The Musical Heritage of the Church

Volume II

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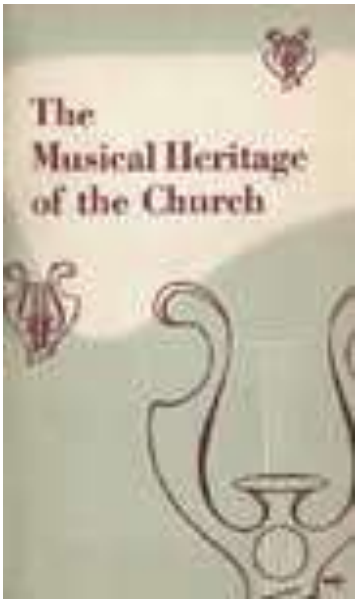

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Foreword

The question is often asked: Why must we go back three or four hundred years in order to find appropriate music for our churches today? One might answer: As human beings we live not only in the present, but also in the past and for the future, and inasmuch as history always serves life, we can only benefit from an intense study of the history of church music. The purpose of such study is to bring to life compositions of past years in order that the present may learn from the past.

Our approach is not antiquarian, but critical. We go back to our musical heritage not because it is old, but rather because it bears the stamp of genius. In the center of this music stands not the individual—not even the most pious man—but God alone and His glorification by man. It is a vast heritage, entrusted to the care of the Lutheran Church, but for the most part forgotten or not appreciated by the members of that Church.

During the nineteenth century a number of German scholars (Winterfeld, Tucher, Kade, Schoeberlein, *et al.*) tried to introduce into practice this musical heritage of the Church. They met with little success, for the nineteenth century was not ready, neither spiritually nor musically, for a renaissance in church music. This renaissance, however, began to flower in Europe, notably in Germany, some twenty-five years ago. Much credit for the revival must be given to the music scholars of Europe, who most diligently continued the work of their predecessors. These men found publishers for the great material of their research, but they also found an appreciative younger generation of organists, choir leaders, and singers who were most eager to acquaint themselves with this storehouse of the Church's musical treasure.

Unfortunately Europe's spiritual and cultural life has become demoralized as a result of the war, and a great movement for better church music has been retarded. Much of the published material on church music had, however, already found its way to America, and a number of prominent scholars came to this country, where they have continued their research in this field.

The music in our Lutheran Church of America today continues to present a picture of great confusion, and there is lack of knowledge concerning its true essence. We find all types of music represented, different styles and forms in which manifold spiritual ideas are expressed, many of which do not have the basis of our faith and life. Some men are groping uncertainly for ideas old and new, while others are satisfied with a self-righteous expression, based solely on subjective opinion or experience. With many the idea is uppermost that one should accept everything and anything so long as it pleases, so long as it meets the immediate requirements of a particular congregation or of this or that group within the congregation. Here the readiness of the congregation to accept certain types of music often dictates the policy of the church musician.

There has been a striving for timeliness in our church music. It was felt that the Church should arrange its musical service to fit certain tendencies of our time. A number of our churches have followed this principle. They have broken with the culture of the past and with the treasure of

song and prayer that has been handed down to us. They have promoted the idea that our religious cult should coincide with the language and the music of our day.

Realizing the need for a change in our approach to the problems of Lutheran Church music here in America, Valparaiso University sponsored its first Lutheran Church Music Conference during the summer of 1944. The results of this conference were published in a special pamphlet, entitled *The Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church.*

The essays presented herewith were read at our second conference, which met at Valparaiso University in August of last year. These essays gave opportunity for much earnest discussion from the floor. The Editor does not necessarily subscribe to all opinions expressed, but he is glad to present them to the public as an example of the work in church music being done at Valparaiso University. The conference adopted the following resolution:

"Amid the political and religious crises of our modern world, in which many feel that the Church's worship and music should break with the culture and spirit of the past and should be made to conform to the modern spirit, we, the members of this Church Music Conference, solemnly reaffirm Our devotion to the great musical heritage of the Lutheran Church.

