evangelischer Presseverband in Österreich, 1965), p. 105.

[7]It is catalogued under #112, Anstellung und Besoldung des Organisten u. Kantors.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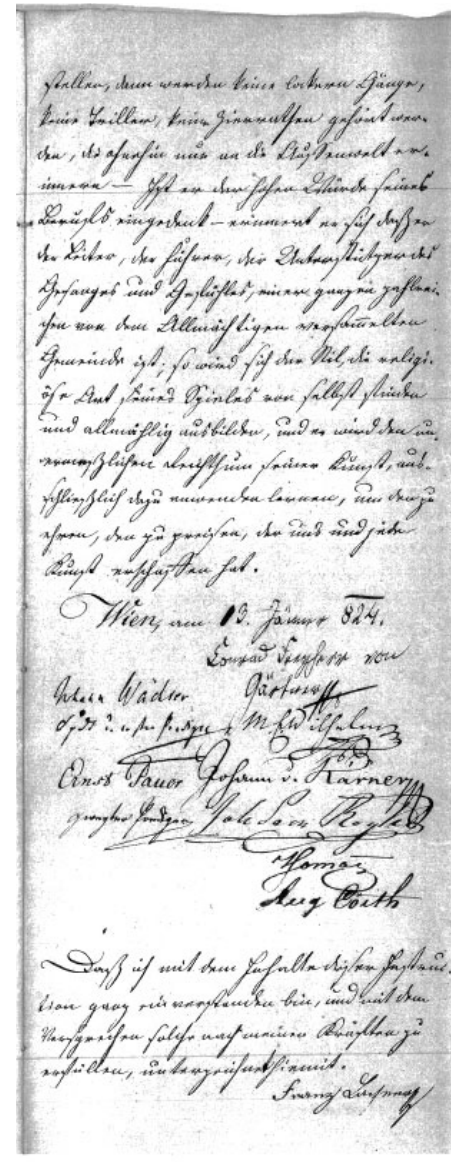

Top left. Figure 1. Instruction, *title page, original held by Archive of the Lutherische Stadtkirche, Vienna. Center. Figure 2.* Instruction, *p. 10, showing prescribed chord progression. Top right. Figure 3.* Instruction, *p. 29, showing signatures of clergy, elders, and organist.*

five signatures. As is typical of many documents in Viennese court and other archival records of the time, the text is written down the left half of each page, leaving the right half blank.[8] The handwriting is generally neat, words and lines are generously spaced, and for the most part it is legible. With the exception of the nine signatures found at the end of the text on the twenty-ninth page, it is entirely the work of one scribe. The name of the author does not appear on the document. The neat and consistent style of the handwriting suggests that it is the hand of a professional secretary rather than of the author. (The author is identified below.) The *Instruction* is organized by topic: it consists of ten main sections, each identified by a Roman numeral (I.–X.) and an underlined heading.[9] Each main section contains several sub-sections, which are identified by ordinal Arabic numbers (abbreviated, e.g., "1stens"). Some of these have further sub-divisions, identified by small underlined letters punctuated with a period (e.g., "a."). There are no page numbers; editorial page numbers are added in brackets in the translation. In spite of the organized format, however, there are many instances in which the author mentions or expands on material that supports or complements a topic other than that indicated by the heading. In my essay, the discussion of each topic draws from all sections where that topic is mentioned. For example, information about registration is found often throughout the document. References to material in the *Instruction* cite the editorial page numbers and occasionally the original numbers and letters.

The purpose of the *Instruction* is stated in a paragraph written directly below the title. The goal is that the organist become familiar with (*kennenlernen*) the full range of his duties before he takes office. The choice of the word *Instruction*, which is repeated in this statement of purpose, is significant in that it is also seen in other organist contracts. For example, the contract for Johann Heinrich Buttstett as organist of the Predigerkirche in Erfurt (1693) was entitled *Instruction für Hrn. Joh. Heinrich Buttstedt . . . als Organist bey der Predigerkirch.*[10] In any event, it is clear that the *Instruction* is concerned with "educating" the organist, going well beyond a simple listing of his responsibilities. Underscoring that goal are the words used to characterize the position as "the very important position." With this description, the church leaders stress the high value that the Lutheran church places on music and therefore the need for a skilled and knowledgeable organist.

The Organ

The organ in place in 1824 when the *Instruction* went into effect was the work of Viennese builder Friedrich Deutschmann (1757–1826).[11] The disposition was drawn up in

[8]The purpose of this format was to allow for corrections, additions, or changes. None of these appear in this document.

[9]The section on Confirmation, which appears between sections III and IV, is indicated by an underlined heading, but not by a Roman numeral. Thus, in effect, there are eleven main sections. This one is lengthy, with nine sub-sections.

[10]See Ernst Ziller, *Der Erfurter Organist Johann Heinrich Buttstädt (1666-1727)* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1935), p. 126. I thank Robin Leaver for this reference. The term "Instruction" is not found in the *Grimm Deutsches Wörterbuch,* which suggests that its use in German was not longstanding or common outside of such legal documents.

[11]The Deutschmann family organ-building firm had been active in Vienna from 1766, becom-

*Figure 4. Organ in the Lutherische Stadtkirche, 1808, builder, Friedrich Deutschmann. Supplied by Dr. Hannelore Köhler, on behalf of the Stadtkirch*e.

1806 by two distinguished Viennese organists, both active in the court as well as other areas: Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809, *Hoforganist* 1772–1793 and *Kapellmeister* of St. Stephan's Cathedral, 1793–1809), and Georg Summer (1742–1809, *Hoforganist* 1791–1809). Completed in February 1808, it was tested and found acceptable by Cathedral *Kapellmeister* Joseph Preindl (1756–1823) on March 10, 1808 and dedicated on March 20, 1808. Between 1808 and 1824 the organ underwent a renovation, which was carried out by Deutschmann. This renovation changed slightly, but did not alter the essential character of the original disposition.[12]

The disposition in 1821 is given in Table 1 below.[13]

The 1808 organ was the first of several organs built or renovated by Friedrich Deutschmann or his son Jacob (1795–1853) in Vienna and its suburbs. The disposition has been characterized as "having an especially beautiful sound, since Deutschmann worked in the old Baroque tradition."[14] Describing a similar organ that Deutschmann built in the Ursulinenkirche in Vienna (18 ranks, 1820), Oskar Eberstaller observes that "The disposition differs only slightly from a Baroque instrument. . . . The Deutschmann workshop appears to do good work in the

ing by the time of Friedrich, one of the principal clavier makers in the city. Organs in Vienna built or worked on by Friedrich Deutschmann include instruments in the Mechitaristenkirche (1811), St. Stephan (1811), Ägydikirche (1813), and the Ursulinenkirche (1820), among others. The organ in the Ursulinenkirche survives, and the disposition is given in Oskar Eberstaller, *Orgeln und Orgelbauer in Österreich* (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus, 1955), pp. 128–29.

[12]The work included the repair of damage to the organ by Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler in 1813, when he performed two concerts and took that opportunity to apply his "simplification system" to the organ. For information about the simplification system, see Peter Williams, *The European Organ, 1450–1850* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), pp. 93f. Vogler's work did "much damage [to organs] in Salzburg, Munich, Berlin, Prague, and elsewhere."

[13]This was recorded by Adolf Wurm in the manuscript entitled "Gott loben, das ist unser Arbeit" (*Mskpt. über die Musikgeschichte der Evang. Stadtkirche A. B.*). I thank Prof. Mag. Dr. Karl Schütz, who had access to Wurm's manuscript, for sending me this disposition and other historical data from his Österreichische Orgeldatenbank about the history of organs in the Stadtkirche. Spellings of stop-names are reproduced here as given in Prof. Schütz's text.

[14]Hannelore Köhler, *225 Jahre Lutherische Stadtkirche, 1783–2008* (Vienna: Druckerei Lischkar, 2009), under "Die Orgel."

Manual 1 [Hauptwerk]	Manual 2 [Positiv]	Pedal
Prinzipal 8’	Coppel 8’	Bordon 16’ offen
Flöte 8’ [Flaute Portune]	Principal 4’	Subbaß 16’
Gamba 8’	Dulciana 4’	Principal 8’
Oktav 4’	Oktav 2’	Oktavbaß 8’
Fugara 4’	Superoktav 1’	Violoncello 8’
Quint 2 2/3’	Vox humana 8’	Oktav 4’
Superoktav 2’	Tremulant	Posaune 16’
Mixtur 4f. [IV] 1 1/3’		Trompete 8’
Fagott / Oboe 8’ (Baß/ Diskant)		
Manualkoppel		

Table 1. Disposition of Deutschmann organ in the Evangelische Kirche in 1821.

transmission of the earlier time."[15] The disposition is comparable to that of the organ built by Johann Wiest in 1802–1803 for the Hoburgkapelle.[16] To a certain extent, the Deutschmann disposition also looks forward to the coming Romantic concept of organ design, in that the Positiv contains no Mixture or mutation stop. Assuming that the builder had constructed the organ exactly as designed by Albrechtsberger and Summer, the differences between the 1806/1808 disposition and that of 1821 appear on the Positiv (Superoctav 1’ added and Posaune 8’ removed) and the Pedal (Bordon 16’, Oktav 4’, and Trompete 8’ added). The organ lasted one hundred years, until it was finally rebuilt completely in 1907 by Franz Capek (1860–1938).[17] During its lifetime, Deutschmann's instrument served the congregation of the Evangelische Kirche in Vienna not only for the regular liturgies, but also on many other important occasions (for example, the celebration in 1817 of the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation). Beyond the needs of the congregation, it also was highly regarded by the outside musical world and the community of organists. When touring virtuoso organist Adolf Friedrich Hesse (1809–1863) came to Vienna in 1831 to perform, he chose to give his recital at the Evangelische Kirche. He wrote about the organ in his travel-diary *Meine Reise nach Wien im Mai und Juni 1831*.[18] He preferred this instrument because it had a complete pedal (rarely found), but he also considered it overall a good instrument: "Almost all organs here have the so-called short octave, and in addition the second octave of the pedal is coupled to the first and pitched to 16 foot, with the result that a completely incorrect tone relationship prevails. Therefore I had to hold my organ performance on a small but rather good instrument (in the Protestant church), with 2 manuals, 25 stops, and a complete

[15]Eberstaller, *Orgeln*, 128–29.

[16]Otto Biba, "Orgeln für die Wiener Hofburgkapelle in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Eine Quellenstudie zu Klassizismus und Romantik im österreichischen Orgelbau," in *Organa Austriaca,* ed. Rudolf Scholz, vol. 1 (1976), 17–19.

[17]Wurm, "Gott loben," per Schütz.

[18]Otto Biba, "Adolph Friedrich Hesse und Wien," in *Organa Austriaca*, ed. Rudolf Scholz, vol. 2 (1977), 41–42.

pedal. Though a grand effect of course could not be imagined, nevertheless one could play every piece without being disturbed by missing notes."[19] In the later nineteenth century, Anton Bruckner, an accomplished organist and professor of harmony, counterpoint, and organ at the conservatory of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, also appreciated the Deutschmann organ. Having gained permission to use the organ from the resident organist Theodor Dirczka (served from 1837 to 1882), Bruckner came often to the Evangelische Kirche and spent many hours there of practice and improvisation.[20]

The Congregation

In an attempt to drive home certain musical points, the author of the *Instruction* occasionally adds information about the congregation. Twice he gives statistics about the number of persons gathered at a worship service. Both times, the numbers indicate that the congregation was very large, and both describe the size in musical terms. In the first reference, he asserts: "the whole congregation consists of a choir of a few thousand singers" (p. 19, 6th). Later, in a more specific remark, he asserts that the congregation "often consists of three to four thousand singers" (p. 25). These estimates are difficult to confirm, although the numbers of Lutherans in Vienna had been growing steadily since 1781, when the Edict of Tolerance (see note 5) had allowed them to conduct public worship. In his *Skizze von Wien* (Sketch of Vienna),[21] satirist Johann Pezzl (1756–1823), reports the total number of Lutherans in the Austrian crown lands in 1786 to be 304,000, and the congregation in Vienna as about 3000.[22] Records of this

Figure 5. Altarraum (chancel) der Stadtkirche. Kupferstich (copperplate engraving), by [Rudolf] M[oritz] Leybold, 1837. Wikimedia commons.

[19]"Fast alle Orgeln hier haben die sogenannte kurze Octave, und obendrein ist die zweite Octave des Pedals an die erste angekoppelt und intonirt auch [nach] 16 Fuß, mithin herrscht ein ganz falsches Tonverhältniß. Ich mußte daher meine Orgelverträge auf einer kleinen, aber ziemlich guten Orgel (in der evangelischen Kirche) mit 2 Klavieren, 25 Stimmen und vollständigen Pedal halten. An großen Effekt war freilich nicht zu denken, jedoch konnte man jede Composition, ohne durch fehlende Töne gestört zu werden, spielen." Ibid., 42.

[20]Köhler, *225 Jahre*, under "Die Orgel."

[21]Published 1786–1790, these writings contained a detailed cultural picture of Vienna under Emperor Joseph II. Johann Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien: Ein Kultur- und Sittenbild aus der josefinischen Zeit*, ed. Gustav Gugitz and Anton Schlossar (Graz: Leykam-Verlag, 1923).

[22]Ibid., 390, 393. An English abridged translation of Pezzl, *Sketch,* is published in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart and Vienna* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991). The topics Tolerance, Religion, and

Patent,
Wegen der den augsburgisch- und helvetischen Religionsverwandten, dann den nicht unirten Griechen zu gestattenden christlichen Toleranz und ihres privat Exercitii Religionis.

Wir Joseph
der Zweyte, von
Gottes Gnaden erwählter römischer
Kaiser, zu allen Zeiten Mehrer des Reichs,
König in Germanien, zu Jerusalem, Ungarn, Böheim,
Dalmatien, Kroatien, Slavonien, Galizien, und Lodomerien ꝛc. Erzherzog zu Oesterreich ꝛc. Herzog zu Burgund, zu Lothringen, zu Steyer, zu Kärnten, und zu Krain; Großherzog zu Toßkana, Großfürst zu Siebenbürgen, Marggraf zu Mähren, Herzog zu Braband, zu Limburg, zu Luxemburg, und zu Geldern, zu Würtenberg, zu Ober- und Niederschlesien, zu Meiland, zu Mantua, zu Parma, Placenz, Quaßalla, Auschwitz und Zator, zu Kalabrien, zu Baar, zu Monferrat, und zu Teschen; Fürst zu Schwaben, und zu Charleville, gefürsteter Graf zu Habspurg, zu Flandern, zu Tyrol, zu Hennegau, zu Kiburg, zu Görz und zu Gradisca; Marggraf des H. R. Reichs, zu Burgau, zu Ober- und Nieder-Laußnitz, zu Pont a Mousson, und zu Nomeny;

Figure 6. Patent of Tolerance (Toleranzedikt)*, October 13, 1781, preserved in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (Karton 33) in Vienna.*

congregation, which were kept from its beginning in 1783, show that in 1823, the year prior to this contract, the number of communicants was 8435.[23] Although the church had two services (morning and afternoon) every Sunday, the author is clearly referring to the main service or *Hauptgottesdienst* (10 a.m.) when he speaks of multiple thousands of singers.

In addition to the organist, eight officials of the church (two clergymen and six laymen) signed the *Instruction* on page 29 above the organist's statement. The clergymen signed on the left, the laymen on the right side. Johann Wächter (1767–1827), signed with his titles, superintendent and first minister.[24] Ernst Pauer (1791–1861) signed as second minister.[25]

At the time they signed the *Instruction*, the six laymen were all members of the *Vorsteher-Collegium*, that is, the "elders" or councilmen who directed the spiritual life of the congregation. All had joined the Collegium between 1812 and 1820, and they proba-

Protestants are found on pp. 130–33.

[23]Friedrich Preidel, *Die Evangelische Kirchengemeinde A. C. zu Wien in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von 1781–1881* (Vienna: Sallmayer'sche Buchhandlung [Julius Schellbach], 1881), p. 107. This number tallies the total of instances when individuals took Communion, not the total membership. Given that Communion was offered on alternate Sundays, as well as other liturgical occasions (e.g., Maundy Thursday), one can figure that at least 200 persons attended those services.

[24]Johann Wächter started as vicar in 1794, rising to second minister in 1797. In 1805 he was appointed first minister and also named superintendent of the ecclesiastical districts of Lower Austria, Styria, Illyria, and Venice; he was appointed the first director of the Protestant Theological Institute, founded in 1819. Together with Jacob Glatz and Gerhard Anton Neuhofer, Wächter also compiled a hymnal, *Christliches Gesangbuch zum Gebrauche bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste der evangelischen Gemeinden in den k. k. deutschen und galizischen Erblanden* (Vienna: Carl Schaumberg, 1810). This hymnal apparently continued in use to 1850. Preidel, *Die Evangelische Kirchengemeinde*, 32, 36–37.

[25]Ernst Pauer also began as vicar (1818), was named second minister in 1819, and became first minister in 1839, remaining in that office until his death. In 1831 he served the Lutheran Consistory starting as provisional advisor, continued from 1834 to 1845 as spiritual counselor and finally as titular counselor. He became superintendent of the ecclesiastical districts of Inner- and Lower-Austria in 1845. From 1836, he also served as Director of the Protestant Theological Institute. Preidel, *Die Evangelische Kirchengemeinde*, 40–41; see also "Ernst Pauer," *Evangelisches Museum Österreich/Persönlichkeiten* <https://museum.evang.at/persoenlichkeiten/ernst-pauer/>.

bly had seniority among others from those years, as well as over those who had entered from 1821 to 1823. They signed in chronological order according to year of joining, starting with the earliest to the most recent, that is, according to their length of service at the time. Konrad Freyherr von Gärtner served from 1812 to 1828; M[attias] E[manuel] Wilhelm from 1812 to 1835; Johann v[on] Karner from 1817 to 1834; Joh[ann] Sam[uel] Royko from 1817 to 1837; [J. Wilhelm] Thomann from 1820 to 1835; and Aug[ust] Coith from 1820 to 1830. For most of these officials, church records note any additional offices they held within the Collegium and also their occupations.[26]

The Content of the Instruction

The *Instruction* begins with a list of the services that require congregational singing, and therefore the presence of the organist to accompany the singing. These include the regular Sunday services, consisting of two or three every Sunday. The main service at 10 a.m. did not include Communion, which was offered on alternate Sundays at 8 a.m.[27] The major feasts such as Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, and their appointed times, are individually listed. Of the liturgical seasons, only Lent is mentioned. There are two events outside of the standard Lutheran liturgical calendar when the organist is expected to play. A separate Communion service was offered to any military garrison stationed in the area. The other liturgy, Tolerance Day, was unique to Lutherans under the Habsburg monarchy. This holiday celebrated the day when Emperor Joseph II issued the Edict of Tolerance (October 13, 1781).[28] On rare occasions there may be a service of benediction (*Einsegnung*) for a deceased person.[29]

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[26]Gärtner became *Dirigent* in 1823; he was a *Hofrat* in the imperial court. Wilhelm became a *Kirchenvater* in 1821 and followed Gärtner as *Dirigent* in 1828. Karner is identified as a *Hofrat* to the Esterházy court. Royko was a *Großhändler* (merchant). Thomann became *Buchhalter* (bookkeeper) in 1823; he is also listed as a merchant. Coith is described as a *Großhandlungs-Gesellschaftler* (partner or associate in a business). Preidel, *Die Evangelische Kirchengemeinde*, 61. See also *Chronik der Wiener evangelischen Gemeinde Augsburger Bekenntnisses vom Zeitpunkte ihrer Entstehung bis auf die Gegenwart,* ed. C. Neuß (*Jahre 1781–1863*) and Johann Kaiser (*Jahre 1864–1903*) (Vienna: Theodor Daberkow's Verlag, 1904), pp. 23–33.

[27]The celebration of Holy Communion, impoverished by the inroads of rationalism, had been neglected for a long time, going far back into the eighteenth century in some areas. Separation of the service of the Sacrament from the main service (*Hauptgottesdienst*) is evidence of this tendency. See Günther Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig*, trans. Herbert J. A. Bouman, Daniel F. Poellot, and Hilton C. Oswald, ed. Robin A. Leaver (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1984), pp. 131–32.

[28]The Evangelische Kirche continued to celebrate Tolerance Day well into the nineteenth century, but eventually that observance merged into Reformation Day (October 31). I am grateful to Univ. Prof. Mag. Werner Horn for this information. Emperor Joseph II visited the church with his brother, later Emperor Leopold II, in 1784 and again in 1786 with his sister Maria Christina and her husband, Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen. There is still today a "Gedenktafel" dedicated to the church's benefactor, Joseph II, which is mounted on the wall above the altar. It reads in part "Josepho secondo optimo maximo grati," Köhler, *225 Jahre*, under "Das Toleranzedikt."

[29]Funeral services were not conducted in the church at this time. Like marriages, funerals remained the responsibility of the state. (Personal communication from Univ. Prof. Mag. Werner Horn.) The Lutheran Church never developed an official funeral rite (*Trauerfeier*, *Totenfeier*).

Specific Directions for the Organist

In addition to the above-mentioned services to be played, the *Instruction* prescribes numerous other detailed regulations governing various aspects of the organist's work. These are addressed below according to topics.

Registration

In the course of the *Instruction*, the author refers to seven of the twenty-four registers listed in the disposition above, some more than once: Mixture, Octave, Flaute Portune, Viola Gamba (Gamba), Principal, and on the Pedal, Bass 8' [Principal], and Subbass 16'.[30] These names of registers always appear in connection with recommendations for registrations to be used in specific accompaniments. The prescription *volle Orgel* (full organ) appears several times and in different situations. In general, congregational singing is always accompanied by full organ. On Sundays and holidays the first prelude is always played with full organ, alternating with the Positiv (p. 3). For the Sunday School or afternoon service, when no choir sings, again, full organ is always used (p. 8, 10th). The similar phrase *mit der ganzen Orgel* (with the entire organ) carries the same meaning (p. 4, 2nd). It is significant that the word *immer* (always) is present in most of these directions, indicating that these practices were to be strictly applied with no changes or exceptions. At the same time, however, the author never describes exactly what combination of stops would make up "full organ," though that possibly might be determined by noting what stops are turned off in other contexts. Typically "full organ" (*plenum*) would consist of the Principal chorus (Principal 8', Octave 4', Superoctave 2', and often Quint 2 2/3 and Mixture). Apparently "full organ" did not assume the coupling of the Positiv to the Hauptwerk, which was named as a separate action. The direction *mit der ganzen Orgel samt Positiv* (with the entire organ together with the Positiv) is given to accompany the second verse of a hymn sung by the congregation (p. 7). The most decisive statement about volume comes at the end, within the author's concluding description of the role of the organ in good church music: "The organist must shake the ground by his tones"—certainly an affirmation of playing with full organ (p. 28).[31]

Todtenfest became an official holiday in Prussia in 1816. Observed on the last Sunday of the church year, the Sunday before Advent, it was intended to remember those who had died in the past year. See R. Allen Lott, *Brahms's A German Requiem: Reconsidering Its Biblical, Historical, and Musical Contexts* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2020), p. 185. On December 10, 1829, a notice from the government announced that "in the future, ministers in the Lutheran and Reformed churches are granted permission to keep their own baptism, marriage, and burial records." ("denen Seelsorgern A. und H. C. die Befugnis erteilt wurde, in Zukunft eigene Tauf-, Trauungs- und Beerdigungsmatrikel führen zu dürfen.") Neuß, *Chronik*, 33.

[30]Most of the stops found on the disposition of this organ are standard to classic German instruments, and need not be explained here. One exception is the *Portun*, which is uniquely associated with Austrian organ building. It has been described as open, made of wood, and cylindrical, found in 8' and rarely, 16' size. See Arnulf Klebel, "Der Portun: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte eines typisch österreichischen Orgelregisters," *Organa Austriaca*, ed. Rudolf Scholz, vol. 1 (1976), 114–28. The spellings of stop names are given here in modern (English) form. Some stop names in the *Instruction* vary from the registers as found in the disposition. For example, the *Flöte* in the disposition appears as *Flaute portune* in the *Instruction.*

[31]"Der Organist muß den Boden durch seine Töne auflockern."