"In these days we have become especially deeply conscious of the great trust which our God has placed upon us, the Church of the Reformation, by bestowing upon us the rich and unmerited blessings of the pure Word and its expression in truly religious worship and music, and we humbly recognize the solemn responsibility such a trust imposes upon us toward the entire world, namely, that we declare before all men the glories of this God-given treasure.

"We deplore the fact that so much of this glorious heritage has fallen into disuse among us through our neglect of this precious gift and through the intrusion of styles and forms of music which do not have as their basis our faith and spiritual life, but we thank God, the Father of our Lord Jesus, Christ, that He has not let this treasure become extinct among us, and we solemnly pledge ourselves, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to ever greater participation in our common and in our individual efforts to regain of our musical heritage what we have lost, to hold fast that which we have, and to make known among our fellow Christians our common treasure of Lutheran church music.

"To that end we as religious leaders of the Church dedicate our most earnest efforts toward instilling particularly in the youth of our Church a knowledge and a genuine appreciation of the Lutheran chorale and Lutheran church music.

"We recognize with deep gratitude the co-operation which Concordia Publishing House and Mr. O. A. Dorn have shown in the past year in helping to make our musical heritage available.

"We again recommend that systematic courses be introduced in our colleges and seminaries for the proper liturgical and musical training of our future pastors and teachers."

Theo. Hoelty-Nickel
Valparaiso University, June 1, 1946

The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood and Its Influence Upon the Liturgies and Music of the Lutheran Church

Walter E. Buszin

Part I

It is of the utmost significance that Martin Luther [1] practically from the very beginning [2] to the very end [3] of his career as Reformer of the Christian Church stressed the importance of two precious treasures of Christendom. The treasures I refer to are the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers and the art of music. Both have become a part of our great heritage, both exalt and inspire us as children of God and as beneficiaries of an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled.

Curiously enough, these two treasures are closely related to each other, the style, character, and spirit of the one having been determined in no small measure by the other. Strangely enough, both have been sadly ignored repeatedly in various eras of the Christian Church, and their efficacy and import have been and still are, woefully underestimated within our own Lutheran Church.

Although Luther was the first since Apostolic times [4] to hold high the banner of the doctrine of the universal priesthood and pointed to its import and efficacy in some of the most critical periods of his eventful life and in some of his most famous writings,[5] the glories of this doctrine did not receive due stress from most Lutheran theologians of later eras. In his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*,[6] Martin Chemnitz did little more than state that all Christians are members of the New Testament priesthood, and Johann Gerhard, in his *Loci Theologici*, did no more than state rather incidentally that Christians, as a royal priesthood, should offer up sacrifices to God, pray, give thanks, help the poor, mortify the flesh, and be willing to live and die as martyrs. I certainly do not wish to belittle these duties of the Christian, but I do wish to call your attention to the fact that these men did not point out the glories of royal priesthood as did Martin Luther, who consistently used this doctrine to call the attention of God's children to the blessedness of their high calling and to the glory of their estate.

Most dogmaticians followed in the footsteps of Chemnitz and Gerhard. Though the glories of the universal priesthood were given due prominence occasionally in Lutheran devotional literature of the 17th century, some of which was quite *schwärmerisch*, our scholars in the main had very little to say about it. One exception was Johann Konrad Dannhauer, the teacher of Philipp Jakob Spener. He linked up the Office of the Keys with the doctrine of the universal priesthood,[7] as Luther had done, and also in other ways presented the doctrine as Martin Luther had done. But to Spener especially must be given due credit for having rekindled interest in this precious doctrine of the universal priesthood, and we are happy to note that eminent theologians like Abraham Calov and J. G. Baier quoted from Spener's writings on this doctrine and approved of their content. Spener set forth his views concerning the universal priesthood in his famous *Pia Desideria* of 1675; the second *desiderium* treated in this opus bore the title *Wiederaufrichtung und die fleissige Uebung des geistlichen Priestertums.* Not content with this one presentation of the doctrine in question, Spener, in 1677, published another treatment of this theme, bearing the

simple title *Das geistliche Priestertum.* Like a true Pietist, Spener at times sentimentalizes this great doctrine, and for this reason his discourses and writings lack the strength and virility of Luther's treatment, who lost no opportunity to call attention to the splendor and grandeur of this doctrine.

The next great figure within the Lutheran Church who put great emphasis on the doctrine of the universal priesthood was our own Dr. C. F. W. Walther. In his sermons and writings, notably in his great classics *Kirche und Amt* and *Die rechte Gestalt einer vom Staate unabhängigen evangelischlutherischen Ortsgemeinde,* Walther, influenced strongly by Luther, presented the doctrine with the same fervor and spirit that had characterized the interpretation and presentation of the great Reformer. It is interesting to note in this connection that the doctrine of the universal priesthood was the first prize possession our forefathers had to fight for and defend in the backwoods of Perry County, Missouri, about a hundred years ago; and some years later, encountering difficulties with the Buffalo Synod, they were again obliged to enter the arena of ecclesiastical combat in the interest of this doctrine.

You are undoubtedly aware of the fact that there is a movement afoot in Protestant circles today to get away from liberal theology and to return to the fundamentals of the Christian religion. Only God knows to what extent this movement will approach sound Lutheranism, but I should like to mention that this movement was initiated and is being advanced largely by Protestant theologians of note who are studying carefully the writings of Martin Luther. Through the course of many years James Moffatt was seen daily in the balcony of the library of Union Theological Seminary of New York reading the Weimar edition of Luther's works. In class, Dr. Moffatt used to stress three points repeatedly: first, Luther was not hasty and impulsive, but a deliberate person; second, Luther knew the meaning and importance of the grace of God in Christ Jesus; third, Luther consistently held up before his followers the glories of their royal priesthood. Incidentally, I once heard Dr. Moffatt give a most wonderful illustration of the workings of the doctrine of the universal priesthood to a class of which I was a member: While a student at the University of Edinburgh, James Moffatt came to realize that he was drifting away from the Christian faith. He was troubled about this and knew not what to do. For some reason, however, he began to crave the companionship of a fellow student who was not at all brilliant, whose personality was not particularly attractive, and with whom he had never associated before. Moffatt, for some reason unknown to himself, confided in this young man and confessed to him his problem. Through the words and remarks of this young man the Christian faith of Moffatt was steadily strengthened, and he did not become an apostate. The royal priesthood was at work; the Holy Spirit singled out this young man, who seemingly had no special gifts of intellect or personality, and let him function as the priest to whom young Moffatt confessed his frailty and temptations.

Only recently I read a book, published in 1944, in which I found the following statements: "A second principle of classical Protestantism" [the first had been "the principle of unmerited and unmediated grace, the doctrine of justification by faith"] "is the priesthood of all believers, with its corollary, the right and duty of private judgment in matters of religious faith. This was the new dignity and liberty of the Christian man which Luther extolled and all the reformers

defended. For all the variety of church organizations in Protestantism, there is in them all a steady refusal to separate clergy from laity save in function. The Protestant cleric is ‘minister,’ ‘preacher,’ ‘rector,’ of a congregation rather than its ‘priest.’—This puts a direct responsibility on every Christian to wrestle with Scripture and theology, to be able to explain and defend the faith that is in him."[8]

This doctrine is part of our precious heritage, it has helped make the Lutheran Church great, just as the music of our Church, which is largely an outgrowth of this doctrine, has helped make the Lutheran Church a great and a rich Church. It is strange indeed that this grand doctrine is not more popular in our circles today than it is; that it is relegated by many to the realm of forgotten theory and is not used to elevate the spiritual and cultural standards of our Church as it was done by Martin Luther and C. F. W. Walther.