Other directions about registration concern the choir accompaniment, and these always involve the same two stops. The choir begins each chorale with the Viola Gamba and Principal. Again, by saying "each chorale," the author seems to establish a rule that applies to every hymn verse sung by the choir. He does mention one exception, however, specifically for the hymn *Erhöre Gott, erhöre* (Hear, O God, hear [the fervent prayer . . .]), which is sung at the Confirmation service.[32] Here, he lists the Gamba and Principal, but modifies this combination in favor of the Gamba alone as "even more beautiful" (p. 11, 2nd).

A lengthy section (pp. 17–19), consisting of seven subsections, is devoted to the use of the pedal, presenting proper registrations for different purposes. To accompany congregational hymns, you need to use all pedal stops (*alle Pedal Register*, p. 18, 4th). Taken literally, this prescription seems to go beyond the common basic understanding of "full organ," described above, but the *Instruction* does not clarify these possible contradictions. The topic continues with a list of allowable changes in the pedal, but these do not seem to involve changes in the registration during a piece or hymn. For the children's choir, the proper registration depends on the musical texture. If the boys or girls are singing a chorale in unison, two registers (8' and 16') should be used (p. 17, VI, 1st). The specific registers are not named, but presumably the softer Subbass and Violoncello are intended. The section concludes with the statement that in the prelude and postlude, there are no limitations on what the organist can do. He is free to display all his accomplishment and skill (p. 19, 7th), but even this freedom comes with the proviso that it must be consistent with churchly practice (*mit der Kirche verträgliche Freyheit*). This restriction may be viewed in light of the philosophical comments found mostly later in the *Instruction*, which are discussed below.

Hymns and Choir(s)

In connection with information for the organist, the *Instruction* touches on the details of how choir music was handled, and the ways by which the organist contributed to supporting and maintaining these practices. As is well known, music—and especially hymn singing—played a central role in Lutheran worship from the very beginning. Martin Luther valued music as "a gift of God and next to theology," and throughout his life he worked to establish congregational hymns as a vital element in Lutheran liturgy. In his *Formula missæ* (1523), for example, he intended to include "as many songs as possible" for people to sing in the vernacular during the Mass.[33] In the preface to the Wittenberg hymnal (1524), the first of several hymnal prefaces, he wrote: "it is good and God-pleasing to

[32]The text of this three-verse hymn is by Dr. August Hermann Niemeyer (1754–1828), rector and professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg-Halle. Hymnals identify it as a Confirmation hymn. I thank Univ. Prof. Mag. Werner Horn for supplying the complete text of this hymn as found in the *Evangelisch-christliches Gesangbuch oder Sammlung geistlicher Lieder bey den öffentlichen und häuslichen Gottesdienste evangelischer Gemeinden*, ed. Jakob Glatz (Vienna: Verlag von J.G. Heubner, 1844), no. 209. The assigned melody is "Schatz über alle Schätze." I was not able to locate this melody.

[33]Miikka E. Anttila, *Luther's Theology of Music: Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), p. 191.

sing hymns."[34] Moreover, he himself wrote numerous hymns (texts and music), some of which became widely popular in his own time as well as later periods, and remain in Lutheran and other hymnals today.

With regard to hymn singing, the *Instruction* focuses on the responsibility of the choir to lead the singing, and only indirectly on the congregation itself. While it speaks of the "choir" and also the "choirs," most references are to a group of children. An adult choir is never specifically mentioned, although events like Christmas and Easter, with accompaniment by wind instruments, almost certainly involved adult choirs. Clearly the children's choir was a mixed choir consisting of both boys and girls. The status of women in a hypothetical adult choir in this church remains unclear. Unlike the Catholic church, which long continued the tradition of choirs of men and boys, Lutherans had gradually and sporadically begun to admit women into choirs in the eighteenth century. For example, Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), who was music director at the Hamburg Cathedral from 1719, tried with "great toil and trouble" to introduce women singers into the choir there. On this subject, he wrote that "women are indispensable," but adds that they must be placed where they cannot be seen. This was obviously an unusual move, for no other churches in that city admitted women singers to choirs.[35] The records of the Evangelische Kirche in Vienna indicate that in 1835, in order to build up congregational singing, church officials approved the hiring of four professional singers to lead the singing. The voices were two tenors and two basses; women were not mentioned in this discussion. This quartet was assigned to sing the first and penultimate verse of each hymn.[36] In order to facilitate good congregational singing of hymns, the *Instruction* sets up a system whereby the choir of boys and/or girls sings the first verse of every hymn. Several statements applying to different hymns affirm this practice. The boys or girls start the hymn (p. 5, c). The choir starts the second hymn (p. 6, 6th). Also, for the second hymn, the choir also sings the penultimate stanza, even if there are only four stanzas (p. 8, [6th]). It is probable that the choir also included adult singers, but that is not made clear. It is also possible that another choir of adults functioned apart from the children's choir, but again, this is not clarified. Finally, there were apparently some instances that involved multiple choirs. These choirs (not specifically numbered) were featured on Easter and Christmas, when they were accompanied by an ensemble of wind instruments (p. 9, III, 1st).

Time and Timing

The author of the *Instruction* shows in several instances a great concern to control time and timing, with each direction given in very specific terms. First, the organist must always appear "a quarter hour before the appointed time" (pp. 2–3). It is possible that this wording was intended to suggest "at

[34] *Liturgy and Hymns,* ed. Ulrich S. Leupold, vol. 53 of *Luther's Works,* ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), p. 315. *Vorrhede Martini Luther,* in *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1923) vol. 35, pp. 474–75.

[35] Ernest C. Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), p. 868.

[36] Wurm, *Alte Protokolle,* 106–7.

least" one quarter hour, but given the minute exactitude found throughout this document, this remains an open question.

The organ music itself is also subject to rules of timing, which strict enforcement is conveyed in the *Instruction* with graphic emphasis. Thus, the first prelude is never (underlined) more than four, or at most five minutes (p. 3, II, 1st). The second prelude should be shorter, lasting two or at most three minutes.[37]

Further rules of musical timing occur in connection with the Confirmation service (p. 12). Here the author measures out the timing in terms of half-minutes. Concerned that the combined singing and playing be coordinated so that they do not exceed the allotted time (that is, that they stop at the blessing of the last confirmand), he figures that the blessing of each confirmand takes one-half minute. Taking as an example a class of sixty, the entire ceremony [of blessing] should last thirty minutes. Musically, the thirty minutes will consist of hymn singing (twelve minutes) and organ playing (eighteen minutes). With regard to the choice of hymn tempo, timing is determined by counting seconds, according to the character of the text. Thus, in a joyful hymn four quarter notes should last three seconds; in a serious or solemn hymn, one quarter note lasts one second; and in a sorrowful or sad hymn, four quarter notes last five seconds (p. 5, b). It is difficult to contemplate just how these mathematical timings could be adhered to, or whether they were intended to serve as guidelines rather than rigid prescriptions. As most organists know, the tempo of hymns would also relate to the acoustics of the building, the number of persons present, the action of the organ itself, and the traditions of a particular congregation.

Organ Interludes

One topic of vital concern to the author was that of organ interludes in the hymns (heading: *Von den Zwischen-Spielen in Choral*). The discussion of this subject extends over several pages (pp. 14–17), one of the longest sections in the document. An interlude is a passage of solo organ music inserted into a congregational hymn by the organist. These could be of different lengths, and could be added between verses and even between lines of a hymn. Interludes were mostly improvised, but they were also composed and published in collections of organ music and organ tutors.[38] As is evident in the *Instruction*, the playing of interludes had become controversial, and most musical critics and theorists of the time believed that the practice had developed in ways no longer conducive to good liturgy and were counterproductive to good congregational singing. The origin of this practice has not been specifically determined, but interludes had been standard procedure for a long time, and though they had gained some acceptance, they also sparked disapproval. In a sermon published in 1665, Otterdorf pastor Hector Mithobius called interludes

[37]The term "prelude" here refers to an introduction to a congregational hymn, rather than to an organ prelude to the entire service, as is common today.

[38]For example, Christian Heinrich Rinck, *Choral-Buch für evangelische Kirchen* (Essen: C. D. Bädeker, 1829), contained preludes and interludes. Michael Heinemann, "From Rinck to Reger: Nineteenth-Century Organ Chorales Against the Backdrop of Bach's *Arnstädter Choräle*," in *Liturgical Organ Music in the Long Nineteenth Century: Preconditions, Repertoires and Border-Crossings*, ed. Peter Peitsalo, Sverker Jullander, and Markus Kuikka (Helsinki: Sibelius Academy, 2018), p. 59.

a "sin" of organists and complained about their "odd preluding before every verse, cutting apart, piecing together, holding out for a long time after every line, splitting apart and ornamenting. . . ."[39] Nevertheless, such "odd preluding" was still prominent in orthodox liturgy in Leipzig during the time of Bach.[40] The content and style of interludes continued to evoke extensive commentary, which typically objected to their toccata-like character and the inclusion of inappropriate ornaments, such as mordents and turns. Writers also raised issues around excessively elaborate harmonies and immoderate virtuosity.[41]

It has been suggested that the practice resulted from the gradual slowing-down of hymn singing (together with the evening-out of rhythms of chorale melodies) which had become widespread by the end of the eighteenth century. Writers between 1800 and 1850 frequently commented on the extremely slow tempos in congregational singing, and some provided advice by specific metronomic numbers. For example, Johann Ernst Häuser in 1834 recommends that the beat (with the chorale melody notated in half notes) should be increased to half-note = M.M. 30. That is, each beat would last two seconds. Others made comparable suggestions about the two-second length.[42]

Arguments often questioned the purpose of interludes: that is, whether they benefit the singing congregation (do they provide an opportunity for worshippers to rest their voices, study the text, or prepare for the next note?); or if they work more to satisfy the ego of the organist (do they allow him to show off his technical skill or demonstrate his inventiveness?). Apparently they were considered to have little artistic value as artistic creations; Joachim Petzold dismisses them as being "reeled off, trivial and empty, a long stretch of so-called organists' yarn."[43] The growing number of opposing voices and complaints suggests that interludes had become excessive in both content and length. Michael Heinemann reports that "nineteenth-century tutors unanimously recommended restraint." On the other hand, he concludes that interludes were not generally banned, citing Johann Gottlob Töpfer and August Gottfried Ritter as having acknowledged "the usefulness and necessity of this practice."[44] According to Blume, "they were bound to disappear in the second half" of the nineteenth century.[45]

The handling of the topic of interludes in the *Instruction* confirms that this practice had indeed gone beyond an acceptable level and therefore needed to be addressed in detail. The author first lists three ways by which interludes "ruin and disturb the singing" (p. 14, V). First, this happens when they consist of short notes, such as sixteenths or

[39]Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 139. See also Heinemann, "From Rinck to Reger," 58–60.

[40]"It was the duty of the organist . . . to enrich the hymn singing of the congregation through interludes." Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig*, 91.

[41]Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), p. 341.

[42]Ibid., 340.

[43]Ibid., 341.

[44]Complete prohibition found only in Calvinism; see Heinemann, "From Rinck to Reger," 59–60.

[45]Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 341.

thirty-seconds, which he characterizes as "more nonsensical" (*widersinniger*) because they are 8 or 16 times faster than the half notes of the melody. A second problem is when they are uneven in length and consist of 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 quarter notes (p. 14, 1st, 2nd). The third objection concerns interludes that do not lead directly to the key where the congregation must begin singing again (p. 15, 3rd). This appears to mean that the interlude ends in a different key from the hymn it is intended to embellish. Certainly, such an ending would be misleading and confusing to the singers. In addition to the three examples given, there are still other mistakes to avoid (p. 15, 3rd). In spite of these objections, the author stops short of banning interludes altogether.

Having cited these bad examples, the *Instruction* then proceeds to an extensive and detailed set of rules governing what is and is not permissible in interludes. As before, the points are itemized by numbers; there are six points, with the fifth and sixth subdivided by letters (pp. 15–17). Some repetition occurs among the content of the various points, which probably reflects the author's effort to stress these matters. Most of these points were intended to set strict limits on the extent and content of interludes. Point 1 (p. 15, 1st) prescribes that interludes must consist of only four chords, each with the value of one quarter note. Point 2 (p. 15, 2nd) requires that the outermost note of the fourth chord must always be either a half- or a whole-step above or below the future note (i.e., the note on which the singers will enter). Point 3 deals with ways to use eighth notes. It allows eighth notes in an interlude only as passing tones, and it forbids the consecutive use of four or (even worse) eight eighths; rather, eighths should alternate with quarter [note] chords. In Point 4, the author underscores the value of tailoring interludes to these prescriptions, which, he says, are based on five years of experience, and he remarks on how they benefit congregational singing. (The latter is also discussed below, under "Theology, Philosophy, Aesthetics.") Point 5 (p. 16, 5th), which is subdivided into four topics (a-d), largely reiterates the first three points; that is, it restates the rules of the four quarter note limit, the leading to the next note of the hymn, and the ban against using only eighth notes. (One exception to the last of these is discussed below under "The Tolerance Hymn.") Point 6 (p. 17) treats two topics (a and b). According to topic "a," the organist may not use the pedal in an interlude. The writer does not explain the reasons behind this prohibition or how the omission may benefit the congregation. Possibly it was meant to make sure that the congregation could clearly distinguish the interlude from the next hymn verse. Topic "b" deals with a concern about not confusing the congregation, in that it requires the organist to omit the last chord of the hymn verse when the interlude begins on the same chord.

Altogether, the handling of interludes prescribed in the *Instruction* suggests that by 1824, church authorities still accepted interludes but saw a need to keep them under control. It is significant that much of the advice given in the *Instruction* coincides with a description of proper interludes found in a handbook on hymn-playing by Johann Carl Angerstein published in 1800.[46]

[46]Johann Carl Angerstein, *Theoretisch-practische Anweisung, Choralegesänge nicht nur richtig, sondern auch schön zu spielen zu lernen* (Stendal: Franzen und Grosse, 1800). For an extended discussion

In fact, the similarities are so specific as to suggest that the author of the *Instruction* knew the Angerstein work. For example, ending the interlude on a step above or below the starting note of the congregation (point 2); and the omission of the pedal in interludes (point 6).

The Tolerance Hymn

As noted above, while the *Instruction* seeks to impose strict limitations and regulations on the practice of organ interludes, it makes an exception in the case of the "Tolerance Hymn." This reflects that the church officials placed a special significance on this particular hymn. The *Toleranzlied* is a twenty-stanza hymn by the Swiss poet, writer, and Protestant (Reformed) theologian Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801).[47] A paean to the ideal of tolerance, this hymn was included in the *Christliches Gesangbuch* published by Georg Philipp Wucherer in 1783.[48] Wucherer was a founding member of the Lutheran church in Vienna, and his press produced this hymnal for the new Lutheran congregation in that city, as well as for Lutherans throughout the realm. The Tolerance Hymn was meant to be a lasting tribute to the benefactor of the Lutherans, Emperor Joseph II. The heading in the hymnal reads: *Toleranzlied, oder zur Beförderung der christlichen Duldung* (Song of tolerance, or for the encouragement of Christian sufferance). All twenty stanzas were included; it was sung to the tune *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten*.

This importance of the Tolerance Hymn to this congregation was established from its beginning. Accounts of the dedication service on the first Sunday of Advent (November 30, 1783) report that the cantata performed on that occasion ended with the first stanza of the *Toleranzlied*. The church then celebrated a *Toleranzfest* every year on October 13 or the following Sunday up to 1817 (the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation).[49]

Performance Practice

Aspects of what could be called "performance practice" are found throughout the *Instruction,* mentioned in passing under various headings. In general, this concerns particular traditions either already observed in this congregation or practices recommended for adoption. One of these is the organization of hymn-singing. According to the proposed system, the choir of boys and girls is assigned to sing the first verse of every hymn (pp. 5, 6, 8, 10). The second hymn calls for additional specific treatment. First, the author states that in this hymn more verses are sung than in the first

and illustration of interludes, where this work is cited, see Herl, *Worship Wars*, 138–43.

[47]The complete hymn text is reproduced in Preidel, *Die Evangelische Kirchengemeinde*, Appendix III, 101–4.

[48]G. P. Wucherer, *Christliches Gesangbuch zum Gebrauche der Gemeinen der Augsburgischen Confessionsverwandten in den k. k. Erblanden* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1783). The first hymnal in use by the Evangelische Kirche in Vienna, it was based on the pre-existing model from the north-German region Schleswig-Holstein. The Tolerance Hymn was included as an exception. See Jane Schatkin Hettrick, "A Lutheran Hymnal of the Enlightenment," in *More Than Luther: The Reformation and the Rise of Pluralism in Europe,* ed. Karla Apperloo Boersma and Herman J. Selderhuis (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), pp. 113–29.

[49]According to Preidel, *Die Evangelische Kirchengemeinde*, 27, this continued through 1850; after that, while not rescinded, it was often transferred to Reformation Day, October 31.

hymn (p. 7). The reasons for this are rooted in historic Lutheran practice, whereby the second hymn is the main hymn (*Hauptlied*), or "hymn of the day." That is, the text carries the chief theological message of the liturgical feast of the day. The textual content of the *Hauptlied* should be closely allied to the content of the sermon and also in keeping with the other assigned or chosen texts and prayers. Therefore, it is the most important hymn in the service. Many of these dogmatic hymns are lengthy, having multiple verses.[50] The author indicates hymns possibly numbering 9–12 (p. 7). The choir is to sing the penultimate verse, accompanied by soft registers on the organ. Furthermore, for emphasis, the author adds that this rule applies even in (shorter) hymns with only four verses (p. 8). In all hymns, the last verse is sung by the congregation. For festive services such as Easter and Christmas, wind instruments accompany the choirs and the hymns.[51] In passing, the author mentions that hymn-singing also may take place within (*zwischen*) the sermon, possibly meaning between sections of the sermon or otherwise divided, part before and part after the sermon (pp. 10–11, 3rd). Finally, it was apparently the custom of this congregation to sing one or more verses of the hymn *Nun danket alle Gott* (Now thank we all our God), at the end of every service, following the prayer or benediction. If the full three verses are sung, the choir sings the first stanza and the congregation sings the second and third.[52]

(Overly) Specific Musical Directions

The *Instruction* contains numerous directions that address seemingly basic aspects of organ technique and musical judgement, going into minutiae of playing that any competent organist would hardly need or welcome. Indeed, as rigid rules strictly enforced, or in certain situations, some of them might be counter-productive to a good musical result. For example, in connection with the above-described customs of hymn-singing, the author prescribes a number of very exact musical directions for the organ accompaniment of hymns. He tells the organist not to hold with his hands (i.e., on the manual) the last chord of a hymn more than two quarter notes (p. 4, 2nd). The said purpose of this is to allow for changes of registration to be done without interrupting the [rhythmic or temporal] flow of the hymn. At the same time, the organist is told to hold the last note of the first verse for four quarter notes [time] in the pedal (p. 4, 2nd). We find the same advice about changing stops within the hymn in greater detail again (p. 9, 1st) so as the process must be fast enough not to interrupt the beat (whether between prelude and hymn or choir and congregation). The last chord of a hymn (which would not be

[50]For example, the hymns of Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676) typically have multiple stanzas, as with the Christmas hymn "Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen" (15).

[51]The author does not identify the particular instruments.

[52]With text by German pastor Martin Rinckart (1586–1649) and tune by Johann Crüger (1598–1662), *Nun danket* has been a core-Lutheran hymn for generations, appearing in many Lutheran hymnals. Though originally intended as a mealtime prayer, it has been frequently used for national celebrations and times of thanksgiving. Joseph Herl, Peter C. Reske, and Jon D. Vieker, eds., *Lutheran Service Book: Companion to the Hymns* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2019), vol. 1, hymn 895, p. 1418.

followed by registration changes) is to be sustained for two or three beats (p. 6, 4th).

The *Instruction* also contains directions that simply tell the organist to be sure to play the hymns correctly. For example, if the first [musical] part of a hymn is repeated (as is not uncommon in chorales), he is told not to skip the repeat. Apparently previous organists had made this mistake, perhaps more than once, for the author comments that it "always causes an annoying disorder," adding that it is entirely the fault of the organist (p. 9, 2nd). There is concern as well about coordinating ensemble music at festival services, when wind instruments play with choirs and congregation. Starting together, the author says, rarely happens (p. 10, 1st). To achieve a good result, the author suggests using an introduction or ritornello, and as a sample ritornello he sets out a specific series of five chords notated in figured bass in the hypothetical key of C major (p. 10, see Figure 2 above). He then goes on to explain how the ritornello can be adjusted to works that start on an upbeat or a downbeat, giving details by counting out beats. More than once the author expresses concern about keeping strict time in hymns. Again, dwelling on fundamentals, he advises the organist that whether sung by the choir or the congregation, hymns are always played in "strict, exact time" (pp. 4–5, 3rd). He points out that hymn-singing naturally causes singers to drag, and that the choir must always maintain the tempo (p. 5, c). He confuses the issue, however, by telling the organist first to hold back (with the congregation) but then drive forward to attain the right tempo. A skilled organist, he says, knows how to do this (pp. 5–6, d). (This is a rare instance where the writer acknowledges that an organist may know his craft.)

Business Matters

The *Instruction* takes up matters of business toward the end in three sections. Section VII (*Von der Aufsicht der Orgel*) is brief: the organist has charge of the keys (p. 19, 1st),[53] and he is to send for the builder (Friedrich Deutschmann), to take care of any problems that occur (p. 20, 2nd). Section VIII (*Von den Substituiren des Organisten*), and Section X (*Von der Aufkündigung dieser Stelle . . . .*) deal with some of the contractual (financial) arrangements of the position. Most significant is that the organist is hired for life (*Lebenslang*, p. 23, 1st), although the agreement can be terminated by either party with six months' notice. Reasons for termination by the church involve various forms of poor service, but deliberate disregard of the contractual agreement can result in instant termination (p. 24). The author does not mention the organist's salary specifically and no amount is given.[54] We know the organist's salary for the year 1812 because of a recorded adjustment in the currency system that took place in the previous year.[55]

Curiously, everything related to payment of the organist appears in the context

[53]The specific keys are not identified.

[54]According to Gerhard Urban, ed., *Franz Lachner: Requiem, op. 146* (Stuttgart: Carus, 2007), IV, Lachner was hired at an annual salary of 400 guilders (florins), but no source of this information is given.

[55]In 1811, the face value of paper notes was changed to match coins of the same denomination. In the new evaluation, annual salaries paid in 1812 were: first minister, 1200 fl, second minister 1000 fl, and third minister 500 fl; the organist's salary was 200 fl. In addition, the salaries included an apartment and 2 cords of wood for each. It is unclear whether these two benefits-in-kind applied to the organist. Neuß, *Chronik*, 25.

of engaging substitutes when the organist must be away or is ill. There we learn that he receives an annual salary, and that he must find any replacements for himself and engage them at his own expense.[56] The author words this stipulation with verbal vehemence and underlining for graphic emphasis (p. 20, 2nd). Moreover he recommends various ways that the organist can best obtain good substitutes, who will handle the organ and play the hymns correctly (p. 20, 1st). His level of concern suggests that there had been problems with substitutes in the past.[57]

Theology, Philosophy, Aesthetics

The author of the *Instruction* devotes a considerable amount of space (about three and one-half pages) to non-technical matters that concern proper church music (pp. 25–29). These comments appear under the business topic (Section X, cited above), but they function as a concluding statement about the broad philosophical and theological foundation of church music. It is significant that several pages before this summary statement, in Section VI (*Von dem Gebrauche des Pedals*), the author makes the following strong comment: "A true Christian thinks about these things [hymn accompaniment] differently from a musician [*Musicus*], who considers a mere jingle as more meaningful than to encourage the prayers of an entire congregation" (p. 18). This judgmental remark reveals that the author probably had observed faulty organ playing and poor music in this and other churches, and that he feared the continuation of that situation. His high distrust of musicians may have been one of the reasons that impelled him to compose a contract of such minute detail.