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The doctrine of the universal priesthood existed already in the days of the Old Testament and was taught in Old Testament Scriptures. Ex. 19:5–6 we read: "Now therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed and keep My covenant, then shall ye be a peculiar treasure unto Me above all people; for all the earth is Mine; and *ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."*

These words were addressed to all believers in Israel and not to the Levitical priesthood only. This priesthood existed already in the days of the Patriarchs, at a time when there was not as yet a Levitical priesthood. As priests, all true Israelites were to give instruction to their children [9] and sacrifice the paschal lamb.[10] This priesthood was a gift of God, not something one could work for and merit, for we read: *"I have given your priest’s office unto you as a service of gift."*[11]

However, the royal as well as the Levitical priests of the Old Testament were only a shadow of things to come. Viewed from the New Testament, they were prophetic and symbolic and pointed to the real priesthood as we have it in the New Testament with Christ as the High Priest and our only Master. In Old Testament times it was none other than the Prophet Isaiah who foretold that the doctrine of the universal priesthood would not bud forth into full bloom until the days of the New Testament, when he said: *"But ye shall be named the priests of the Lord, men shall call you the ministers of our God."*[12] It is well to recall at this point that in the Old Testament Scriptures the word "priesthood" invariably referred to the Levitical priesthood, and when we speak of the doctrine of the universal priesthood, we usually think of a specific teaching of the New Testament.

The *locus classicus* of the New Testament Scriptures for the doctrine of the universal priesthood is, of course, 1 Pet. 2:9, where we read: *"But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvelous light."* An examination of the original version of this passage reveals the fact that the Apostle Peter is using terms and expressions found in the Old Testament Scriptures, and that he is using not the original Hebrew version, but the Greek translation, the

Septuagint. Kittel says: "According to all knowledge available today, the word ἱεράτευμα occurs only in the Septuagint and in literature which is based on the LXX. Thus we find this expression used in the description of what transpired on Mount Sinai, Ex. 19:6, where the Greek version reads: ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσεσθέ μοι βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον. . ."[13] The original Hebrew text reads: וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ־לִי מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים וְגוֹי קָדוֹשׁ Concerning the expression מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים, "kingdom of priests," we again quote Kittel: "The expression 'kingdom of priests' may be traced back to an epoch in which it may well have implied that all Israelites are priests; they constitute a kingdom which consists of priests."[14] Peter undoubtedly seeks to emphasize that what had been said of God's chosen people in Old Testament times applies with still greater force to the Christians of the New Testament. "Ye are a chosen generation" points back to Is. 43:20–21; "a royal priesthood" to Ex. 19:6; "an holy nation" and "a peculiar people" (the latter, translated literally, "a people for God's own possession") to Ex. 19:5–6; Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; Mal. 3:17 (LXX), etc., and the words "to show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvelous light" may be traced back to Is. 43:21.

It is interesting to note that the Scriptures of the Old Testament as well as of the New use the expression "royal priesthood," not "universal priesthood" (*königliches Priestertum—allgemeines Priestertum*). While "royal priesthood" is a term which dignifies and exalts the office, calling attention to its relationship with the King of Kings, the term "universal priesthood" is commonly used to bring out the fact that *all* believers, whether of the Old Testament or the New, are priests. Luther said, in his famous *Aufruf an den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation,* written in 1520, to improve the state of Christian society in Germany: "It is pure invention that pope, bishops, priests, and monks are to be called the 'spiritual estate'; princes, lords, artisans, and farmers, the 'temporal estate.' That is indeed a fine bit of lying and hypocrisy. Yet no one should be frightened by it; and for this reason, *viz.*, that all Christians are truly of the 'spiritual estate,' and there is among them no difference at all but that of office, as Paul says 1 Cor. 12: We are all one body, yet every member has his own work, whereby it serves every other, all because we have one Baptism, one Gospel, one faith, and are all alike Christians; for Baptism, Gospel, and faith alone make us 'spiritual' and a Christian people. But that a pope or a bishop anoints, confers, tonsures, ordains, consecrates, or prescribes dress unlike that of the laity,—this may make hypocrites and graven images (blockheads), but it never makes a Christian or 'spiritual' man. Through Baptism all of us are consecrated to the priesthood. . . . That is why in cases of necessity anyone can baptize and give absolution, which would be impossible unless we were all priests.—From all this it follows that there is really no difference between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, 'spirituals' and 'temporals,' as they call them, except that of office and work, but not of 'estate'; for they are all of the same estate—true priests, bishops and popes—though they are not all engaged in the same work, just as all priests and monks have not the same work.—Those who are now called 'spiritual'—priests, bishops or popes—are neither different from other Christians nor superior to them, except that they are charged with the administration of the Word of God and the Sacraments, which is their work and office."[15]

Let us hear some more quotations from Luther, since he referred to the doctrine of the universal priesthood so often. In his famous writing *Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft,* he says:

"Therefore (1 Pet. 2:9) we are all priests, as many of us as are Christians. But the priests, as we call them, are ministers chosen from among us, who do all that they do in our name. And the priesthood is nothing but a ministry, as we learn from 1 Cor. 4: 'Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ and the dispensers of the mysteries of God.'"[16] In his *Treatise on Christian Liberty,* Luther remarked: "Not only are we the freest of kings, we are also priests forever, which is far more excellent than being kings, because as priests we are worthy to appear before God to pray for others and to teach one another the things of God. For these are the functions of the priests and cannot be granted to any unbeliever. Thus Christ has obtained for us, if we believe on Him, that we are not only His brethren, coheirs and fellow kings with Him, but also fellow priests with Him, who may boldly come into the presence of God in the spirit of faith and cry, 'Abba, Father!' pray for one another, and do all things which we see done and prefigured in the outward and visible works of priests.—Who, then, can comprehend the lofty dignity of the Christian? Through his kingly power he rules over all things, death, life, and sin, and through his priestly glory is all powerful with God, because God does the things which he asks and desires, as it is written, 'He will fulfill the desire of them that fear Him; He also will hear their cry, and will save them.' To this glory man attains, surely not by any works of his, but by faith alone.—You will ask, if all who are in the Church are priests, how do those whom we now call priests differ from laymen? I answer: Injustice is done those words, 'priest,' 'cleric,' 'spiritual,' 'ecclesiastic,' when they are transferred from all other Christians to those few who are now by a mischievous usage called 'ecclesiastics.' For Holy Scripture makes no distinction between them, except that it gives the name 'ministers,' 'servants,' 'stewards,' to those who are now proudly called popes, bishops, and lords and who should by the ministry of the Word serve others and teach them the faith of Christ and the liberty of believers. For although we are all equally priests, yet we cannot all publicly minister and teach, nor ought we if we could."[17]

In his interpretation of Is. 60:18, of the year 1544, we read: "The altar is Christ; the priests, however, are those who teach the Gospel. These slaughter and kill everything whereof the world boasts, likewise all carnal wisdom and justice.—As a result, we all, each and every one of us, are priests, for we daily mortify our old Adam, as is stated Rom. 12:1.[18] In his interpretation of Hosea 4:6, given in 1530, Luther remarked: "He is truly a priest, who possesses the correct knowledge and understanding of God and a sound comprehension of the Scriptures."[19] One of Luther's strongest statements was made in his *Treatise on the New Testament* of 1520, where he said: "Thus it becomes clear that it is not the priest alone who offers the sacrifice of the mass, but every one's faith, which is the true priestly office, through which Christ is offered as a sacrifice to God. This office the priest, with the outward ceremonies of the mass, simply represents. Each and all are, therefore, equally spiritual priests before God.—For faith must do everything. It alone is the true priestly office and permits no one else to take its place. Therefore all Christians are priests: the men, priests, the women, priestesses, be they young or old, masters or servants, mistresses or maids, learned or unlearned. Here there is no difference, unless faith be unequal."[20]

In his interpretation of Psalm 110, given in 1539, Luther said: "These are the proper and sanctified adornments and priestly vestments which are pleasing and precious in the sight of God, with which we honor and praise Him: to preach and confess the Gospel, to praise and thank