The author begins his concluding words with the organ: its nature and purpose (p. 25). As a church instrument it should avoid ornamental notes, trills, mordents, and fast elaborations (pp. 25, 28); on the contrary, it requires "rich harmonies, merging beautifully into each other, and noble melodic themes, that are carried imitatively into all voices" (p. 25). With these contrasting traits, he is apparently trying to characterize the difference between a classic "true church style" and the "new church style," which, he claims, only differs from secular music by its religious text, or at most, a fugue (pp. 25–26). (More is said about the "true church style" below.) The organist can only fulfill this role when he "considers the worship-service of a Christian Church as a complete whole (with no exceptions to any part of it)" (p. 26). His job is to edify the congregation, a goal which he can only achieve if he avoids the above-mentioned frivolous passages, meditates on the content of the hymns and sermon, and is mindful that he is leading a congregation gathered by the Almighty (pp. 28, 29).

[56]This practice was not unusual. For example, Esterházy contractual arrangements required Haydn to pay his own substitute if he was unable to play [the organ] in winter. Robbins Landon, *Haydn*, vol. 2, 41.

[57]Indeed, archival records reveal problems with substitutes during the tenure of Lebrecht Lorbeer, the second organist of the church, who served from 1794 to 1802. There were complaints that he had neglected his work, using substitutes too often, as well as other dereliction of duties. After Lorbeer resigned, the church engaged Johann Gottlieb Wosch, who died in office in 1823. The records of Wosch's twenty-one year tenure focus on the building of the new organ and related events, and when he died the church noted "his many years of service." Wurm, *Alte Protokolle*, 102, 105.

The Organist

The organist who signed the *Instruction* and accepted the job was Franz Paul Lachner (1803–1890). Lachner came to Vienna from Munich in 1822.[58] When the position of organist of the Evangelische Kirche became open late in 1823, he applied, and on December 22, 1823 he was one of six candidates who were auditioned. The audition was rigorous, including the following tests: (1) Improvise on a given theme of several measures a contrapuntal piece in four parts (albeit not with the strictest rules of a fugue), in which the soprano, alto, tenor, and bass must appear, and the pedal must enter at the appropriate times.[59] (2) Play a hymn in four parts, together with already-composed interludes, in the strictest time (interludes excepted), using the pedal throughout. (3) Sight-read a choral score. In addition, the organist must have a fundamental knowledge of thorough-bass and of composition, and he is expected to be able to compose new works. Underscoring the latter point is that "without this ability, no organist can long maintain his position with honor." [4] He must be able to teach and rehearse the boys and girls of the *Singschule* in hymn-singing. Evidently Lachner far excelled the other candidates. The two judges (Andreas Streicher and Simon Sechter) deemed that by outstanding ability in counterpoint, he put the competing applicants into the shadows.[60] Many years later in a memoire published in 1905, Lachner described his success in the audition, writing in the third-person: "He struck down his competitors," noting "the wonderful success of this very young Bavarian."[61] He served as organist of the Evangelische Kirche for over ten years (1824–34). During that time, he worked with church officials in their continuing efforts to improve singing and enhance the beauty of public worship services.[62]

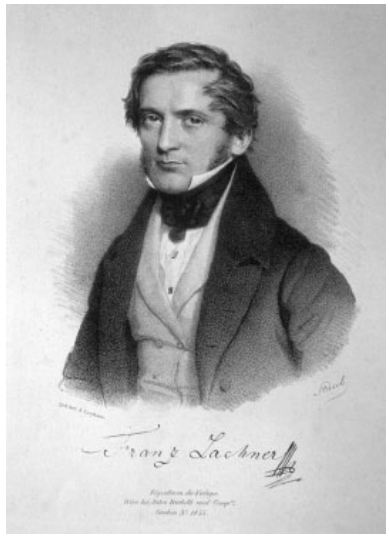

Figure 7. Franz Lachner, Lithographie by Andreas Staub, around 1835. On the image: Signature "Franz Lachner"; below picture, left: "ged[ruckt] (printed) bey A. Leykum"; below picture, right: "Staub"; below picture, centered; signature: "Franz Lachner"; "Eigentum der Verleger (property of the publisher) Wien bei Anton; Diabelli und Compie, Graben N: 1133."

[58]"Es war an einem schönen Herbsttage des Jahres 1822, als ich . . . als 19jähriger Jüngling . . . nach Wien fuhr." Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Erinnerungen seiner Freunde* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957), p. 331.

[59]There remain in the church archive several documents containing musically notated themes apparently intended for improvisation tests in auditions or other examinations.

[60]Wurm, *Alte Protokolle*, 105–6.

[61]"seine Mitbewerber geschlagen hatte," "von dem wunderbaren Erfolg des blutjungen Bayern." Deutsch, *Schubert*, 335–36.

[62]Wurm, *Alte Protokolle*, 106.

During his years as organist, Lachner expanded his career in various ways, making new connections in the musical world of Vienna and beyond. In 1827 he began his service with the Kärtnertortheater, first named *Vice-Kapellmeister* and in 1829, *Kapellmeister*. His work in opera, however, interfered with his responsibilities as organist, and again, problems with substitutes occurred. It is noted in the church records that several times substitutes did not show up, and that the congregation was left without an organist. For his neglect of duty, the elders of the congregation sent him a letter of reprimand.[63] On April 24, 1834 he resigned from the church to accept an offer as *Kapellmeister* in Mannheim. As his successor he recommended his younger brother, Vinzenz (1811–1893), who had previously acted as a substitute, and thus was already known to the church. The elders unanimously voted to appoint Vinzenz as organist on May 10, 1834. Franz Lachner went on from Mannheim to an appointment in 1836 as opera director in Munich, remaining an influential figure in musical life there through his retirement in 1868. Throughout his life he was active as a composer. His large oeuvre includes compositions in every genre, with over three hundred works.[64]

The Author of the "Instruction"

The name of the author does not appear on the *Instruction*. As mentioned above, the professional style and quality of the handwriting of the document gives the impression that it was the work of a secretary or scribe, rather than of the author himself. In any event, it seems to be a fair copy, rather than the original manuscript of this text. Nevertheless, enough evidence exists in the form of other documents that we can clearly identify the author in question as Andreas Streicher.[65] These documents, which contain material similar to the *Instruction*, are described below. Johann Andreas Streicher (1761–1833) was an important figure in musical Vienna in the first third of the nineteenth century, having emigrated there from his native Stuttgart in 1794 with his wife, Nanette (and her brother Matheus). Together the couple built a piano-building business which, over the years, became the leading producer of pianos in Vienna. The firm developed mechanical and technical aspects of the instrument, which were appreciated by Beethoven and other concert pianists.[66]

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[63]Ibid.

[64]For a biography of Lachner, see Andrea Harrandt, s.v. "Lachner, Franz Paul," *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* <https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg07694&v=1.1&rs=id-12b19847-7015-e6f2-fc39-1e40cd9761bd>.

[65]Church archival records also attribute the *Instruction* to Streicher. Wurm, *Alte Protokolle,* 105.

[66]Nanette Streicher was a famous singer and pianist, the daughter of the Augsburg piano and organ builder Johann Andreas Stein. She and her brother Matheus Stein founded a piano-building firm in Vienna; he left the business in 1802, and it then acquired the name "Nanette Streicher, née Stein." Now working with his wife in the new firm, J. A. Streicher focused on maximizing the technical aspects of the piano. For example, he extended the range of the keyboard and increased the volume of the instrument. For biographical information on Streicher, see Christoph Öhm-Kühnle, s.v. "Streicher, Johann Andreas," *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* <https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg12505&v=1.0&rs=mgg12505>; s.v. "Streicher, Andreas Johann" in Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, vol. 5 (Wien: Kremayr und Scheriau, [1997]), pp. 377–78 <https://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbrobv/content/page-

Streicher was a deeply religious Protestant (Lutheran), and he was personally devoted to the Lutheran heritage of great hymnody. Though he held no official church office, he took an active interest in the betterment of music in the Evangelische Kirche in Vienna. In 1817, he organized the *Festgottesdienst* celebrating the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, which took place over two days (November 1–2).[67] Archival records characterize the event as: "The brilliant handling of the church's three-hundred-year Reformation celebration in Vienna . . . was directed by the at-the-time greatly esteemed Viennese musician Andreas Streicher."[68] Congregational singing was a special concern of Streicher, and he dedicated himself in many ways to improving it. In 1818, he founded a singing-school (*Singanstalt* or *Singschule*) whose purpose was to train the youth in music, so that they could lead the hymn-singing in worship services. This project was so important to him that he contributed the funds needed to establish the singing school. Apparently the effort was successful, for the school eventually grew into the Wiener Evangelischer Singverein (1882).[69]

Figure 8. Johann Andreas Streicher, plaster bust, 1812; Sculptor: Franz Klein; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, Inv. Nr. 660

Streicher wrote about ways to improve congregational singing and church music in general in several documents. One of these, preserved in the church archive, is entitled *Vorschläge zur Verbesserung des Musikalischen Teiles beÿ dem Evangelischen Gottesdienst* (Suggestions for the improvement of the musical part of the Lutheran worship service). The document is a little over two

view/1115951>. Also, Christoph Öhm-Kühnle, "'Er weiß jeden Ton singen zu lassen,' Der Musiker und Klavierbauer Johann Andreas Streicher (1761-1833)—kompositorisches Schaffen und kulturelles Wirken im biographischen Kontext, Quellen—Funktion—Analyse" (Ph.D. diss., Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Tübingen, 2008) <https://publikationen.uni-tuebingen.de/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10900/46302/pdf/Dissertation_Oehm_Kuehnle_elektronische_Publikation.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

[67]A brief description of the event is found in Neuß, *Chronik*, 27–28.

[68]"Der glänzende Verlauf der kirchlichen Feier anläßlich des 300jährigen Reformationsfestes . . . in Wien, dessen Leitung unter dem zu seiner Zeit hochgeschätzten Wiener Tonkünstlers Andreas Streicher stand." Enrico Hoffmann, *Denkschrift zur Erinnerung an den hundertjährigen Bestand des Wiener Evangelischen Singvereins* (Wien, 1918), pp. 3f. Quoted in Otto Biba, "Die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien," in *Musikfreunde: Träger der Musikkultur in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2017), p. 24.

[69]Wurm, *Alte Protokolle*, 104.

pages in length; like the *Instruction*, it is written on left half of each page. It is dated Vienna, Nov. 8, 1817, and signed Andreas Streicher. Again, the neat and consistent quality of the writing suggests that it was a secretarial hand, but a different scribe from that in the *Instruction*. Since this document followed just one week after the above-mentioned Reformation celebration, it may have been prompted by deficiencies Streicher noticed while producing the music for that event (although he does mention the "pure, solemn singing of the congregation at the last holiday" as a good example of what is possible). He presents his recommendations in a list of seven points, several of which deal with the subjects he later incorporated in a more expansive way into the *Instruction*. The suggested improvements are: do not sing so slowly; omit interludes between hymn verses, and limit them to two hymn notes; keep strict time in hymns; train the school youth to sing hymns; hire a singing teacher to train the youth; use a choir of young singers for high festivals; and move the organ Positiv division out of its narrow space.[70]

Another source in which Streicher expresses his ideas for the improvement of church music is the preface to his published *Melodieenbuch zum Gebrauche bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste der Evangelischen Gemeinden*[71] (Melody Book for Use in Public Worship of the Lutheran Church). In his preface, Streicher indicates that he based his *Melodieenbuch* on an earlier book: the *Choral-Melodienbuch* of Johann Adam Hiller.[72] This book had widespread use in Lutheran churches in Germany, and went through numerous editions and versions. Streicher's *Melodieenbuch* was intended primarily for the training of the youth, who could then lead the congregational singing, and replace the *Vorsinger* or cantor. Also meant to assist the organist, and even for congregational use, it contains melodies for 108 hymns; every measure of each hymn is numbered.[73] There is also a lengthy preface,

[70]This summary is based on my examination of the original document. A brief synopsis is given in Wurm, *Alte Protokolle*, 105.

[71]Johann Andreas Streicher, *Melodieenbuch zum Gebrauche bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste der Evangelischen Gemeinden*, [preface] (Wien: Anton Strauß, 1824), preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Sa. 77. E. 7. My description and summary of the content of the *Melodieenbuch* is based on an examination of the original book. It is also described briefly by Öhm-Kühnle, "'Er weiß jeden Ton singen zu lassen,'" 219–21.

[72]". . . wie solche in dem Hiller'schen Choral-Buche." See Johann Adam Hiller, *Allgemeines Choral-Melodienbuch für Kirchen und Schulen: auch zum Privatgebrauche; in vier Stimmen gesetzt; zur Bequemlichkeit der Orgel- und Clavierspieler auf zwo Linien zusammengesetzt; mit Bezifferung des Generalbasses* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1793, facsimile, Hildesheim: Olms, 1978).

[73]Unlike the decades following the Reformation, by the eighteenth century most congregational hymnals contained text only, with no music. For example, the first hymnal used by this congregation, G. P. Wucherer's *Christliches Gesangbuch,* contained 916 texts but no music. As was common, here the tune was given by title with each text. It appears that often organists had to work with (play from?) these text-only hymnals. For accompaniment, they would have to remember or improvise the musical settings, or possibly write out their own. For information on organ hymn accompaniment, see Robin A. Leaver, *Organ Accompaniment of Congregational Song: Historical Documents and Settings: Eighteenth-Century Germany*, vol. 13, part 2 of *Historical Organ Techniques and Repertoire*, ed. Wayne Leupold (Colfax, N.C.: Wayne Leupold Editions, 2017).

in which, as in his hand-written "Suggestions," he lays out these recommendations by number. Altogether there are twelve points, organized in two groups (numbers 1–3 and 1–9). Again, some of the principles expressed in this preface are reiterated in the *Instruction*. The majority of his points here, however, address musical improvements to be accomplished by the congregation itself, although some of them ultimately depend on musical leadership by the organist. The points are as follows: Section 1. (1) everyone present should sing, so that the hymn can have its greatest strength; (2) women need to sing, because the high voices add beauty and a higher expression to the sound; (3) the congregation should consistently sing the same version of the melody for a given hymn.[74] Section 2. (1) sing each melody in strict tempo, and hold each note for its exact note-value; this is only possible if the organist plays in the strictest tempo, and avoids "harmonic mannerisms and musical tricks" (*harmonischen Künsteleyen und musikalischen Possen*); he should assume his proper role as director and leader of the congregation; (2) the congregation should not hold the last note of each verse longer than is prescribed or necessary; (3) the congregation should not sing by shouting (*schreyend*) as is often heard, because it ruins the singing and disturbs the devotions of other singers; (4) it is important to begin every note correctly, not sliding into it with an advance note (*Vorton*); examples of this practice include starting the note as much as an octave below or above the melody note; (5) even worse is to insert additional tones into hymns, filling in melodic intervals with faster notes, passing tones, and ornaments (*Verzierungen*); (6) the tempo of hymns is too slow, causing people to breathe too often; singers should breathe less often, at most every three or four syllables; (7) the tempo should not be the same for all hymns; rather, it should be suited to express the text of each hymn; the congregation should follow the tempo set by the organist; (8) the congregation must start the hymn simultaneously; when this does not happen, the organist is to blame, with his pointless interludes, "never leading to the starting note"; (9) at Communion and Confirmation, not just the choir, but the entire congregation should sing; singing should be "softer and more solemn than usual."[75]

Conclusion: Why the Instruction Was Written

It is well known that the state of music and liturgy in the Protestant (Lutheran) Church in German-speaking lands around the time of this organist contract was not good. In his essay "Decline,"[76] Georg Feder gives a detailed account of the deterioration in Protestant church music that began around 1750 and continued, with exceptions, long into the nineteenth century. He begins with a summary statement: "There is uniformity of

[74]Since most hymnals did not contain music, it would have been possible that a congregation sang the same text to various tunes, although this was probably unusual. If anything, most hymnals from the time relied on fewer tunes for more texts. For example, in a Leipzig hymnal from around 1800, the tune *Wer nun den lieben Gott läßt walten* served for ninety-one texts, and in an early nineteenth-century Dresden hymnal the tune *Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen* for forty. Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 341.

[75]These points are summarized from Streicher, *Melodieenbuch*, [preface], 3–14.

[76]Georg Feder, "Decline and Restoration, Part 1," in Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 319–75.

opinion that Protestant church music after Bach declined in comparison to the achievements of earlier days. The essential truth of this statement cannot be doubted. As early as the second half of the eighteenth century, voices began to be heard deploring the low level of church music and its steady decline." After citing several contemporary writers who commented on these problems, he goes on to say "Complaints became more numerous soon after 1800; they did not cease throughout the century."[77] Thus, while he qualifies these statements somewhat, it is clear that the *Instruction* was drawn up (1823) at a time when the practice of Lutheran church music had reached a very low ebb. Indeed, the fallen state of church music probably fed the growing historicist interest in music of the past: the return to and revival of the great heritage of German music. The most famous early example of this movement was Mendelssohn's performance in 1829 of Bach's St. Matthew Passion. Brahms studied thoroughly the choral music of Schein, Schütz, Bach and others in the long line of German Protestant composers. The emerging discipline of musicology also helped to raise the standards for what had become "the pitiful state of music in the church."[78]

The causes of this decline are varied and complex, and it is beyond the scope of this article to explore in detail the evolution of this massive change. We can, however, briefly review its manifestation in the elements of church music and liturgy. First, the Enlightenment brought about a new philosophy of church music. No longer was the chief purpose to praise God and preach the Word, but rather, church music served primarily to edify and educate. In keeping with the new thinking, the music required a greater simplicity because it must be easily understood by all. New hymns conformed to these principles, turning to didactic themes and avoiding dogma.[79] New hymnals often omitted or revised traditional, core-Reformation hymns. Not surprisingly, some congregations rejected such hymnals.[80] Moreover, since the Enlightenment, most hymnals did not contain music, and the prominence of new (unfamiliar) hymns and reworded traditional hymns, combined with the absence of music, often created great difficulty for those trying to use the hymnals. As we have seen in the *Instruction,* there had been great decline in the strength of congregational singing, and many reports confirm the prevalence of poor singing.[81] The habit of extremely slow tempo is noted above.

Orthodox liturgy also suffered. It was not uncommon to abolish the entire "de tempore" calendar and thus for weekly services to function without assigned scripture readings and the attendant liturgical texts.[82] As in the case of hymns and music, this loss of the historic liturgy has also been blamed on the Enlightenment. According to G. Stiller, "wherever rationalism became influential in church life, and especially in liturgical practice, a relaxation and finally a complete disintegration of existing worship orders followed quickly." Stiller traces this phenomenon back to the beginning

[77]Ibid., 319.

[78]Lott, *Brahms's A German Requiem*, 238.

[79]Feder, "Decline and Restoration," 323–24, 337.

[80]Examples of this are in the Wucherer hymnal of 1783. Schatkin Hettrick, "A Lutheran Hymnal."

[81]Feder, "Decline and Restoration," 336, 340.

[82]Ibid., 332, 334.

of the eighteenth century.[83] An example of departure from orthodox liturgy is the trend towards holding Holy Communion as a separate service, rather than keeping it as the main service.[84] The schedule of services in the *Instruction* reflects this shift in liturgical practice. Here Communion is a separate service; it does not function as the *Hauptgottesdienst*; it is offered less frequently; and it is scheduled at a less favorable time.

Music in the Catholic Church likewise underwent a downturn in the same time period, and a comparable reaction arose with the intent to improve musical quality. By and large, the Catholics shared the same unease with conditions in church music: it was deteriorated and it had become secularized. Official leadership in the Catholic Church was aware of this poor state of sacred music and we see that various clergy and musicians took steps toward making it better. For example, Cardinal Ostini issued the Edict of Jesi in 1838 against the abuse of theatrical music in churches. The venerable Accademia di Santa Cecilia, founded in 1585 by Pope Sixtus V, created in 1839 a commission for the reform of sacred music in Rome, whose purpose was to restore a proper style of music in the church.[85] As with the Lutherans, Catholic laymen recognized the problem and took an active role in introducing reform. Some of this effort took the form of establishing *Kirchenmusikvereine* (church music associations). In general, the purpose of *Vereine* in the Austrian Vormärz period (1800–1848, before the revolution) was to advance knowledge and science. The first *Kirchenmusikverein* in Vienna was created in 1823 (the year the *Instruction* was written) in the suburban parish of Schottenfeld; it was followed by several others. Such *Vereine* enabled laymen to influence music in the church: programming, financing, training qualified singers and instrumentalists, etc. Both amateur and professional musicians joined. As with Streicher's work in the Lutheran Church, these associations concerned themselves with pedagogy, founding schools, and providing musical education mostly for boys, but occasionally also for girls.[86]

Regarding the general decline of church music, the archival records of the Evangelische Kirche in Vienna show a long history of problems. As far back as the tenure of Lebrecht Lorbeer (organist 1784–1802), there were difficulties and complaints, especially about congregational singing. For example, Lorbeer is recorded as talking about hymns that were unfamiliar to him, which the hymnal identifies as *In eigner Melodie* (in its own melody). This phrase means that the particular hymn text is associated with a specific tune, and the congregation is expected to know which tune it is and to be able to sing it. Apparently, in this case, the accompaniment book

[83]Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig*, 109.

[84]Ibid., 132.

[85]Annalisa Bini, "The Accademia di Santa Cecilia in Rome during the First Half of the 19th Century: The Beginning of a New Era," in *Musikfreunde: Träger der Musikkultur in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2017), p. 311.

[86]Walter Sauer, "Kirchenmusikvereine im Wiener Vormärz: Kulturarbeit zwischen Bürgertum und kirchlicher Restauration," in *Musikfreunde: Träger der Musikkultur in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2017), pp. 175–89.

(*Choral-Buch*) being used by the organist contained twelve or thirteen melodies to which the hymn text in question could have been sung, and no one instructed him which one to play.

Adolf Wurm provides a summary of the situation drawn from the archival records:

> The congregational singing was always a problem (*Sorgenkind*) of our predecessors. The disunity in singing the hymns, caused by the numerous varieties of melodies, often brought about discord in the congregational singing. The tempo was so slow that one could sing at most three syllables in one breath. In order to rest from this strenuous kind of singing, short interludes were interwoven by the organist between the single lines of a hymn verse. Numerous complaints and suggestions for improvement were made. The remedy of this ill-usage (*Mißstand*) came about only with the initiative of . . . Andreas Streicher, who, with his *Singschule* brought in the youth to lead the congregational singing.[87]

Based on this evaluation, it certainly appears that unsatisfactory conditions had prevailed for many years in the Evangelische Kirche. Apparently, for example, the church's own choirs were either unprepared or insufficient to provide the music required on the occasion of the dedication of the new organ, which took place on March 20, 1808. To celebrate that important milestone in the life of the congregation, it was the choirboys of the Catholic Cathedral of Vienna, St. Stephan, who supplied the choral music. Whether they contributed the entire program or just supplemented the in-house choirs is unclear.[88] Even after the efforts of Streicher, problems persisted, and church records note that during Lachner's tenure (1824–1834), the pastor and church officials continued to consider suggestions about improvement of congregational singing. As mentioned above, they decided to approve the hiring of four singers to strengthen the existing choir.[89]

In his long and detailed *Instruction*, Streicher attempted to correct this kind of accumulated neglect and disorder, and to set the church on a good liturgical path for the future. Most of his points are aimed at improving congregational hymn-singing. This is not surprising, given that from the time of the Reformation, hymns and congregational singing of hymns had always been central to Lutheran worship. In his concluding statement, however, he also expresses a general philosophy of church music. His understanding of the purpose of church music, and even some of the words in his statement, are, in some ways, consistent with the thinking typical of other

[87]"Der gottesdienstliche Gesang war stets ein Sorgenkind unserer Vorfahren. Die Uneinheitlichkeit im Singen der Lieder, verursacht durch die zahlreichen Melodievarianten, brachte oft störende Mißklänge in den Gemeindegesang. Das Tempo war derart langsam, daß man höchstens drei Silben mit einem Atemzug singen könnte. Zum Ausruhen von dieser anstrengenden Art des Singens wurden zwischen den einzelnen Zeilen einer Liedstrophe kurze Zwischenspiele des Organisten eingeflochten. Zahlreiche Klagen und Besserungsvorschläge wurden eingebracht; die Beseitigung dieses Mißstandes erfolgte erst durch die Initiative von . . . Andreas Streicher, der mit seiner 'Singschule' die Schuljugend zum Führen des Gemeindegesanges heranzog." Wurm, *Alte Protokolle*, 103.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Ibid., 106–7.

writers on this subject from the Enlightenment and the early Romantic years. For example, he places importance on "the edification of the congregation"; and he speaks of "serious, noble, and beautiful harmonies and melodies," and the need "to awaken feelings of the hearers." On the other hand, Streicher remains essentially faithful to the historic Lutheran purpose of church music, which is to inspire the praise of God. He does not favor the "new church style" which, he says, "differs from secular music only by its text and at most by a fugue." It is also significant that he does not doubt the ability of the listeners to understand or appreciate serious or complex (i.e., contrapuntal) music.