God for His grace, and to lead and bring others into the Kingdom of Christ. This can be done only by Christians, who are true and holy priests before God and whose adornments are quite different from those of the Levitical priests, who adorned themselves outwardly with gold, precious gems, and silk; they are likewise consecrated and anointed differently than are the bogies and bishops of the pope, who with their ointments and unguents seek to set themselves apart as priests, who seek to deceive men and who live unholy and godless lives. But Christians must be holy priests at all times and must adorn themselves with adornments which are holy. They are consecrated as priests, not by ordinary and sinful men, but by Christ the High Priest.—Christ must dwell in the hearts of those who desire to be priests, and Christ must clothe them with adornments and clerical robes. The adornments and the pomp, the headwear, the staff, in fact, all vestments and adornments with which the pope's bogies seek to make a fine show are of no great avail to the true priests of God."[21]

I shall adduce one more quotation. Luther refuted the claims of Emser, who disputed Luther's interpretation of 1 Pet. 2:9 and tried to defend the Roman Catholic teaching of a twofold priesthood, by saying, in part: "The Scriptures make us all priests alike, as I have said, but the churchly priesthood which is now universally distinguished from the laity and alone called a priesthood, in the Scriptures is called *ministerium, servitus, dispensatio, episcopatus, presbyterium,* and at no place *sacerdotium* or *spiritualis.*—God and His Scriptures know nothing of bishops as we now have them. These things are all a result of man-made laws and ordinances, and through long usage have taken such hold on us that we imagine the spiritual estate is founded on the Scriptures, although it is twice as worldly as the world itself, because it calls itself and pretends to be spiritual, but there is no truth in its claim. I called this priesthood churchly because it grew out of the Church's organization and is not founded in the Scriptures. For it was the custom years ago, and ought to be yet, that in every Christian community, since all were spiritual priests, one, the oldest or most learned and most pious, was elected to be their servant, officer, guardian, watchman, in the Gospel and the Sacraments, even as the mayor of a city is elected from the whole body of its citizens. If tonsures, consecrations, ointments, vestments, made priests and bishops, then Christ and His apostles were never priests or bishops."[22]

It is true that after ca. 1530 Luther did not refer so often to the doctrine of the universal priesthood as he had in the 1520's. He stressed this doctrine shortly after the beginning of his career as Reformer, and, it is important to note, he stressed it in the very years in which he wrote his great liturgical writings and was most active in helping to establish the musical standards of his Church. Although late in life he referred to the doctrine of the universal priesthood less often and was at that time less active in the fields of liturgics and church music, we must not conclude that his interest in this doctrine as well as in liturgics and church music had dwindled or even abated. On the contrary, when he did refer to the doctrine of the universal priesthood later in his career, he was just as emphatic in setting forth its verities and its glory as he was interested in the liturgies and music of his Church. One reason why he may not have referred to the universal priesthood more often lay, perhaps, in the fact that certain people had taken undue advantage of this teaching, had failed to understand and conform to its implications and spirit, and had converted liberty into license. We need but think of the devastation wrought through the

Bauernkriege, the activities of *die himmlischen Propheten,* and the harm done in general by those interested in iconoclastic pursuits. Let us not forget either that in his *Deutsche Messe* of 1526 he refers to the fact that many of his followers are not as yet mature enough for the *Gottesdienstordnung* he had prepared and proposed and must first be instructed further before being exposed to the beauties and doctrinal glory of a fine liturgy. I should like to read to you a quotation from the German version of Dr. Peter Madsen's monograph on the universal priesthood. Dr. Madsen says: *"In der Bestimmung des Begriffs 'geistliches Priestertum' bleibt er (Luther)* JEDERZEIT SICH SELBER GLEICH. *Beständig hält er an dem für seine Auffassung entscheidenden Satz fest, dass der, dem das Amt übertragen worden, in aller Namen handle. Beständig bezeichnet der Königs- und Priestertumsname eines Christen höchste Ehre und grössten Reichtum. Die Entwickelung des Königsbegriffs hat stets die gleiche Fülle, wie sie sich in jener Beschreibung zeigt, die er in der Schrift 'Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen' von demselben gegeben hat. Die Hoheit der priesterlichen Stellung gewinnt in den folgenden Jahren einen* NOCH STAERKEREN AUSDRUCK *als in den früheren. Zu 2 Mos. (Walch 3, 1317): 'Welcher das Wort Gottes hat, der ist ein Priester, und wer ihn höret, höret Gott selber. Also ist Priester und König sein nichts anders, denn den Glauben und den Heiligen Geist haben, die Gnade Gottes den andern zu predigen und vor Gott zu treten in einem guten Vertrauen, als ein Kind zum Vater.'"*[23]