Streicher's rejection of "the new church style" and his apparent trust of the congregation's ability to accept complex music contrasts with opinions of two successors of Bach in the office of Cantor of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig. In essays on the subject of "the true church music," both these musicians rejected what might be called "the old church style." The first, by Johann Friedrich Doles (1715–1797, Cantor 1755–1789), was entitled *Über das Wesen wahrer Kirchenmusik* (About the essence of the true church music, 1790).[90] In this short essay, Doles states that the objective of "true church music" is to touch the heart. To accomplish that, it must have simplicity, which is achieved through beautiful, flowing, and touching song [melody], clear comprehensible harmony, and easy, understandable rhythm. He also defines what does not belong in the church: artificial fugues and fugal style, striving towards strictest rules and artifices (*Künsteleien*)[91] of double counterpoint. He justifies these views by explaining that the majority of people who listen to church music are just limited amateurs. They know little or nothing about the art of composition, and cannot possibly get pleasure from a harmonic and rhythmic mishmash (*Wirwar*).[92]

Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804, Cantor 1789–1800) shared the concerns and thoughts of his predecessor, even using a similar title: *Über das Wesen der Kirchenmusik* (About the essence of church music, 1789).[93] Like Doles, Hiller believes that the audience for this music has a limited capacity to understand complicated music. He too seeks to define the purpose of true church music and the features it must have to fulfill that goal. As a top priority, it must have the noblest simplicity and must be free of empty noise, and all pretension to individual skill. It should inspire peace, order, and decency. He also recommends brevity.

Finally, it is significant that when Johann Streicher wrote the *Instruction*, the Lutheran Church in Austrian territory was still relatively young. As mentioned above, it only became legal in 1781; prior to that, Protestantism had existed in very limited circumstances. For example, diplomatic delegations from non-Catholic countries were allowed to conduct Protestant worship.

[90]Johann Friedrich Doles, *Über das Wesen wahrer Kirchenmusik*, in *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Leipziger Thomaskantorats,* vol. 2, *Vom Amtstritt Johann Sebastian Bachs bis zum Begin des 19. Jahrhunderts,* ed. Andreas Glöckner (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2018), pp. 380–81.

[91]Streicher also uses the word *Künsteleien* to designate inappropriate styles, but unlike Doles, he does not use it to refer to counterpoint and fugues.

[92]*Wirwar* is an archaic spelling of *Wirrwarr.*

[93]Johann Adam Hiller, *Über das Wesen der Kirchenmusik*, *zur Geschichte des Leipziger Thomaskantorats,* vol. 2, 533–38.

Otherwise, Lutherans had to stay underground, and even then they were widely persecuted. For example, Protestants were driven out of Salzburg in 1731–1732.[94]

Under these circumstances, often without pastors, Lutherans were forced to form their own worship; they maintained their religious materials in secret, and even created their own hand-written hymnals.[95] Therefore, unlike many areas of Germany (Prussia, Saxony), the Austrian Lutheran Church did not have a native, long-standing Reformation tradition.[96] By 1823, while Lutherans had attained a presence in Vienna, they mostly had to import leaders from Lutheran areas, including clergy. Indeed, as we have seen, Streicher himself came from the strongly Lutheran region of Württemberg. Therefore, the poor state of liturgy and music that Streicher observed in the Evangelische Kirche in Vienna reflects more than the accumulated decline common in Lutheran practice by 1800.

By writing the *Instruction*, Streicher attempted to set Lutheran church music in Vienna, especially congregational singing, on the right course, reclaiming the centrality of music to the Lutheran faith. A serious Lutheran himself, Streicher believed that the Word is preached through music. As Luther wrote about music in his ode to *Frau Musica*: "Zum Göttlichen Wort und warheit / Macht sie das hertz still und bereit" (It makes the heart quiet and ready for God's Word and truth). ❖

[94]For history of Protestants in Austria (Salzburg), see *Reformation, Emigration, Protestanten in Salzburg: Ausstellung, 21. Mai–26. Oktober 1981, Schloß Goldegg-Pongau, Land Salzburg*, ed. Friederike Zaisberger (Salzburg: Salzburger Landesregierung, 1981).

[95]For a study of the Protestant underground in Austria see Rudolf Leeb, Martin Scheutz, and Dietmar Weikl, eds., *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Erzstift Salzburg, 17./18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).

[96]This was not always true. Before the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent, there were more Lutherans than Catholics in Austria. Timothy Schmeling, "Lutheranism in the Seventeenth Century," *Logia: A Journal of Lutheran Theology*, 29, no.4 (Reformation 2020), 34.

Instruction for the Herr Organist of the Evangelical Congregation of the Augsburg Confession

Translation by Jane Schatkin Hettrick

[p. 1] In order to put the Herr organist immediately from the beginning in a position to learn the full extent of his very important position for the Church of the Augsburg Confession, the undersigned have drawn up the present instruction, so that he is informed of these things, and upon starting his service it can be signed by him.

I. About the various times when a service with singing is held.

1st The service is regularly every Sunday morning at 10 o'clock,

2nd Every Sunday afternoon, 3 o'clock,

3rd Every other Sunday morning at 8 o'clock, when Holy Communion is held.

4th All holidays that do not fall on a Sunday, from 10 to 12 o'clock. The afternoon is free, as on New Years-[p. 2] Days, second Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas holidays.

5th All other required holidays, mornings, 10 o'clock,

6th In Lent, every Thursday, mornings, 8 o'clock,

7th On Maundy Thursday, morning, 8 o'clock and 10 o'clock,

8th On Good Friday, morning, from 8 to 12 o'clock,

9th Whenever the garrison stationed here goes to Communion,

10th Since on Easter, Confirmation, Tolerance, and Christmas holidays four-part chorales and choruses accompanied by organ are sung in the church, the organist is obligated to accompany and support the singing on the piano at the two next-to-last rehearsals, and at the main rehearsal on the organ.

11th Also then, the choir and the congregation must be accompanied by the organ, if (to be sure, rarely) a case happens that someone who has died is blessed in the church.

At all the performances noted here the organist must [p. 3] reliably always appear a quarter hour earlier than the appointed time, so that everything necessary on the organ can be set up, and the service can begin immediately as soon as the clergy come into the church.

II. When the Organ Must Be Played in the Church.

1st As soon as the ministers [*Prediger*] appear in the church, the organ begins the prelude or praeludium, which must begin and end in the same key in which the following chorale starts, and it should never be longer than 4 or at most 5 minutes.

On Sundays and holidays the first prelude should always use full organ alternating with the Positiv; the conclusion of the same should not be suddenly cut off, but must always be so constituted that the boys or girls are alerted that the chorale is beginning shortly. The pedal should hold out the main note of the last chord long enough so that when the Positiv is coupled, it can be pushed in and the 4[-rank] Mixture stop, along with the Octave and Flute portune can be pushed in. [p. 4] It is thus necessary that the last chord not be held out by the hands longer than two quarter notes, so that the organist has time to quickly push in these 6 registers without causing any disrupting interruption. The left side of the registers remains untouched and only the two registers on the manual (Viola Gamba and Principal) are left out as they were before.

The choir begins every chorale with these two registers, and only with hymns [*Liedern*] that are sung very softly, the Viola Gamba alone is pulled out.

2nd The final note of the first stanza of the chorale is held four quarters [time] on the pedal, but with the hands only one quarter, so the necessary time is gained to pull out [on the] the Positiv and likewise in the Manual the two upper registers and the 4[-rank] Mixture stop. In this way, the exact beat can be maintained, and the following stanza, which is sung by the congregation, can be begun with full organ.

3rd The chorale, whether sung by the choir or by the congregation, is always played in strict, exact [p. 5] time, and there is also the following to note particularly:

a. Every final note of a verse that has a [fermata symbol here] resting point over it, be it a half or a whole note, is held out a full four quarters [time], and then the interlude is begun immediately, which practice is also observed if the chorale is accompanied by instruments.

b. The tempo of the chorale melody is determined by the content of the hymn to be sung. If it is joyful, thankful, praising, etc., etc., four quarters take 3 seconds; if it is serious or solemn, each quarter lasts one second; if, however, the content is sorrowful or sad, as in Passion and death hymns, four quarters take at least 5 seconds' time. The custom produces the most correct [result] in this [matter].

c. Since by its slow nature, chorale singing leads singers to hold out and drag the notes, it is chiefly up to the boys or girls who begin the hymn to see to it that the beat is always taken somewhat livelier, and that throughout it not be slowed down.

d. If then the full organ [p. 6] and with it the congregation enters with full voice, the organ should in the first two verses hold back a little until the singing is in its flow. A skilled organist knows well himself how to help with this by a slight yielding and then driving forward somewhat, so that by the end

of the first stanza the congregation is already singing the way that the beat, the meaning of the hymn, and the melody require.

4th When the first chorale is over, it is concluded with at most two or three beats, and then the organ is silent.

5th Then a prayer, the Epistle, and the Gospel are read by a minister at the altar. Immediately after that begins

6th the second preludium or prelude, which, just like the first, must begin and end in the same key as the chorale. This prelude is limited to 2 or at most 3 minutes.

At the end of this, it is done as before, with holding out the pedal, and pushing in the stops carried out as with the first hymn. Here too the choir sings the first stanza again, [p. 7] and is, according to the content of the hymn, accompanied by the Principal and the Gamba, or the latter alone; if the words of the hymn are pleading, sad, etc., it is adapted to the situation. If this second introduction (prelude) into the chorale is played only on the manual without the Mixture, and by the pedal Bass 8-foot and Sub-Bass 16-foot, it gets the attention of the congregation and makes them more sensitive to the meaning of the hymn. The second stanza is sung again by the congregation in the same way as with the first hymn and accompanied by the full organ with the Positiv. Since in the second hymn more stanzas are sung than in the first, then the minister in the sacristy must also be reminded when he should enter the chancel. Thus the penultimate stanza is always sung again by the choir and accompanied by soft stops; the last stanza remains for the congregation. In cases where a hymn has 9 to 12 stanzas, either the minister decides which should be sung by the choir, or this is left to the organist and the singing instructor to decide this between themselves. [p. 8] The penultimate stanza of the 2nd hymn, even when there are only 4 of them, is sung by the choir. This second chorale closes just like the first, simply with a few solemn chords.

7th After this comes the sermon, and after its conclusion, again either the remaining stanzas of the 2nd hymn or another [suitable hymn] will be sung, of which the choir again is to perform the first [stanza]. After this

8th a prayer or the benediction is spoken from the altar, and the whole congregation begins to sing together the third stanza of the hymn "Nun danket alle Gott." If, however, this entire hymn is sung, again the 1st stanza is for the choir alone and the two last are for the congregation.

9th After this singing, the organ should not stop, but must play a postlude [*Nachspiel*] (postludium) that lasts until most of the congregation is out of the church.

10th In the Sunday School [*Kinderlehre*] or afternoon service [*Predigt*], where no choir sings, the full organ is always used, likewise

11th on holidays in the morning. [p. 9] Since singing chorales is one of the main things in the service, the entire attention of the organist must be focused [on it]

1st so that the change of stops between the prelude and the choir singing,—between the choir singing and the congregation—

between the singing of the congregation and the choir, happens quickly enough that the beat suffers the least possible interruption, but retains its exact pace.

2nd that when the first part of a chorale is repeated, this must be carefully noted, so that the repetition is not skipped and instead of this the second part of the chorale is played, which always causes an annoying disorder and quite rightly is attributed to the carelessness of the organist.

III. About the Way that the Organ Should Be Handled at Special Occasions.

1st If, on Easter or Holy Christmas, the choirs and chorales are accompanied by wind instruments and an introduction (ritornello) at one or the other is prescribed, thus [p. 10] the organ gives a sign to begin, and so everyone starts together, just the following chords, e.g.

8	6	6	7	8
3	3	4		3
(c.	f.	g.	G.	c.)

Count from the first quarter of the second measure (here c), and then the chorus, if written in the upbeat, is begun in this second measure. If, however, it is written on the downbeat, the 2nd measure is fully counted out, and begun with the first following quarter. In this way, all confusion is prevented, and that very rare simultaneous beginning is produced.

2nd When a chorus is sung after the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel, the organ proceeds exactly as first mentioned. Only one must note exactly that after the end of this chorus the organ must not stop for one moment, but rather must, in the smoothest way, modulate to the key of the following second chorale, which now also, like every [chorale] is begun by the choir and continued by the congregation.

3rd If there is singing within the sermon, whoever directs the music [p. 11] or someone from the choir knows the words according to which the organ must enter and then the singing. The organ makes no special closing at the end of the song, but ends with the last note of the chorus or chorale.

What was said in these three points is valid for every chorus, with or without accompaniment by instruments.

About the Handling of the Organ at Confirmation.

1st The two first hymns before the sermon are introduced and played exactly like the usual ones.

2nd The third hymn, however, "Erhöre Gott, erhöre," which comes before the address to the confirmands and is introduced solely with the Gamba and Principal, or even more beautiful, with Gamba alone, so that the attention of the congregation will be directed to the words of the song, and thus to the purpose of the holy ceremony itself, and the choir can begin its first stanza with soft, muted voices. The following stanzas then proceed as usual.

3rd After the address and directly after the words "so tretet denn Herr zu mir," [so come, then, O Lord to me] [p. 12] the organ enters with the pedal, in fact, only with one 8-foot and one 16-foot register, and holds this note all alone at least two beats.

Only then, quietly on the Gamba or some other soft stop, the following chorus or chorale is introduced, played softly, slowly, and movingly.

4th Only part of the chorus or chorale is sung, and then played again on soft registers. In the same way also

5th the second part of the song is introduced, after which the organ is played alone and

6th Then the third and last part of the chorus or chorale is sung, and ended with the organ alone.

7th Since the singing and the organ must stop together at the blessing of the last confirmand, it is necessary that the organ playing and the singing are arranged so that no one exceed the time needed. One can safely figure on a half-minute for the blessing of each confirmand. If there are 60, the entire [ceremony] will last 30 minutes; thus e.g., 3 stanzas will take 12 minutes and 18 on the organ, [p. 13] which must be divided appropriately. Surest is, when the last organ playing is made somewhat longer than the previous ones, because towards the end one can very easily remain in related keys and lead quite naturally to a full closing.

8th While the confirmands receive Holy Communion, a few stanzas are sung by the choir or even by the congregation. Here too the singing and playing must be arranged so that [the service] can be concluded with whoever goes out last.

9th The final singing is as usual.

IV. The Organ during Communion on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday.

Until now during the entire Communion, which on Good Friday lasts almost two full hours, chorales were sung and these were always accompanied by full organ. Since there are often 5 or 6 of these chorales, and before and after the sermon again four more are sung by the congregation, it is left up to the minister to instruct the organist

1st whether it should remain with the previous practice [p. 14] of much singing, accompanied by full organ or, however,

2nd whether it is more suitable to keep this holy stillness and dignity presented by this solemnity, by singing only 3 or 4 stanzas of a hymn and then for the organ alone play a while on soft registers and only then to leave the last half of the hymn to be sung out fully. With a second [or] third hymn, it would be done the same way.

V. About Interludes in the Chorales

Interludes in chorales were probably first introduced in order to allow the singers a little time to rest between each stanza.

However, they ruin and disturb the singing if they are done, as they usually are, in the following ways.

1st If they consist of notes faster than quarters or eighths, or, which is all the more nonsensical, such as sixteenths or even thirty-seconds, that go 8 or 16 times faster than the half notes of the melody.

2nd When they have an uneven length, and sometimes consist of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 quarter lengths.

[p. 15] 3rd When they do not lead directly to the key with which the congregation must begin again. In order to eliminate all these, and still other mistakes, especially, however, to make possible evenly measured singing (by which alone the words and the melody achieve the right expression and appropriate strength), the following interludes are allowed:

1st They consist of only 4 chords, each of which has the value of one quarter-note.

2nd The outermost note of the fourth chord always leads directly to the next note, so that it lies a half- or a whole-tone above or below the same [i.e., the next note].

3rd If eighths occur in these interludes, they should be mostly just passing notes, and never involving 4 or much less 8 eighths one after another; rather they should alternate with quarter-note chords, so that, e.g., one quarter and two eighths follow each other.

4th Since by 5 years of experience it has been sufficiently proved, that this type of interlude does not harm the dignity of the chorale—so that the congregation [p. 16] now sings much more clearly and correctly than before. Because of this, the attention of the singers is not diverted from the content of the hymn, and the reading of the following verses is made easier—also because music in the church should never be the goal of the service, but only a means to increase the edification and devotion of those present. Thus also in the future this type of interlude will be retained, and all others [done] in the accustomed manner are excluded.

5th Nevertheless, the organist is also permitted to use chords other than those prescribed, and to lead with them to the next key. These chords, however, must absolutely fulfill the following conditions:

a. that they consist of neither more nor less than 4 quarters' time;

b. that they lead to the next note so that the singers can find it easily;

c. that they don't sound so strange as to attract the attention of the singers and distract them from the meaning of the hymn;

d. that, as already mentioned above, they should never consist of solely eighths, but rather [p. 17] only of mixed quarters and eighths. The only exception to this [rule] is the fifth stanza of the Tolerance Hymn.

6th Finally it is still to be noted about these interludes:

a. that the pedal is not to be used with them,

b. that when the first chord of the interlude is the same as the one with which a verse of the chorale has stopped (which cannot always be avoided), both hands must leave out this chord, in order to strike freely the first chord of the interlude, so that everyone hears that the last sung note is over and the interlude has begun.

VI. About the Use of the Pedal

1st When the boys or girls sing a chorale in unison, it is often appropriate if an 8- and a 16-foot pedal [note] is played with

them. The children will be kept in tempo more easily and they can also more easily sing correctly [*rein*].

2nd If, however, a chorale is sung in four parts, the pedal must be entirely left out, because otherwise the bass singers cannot be heard.

3rd With a 4-part choir, [p. 18] with or without instruments, the pedal comes in more frequently, together with full organ, which, however, must be determined in advance in the rehearsals.

4th For the accompaniment of the chorales that the whole congregation sings, all pedal registers are drawn, and only such changes are permitted in the pedal which

a. do not go faster than quarter notes,

b. which necessitate no change in the harmony, and

c. which do not contradict the character of the hymn.

This simplicity in organ accompaniment indeed conflicts with the custom of most organists, who often regard the singing of the congregation as a theme they believe entitles them to make all manner of variations with hands and feet. Only a true Christian thinks about these things differently from a musician, who considers a mere jingle as more essential than to encourage the prayers of an entire congregation. The congregation here is content to hear the pedal so used, as it was described at the beginning of this point.

5th Also many organists have [p. 19] the habit, instead of the ending in the tonic, described above, of bringing in a deceptive cadence and, e.g., instead of F major, ending in D minor, and only then allow the final chords to be heard. This, however, is all-the-more inappropriate, since the final words of a chorale are almost always strengthening and affirming, and a deceptive cadence [*Cadenza inganna*] expresses a question, a doubt, again, always uncertainty. Thus the end of the chorale must always be done with the above-described chord and bass note.

6th Since the whole congregation consists of a choir of a few thousand voices, and here almost only the full pedal can come through, it is necessary to connect the pedal notes as exactly as possible, because here articulated and disconnected notes have no effect at all.

7th In preludes and postludes, however, the use of the pedal is completely unrestricted, [in] everything compatible with the churchly freedom, [the organist] is free to demonstrate all his accomplishment and skill.

VII. About the Care of the Organ

1st The organist always takes charge of the keys. [p. 20]

2nd If the organ is out of tune or otherwise something is wrong, the organist should immediately send a church sexton [*Kirchendiener*] to Herr Deutschmann, who built the organ and also is responsible for maintaining it.

3rd The Herren elders must be informed in advance of any important repairs.

VIII. About Substitutes for the Organist.

1st Since there are instances when the organist is prevented from performing his duties in person, he must take the strictest pains, to see that his job is then entrusted to the kind of man who can handle the organ correctly and especially can perform the chorale[s] according to the firmly established way.

2nd Since the organist's salary is for the entire year and all the responsibilities therein involved are specified, in no case can the congregation make the least compensation or special payment for the substitute; rather this remains entirely a matter for its Herr organist. [p. 21]

3rd On the other hand, it is the urgent desire of the undersigned, that either a good pupil or a musical friend of their Herr organist, who is devoted to good organ-playing and is instructed in the same [be engaged], so that the service can always be certain and held in the same way. The Sunday School [*Kinderlehre*] and afternoon services offer here the best opportunity [to practice] and in cases of illness, the organist would save himself much worry and expense.

IX. About the Accompaniment of obbligato Chorales and Choruses.

1st Since besides the usual chorales in the Lutheran Church, many times in the year four-part chorales and choruses are also performed accompanied by wind instruments as well as the organ alone, it is left up to the one who composed [or] arranged these choruses and chorales, or rehearsed the singers, as it is with every orchestra, either to play the organ himself for it or in his place to have someone play, who by much experience [*Übung*] [p. 22] in larger accompaniment is able to observe everything very quickly, and to do whatever a perfect performance of the music may demand.

2nd Should, however, the one who composed the music or arranged the scoring of the piece, or rehearsed the choruses and chorales, not play the organ himself, but rather just direct the whole thing and in obligato places leave the organ to a guest, it remains the right of the Herr organist to play the organ [himself] for the chorales that the congregation sings, also when they are accompanied by instruments. However, here more than usually comes the obligation to keep the beat most exactly with the instruments, and to play the pedal-bass precisely right and unaltered, in that even the slightest deviation would create mistakes in the harmony and dissonances against instruments.

X. About Giving Notice for this Position by One or the Other Side.

Although the undersigned wish nothing so much as to have a skilled man [p. 23] on the organ in their church, and although they are inclined to nothing less than to make unnecessary admonishments to such a man, nevertheless as elders [*Vorsteher*] of the congregation, they have the responsibility to prepare for all situations, even those that may happen in the most distant future, and therefore must establish the following.

1st The organist position is given for life; it can, however, with 6 months' notice be terminated in the following cases:

a. When the service is not performed at the abovementioned exact times;

b. When the preludes are played carelessly or frivolously;

c. When the chorales are not performed exactly as described above;

d. When instead of him, the organ is played badly, carelessly, or unsuitably by outside persons and this happens often;

e. When an uncorrected forgetfulness or negligence must be noted, in that the second part of a chorale instead of the first is played, or otherwise confusion in the [p. 24] congregational singing is caused.