To repeat, for the sake of emphasis: There are, in a sense, no lay people in the Church; all are priests, royal priests, and all have become priests through faith in Jesus Christ at the time of their Baptism. This means that we, unlike the children of God of the Old Testament, have free access to God, and our Mediator is not a Levitical priest or even a Lutheran pastor, but the Man Christ Jesus, through whom we are able to approach God directly, without further mediation or intervention. 1 Tim. 2:5. Kittel says: *"Indem mit dem Wortlaut von Ex. 19:6 Ernst gemacht wird, ist gewisslich daran gedacht, dass die Gemeinde als Priesterschar 'unmittelbar zu Gott' ist. Nur dass diese Wahrheit, die in Ex. 19 wie ein erstaunlicher Blitz aufleuchtet, hier (1 Pet. 2:9) als Erfüllung durch Christus der heidenchristlichen Gemeinde zugesprochen wird. Steht sonst der Priester dem Volk gegenüber, so wird hier das ganze neue Volk Gottes zur Priestergemeinschaft."*[24] In spiritual matters we need not bow to human authority, men may not impose upon us as doctrines the commandments of men,[25] and it is for each and every one of us to test and try every spirit to see if it is of God.[26] Permit me to quote Luther again, this time in German: *"Lieber, was waren St. Petrus und alle Päbste mit ihren Pfaffen für Priester, so Christus nicht selbst der Hohepriester ware und bliebe? Ich wollte St. Petrum (viel weniger den Pabst zu Rom) nicht ansehen, so ich Christum nicht selber hätte und einen andern an seine Statt sollte zum Priester haben. Aber also soll der Pabst als ein rechter Widerchrist Christum mit seinem Priestertum hinwegwerfen, die Schrift Lügen strafen und den Heiligen Geist ins Maul schlagen; darnach ein eigen Priestertum aufwerfen, davon Christus nach der Schrift nichts weiss. Darum sollen wir Christen solches festhalten und wissen, dass Christus sein Priestertum noch nie weggeworfen noch das Amt niedergelegt oder andern gegeben hat, sondern ist und bleibt der rechte Priester vor Gott, so daselbst mit uns redet, für uns opfert und betet ewiglich, und weder St. Petrus noch einiger Mensch auf Erden also Priester ist, als habe Christus aufgehört oder ihm übergeben, an seiner Statt Priester zu sein.—Nun aber ist er es allein und muss allein sein, der uns durch sein eigen Priestertum zu Gott bringt und uns dasselbige auch*