2nd In the event of such a disturbing mistake, a written reminder will be sent to the organist by the Herr Superintendent and a copy of this will be given to the Herren elders.

3rd If there is such a reminder three times in vain, the Herren elders will then give notice.

4th This notice can, however, also happen instantly, and the service of the organist as well as his salary can stop on the spot, the moment he intentionally does not follow the above-written agreement [*Ordnung*] signed by him.

5th On the other side, however, the Herr organist is free (regardless of the reason) with 6 months' notice, to resign his position, and he is therefore allowed complete release.

It remains only for the Herren elders of the congregation to inform the organist of their church [p. 25] of their views and wishes concerning the style and spirit of handling the organ, and compose them so that, if not already in the first weeks, nevertheless in time they may be fulfilled.

The organ, as the largest, loudest, most many-voiced instrument that can be brought to life by one single person, was thereby above all introduced into the church, in order for the same [i.e., the organ], to lead, to support, and on the whole to sustain the singing of the congregation, which often consists of 3 to 4000 singers. As the tone of the organ differs from [that of] all other instruments, it should not be handled in the manner of these instruments, but rather completely according to its own nature, which excludes all short ornamental notes like trills, mordents, fast elaborations, etc. etc. On the contrary, however, rich harmonies, merging beautifully into each other, noble melodic themes, that are carried imitatively into all voices, are required. One cannot unfortunately! recommend imitating the newer church style, in that this mostly [p. 26] differs from secular music only by the text and at most by a fugue. The organist can determine the style of his presentation most certainly and reliably, when he considers the worship-service of a Christian church as a complete whole (with no exceptions to any [part] of it). Already the building distinguishes itself from all others by its magnitude and reverence-inspiring form. The works of sculpture and painting with which it is ornamented, present only lofty, holy objects that raise the thoughts to a higher world, to an unearthly eternity, to the Godhead itself.

The picture of our godly Redeemer, with the expression of his deepest pains, is placed before our eyes for inwardly lasting contemplation and remembrance. The con-

gregation gathers—the smallest part of it to thank God for the continuing goodness—the largest part, however, to get comfort in suffering that is confided to no one, which only be seen by him [p. 27] whose eye sees into our hearts. Many probably are also thinking about the godly words of our Savior, that like balsam trickle into the wounded soul "come unto me, all ye who labor and are heavy laden," and seek in the content of the hymn and the sermon of the minister, to forget the troubles, sorrows, and cares of the past week and to strengthen themselves for the coming days by faith, hope, and trust in him without whose will no hair of our heads falls to the ground.

Other feasts of the church, which point to the secrets of the religion, like Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Confirmation, and the celebration of Holy Communion awaken anew special thoughts and feelings, which are reflected in the songs and developed and worked out in the sermon.

Only one [thing], music, the most powerful of the arts, possesses [the ability] to inspire, nourish, and strengthen the greatest mainstream thoughts and feelings, and certainly that was the first use that was made of it and no other, than to [p. 28] awaken, by the power of its meaningful tones, the innermost [depths] of the soul to thank, praise, honor, and pray to God.

This same purpose still exists today, and when it is not attained, it can be attributed mainly to the frivolous, thoughtless use of this art, which more powerfully than any other, can bring about instantaneous change of all thoughts and feelings in us.

Therefore, it is very important for the edification of a congregation, that the organist already in his first playing of the organ reflect the content of the hymns and also of the sermon; and through serious, noble, beautiful, and sublime harmonies and melodies, seek to awaken the feeling of the hearers, just as it is important that the minister present his sermon completely in the spirit and sense of the Gospel and the Church.

The organist must shake the ground by his tones, just as the minister sows the seed kernel, so that it bears fruit.

The organist must have in mind this picture of the church and the [p. 29] service, for then no frivolous passages, no trills, and no ornaments will be heard, that moreover only recall the outside world.—If he is mindful of the high office of his profession—he will remember that he is the director, the leader, the supporter of the singing and the feelings of an entire, large congregation gathered by the Almighty; thus the style, the religious character of his playing will itself gradually eliminate sin, and he will learn to turn exclusively to the immeasurable riches of his art, so as to honor and comprehend him who created us and every art.

Vienna, January 13, 1824
Johann Wächter, superintendent
and first minister
Ernst Pauer, second minister
Konrad Freyherr von Gärtner
M[athias] E[manuel] Wilhelm
Johann v[on] Karner
Joh[ann] Sam[uel] Royko
Thomann [J. Wilhelm]
Aug[ust] Coith

That I agree entirely with the content of this Instruction, and promise to fulfill it according to my abilities, I herewith sign.

Franz Lachner. ❖

Guidelines for Responsible Stewardship

This tool makes the outlining of duties for a music director possible. It also affords an opportunity to make explicit the Church's vision of sacred music within the context of a parish program.

by Paul Jernberg

Most of the readers of *Sacred Music* are probably well aware of the teachings of the Catholic Church regarding liturgical music, and of the great traditions of sacred chant and polyphony upon which these teachings are based. And I would also assume that most readers can recognize, and that many are skilled in, that musicianship which is essential to the fine performance of all music, be it vocal or instrumental, secular or sacred. Such knowledge and skill are indispensable qualifications in order for church musicians, working together with their pastors, to assure the integrity of the music of their parish liturgies.

But while being indispensable, such qualifications are not sufficient. Especially for a parish music director, there are many other aspects of knowledge and skill which are essential for mature competence, not least of which is the ability to effectively teach and lead others. How can church musicians make a regular *examen* of their work, so as to identify strengths and weaknesses and continue growing toward the full stature of their vocation? And how can parish priests find musicians who are sufficiently mature in these various aspects of competence, and then assist them in their ongoing growth?

The following "Guidelines" are meant to be a helpful tool for both church musicians and parish priests, as they seek to accomplish these goals. It has already gone through several revisions, as it has been developed with the invaluable input of my own pastor. Often the revisions have consisted in modifying the rhetoric, so that the essential substance can have the best possibility of being received and understood by church musicians who come from a wide variety of backgrounds. As we are now applying these guidelines in our own particular parish situation, and continuing to develop them, I also welcome the input of readers: particularly in regard to how fundamental principles can be communicated graciously and effectively to church musi-

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cians who have not previously been aware of their importance.

I believe that a document such as this "cries out," as it were, for another similar, though much shorter, set of guidelines for parish priests. Such a document would articulate some of the dimensions of pastoral awareness and support—moral, spiritual, logistical, financial, etc.—which are essential in order for church musicians to fulfill their responsibilities well and to thrive in their vocation. Look for such a document within the coming year!

Guidelines for Responsible Stewardship: Parish Music Director/Choir Director

The following guidelines are meant to be a tool, used in a spirit of mutual respect and charity, to cultivate integrity in the sacred liturgical music ministry of a parish or diocese. They are a means to go beyond personal tastes and opinions, to evaluate our musical service to the church by objective standards—standards belonging to the inherent qualities of musical competence, as well as those which have been presented in Catholic Church teaching.

Such integrity is essential for all parties involved:

- for the faithful who attend Masses: that through the liturgical music they be lead to an ever deeper participation in the mystery of the Mass, rather than being hindered in their prayerful participation.
- for the music director and other-church musicians: that they can have a competent and thorough assessment of their strengths and areas of potential growth, so as to continue to mature in their vocation; and finally
- for the glory of God: appropriate sacred music, done well and with depth of spirituality, is a powerful witness that proclaims and reveals the glory of God. In order to fulfill well such an important role, strengths need to be encouraged, and areas for growth need to be identified and addressed.

The effective application of these guidelines will require that they be studied and thoughtfully completed as an evaluation by:

- the church musician for whom these guidelines are intended,
- the parish pastor,
- one or two church musicians invited from outside the parish (who do not have a close relationship to the musician being evaluated), who themselves have established competence in the field of Catholic sacred music.

In the case of a candidate being considered for a position, this evaluation should be completed by the candidate, and by one or two clergy or church musicians who have worked regularly with the the candidate in the past.

Every section below, and each question, should be completed by the person whose work is being considered. Please respond on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the most in need of growth and 10 being the most competent. Other participants from the above list should answer only those questions or address those issues of which they have adequate knowledge. ("I" and "me" refer to the musician being evaluated.) NOTE: It is to be expected that church musicians will have widely varying gifts, experiences, strengths,

and needs—this is part of the beauty of working together as a community of faith. In this light, such questions are intended not only as an individual evaluation and encouragement to growth, but also as a reminder of our interdependence and need for mutual support.

Musical Knowledge and Skills

1. What is the level of my general musical knowledge and skills?
   - Music theory ____
   - Knowledge of music history and repertoire ____
   - Musicianship
     - Vocal ____
     - Instrumental ____

2. What is the level of my knowledge and skills in our Catholic sacred music tradition?
   - Gregorian chant ____
   - Sacred polyphony ____
   - Great composers ____
   - Contemporary ____

3. What is the level of my knowledge and understanding of the Catholic Church's teaching on sacred music?
   - Constitution on the Sacred *Liturgy* (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) Ch. 6 ____
   - Instruction on Sacred Music (*Musicam Sacram*) ____
   - Pope Pius X's Motu Proprio on Sacred Music ____
   - USCCB documents (such as *Sing to the Lord*) ____
   - Other sources (list) _____
     _____

4. Am I able to communicate this knowledge and understanding to others, in an effective and courteous way? _____

5. Do I follow the directives articulated in the GIRM (*General Instruction on the Roman Missal*)? _____

6. To what extent do I seek to engage through music those present at each Mass (including the "ordinary" people without musical training) so as to draw them into its mystery? ___

7. Do I seek to integrate new as well as older repertoire which can engage the faithful effectively, with depth and beauty? ____

8. To what extent is it easy for singers and other musicians to follow my lead, through my conducting technique in
   - Standard measured music? ____
   - Classical polyphony? ____
   - Gregorian chant? ____

9. At what level are my organ/keyboard skills? Do I play well, with good musicianship and without noticeable error, on a consistent basis? _____

10. When needed, do I seek the assistance of other competent organists/instrumentalists? _____

11. Do I cultivate the proper relationship between the human voice—as the primary and indispensable instrument of liturgical music—and the playing of the organ or other instruments, which are intended to support the voice rather than to dominate the music of the liturgy? _____

12. Do I respect the importance of silent prayer in the liturgy, and cultivate this silence as needed: either through the absence of sound or through discreet instrumental music, according to ecclesial norms? ____

Additional comments _____
_____

Choice of Repertoire

1. In my choice of music for the liturgy, to what extent do I respect and cultivate the following qualities of sacred liturgical music, as articulated in church teaching?

- "Holiness," i.e., proceeding from and leading others to prayer, free from secular connotations, reflecting the transcendent dignity of the liturgy and our Catholic sacred music heritage ____
- "Beauty," i.e., sacred artistry in composition, which effectively draws listeners to meditation on the sacred text and to the worship of God ____
- "Universality," i.e., in the midst of cultural diversity, the sacred character of the music is easily recognized by all people of good willl ____
- Promoting the "full participation" of the hearts, minds, and voices of the faithful ____

2. Do I provide opportunities to reveal the beauty of our Catholic musical traditions to parishioners and others, in an engaging way? ____

3. In choosing hymns to be sung at Mass, am I attentive to:

- The soundness of their theology? ___
- Their proper relationship to the given liturgical season or feast day? ____
- Their proper placement in the context of the Mass? ____
- Their poetic and musical quality? ___
- Their accessibility to the congregation? ____

4. To what extent do I help parishioners to learn and understand their parts of the Mass in Latin, in coordination with the pastor for particular Masses? ____

5. When singing in Latin or in a language unknown to the congregation, do I provide translations so that all those present can participate both "with their spirit and their mind" (cf. I Corinthians 14:15)? ____

6. To what extent have I discovered the proper texts of the Mass which are provided by the church to be sung by the choir and/or congregation? For many of us these are still a "hidden treasure," though recommended by the GIRM and an integral dimension of our liturgical tradition. ____

7. Do I cultivate the choral and/or congregational singing of these Propers of the Mass? ____

8. Do I understand and cultivate the role of liturgical music as *Lectio Divina,* i.e., presenting the sacred texts of the Mass for the meditation and contemplation of the faithful? ____

9. In my choice of music for the liturgy, to what extent do I discern and work within the capacities of our singers, musicians, and congregation? ____

10. Do I avoid choosing musical pieces which, because of their sophistication, can, only be appreciated by a select few? ____

11. Have I cultivated a long term, step-by-step approach to develop our parish music program with the pastor? ____

Additional comments _____
_____

Logistics

1. Am I aware of the natural acoustic qualities of the church(es) in which our liturgies are celebrated? ____

2. Do I assure that vocal, choral, and instrumental music is heard well in the context of these acoustic qualities? ____

3. When the use of sound systems is necessary, do I strive to keep the amplification as natural as possible, strictly avoiding any distortion of sound quality? ____

4. Have I regularly checked sound volume levels with the help of others, so as to assure their proper levels throughout the church? ____

5. Do I provide printed worship aids and explanatory notes for the congregation when needed? ____

6. Do I maintain a clean and orderly library of sheet music/scores for the choir(s) and other musicians? ____

7. Do I respect the need for reverent silence in church before Mass begins, and avoid rehearsals or loud speaking in church that would hinder silent prayer? _____

Additional comments _____
_____

Interpersonal Skills and Virtues

1. Am I docile and faithful to the pastor's leadership, in a spirit of mutual respect and a shared vision for our liturgical music? ____

2. Am I diligent to share any concerns with him which might require his awareness, input, or decisions? ____

3. Am I reliable to be on time for meetings and to meet deadlines? ____

4. Am I open to reasonable requests and critique from others? ____

5. Do I exemplify graciousness and prudence in my relationships with others? ___

6. Am I committed to serving the needs of the entire parish, under the guidance of the pastor, rather than catering to the desires of particular interest groups? ____

7. Do I enlist the participation of volunteers and professionals in the music ministry of the parish? ____

8. Do I exemplify the virtues of a good leader? ____

9. Am I a good team member with fellow staff members? ____

Additional comments _____
_____

Faith and Prayer in Sacred Music
(*As a numerical measurement would be inappropriate for the following important questions, they are intended more as a springboard for reflection and confidential discussion*.)

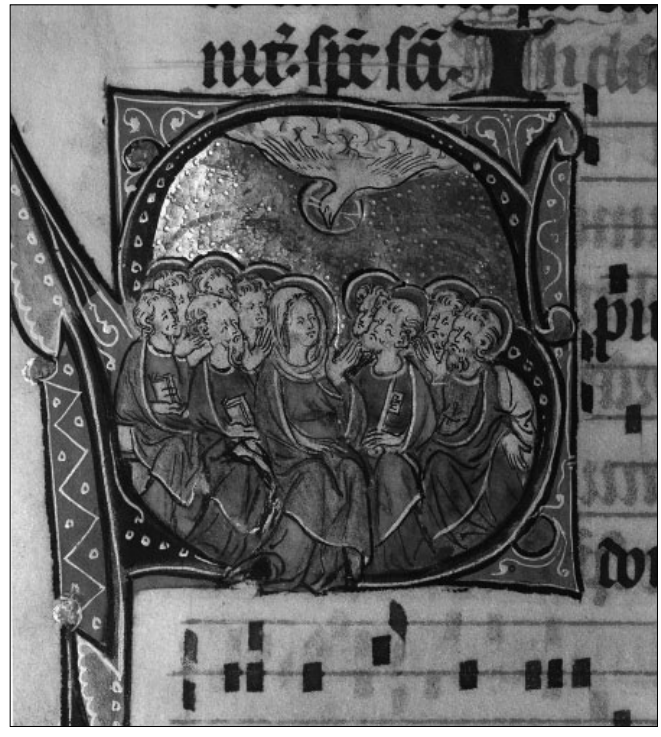
1. To what extent is my life and work in harmony with the teachings and sacramental life of the Catholic Church?

2. Do I exemplify and lead others to a faithful and prayerful approach to liturgical music in both rehearsals and in liturgies, seeking the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit?

3. To what extent am I living out, in my life and work, the great commandments of the love of God and neighbor?

Comments _____
_____
_____

Prayer for Church Musicians and the Renewal of Sacred Liturgical Music in the Catholic Church



May they thus be filled with the fervent love of God and all those whom they serve, especially those in greatest need. May this love impel them to be good stewards of the sacred liturgy and its music, so as to humbly reveal the glory of God and draw all people of good will to conversion and communion with God in Christ.

May they rediscover and deepen their understanding of our sacred music heritage, and so foster its continued vitality and growth. And may composers, deeply rooted in this heritage but also keenly aware of the needs and capacities of people today, bring forth new inspired works which resonate with holiness and beauty in the hearts and minds of all those who hear and sing them.

May all church musicians be prayerfully diligent in the development and application of their knowledge and skills in the art of sacred music. In so doing may their music be, as it were, a worthy sacred icon which effectively points away from itself to the glory of God, for the sanctification and edification of all.

And wherever the need might exist, may our liturgical music be cleansed of all elements that are not in harmony with the dignity of the Mass, and its grace-filled, reverent, faithful, and loving celebration.

In communion with the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the angels and saints, we ask these things through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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Repertory

The Acorn and The Oak Tree: Dietrich Buxtehude's Influence on Bach and Today's Church Musician

Imbued with a Catholic sensibility to reverence the wounds of Christ, this oratorio provides a profound meditation on Our Lord's suffering and death.

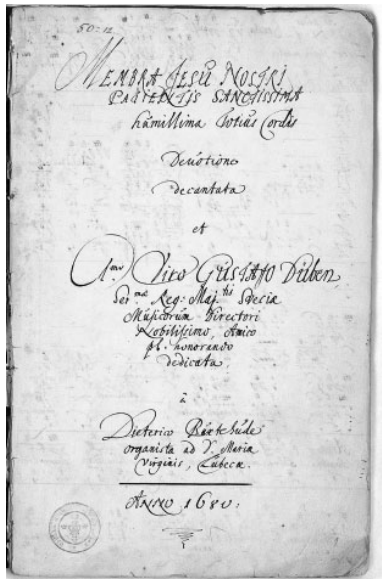
By Elizabeth Lemme

For most musicians, the name "Dietrich Buxtehude" is most often associated with Johann Sebastian Bach's epic journey to learn from the master organist. "Young Bach! He travelled 250 miles north," explain the music history professors, "in the autumn no less, on foot! Just to study with Buxtehude!" And aside from the mention of *Abendmusik* and perhaps the establishment of the Lutheran Oratorio, there is little else mentioned of Buxtehude. "Buxte-who?" However, in Dietrich Buxtehude's music, in particular his oratorio *Membra Jesu Nostri Patientis Sanctissima*,[1] there is more to unearth about this composer than just an influence on Bach. Why did Bach copy, by hand, a pile of Buxtehude's manuscripts, and haul them back down from Lubeck to Arnstadt? Why did Bach risk losing one of his first jobs by staying a full four months to study with and perform for Buxtehude, who was in the winter of his life? Why was Buxtehude visited also by the likes of Handel and Telemann? What has driven performances even today of this relatively obscure composer?

One clue to answer these questions is found in Buxtehude's inscription on the title page of his *Membra Jesu Nostri*. In this inscription, he exhorts the performers of his music to sing with *humillima totius cordis*, or "whole-heartedly with the humblest devotion." This encapsulates the religious fervor and devotion of Buxtehude. Young Bach would have noticed and absorbed such tokens of devotion from his aged mentor while copying his manuscripts. As for the musical content of Buxtehude's work, one finds its echoes in the extremes of intimacy and exuberance in the work of Bach and others. From the music of Buxtehude, therefore, a

[1]The most holy limbs of our suffering Jesus.

Elizabeth Lemme is a mother, artist, and musician (M.M. University of Nebraska), who resides with her husband and three children in Nebraska.



kernel took root in the twenty-something Johann Sebastian Bach. This kernel grew and developed into Bach's massive, oaken masterpieces, whose limbs have burgeoned into the realm of today's church musician. Buxtehude's ravishing Lutheran oratorio, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, begs a careful study because of the devotional and aesthetic enrichment it offers the modern-day church musician, just as it did for Johann Sebastian Bach.

In *Membra Jesu Nostri Patientis Sanctissima*, the texts selected by Buxtehude are remarkable not only for their exquisite content, but also for the way he masterfully organized them into a contemplative haven for the listener. From these texts, Buxtehude built an innovative cycle of seven cantatas, comprising an oratorio for use outside the liturgy.[2] It is sung by an intimate ensemble of singers (SSATB) accompanied by violins, viols de gamba, and continuo. Much of the text was taken from the medieval poem, *Salve Mundi Salutare.* This endearing, devotional poem was attributed for a time to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, but more recently has been ascribed to the Medieval poet Arnulf of Leuven.[3] From this poem, Buxtehude selected the stanzas which address the wounds of Christ's body: the feet, knees, hands, side, breast, heart, and face. Each of the seven wounds are thus musically portrayed in ascending order beginning with his feet and ending with his face. In addition to *Salve Mundi Salutare*, Buxtehude also selected texts from sacred scripture which allude to Christ's wounds. These scriptural texts deliver a unique, poetic beauty to *Membra Jesu Nostri*.[4]

The structure of the cantata cycle depicts each of the seven wounds of Christ in a memorable way.[5] Buxtehude's ordering of the wounds from feet to face directs the listener's gaze in an upwards gesture to meditate upon the suffering, crucified Christ. Within this overall ascending gesture, each cantata invites the listener to pause in contemplation upon each wound. An instrumental sonata opens each cantata and introduces the prevailing mood.

[2]Here, "cantata" is not meant literally as the church cantata as it was used in the Lutheran liturgy. The cantatas comprising Buxtehude's *Membra Jesu Nostri* resemble the six-movement form of the cantata, but were not meant for use in the liturgy. By the term "oratorio" is meant a work based on scripture and poetry for soloists, choir, and instrumental ensemble. The oratorio was a popular genre shared by both Catholics and Protestants in the Baroque Era.

[3]Hugh Henry, s.v. "Salve Mundi Salutare," *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. 13 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912) <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13408a.htm>.

[4]It is worth noting that this is Buxtehude's only cantata whose entire text, both scripture and poetry, is in Latin.

[5]Dietrich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri Patientis Sanctissima*, ed. Martin Straeten, Duben Collection, Petrucci Music Library, International Music Score Library Project.

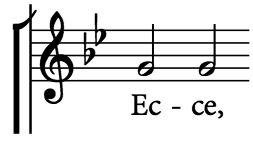
This brief introduction is followed by a painterly concerto of instruments and voices. These striking, memorable concertos which begin and end each cantata imbue it with emotive power, ravishing ornamentation, thick textures, rich counterpoint, and compelling melodic lines. The concertos function almost like the melodically expressive and neumatic antiphons which frame the more sparse, syllabic psalms of the Divine Office. These concertos are the gem in *Membra Jesu Nostri* as they carry the affective weight of the text and illustrate each unique emotion in a Baroque style through the compositional technique of word painting. Following the concerto are three arias set to *Salve Mundi Salutare*. By contrast, these arias clip along at a pace which keep the text moving in its natural rhythm with relatively simple and lightly ornamented melodies. They are strophic, thinly homophonic, and unified by a repeating bass line. Finally, a reprise of the imagery-laden concerto acts as a bookend to each cantata, closing the illustration of the wound before moving on to the next. This structure is the same for each of the seven cantatas, excepting the last, which ends with an exuberant "Amen" rather than the reprise of the opening concerto.

I. *Ad Pedes* (At the Feet)

1. Instrumental Sonata
2. Concerto: *Behold upon the mountains the **feet** of him that bringeth good tidings, and that preacheth peace!* (Nah. 1:15).[6]
3. Aria: *Hail, salvation of the world, Hail, hail, dear Jesus! On thy cross would I hang, truly, thou knowest why, give me thy strength.* (*Salve Mundi Salutare*)
4. Aria: *The nails in thy **feet**, the hard blows and so grievous marks I embrace with love, fearful at the sight of thee, mindful of thy wounds.*
5. Aria: *Sweet Jesus, merciful God I cry to thee, in my guilt show me thy grace, turn me not unworthy away from thy sacred **feet**.*
6. Reprise of concerto

In the first concerto of the cantata addressing the wounded feet of Christ, the instruments introduce two contrasting ideas. First, two unadorned half notes (Figure 1) act as a trumpet call or heralding of forthcoming news. Second, a sprightly motive is propelled upwards through skipping rhythmic figures. When the voices enter, they take upon these contrasting ideas. The two slower note values are placed with the words *ecce*, *pedes*, and *pacem* in a thick, homophonic treatment, illuminating the main ideas of the Scripture text from the prophet Nahum.

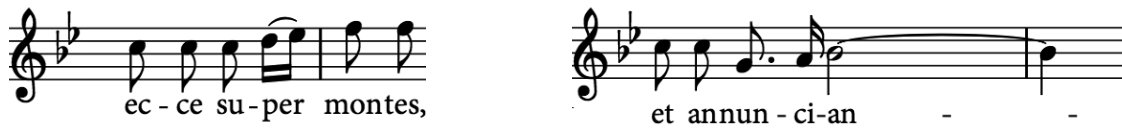
Figure 1: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 1, *Ad Pedes*, m. 14



[6]All quotations from scripture are taken from the Douay-Rheims translation.

The skittery, ascending motive is placed with the text *ecce super montes*, as well as *et annuntiantis,* in a layered, contrapuntal treatment (Figure 2). These running lines, ascending gestures, and dotted and skipping rhythms embody the élan of "the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings."

Figure 2: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 1, *Ad Pedes*, m. 15, and mm. 21–22

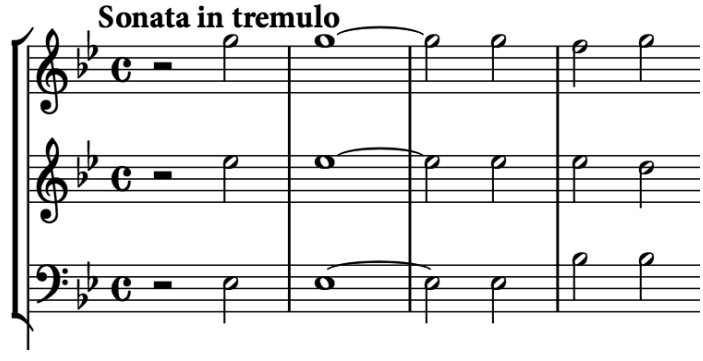


II. *Ad Genua* (At the Knees)

1. Instrumental Sonata
2. Concerto: *You shall be carried at the breasts, and upon the* ***knees*** *they shall caress you* (Isa. 66:12).
3. Aria: *Hail Jesus, king of saints, hope of sinners' prayers, like an offender on the wood of the cross, a man hanging, true God, bending on failing* ***knees****!*
4. Aria: *What answer shall I give thee, vile as I am in deed, hard in my heart? How shall I repay thy love, who chose to die for me, lest I die the second death?*
5. Aria: *That I may seek thee with pure heart, be my first care, it is no labor, nor shall I be loaded down: but I shall be cleansed, when I embrace thee.*
6. Reprise of concerto

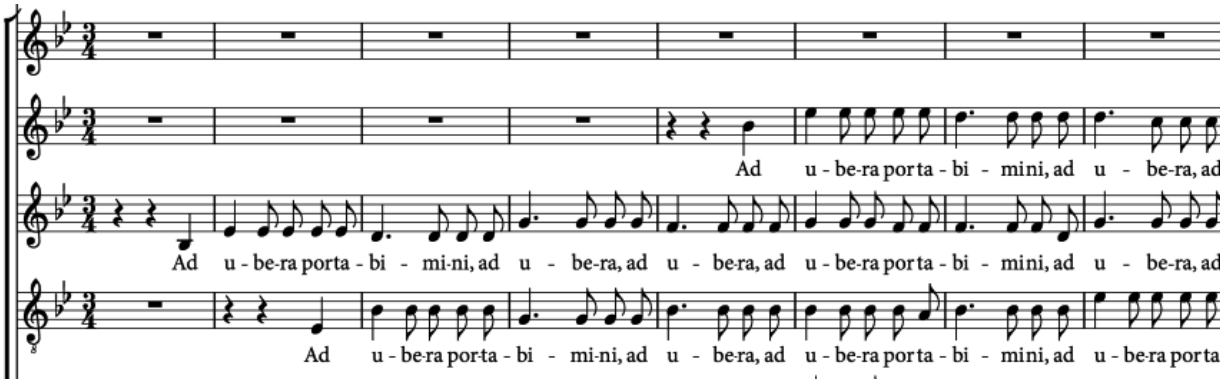
In the second concerto addressing the knees of Christ, the violins closely nudge the string *in tremolo* while moving in small, subtle increments (Figure 3). This *in tremolo* gesture together with the warm strings timbre lends a smooth, caressing sound; a motion reminiscent of a mother rocking her child.

Figure 3: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 2, *Ad Genua*, mm. 1–4



When the voices enter, the time signature changes to ternary almost imperceptibly and seamlessly. This lilting time signature combines with the gentle, *legatissimo* melodic contours to lend a maternal, consoling quality to this concerto set to "You shall be carried at the breasts, and upon the knees they shall caress you." The voices layer imitatively, bathing the listener in lush, warm, and sweet intervals of thirds and sixths (Figure 4, see below).

Figure 4: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 2, *Ad Genua*, mm. 29–36

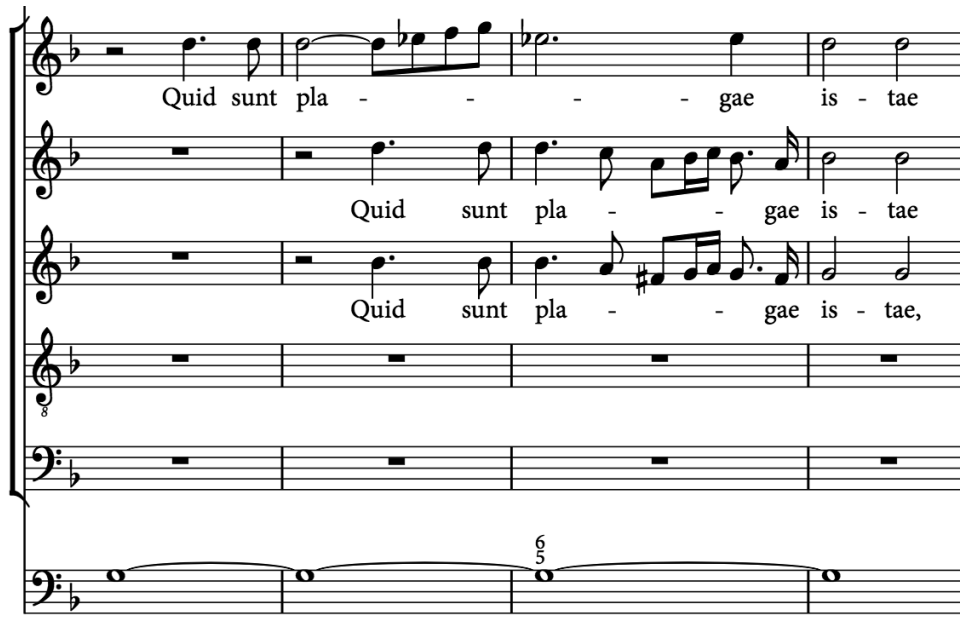


III. *Ad Manus* (At the Hands)

1. Instrumental Sonata
2. Concerto: *What are these wounds in the midst of thy **hands**?* (Zech. 13:6).
3. Aria: *Hail, Jesus, good shepherd, wearied in agony, tormented on the cross, nailed to the cross, thy sacred **hands** stretched out.*
4. Aria: *Holy **hands**, I embrace thee, and, lamenting, I delight in thee, I give thanks for the terrible wounds, the hard nails, the holy drops, shedding tears with kisses.*
5. Aria: *Washed in thy blood, I wholly entrust myself to thee; may these holy **hands** of Thine defend me, Jesus Christ, in the final dangers.*
6. Reprise of concerto

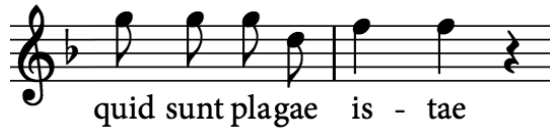
In the third concerto addressing the hands of Christ, two musical ideas are starkly juxtaposed yet contain the same text: "What are these wounds in the midst of thy hands?" The first time this arresting question is sung, it is strung in slow, dissonant, suspended intervals of seconds (Figure 5) which cut straight to the heart. A pedal point on G in the lower register of the continuo creates a dark backdrop to the E flat, D, and B flat, and later A and F sharp suspended against it.

Figure 5: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 3, *Ad Manus*, mm. 14–17



The second time the question *quid sunt plagas istæ* is sung, there are four eighth notes articulated like four hammer blows (Figure 6). These pointed musical remarks musically allude to the nails hammered into Christ's hands.

Figure 6: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 3, *Ad Manus*, mm. 18–19

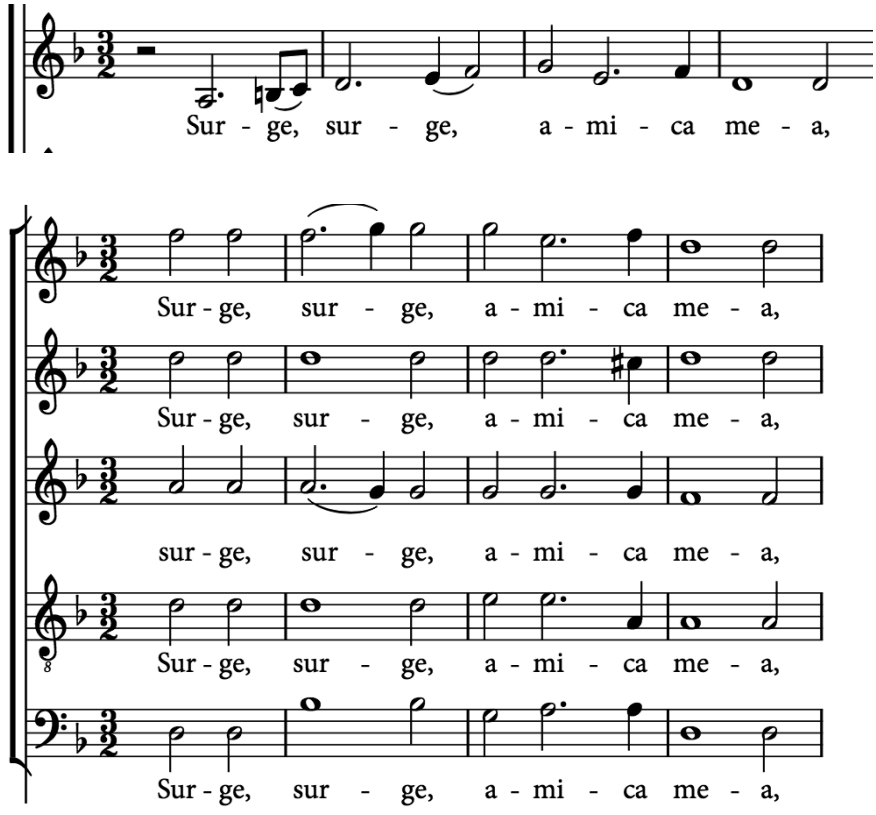


IV. *Ad Latus* (At the Side)

1. Instrumental Sonata
2. Concerto: *Arise, my love, my beautiful one, and come: My dove in the* ***clefts*** *of the rock, in the* ***hollow places of the wall*** (Cant. 2:13-14).
3. Aria: *Hail,* ***side*** *of the Saviour, in which the honey of sweetness is hidden, in which the power of love is exposed, from which gushes the spring of blood that cleans the dirty hearts.*
4. Aria: *Lo I approach thee, pardon, Jesus, if I sin, with reverent countenance, freely I come to thee to behold thy wounds.*
5. Aria: *In the hour of death, may my soul enter, Jesus, thy* ***side****, hence dying may it go into thee, lest the cruel lion seize it, but let it dwell with thee.*
6. Reprise of concerto

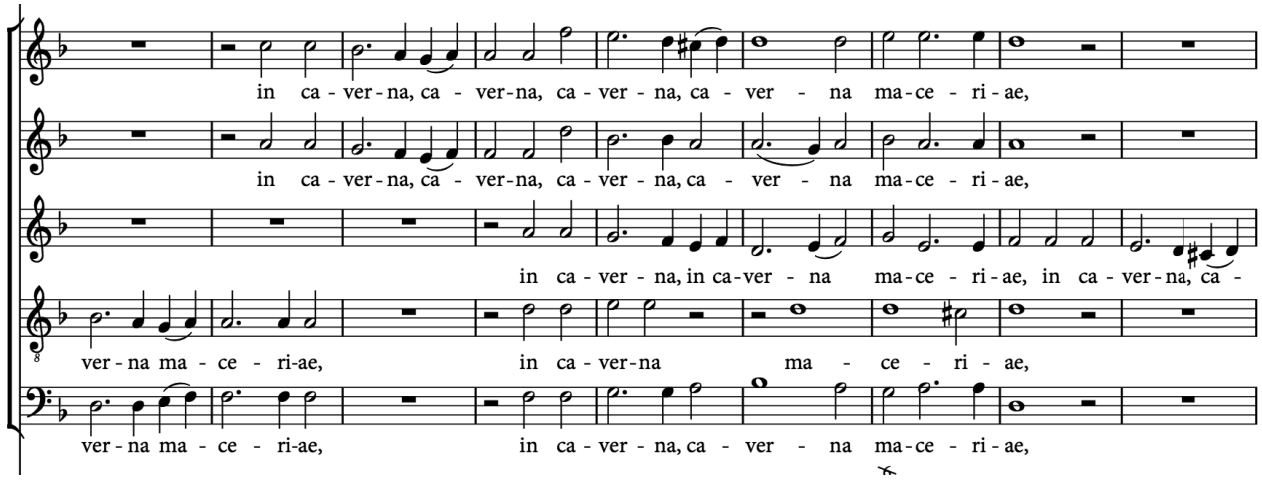
In the fourth concerto addressing the side of Christ, the instrumental sonata introduces leaps of an octave set to a skipping rhythm. Like the opening cantata which exclaimed *ecce*, this cantata exclaims *surge*. Following the countertenor's lone, winding, growing, and staggeringly lovely and ravishing *surge amica mea*, a thick, homophonic blast of all the voices spanning a wide range echo the beckoning (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 4, *Ad Latus*, mm. 16–19, and 20–23



A break from the homophonic texture draws attention to *in caverna maceriæ*, which is tossed from voice to voice, hiding the text (Figure 8). This contrapuntal treatment invites the listener to contemplate the mystical cleft of the rock as the sacred side of Christ.

Figure 8: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 4, *Ad Latus*, mm. 57–65

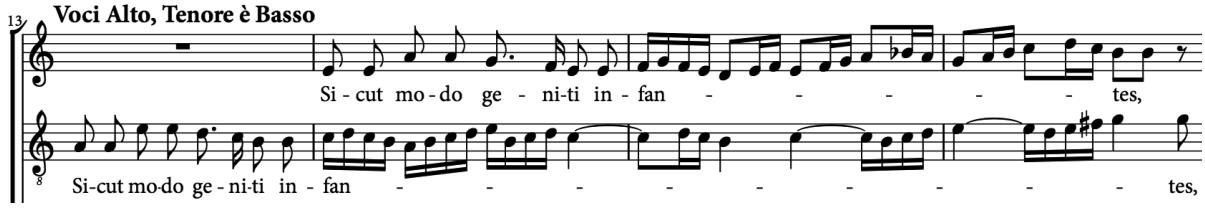


V. *Ad Pectus* (At the Breast)

1. Instrumental Sonata
2. Concerto: *As newborn babes, desire the rational milk without guile, that thereby you may grow unto salvation: If so be you have tasted that the Lord is sweet* (I Pet. 2: 2–3).
3. Aria: *Hail God, my salvation, sweet Jesus, my beloved, hail,* ***breast*** *to be revered, to be touched with trembling, dwelling of love.*
4. Aria: *Give me a clean* ***breast****, ardent, pious, moaning, an abnegated will, always conforming to thee, with an abundance of virtues.*
5. Aria: *Hail, true temple of God, I pray, have mercy on me, thou, the ark of all that is good, make me be placed with the chosen, rich vessel, God of all.*
6. Reprise of concerto

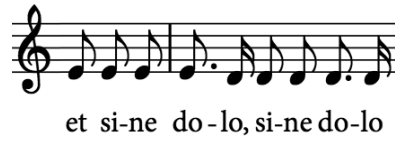
In the fifth concerto addressing the breast of Christ, the intricacy of the counterpoint lends an intellectual flavor, alluding to "the milk of reason." In the subject of a three-voice fugue, the word *infantes* is expanded across a long, meandering line (Figure 9). All the winding voices then meet up at *rationabile* in a homophonic texture.

Figure 9: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 5, *Ad Pectus*, mm. 13–16



The text *sine dolo,* or "without guile," is set to a two-note slurred motive which is sing-songy and almost playful, like a timeless nursery rhyme (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 1, *Ad Pectus*, mm. 25–26

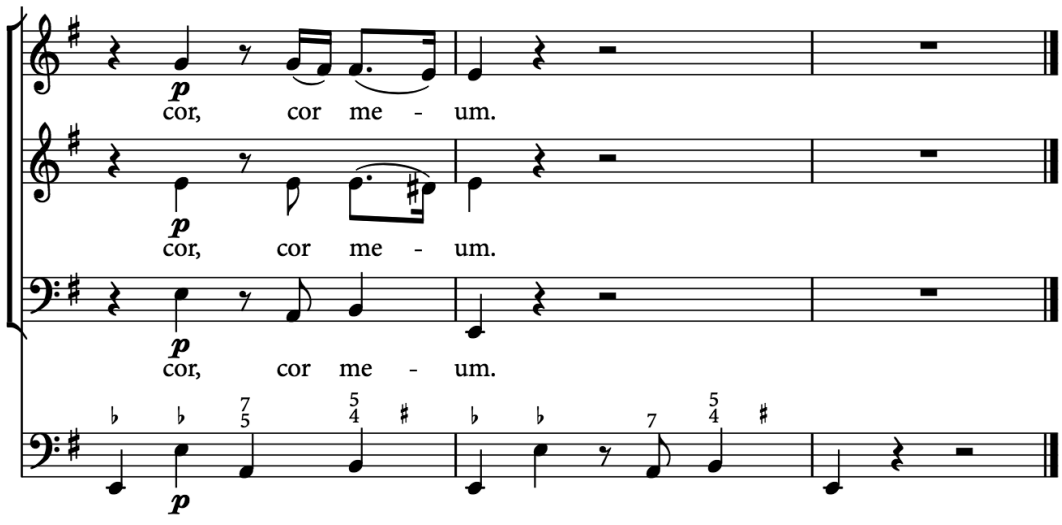


***Ad Cor* (At the Heart)**

7. Instrumental Sonata
8. Concerto: *Thou hast wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse, thou hast wounded my heart* (Cant. 4:9).
9. Aria: Heart of the highest king, I greet thee, I salute thee with a joyous **heart**, it delights me to embrace thee and my **heart** aspires to this: that thou movest me to speak to thee.
10. Aria: *Through the marrow of my **heart**, of a sinner and culprit, may thy love be conveyed by whom thy **heart** was seized, languishing through the wound of love.*
11 Aria: *I call with the living voice of the **heart**, sweet **heart**, for I love thee, to incline to my **heart**, so that it may commit itself to thee, in the breast devoted to thee.*
12. Reprise of concerto

In the sixth concerto addressing the heart of Christ, a consort of viols de gamba introduce a stately, regal theme in dotted rhythms. The viols de gamba are akin to the courtly musicians of a king, as it says later in the aria, "Heart of the highest king, I greet Thee." This noble theme juxtaposes with a slower dialogue between the two sopranos and the bass, with a poignant appoggiatura to highlight the word *vulnerasti*. Full of sighing motives, the delicately ornamented melody reminds the listener of the bride "bedecked with jewels" of the Psalms. Accompanying "you have wounded my heart, my sister, my bride," is a repeated eighth note pattern in the strings, swelling in dynamics like that of a heart throbbing with passion. At the conclusion of the concerto, however, the repeated "heartbeat" pattern is broken up, shattered by rests, and placed on the offbeats (Figure 11). Ending thus so abruptly, Buxtehude movingly illustrates here Christ's wounded heart has ceased beating.

Figure 11: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 6, *Ad Cor*, mm. 144–146

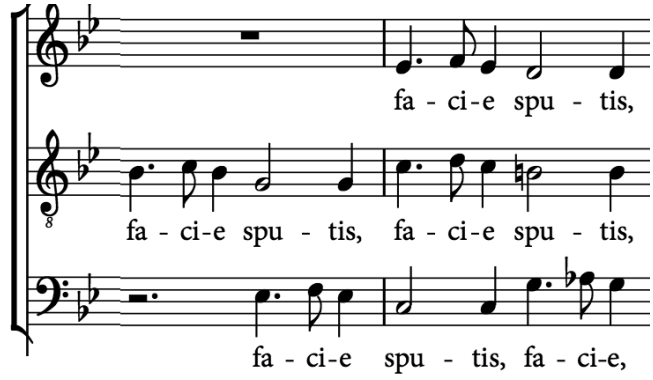


VI. ***Ad Faciem*** **(At the Face)**

1. Instrumental Sonata
2. Concerto: *Make thy* ***face*** *to shine upon thy servant; save me in thy mercy* (Ps. 31:17).
3. Aria: *Hail, bloodied head, all crowned with thorns, beaten, wounded, struck with a cane, the* ***face*** *soiled with spit.*
4. Aria: *When I must die, do not then be away from me, in the anxious hour of death come, Jesus, without delay, protect me and set me free!*
5. Aria: *When thou command me to depart, dear Jesus, then appear, O lover to be embraced, then show thyself on the cross that brings salvation.*
6. Concerto: Amen.

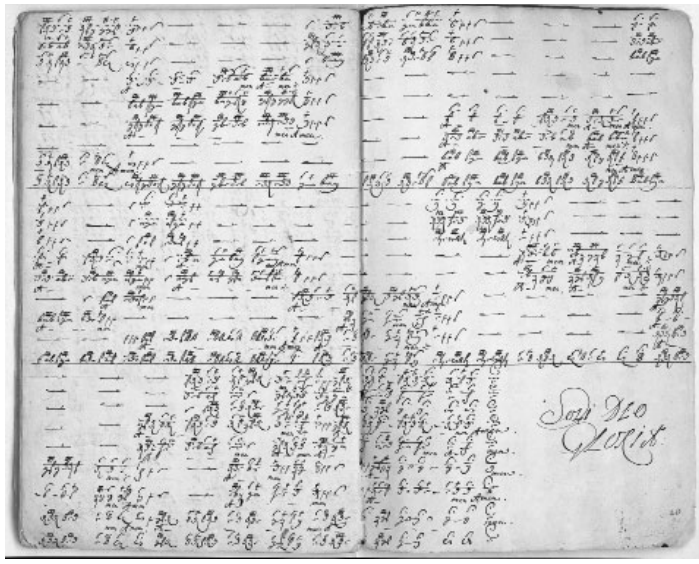
In the seventh and final cantata, it is the aria which most dramatically addresses the face of Christ with the abrasive sounds "f," "ch," "sp," "t," and "s" in *facie sputis* (Figure 12). These harsh consonants literally sound like spittle.

Figure 12: Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, no. 7, *Ad Faciem*, mm. 52–53



This is echoed in the violins with bowings that grab and catch the string. The angular melodic contours paired with the text depict the violence that afflicted Christ. Blows, the crown of thorns, and other instruments of Christ's sacred passion all are expressed in the violent quality in the articulations, such as hammering and percussive bow strokes. However, unlike the other cantatas, the concerto of this cantata and its violent recollections of Christ's torture are not repeated but rather replaced with a victorious *Amen*. The Amen, with its rushing, cascading, ornamented lines ultimately end on a glorious, Picardy third. According to the Doctrine of Affections so prevalent in music from the Baroque Era, the Picardy third often symbolizes reaching this fullness of divine joy and thus, in *Membra Jesu Nostri*, a foreshadowing of the glorious Resurrection.

As if the notated "Amen" wasn't enough to end this masterpiece, Dietrich Buxtehude decidedly ended it with the following inscription: *Soli Deo Gloria*.



It is commonly known that Bach ended his compositions with the extraordinary *Soli Deo Gloria* inscription. But where did young Bach receive the idea? The devotion with which *Membra Jesu Nostri* is imbued extends beyond its historically Lutheran parameters to a church which knew not yet a Martin Luther, but rather the likes of the Carmelite mystics Sts. Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross with their poetic interpretations of the Canticle of Canticles. The text of *Salve Mundi Salutari* drips with endearing piety and is substantiated upon the church's monastic tradition of espousal to Christ. Buxtehude's artistic associations of scripture with *Salve Mundi Salutare* demonstrates a typological and deeply mystical experience of the faith which surpasses the denominational barrier drawn by Protestantism. Bach's compositions were profoundly influenced by the contemplative devotion of his mentor, Buxtehude. It is a devotion like Buxtehude's which flowed into the soulful, sighing lines of *Erbarme Dich* of Bach's St. Matthew's Passion. It is the exuberant streams of cascading triplets of the *Membra Jesu Nostri* "Amen" which breathed trace amounts into the exuberance of Bach's *Magnificat*. The spiritually rich and compelling musical material of Buxtehude's *Membra Jesu Nostri* has indeed grown from a small kernel into the family tree of Western music history in which church musicians of today abide. ❖

Lætare, Jerusalem: An Introit on an Archaic Text

The older version of the text seems specially suited for the stational liturgy of the day.

by William Mahrt

Traditionally in the midst of each of the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent there is a Sunday which provides temporary amelioration of the penitential character, briefly turning to rejoicing. The organ is once again played, and flowers are placed on the altar—things prohibited in the rest of the season. Violet vestments are replaced by rose-colored ones (they are *not* pink), and the introits of the days exhort the listeners to joy: *Gaudete* in Advent and *Lætare* in Lent, which chants give each Sunday its conventional name.

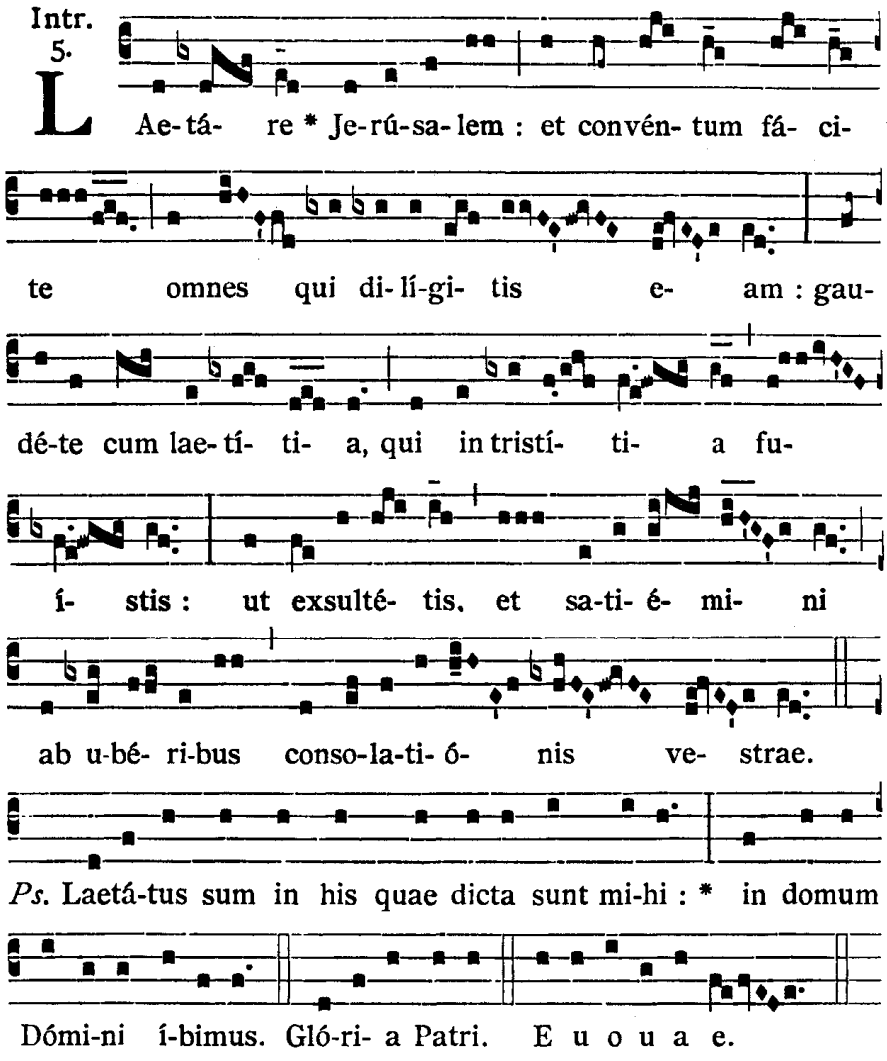
The text of an introit antiphon is generally a psalm from the St. Jerome's Vulgate Psalter in the "Gallican" version, though occasionally it is from the pre-Vulgate "Roman" version,[1] which shows a few slight variations in wording, suggesting an older source for the chant. On the Fourth Sunday of Lent, however, the introit antiphon *Lætare, Jerusalem*, is a text from Isaiah; moreover, it is not the Vulgate text but rather it is found in the *Vetus Latina*—several pre-Vulgate translations which circulated before St. Jerome's Vulgate[2]—and this

[1]There are three principal traditional Latin versions of the Psalter: the oldest translations from the Septuagint (Greek), are part of the pre-Vulgate Bible called *Vetus Latina;* the "Roman" psalter was once thought to have been St. Jerome's first version, but is now accepted as a pre-Vulgate version, St. Jerome's first translation having been lost. The "Gallican" psalter was St. Jerome's second translation from the Greek and became the dominant version in most of Europe, though the Roman Psalter remained in use in Italy until the tenth century. St. Jerome made a third translation, from the Hebrew, but it received very little liturgical usage; see Scott Goins, "Jerome's Psalters," *Oxford Handbook of the Psalms,* ed. William P. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 185–98, here 188, 192. The variations between the two versions for chants are slight, but the chants often employ the Roman one. For the Fourth Sunday of Lent, only the offertory shows this difference: from Ps. 134:3 the Gallican shows "quia bonus Dominus," while the Roman shows, "quia benignus est Dominus," cf. Jaques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Quincuplex Psalterium* (1513), reprint, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 170 (Geneva: Droz, 1979), p. 214.

[2]Cf. *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel,* vol. 12/2, *Esaias,* ed. Roger Gryson [Louvain], (Freiburg: Herder, 1987–97), pp. 1623–1625. This is a collation of eleven sources for the book of Isaiah which precede St. Jerome's Vulgate version from the Hebrew. They include African and Spanish traditions, more ancient and more recent ones, as well as citations from Fathers of the Church, Tertullian, Augustine, et al. and the Latin texts of the hexapla (originally two Hebrew and four Greek texts, attributed to Origen).

William Mahrt is the president of the CMAA and the editor of Sacred Music.

Introit, Fourth Sunday of Lent *Is. 66: 10, 11; Ps. 121: 1*



version of the introit text differs from St. Jerome's Vulgate text of Isaiah more significantly than the usual psalm variants of other introits.

Lætare Sunday has a significant context, which suggests the choice of this text of the introit: the liturgies of the Roman stational churches.[3] A procession and Mass took place at a designated Roman church, principally each day during Lent, beginning with Ash Wednesday and including Good Friday and Holy Saturday, but also several other days in the year.[4]

[3]This was suggested briefly in Dominic Johner, *The Chants of the Vatican Gradual*, tr. monks of St. John's Abbey (Collegeville, Minn.: St. John's Abbey Press, 1940), p. 137 <https://media.musicasacra.com/pdf/chants_johner.pdf>.

[4]Stational Churches in in the first printed Roman Missal, *Missale Romanum* 1474, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 17 (London, 1899): Advent I, II, III, Advent Ember Days, Wed., Fri., Sat., Advent IV; Christmas Eve, Midnight, Dawn, & Day; St. Stephen, St. John, Holy Innocents, the Octave of Christmas [Circumcision], Epiphany, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, Ash Wed.,

Translation	Introit text (Vetus Latina)[5]	Vulgate (Jerome)[6]	Translation
Rejoice, O Jerusalem, and make a gathering, all you that love her; rejoice with joy, you that have been in sorrow: that you may exult and be filled from the breasts of your consolation.	**Lætare Jerusalem: et** *conventum facite* **omnes qui diligitis eam: gaudete** *cum lætitia*, **qui** *in tristitia fuistis*: **ut** exsultetis, **et satiemini ab uberibus consolationis** *vestræ*.	Lætamini cum Jerusalem, et exsultate in ea, omnes qui diligitis eam; gaudete cum ea gaudio, universi qui lugetis super eam; ut sugatis et repleamini ab ubere consolationis ejus, ut mulgeatis et deliciis affluatis ab omnimoda gloria ejus.	Rejoice with Jerusalem, and be glad in her, all you that love her: rejoice for joy with her, all you that mourn for her. That you may suck, and be filled from the breasts of her consolations: that you may milk out, and flow with delights, from the abundance of her glory.

On these days the people and clergy gathered at a church in the vicinity and made a procession to the designated stational church for Mass. This Mass included a rather ceremonial introit, including the pope's appointing the lectors in the sacristy, a long procession to the altar, incensation, and the exchange of a greeting of peace. This procession was accompanied by an antiphon and a psalm, whose verses were

Th., Fri., Sat., Lent I, M., T., Lenten Ember Wed., Th., Ember. Fri., Ember. Sat.; the Sundays of Lent, each with all of its following weekdays: Lent II, III, IV, Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, [no station mentioned for Good. Fri., Holy. Sat.]; Easter Sun. M., T., Wed., Th., Fri., Sat, & Octave of Easter; a single form for Rogation Days [but not Ascension.], Pentecost, M., T., Pentecost Ember Wed., Th., Ember Fri., Ember Sat.; [following the 17th Sunday after Pentecost] Autumn Ember Wed., Fri., Sat. There are no rubrics in the Sanctorale—not even Marian feasts, feasts of Apostles, of the Holy Cross, Anunciation, Purifiation, Transfiguration. The Tridentine *Missale Romanum* (Rome, 1570) additionally gives stations for Good Fri., Holy Sat., and the three days of Rogation and Ascension. These stational Masses were observed until the transfer of the papacy to Avignon in the fourteenth century; they did not really survive the return to Rome, though the naming of the stational churches was retained for each day in missals until the time of the Vatican Council, e.g., "Station at St. Peter." However, recently a group of seminarians at the North American College has established a kind of revival during the days of Lent.

[5]Boldface are from the principal pre-vulgate European traditions; italics are from subordinate pre-vulgate European traditions. Cf. *Vetus Latina* (note 2 above). This is a collation of eleven sources for the book of Isaiah which precede St. Jerome's Vulgate version from the Hebrew. They include African and Spanish traditions, more ancient and more recent ones, as well as citations from Fathers of the Church, Tertullian, Augustine, et al. and the Latin texts of the hexapla (six versions of the Hebrew Bible, four translated into Greek, attributed to Origen)

[6]Underlined texts show portions of Jerome's Vulgate which concur with Vetus Latina texts of the introit.

[7]Dom Prosper Guéranger, O.S.B., *The Liturgical*

sung until the ceremony was completed, when the choir then sang the Gloria Patri and repeated the introit antiphon.

On the Fourth Sunday of Lent, the stational church was the Basilica of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, a particularly important pilgrimage church which contained relics of the crucifixion—part of the inscription from the top of the cross, thorns from the crown, part of a nail, and pieces of the wood of the cross. More important is that when this church was originally constructed, earth from Mount Calvary was brought to the site, so that it was considered to be "in Jerusalem."[7]

The initial word of the introit, "Lætare" is singular imperative and thus addresses Jerusalem directly, represented by the very church; this differs strikingly from the Vulgate text "Lætamini," plural imperative, which would have addressed the congregation. The subsequent text, "et conventum facite," exhorts the listeners to make a gathering, exactly what was happening in gathering to process to Jerusalem. These two aspects of the archaic text suit the occasion so well that one might speculate that the older wording was chosen specifically for the particular liturgy.

Several of the texts of the Proper of the Mass that day make direct reference to Jerusalem. The psalm verse of the introit is the first verse of Ps. 121, "Lætatus sum," (I rejoiced at the things that were said to me: we shall go into the house of the Lord). The subsequent verses of this psalm make repeated reference to Jerusalem, so that the function of the first verse is as a cue to the rest of the psalm, which in the stational liturgy would have been sung out; the communion antiphon on this day is a direct, though mysterious, reference to Jerusalem. Likewise, the tract uses the stability of Mount Sion (Jerusalem) to describe the one who confides in the Lord, while its second verse turns to a remarkable melodic description of mountains on "Montes in circuitu ejus." The epistle for the day contrasts Mount Sinai, which is below, with that Jerusalem which is above, about which is written "Rejoice" (Gal. 4:25–26).

The mode-five melody of the introit focuses upon the *F-a-c* triad, using a *b*♭ in a rise of a perfect fourth and to enhance the stability and pleasing quality of the text, and includes an ebullient rise upon "Jerusalem" at the beginning. In two places, a subsequent focus upon *b*♭, including an ascent by way of a quilisma, creates a particular affective expression: first, on "qui diligitis eam" (you who love her), the contrasting third *G* to *b*♭ sets off that phrase, especially "diligitis"; then after a reiteration of the third *a* to *c*, it turns again to the *b*♭, focusing mainly upon the half-step *a* to *b*♭, giving an affective expression of "you who have been in sadness"; this then is followed by the phrase, "that you may exult and be satisfied," which rises to the melodic high point of the piece, an expressive peak centering momentarily upon the b♮ which beautifully transcends the temporary sadness of the *b*♭. All of this is perfectly congruent with rejoicing in the midst of a penitential season, with reference to the basilica which represents Jerusalem in Rome. ❖

Year, vol. 5, Lent, tr. Dom Laurence Shepherd, O.S.B. (Dublin: Duffy, 1870; reprint, Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1952), p. 314. Dom Guéranger gives many interesting details about the day; he relates the rose-colored vestments to the custom of the pope giving a golden rose on that day.

Reprint and Translation

The Role of the Liturgical Organist of the *Grand Orgue*

Gregorian chant must be a spiritual and musical source for the Catholic organist.

by Joseph Bonnet

Translator's note: The following address, given at the Sacred Music Congress in Paris in December, 1932, was originally printed in an abbreviated English translation in The Cæcilia *(vol. 63, no. 5, May, 1936, pages 207–209). It served as the inspiration for Charles Tournemire's masterwork* l'Orgue Mystique*, and is a magnificent exposition on the role of the Catholic organist in the sacred liturgy. It is reprinted here in a complete version and new translation by Jennifer Donelson-Nowicka, having originally appeared in full in* Revue Grégorienne *(vol. 8, January 1923, pages 2–11).*

[p. 2] Homage to His Eminence Cardinal Dubois.

My most reverend father,[1] ladies, gentlemen,

Before directly addressing the subject of my talk, I have a duty of gratitude to fulfill towards His Eminence Cardinal Dubois, Archbishop of Paris. A few days ago, His Eminence gave me hope that he would be present here; today, more serious duties have called him elsewhere, but the monks of Solesmes are not dispensed from expressing their gratitude to him.

Gregorian melodies have long since found in him first a friend, an admirer—then, with God's help, a devotee, a powerful protector; the Holy See had not yet imposed them, but already, as priest and canon of the church of Le Mans, he greeted with joy and hope the first works which were, through many obstacles, finally to bring about their restoration.

How can we not be interested in these works, since it is precisely in the original diocese of His Eminence that they were slowly being developed!

In Le Mans itself, Canon Gontier, in his *Method*, laid the foundations of the theory that the famous *Gregorian Melodies* of Dom J. Pothier, monk of Solesmes, still in the diocese of Le Mans, were to develop, clarify, and later illuminate.

The appearance of the first *Liber Gradualis* and of the Antiphonary by the same

[1]The Reverend Dom Cabrol, director of the congress.

Joseph Bonnet (1884–1944) was organist at Saint-Eustache in Paris and founded the organ department at the Eastman School of Music during his temporary residency in the United States.

author filled him with happiness. It was the same with all the publications of Solesmes, either scientific, such as the *Paleógraphie Musicale*, or practical, such as the more studied editions, which, clinging tightly to the melody, the rhythm, and the notation of the oldest manuscripts, made execution easier, more expressive, and more pious too.

Until then, the approval was personal—private, so to speak. But, very quickly, the Lord, by elevating Bishop Dubois to the honors and responsibilities of the episcopacy, put him in a position to proclaim and apply his convictions. He was lacking in nothing. Wherever Providence carried His Grace—in Verdun, in Bourges, in Rouen—he highly recommended the works of Solesmes; if needed, he defended them in public letters, which, for us, were rewarding and precious encouragement.

The motu proprio of Pius X and the publication of the Vatican edition were for His Grace a sort of justification for all he had done, and especially for all his dedication to Solesmes. He was happy [p. 3] to see the presidency of the Pontifical Commission entrusted to the Most Reverend Dom Pothier, and the editorial staff to Most Reverend Dom Delatte and the monks of Solesmes.

Finally, arriving at the summit of honors and dressed in the cardinalatial purple [*pourpre cardinalice*] as the archbishop of Paris, His Eminence wanted to crown his efforts with the publication of a memorable letter on Gregorian chant; this letter resounded throughout the whole world and received the most beautiful praises from Pius XI. I would be ungrateful if, in the name of Solesmes, I did not thank His Eminence deeply for the honorable mention, made in this letter, of the monks of Solesmes and their work.

The motu proprio of Pius X and the publication of the Vatican edition were for His Grace a sort of justification for all he had done, and especially for all his dedication to Solesmes.

His Eminence does not stop at *words*, he requires *actions*. In order to ensure the precise realization of his thoughts, he appealed to the devotion of one of the dearest friends of Solesmes, to one of my dearest pupils, the Reverend Father Dom Maur Sablayrolles, and said to him: "Here is my diocese, go, work." You have gotten to know Dom Sablayrolles, and he would be mad at me if I publicly praised him. I will only say that you can have the greatest confidence in his teaching. This is yet another of the Cardinal's kindnesses towards Solesmes. And isn't this congress again a shining mark of his benevolence: everyone knows it; he wanted that, in terms of Gregorian chant, it should be "Solesmian"! And the words spoken yesterday here in this room, can I forget them? And this moving evocation of the memory of Dom Guéranger, this reminder of the work of Dom Pothier and the monks of Solesmes?

All these favors have been known for

a long time, but never, until now, has the opportunity presented itself to us to publicly thank our venerable protector. I seize it today with eagerness, and, on behalf of the monks of Solesmes, I express to His Eminence our deepest gratitude for the remarkable honor of his constant approval.

The Role of the Liturgical Organist of the *Grande Orgue*.

We are happy to offer our readers the full text of the extremely remarkable address made by Mr. J. Bonnet at the recent congress in Paris. If there are organists who seek above all to shine, even at the expense of the office to which they lend their assistance, Mr. Bonnet is not one of them. It pleases us to see the ideas which are dear to us defended by an undisputed master of the art of the organ. L. R. (*from the original publication in* Revue Grégorienne)

My most reverend father, ladies, gentlemen,

I begin this talk with a preliminary statement. My claim is not to reveal new things to you. Rather, I propose to remind you of certain ideas put forth, before me, by very authoritative musicologists [p. 4] and liturgists, ideas to which I am happy to publicly give the sincere and unreserved support of an organist of the *grand orgue*.

First of all, allow me to tell you how the very lively taste for and love of the liturgy came to me. As a child, I was driven by an ambition: that of being able to play the pieces of the great organ repertoire without much worry, I admit, of liturgical requirements, and I even felt my dignity wounded when some old organist (a colleague of my father's) asked him, pointing to me: "Does he know how to accompany the plainsong?"—"What a strange question!" I would have answered willingly. . . How could a grave and serious thirteen-year-old organist have been interested in such small things? I must say, in my defense, that in the various churches of Bordeaux, and in particular in the parish where, very young, I was organist, the plainsong was neglected and the true liturgy itself afforded very little honor. It took the providential opportunity for me to be invited to assist one day at a Solemn Mass at the major seminary of my hometown. An excellent friend, a passionate servant of the liturgy, watched over it with jealous care for the strict ordering of the ceremonies and the chant. I will remember all my life the deep impression of that High Mass at six o'clock in the morning when, for the first time, I heard the restored Gregorian melodies, during a service in which all parts were fully sung. It was, for me, like a revelation, the revelation, as an organist, of the *Ignoto Deo*.

The complete office, proper and ordinary, having been—I repeat—entirely sung without the alternation of the organ, at the Kyrie, at the Gloria, at the Sanctus, at the Agnus, an alternation to which I was accustomed and so dearly attached; this office, I say, left me, to my great surprise, with no impression of monotony. Quite the contrary! It was, for me, an unsuspected horizon of beauty and order, which spoke at the same time to my reason and to my heart.

In this atmosphere bathed in liturgy, I sensed the role of the *grand orgue* in a Catholic office. Later, we had the great joy of assisting at the incomparable Benedictine offices which, with an assiduous reading of *The Liturgical Year*, completed their boun-

teous work. This work by Dom Guéranger should be the bedside book of all artists. It would be a light for them, and their inspiration would benefit from it, because the liturgy is the great school of aesthetics.

I

It is impossible to speak of the liturgical role of the *grand orgue* without treating of the relations between the organist and the singing choir, schola, or choirmaster. In principle, organists and choirmasters, we all want the good [p. 5], but it would be desirable to seek it where it really is and to subordinate our activity to the rules of the church. Now, there is one point on which we should all agree: that of devoting ourselves generously and faithfully to the service of the liturgy; this concern must come before any other. Our first concern should be to ensure that all parts of the Mass are chanted in full, not only the parts that are usually sung in all churches, but also those that are too often omitted: the gradual, the offertory, the communion; and that the organ interludes not be played, at Vespers, until after the antiphon has been sung in the choir. In other words, the organist should not play immediately after the *Sicut erat* of the psalm, but wait until the antiphon has been repeated by the choir.[2]

This first point is the bare minimum, and the most essential. Allow me to insist: I have always been struck by a flagrant anomaly: for Sundays of the year, for example, when the antiphon is simply intimated by the habit of not being sung at the end of the psalm, and instead being replaced with an organ interlude. One arrives at this singularity having heard the first words of this antiphon, and that these first words remain suspended, awaiting the completion of the meaning which never comes. Here then is a first wish: all the parts of the liturgical office must be sung or, at least, chanted *recto tono*.—This wish can only be realized through the close and cordial collaboration between organists and choirmasters. The latter will have to prepare, with meticulous care, all the parts, including the most humble, of the service, never treating the Gregorian chant like a poor relation for the benefit of the performances of figured music. It is unfortunately not rare that one spends hours preparing a mass in music[3]

Here then is a first wish: all the parts of the liturgical office must be sung or, at least, chanted recto tono.

[2]"I don't know," says Maurice Emmanuel, "that one can authorize oneself, by means of the *Cæremoniale*, to substitute the organ for the repetition of the antiphon: *In Vesperis solemnibus organum pulsari solet in fine cujuslibet Psalmi*. But the psalm, at vespers, is inseparable from the antiphon. The end of the psalm is the end of the triad: antiphon—psalm—antiphon, and not the end of the versets!" (See Maurice Emmanuel, *Traité de d'accompagnement model des Psaumes*, ed. Janin.)

[3]In speaking of "mass in music" I follow the custom and current language which uses this denomination to designate masses in modern or Palestrinian music. But I don't mean to imply by that that a

and that one does not even give a few minutes to the preparation of the Gregorian pieces. The organist, for his part, should wholeheartedly make the sacrifice of the time necessary for the chant or the psalmody of all the pieces (for the offertory, for example).

[p. 6]

II

Which pieces to choose for the great organ? Obviously, it would be ideal if each organist were an excellent improviser, but, in practice, how many does one know who are capable of orderly, artistic improvisations, and of a nature to promote piety.

How many, even among the best, could in the long run abstain from more or less rigid formulas? Pius X, let us not forget, demanded that the Christian people pray in beauty. This beauty we find realized in the beautiful pages, among many others, of Frescobaldi, of Titelouze, or in the calm and gentle chorales of Bach or Buxtehude. The repertoire of organ pieces on Gregorian themes is immense. Long before Bach, the forms that the great cantor developed were created by our organists from France, from Italy, and from Spain. These pieces, after centuries, have remained moving, beautiful, and of a very religious inspiration, and we cannot bless too much the memory of my venerated master Alexandre Guilmant for having transmitted to us this precious heritage which lay dormant in the dusty boxes of libraries. As for Bach, although he was German and Protestant, he was subject to the very conscious influence of the Latin Catholic genius; we know that he copied with his own hand entire works by Frescobaldi, Couperin, de Grigny, and so many others of our masters who had endeavored to make flow into their compositions for organ all the Gregorian juice—I was going to say: all the substantive Gregorian marrow. We also know that Bach composed pieces in which the character of the plainchant clearly dominates.

Certain various chorales, certain preludes very obviously denote in Bach an intense religious feeling and not only because they sprang from a Christian soul, but because the destination, the choice, and the direction of their primitive motives bind them intimately to the exercise of the liturgy, and we can say that no organist has ever commented on it with more magnificence and lyricism. Thus Mr. Gastoué was able to write that of all the organists, Bach is "the one who, in the highest degree, possessed in the broad sense of the word the Catholic spirit."[4]

Without doubt, and I do not dream of denying it, remembering about the words of Leo XIII: "the church does not need our lies": among the musical forms which lend themselves best to the development of profound feelings, at the organ, we must give pride of place to the chorales of Bach and other Lutheran organists of his time.

But I claim, and in this I am happy to add to the critical proofs furnished by musicologists the *confirmatur* of an organist who, [p. 7] more out of taste than out of professional necessity, lived for a long time in the intimacy of Bach and the primitive masters of the organ. I claim that while the organ chorales developed in Germany with and

pure Gregorian mass is not . . . music. I maintain, on the contrary, with Vincent d'Indy "that Gregorian chant is the principle of all musics" and above all by "the form."

[4]A. Gastoué, *La musique d'église,* ed. Janin.

since Protestantism, most of their inspirational motifs had already been used by our old master precursors to Bach on forms created by them.

Of course, I do not have to praise Bach here. For many years now his work for organ has become more familiar to everyone, and this is to be welcomed. However, a pitfall is to be avoided: certain organists are tempted to seek in his works only virtuoso pieces. They play at the offertory, at the elevation, at communion—fugues and brilliant preludes which should only be performed as an *entrée* or *sortie*, or reserved for spiritual concerts. It would, in fact, be betraying the intentions of Johann Sebastian Bach, a deeply pious man, to execute them during divine services.

About these nuances of interpretation in Bach, I say only two words, because this idea would require long explanations.

Some believe that they are escaping any fault in style by playing with mechanical insensitivity—this is a mistake. Others misuse the sentiment, changing, without any reason, the rhythm and sonority: this is another mistake. Finally, and most importantly, the organ pieces of Bach should not be played too quickly, nor with reed stops that are too loud, because the polyphony would become confused and would risk degenerating, as André Pirro says, in a "tumult of swirling harmonies and dry rhythms." *Pleins jeux*, mixtures and foundations—here is the registration suitable for the works of Bach. Bach, Widor told us, played with his body leaning a little forward, motionless, with an admirable rhythm, an absolute polyphonic ensemble, a marvelous clarity, not fast, master of himself and so to speak of time, giving the idea of incomparable grandeur.

In the choice of the repertoire of liturgical organ pieces, one should be very meticulously careful, as their beauty and charm are far from sufficient. Some pieces by our old masters are really too melodic in character; others, by their picturesque character, would be appropriate at most only at Christmas time or at the very joyous periods of the liturgical year.

To clarify my thoughts on this point, I will say that two great forms of organ music are authorized to be heard in church: liturgical form, properly so called, on the one hand, and on the other, a form that could be called decorative.

Two great forms of organ music are authorized to be heard in church: liturgical form . . . and a form that could be called decorative.

Just as the church has always recognized the progress of the arts, and as, alongside works of a strictly liturgical character, she likes to see [p. 8] those simple or grandiose works appear which charm or enthuse the soul; thus the organist can, with holy and austere pieces, mix other pieces of less rigid inspiration, which have the right of citizenship to the temple, where "those seem to frame, support, decorate the holy office,

like the walls, the arches, the columns, the stained glass windows of the cathedrals . . ." They wouldn't know how, it is true, to cross the formidable barriers of the sanctuary and climb the steps of the altar—this privilege being reserved to pieces which are purer, more virginal, more separated from the world, more free from creation, and which, essentially "praying and meditating," become, so to speak, one with the altar stone, the sacred vessels, the ornaments and the symbolic vestments—can alone, therefore, be authorized to penetrate beyond the veil, to accompany liturgical functions; such harmonies, full of sweetness and holiness, as the hymns of Cabezon, Titelouze, de Grigny, the *Ricercares* of Palestrina, the sublime elevations of Frescobaldi, certain chorales of Bach or the *Cantabile* of César Franck—but however deprived they may be of the privilege of accompanying the Lamb wherever he goes—not being marked with the seal of perfect virginity—they are nevertheless the ornament of the mystical city, and thus have the right to precede, at least, or to follow, if they cannot accompany them, these same liturgical functions—such are the marvelous toccatas and fugues of Bach or Buxtehude, the great pieces of Franck, those of Clérambault, of Couperin.[5]

If I dared, Gentlemen, I would express on the subject of instrumental pieces, the wish that a sincere and talented artist, utilizing the repertoire of Gregorian melodies, would compose a "liturgical year" for the organ, in the spirit of that which Dom Guéranger wrote for the text. The use, in fact, of Gregorian themes in organ music by an organist-composer, musically well-endowed and nourished by the liturgy, would be a guarantee of beauty and would ensure liturgical-musical unity.

A guarantee of beauty.—Let us suppose an artist in full possession of his craft; if he has the good inspiration to take his general theme from the immense repertoire—an inexhaustible reservoir of beauty—of the Gregorian cantilenas, and to fertilize his work in the warm atmosphere of liturgical life, there is a good chance that these compositions are something other than annoying platitudes.

The use of the Gregorian theme would also ensure **liturgical-musical unity**. And this is, in my opinion, of the utmost importance.

As I read last night, in the report of the Strasbourg congress, under the expert pen of M. l'Abbé Brun, everyone understands [p. 9] that an office will gain in beauty and meaning if the pieces or responses of the organ . . . are inspired by one or more themes heard in the Gregorian melodies of the day. And there will be, moreover, through this music, this pious and restful perfume which one finds in the pure line and in the tonality of the old monody. Some modern artists have fortunately already worked in this direction: Chausson, d'Indy, Ropartz, de Séverac, in their antiphons for vespers; Guilmant, in the collection of l'*Organiste liturgiste*; Widor, in his two Romanesque and Gothic symphonies, and in his second symphony; Joseph Erb, in his two sonatas and various other pieces; Paul de Maleingreau in his *Opus Sacrum* and in his Christmas and Passion symphonies; but what we need is a complete "liturgical year" for the *grand orgue*.

[5]L'abbé J. Turcotte and Joseph Bonnet, program notes for the feast of St. Cecilia in the cathedral of Trois-Rivières (Canada), 1921.

III

As long as the people have not resumed their active participation in liturgical services, the eminent dignity of the organist of the *grand orgue* will be to speak on behalf of this mute people and to strive to replace the collective voice absent from the faithful in its alternations with the choir.

Here, I must not hide from you my preferences, which are those of the church herself. I wish, with all my heart, that our people of France will relearn how to sing in our churches, and that all the parts of Mass and Vespers would be fully sung, the faithful responding collectively to the song of the choir, for the Kyrie, for the Gloria, for the psalms, etc.

And I declare it in all sincerity: to hear the people sing their prayers in our Catholic churches, as I heard this dear people of Alsace in the cathedral of Strasbourg, at the congress of 1921, singing with one voice; however much I passionately love my art and my profession as an organist, I am ready to impose silence on my organ, and this not only because I want to obey the desire of the church, but also because the most perfect organ played by the most ideal organist—even an angel descended from heaven—will never replace the voices of assembled Christians, voices that God created for his praise.

Unfortunately, it is a fact that the people are silent in most of our churches. It would be the most precious result of this congress if it could create a movement in favor of liturgical song by the people and by the people as a whole.

While waiting for the faithful to take back their rightful place in the churches in terms of singing, the organist of the *grand orgue* must strive to be that collective voice of the faithful. Is there a more honorable role?

[p. 10]

Let me explain. The organist should not consider himself at his organ as a soloist, as an isolated being. Above all, he must avoid anything which could make his playing appear to be an individual and egotistical art.

How will he do it? By remaining constantly united to the office and by never losing

The organist must tend to discipline the multiple voices of the organ to make it express the unity of the Christian community praying collectively.

sight of the Gregorian monody, to discover little by little the collective principle and the fraternal character, the social or sociological character, for according to the judicious remark of Mr. Camille Bellaigue, "In reality it is the solo more than the melody that is egotistic and, in a unison choir, the plurality of singers redeems the individualism of the song. The numerous in unison and, consequently, the plainsong, this is perhaps the sociological music par excellence." "Listening to the nuns and monks of Solesmes," continues Mr. Camille Bellaigue, "I thought that their admirable choir is the ideal of Gregorian chant, but that it is also only a sketch. This art is not only made for the elite: it needs the crowd like the crowd needs it."

"Such a Kyrie, such a Sanctus, admirable in Solesmes, would be sublime under the vaults of Paris or Chartres, intoned by thousands of voices. A symphony of stone, it has often been said of a cathedral; yes, because it comes entirely from a primitive form to which relate and submit multiple derived forms. And undoubtedly a cathedral is also the masterpiece of a deeply sociological art. However, when one links homophonic music to mute polyphony, be it the *Stabat* or the *Parce Domine* that rises and fills the naves, then one can decide whether perfect unanimity is best expressed by the concert of lines or by the identity of the sounds."[6]

Likewise, the organist must tend to discipline the multiple voices of the organ to make it express the unity of the Christian community praying collectively, singing with one heart and with one soul, "that they may be one as my Father and I are one," says the Lord. The voices of Gregorian unison, be it five hundred or five thousand, are one in this way. So it must be with the voices of the organ.

The sounds and combinations of the foundations, of mixtures, of the *grands jeux*; the fugal style, polyphonic style, that of the severe trio, or the canon—will respond better, generally to the idea of collective prayer, while the playing of a solo or a detail treated melodically could often recall private prayer. In the latter case, however, the gravity of musical thought may redeem this impression.

I conclude: let us work to shape a liturgical soul for ourselves; it would be the surest way for us to contribute to making our churches, in all truth, the house of God and of sung prayer. Our constant concern, our ambition, should be to make nothing heard in our [p. 11] Catholic churches, which was not like an outline of the "dolce sinfonia di Paradiso" heard by Dante.

And we don't see in these words a poet's dream. Dante, speaking thus, was the mere echo of a great voice. It confirmed the belief and the promise of Saint Thomas Aquinas: "Credibile quod post resurrectionem erit in Sanctis laus vocalis" (It is believable that after the resurrection the saints will sing the praises of God).

Dante even assures us that the voice of the blessed, this voice that they will once again have "put on," will be more alive than that of the living—in which he again showed himself to be faithful to the doctrine of the Angelic Doctor, according to which all our faculties must, after the resurrection, achieve their full development. And in fact, at the mere memory of the celestial hymns, Dante's soul melts, and to repeat them, his imagination, he said, would have too much vivacity, his words too little sweetness.

So that with all our minds and with all our hearts, all of us church musicians, organists and choirmasters, must strive, without ceasing, to sketch here below the "dolce sinfonia di Paradiso" of Dante; doing thus we will have merited well for God and for the church, and we will also have worked good for ourselves—since Dante, who had known the best musicians of his time, is happy to find them, and to listen to them again in purgatory and in paradise, since he did not put a single one in hell. May the vision of the immortal poet come true for all of us musicians here!

Joseph Bonnet,
Organist of the *grand orgue* of
Saint-Eustache ❖

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[6]C. Bellaigue, *Les Époques de la Musique*, vol. I, ed. Delagrave.

Last Word

On *Traditionis Custodes* and Redeeming the Time: Some Personal Reflections

Is it possible that people love the old Mass simply because of its obvious reverence and transcendtal orientation, not bringing with this love any attached baggage?

by Kurt Poterack

I grew up a typical, suburban teenager in the 1970s—at least, fairly typical. Perhaps the only major exception was that I went to Mass on Sunday, my family being Catholic. I was neither impious nor devout. I suppose I really did believe the basic tenets of the faith—to the extent to which I knew them (bad catechetics being the order of the day)—but I had other things on my mind. I did have a great love for music and, in the years that followed, I variously wanted to be a high school band director, a jazz musician, and an avant-garde classical composer. Becoming heavily involved in sacred music was something that neither I nor anyone who knew me at the time would have predicted.

We went to a parish in my teen years which featured a choir that appeared no more than once a month, which was just as well. It consisted of a group of people that sang, among other things, music which was somewhat like Contemporary Christian Music. This, apparently, was meant to appeal to young people. It only recently occurred to me that there were no young people in the choir.

At any rate, what we heard most Sundays was a woman who simultaneously cantored and played the organ. However, the instrument which she played was not the grand pipe organ in the loft but, I believe, a little Hammond B3 organ—the kind featured in night clubs. It was tied into the general sound system and placed up front in the area where the St. Joseph's side altar would have been. It made sense in an odd way because she had herself been a night club singer in her younger years. When she played and tried to lead us in singing the effect was, as they say, "interesting."

Though I was not a fan, I do not think that I had particularly strong objections to her performances. Come to think of it, when *The People's Mass Book* was your only alternative, it was pretty hard to be too offended. I really didn't know any better. I

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knew a handful of traditional hymns but was a stranger to any sort of chant, for example. Many years later, I discovered that in the 1950s the parish had a renowned men and boys choir that sang Renaissance polyphony. Famous enough to have been known throughout the nation, at least in Catholic liturgical music circles—as an older priest from another midwestern state told me once. I bet the boys and some of the men were still alive and in the pews with me in the mid-1970s. They must have been suffering. I would have been totally oblivious.

When I went to college—a nominal Catholic college in the town I grew up in—I had a life-changing experience. I was majoring in music education with an emphasis on instrumental music. However, I was talked into singing in a small choir. We were approached by a break-away High Church Anglican parish to sing at one of their Masses. There was a middle-aged lady in our choir who explained to me that their "Mass" would be very much like our pre-conciliar Mass, except using traditional English rather than Latin. I was prepared to dislike it. To this day I cannot remember if it was something in her tone of voice or just a prejudice which I had picked up on my own that "pre-conciliar" meant "bad."

I dutifully went to the Vigil Mass at my parish the day before and then on Sunday morning assembled with the choir at the junior high school in which the Anglican group was renting a room for their chapel. So, it was not a grand architectural setting. However, they had brought their own altar, tabernacle, and communion rail. They even had an actual pipe-organ—though probably a small Moller *Artiste* (or something similar). The point is, these people *cared*. It was a small flock—not more than fifty people. However, the sense of the sacred was palpable. Their Mass was celebrated *ad orientem*; they were reverent and actually seemed to pray quite devoutly; they knelt at the rail to receive communion. The priest was quite solemn in his demeanor—no joking around or affected familiarity. I described my experience to my parents later that Sunday, asking them, "If this is what our Mass used to be like, then why was it changed?" They had no answer.

What got to me was a strong experience of the sacred from the celebration of the liturgy itself that convinced me that this *was the way to worship God.*

I think that it was just a low Mass, with us singing our pieces in the place of the four hymns. So, it wasn't a profound experience of sacred music that got to me. That was to come later. What we sang was decent, but it wasn't Palestrina. What got to me was a strong experience of the sacred from the celebration of the liturgy itself that convinced me that *this* was the way to worship God. It was sudden and immediate and took me by surprise. It was even contrary to the slight prejudice that I, in my total ignorance, had against a traditional approach to the liturgy. Now this was before *Anglicano-*

rum cœtibus (2009); as far as I know, this group never made it into full communion. It was also before *Summorum Pontificum* (2007), *Ecclesia Dei* (1988) and, I believe, two to three years before *Quattuor Abhinc Annos* (1984).

It was *long* before there was talk of a "reform of the liturgical reform" and a "new liturgical movement."

Now, was I responding to "[some of those] significant elements and endowments which together go to build up and give life to the church itself, [that] can exist outside the visible boundaries of the Catholic Church"—to quote Vatican II's document on ecumenism? I think so, but I really had no thoughts about Vatican II one way or the other at that point. It was an epiphany, an experience of the numinous—of the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*—that was powerful enough to ultimately change my career plans and keep me on that path through thick and thin. But boy, I was to learn much to my surprise that some of these "significant elements" which "give life to the church," were irretrievably bound up with other negative things for some people.

Let me give a few examples.

About ten years later I was a member of an informal Gregorian *schola* which a kindly priest had allowed to sing at an otherwise English Mass on Saturday mornings. All we usually sang was the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei—although, at various times we also sang a communion and/or an introit. I noticed that every time we started to sing, an older gentleman in the pews would get up and leave. Sometimes he would audibly stamp his feet on his way out. Once he confronted us as we entered the church before Mass, clenching his fists and saying, "It's too hot for Latin!" (It was a bit muggy that day, but the unintended humorous absurdity of his remark has stayed with me to this day.) Finally, he disappeared from the Mass entirely. A mutual acquaintance told us that this man was hit very hard by the liturgical changes in the 1960s and didn't want to be reminded of those times.

A few years later the same *schola*, more experienced now, was invited to sing a full, Novus Ordo Latin Mass at another parish which had been started by the new, young pastor. As we were rehearsing before Mass in the church basement, a man walked by. Right as he passed by us, he said quite loudly, "Yeah, we tried that stuff forty years ago. It didn't work then, and it's not going to work now!" Was he yelled at and berated by a nun in 1947? Did a priest slap him in 1951?

Finally, much later, I conducted the music for a Tridentine Wedding Mass for a young couple. Afterward the father of the bride came up to me and said, "Thank you for doing the music for this . . . this . . . " He gestured oddly with his hand and had a slight look of disdain on his face. (I honestly thought that he was going to spit out the word "*thing*.") However, he quickly recovered and just said, "Thank you for doing the music for my daughter's wedding."

He was no liberal.

In fact, he was a known doctrinal conservative. A great opponent of the "*Spirit* of Vatican II." A man who had labored mightily to promote the proper interpretation of Vatican II and all that went with it. Significantly, this included the liturgical changes, which he wanted celebrated as reverently as possible. He had fought many battles and

could not understand his daughter and son-in-law's fascination with the "pre-conciliar" Mass. This was not where it was at. They seemed to be rejecting his life's work.

But were they?

Or were they simply responding to a beautiful and holy offering to God, crafted over centuries, and, this is key, *doing so without any baggage attached*—much the same way that I responded when I was their age to that High-Church Anglican Mass with its "pre-conciliar" elements? I was part of the first generation of Catholics raised right after Vatican II. I had no baggage, no "issues" with the pre-conciliar Church or liturgy, let alone liturgical features (communion rails, *ad orientem* altars, etc.) associated with it. People younger than me have proven themselves even more inclined to respond positively to liturgical tradition.

This, however, strongly annoys men of a certain generation like the father of the bride mentioned above. He was a layman. However, there are still many clerics of this generation and they are not necessarily doctrinal liberals. Vatican II and the reforms that followed were a major part of their lives as seminarians and young priests. This had great emotional resonance for them. If something doesn't have "approved by Vatican II" stamped on it, it can become problematic—especially something as symbolic as the liturgy. I am convinced that it was clerics of this generation that persuaded Pope Francis to issue *Traditionis Custodes*.

However, as one wise bishop recently observed, while there is clearly the hope in the papal motu proprio that "[the pre-conciliar liturgy] will fade away . . . I don't think it will fade away." To complete his thought, the *youngest* of that generation of clerics for whom Vatican II was a highly personal, symbolic event are nearing seventy years of age. That "seal of approval" is going to have less and less significance for future bishops—and popes—as time moves forward. This is already the case for many young priests. They just want to be Catholic—as do their lay counterparts. There will come a time when an honest appraisal of the liturgical situation will become much more possible. It has already begun. I just think that Pope Benedict was, in a sense, a touch premature with *Summorum Pontificu*m. I am glad he issued it, but it was too much of a painful thorn in the side of many who, still having influence, have outlasted him. But no generation lives forever this side of eternity.

Vatican II was a highly personal, symbolic event. That "seal of approval" is going to have less and less significance for future bishops—and popes—as time moves forward.

In the interim, I think that the way forward should be a multi-pronged approach. By all means, if it is still possible to celebrate according to the 1962 liturgical books in your locale, do so—and do so as beautifully as possible. However, I would suggest that

where this is not possible, an old strategy be resurrected which has somewhat fallen into abeyance. Pastors should consider establishing a *novus ordo* Latin Mass, celebrated *ad orientem* with chant and incense and as in line with tradition as possible. There were priests like Monsignor Richard Schuler, former editor of this journal, who did this for decades before *Summorum Pontificum*. It inspired many priestly vocations and kept a lot of people going through some otherwise rough liturgical times.

Might I suggest this to pastors as a formula: for every extraordinary-form Mass that is suppressed worldwide, two *novus ordo* Latin Masses should be established—preferably in the same locale? It is just a suggestion, do with it what you will.

At any rate, if this is not feasible, consider establishing an English Mass according to the 1970 Missal and celebrated in as high, solemn, and traditional a way as possible (incense, beautiful music, *ad orientem*, male servers). Start to wean people away from hymns and do sung English Propers. There are currently some wonderful publications out there that have settings of the English Propers—e.g., Adam Bartlett's *Simple English Propers*, Fr. Weber's *The Proper of the Mass*, etc. If there must be hymns, then at least upgrade to better hymns. *The Adoremus Hymnal* would be my personal recommendation, but there are plenty of other hymnals that have come out since it was first published in the 1990s.

In other words, I am recommending the broad-based strategy which the Church Music Association (CMAA) has practiced since its founding in 1964 and continues to promote in its literature, workshops and colloquia.

Finally, encourage the revival of a true liturgical spirit among the Catholic people. Help them to see that the liturgy is not just "where you receive communion," but the "source and summit" of the Christian life in which the *ecclesia* offers perfect worship to the Father through Jesus Christ. If possible, celebrate Vespers, have processions, *sing* the liturgy. I cannot tell you what it adds when the celebrant sings his part. It is not hard. This is very important. If it is possible to move many Catholics away from seeing the Mass as a mere "canonical obligation" and place of private prayer to an act of solemn worship for the whole church, then our pain will have been worth something. Let us not put all our eggs in one basket and, above all, let us not give into despair. Sometimes, a little creative flexibility is precisely what is called for in these situations. Above all, let us redeem the time (Eph. 5:16). ❖

Encourage the revival of a true liturgical spirit among the Catholic people. Help them to see that the liturgy is not just "where you receive communion," but the "source and summit" of the Christian life.

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