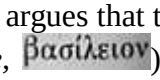
mitteilt. Und wie wir alle der Kraft seines Priesteramts zu unserm Trost und Heil geniessen, also dass nicht allein St. Petrus oder die Apostel noch Pabst und Bischöfe desselben teilhaftig werden, sondern alle, die da selig werden sollen, also teilt er auch denselben Namen allen Christen mit, dass, wie sie durch ihn Gottes Kinder und Erben heissen (Gal. 3:26; 4:7), also auch nach ihm Priester heissen, und also ein jeglicher getaufter Christ sowohl ein Priester ist und heissen soll als St. Petrus oder Paulus. Denn dass St. Petrus ein Priester ist, das ist er daher, dass er an Christum gläubig worden ist, wie ich auch bin. Also sind wir alle (wie ich gesagt habe) Priesters Kinder in der Taufe worden—-. Darum, so gemein der Name Christen und Gottes Kind ist (nämlich aller, die an Christum glauben), so gemein sollte auch sein und verstanden werden der Name Priester. Denn wir haben ja alle zugleich und ingemein einerlei Taufe, Evangelium, einerlei Gnade und Erbe des Himmelreichs, einerlei Heiligen Geist, einigen Gott Vater und Herrn Christum (Eph. 4:4–6) und sind in ihm alle eines; wie er sagt Johannes am 17., V.22, und St. Paulus Gal. 3:28: 'Ihr seid alle Einer in Christo Jesu' usw."[27] I shall add a quotation, rendered into English by C. M. Jacobs, which is clear as well as striking: "A cobbler, a smith, a farmer, each has the work and office of his trade, and yet they are all alike consecrated priests and bishops, and everyone by means of his own work or office must benefit and serve every other, that in this way many kinds of work may be done for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the community, even as all the members of the body serve one another."[28]

Since the Holy Scriptures are for us the main source of knowledge and inspiration, let us hear a few more passages which, like 1 Pet. 2:9, might be regarded as *sedes doctrinae* of this wonderful doctrine. We find these in one of the most glorious books of the Bible, the Revelation of St. John the Divine. There we read in the fifth and sixth verses of the first chapter: "Unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood and *hath made us kings and priests* unto God and His Father, to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen." Chapter five, verses nine and ten, we read: "And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book and to open the seals thereof: for Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and *hast made us unto our God kings and priests;* and we shall reign on the earth." Chapter twenty, verse 6: "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power, but *they shall be priests of God and of Christ,* and shall reign with Him a thousand years."

Note the triumphant and exultant tone of each of these passages. Is it not strange that we Lutherans do not make more of this doctrine, especially in view of the fact that Luther and Walther saw its glory and let shine its light and spread its rays in their sermons, their writings, their counsels, and their exhortations, in short, in all their activities in the interest of God's kingdom? True, the doctrine of the universal priesthood is not the cardinal doctrine of the Christian religion, but it is most intimately related to the cardinal doctrine of the Christian religion and is a grand doctrine which has done much good within the ranks of Lutheranism. It is so direct and immediate a fruit of the doctrine of justification through faith in Jesus Christ that St. John finds himself constrained, under guidance of God's Holy Spirit, to speak of it and the redemption through the atoning blood of Jesus Christ in the same breath.[29] Of course, the doctrine of the universal priesthood will hardly appeal to those who are not of an humble and democratic spirit; it will not appeal to those who believe the Church should be hierarchical, who

lust for power, glory, prestige, and honor. In other words, it is not a doctrine that feeds and nourishes our ego and our vanity, which puffs up and inflates. We have but one Master, one High Priest, and He is Jesus Christ. Let us recall that Luther wanted the clergy called, not priests, but *Diener* (servants); I am sure that Luther would have wholeheartedly approved of our use of the word *pastor* (shepherd). The doctrine of the universal priesthood lifts all Christians up to the same level, lends dignity to their office as Christians, and makes of the Church a very democratic institution. The democratic character of genuine and true Lutheranism is definitely a product of the doctrine of the universal priesthood, which prompts all those who are imbued with its spirit to regard with disdain all hierarchical and High-Church tendencies.

Here, of course, Lutheranism differs radically from Catholicism. The Roman Catholic Church is professedly hierarchical in character, as is also the Eastern Orthodox Church. I shall again quote Madsen: "This doctrine of the universal priesthood is one of those great nodes where the doctrinal and theological differences between Catholicism and Protestantism become most prominently and clearly apparent. Catholicism refuses to recognize the fact that all Christians stand on a par in the presence of God. It has created for itself a mediatorial state which has been granted authority by God Himself, so they claim, to carry on His work; this consists in offering expiatory sacrifices to God as a continuation of the high-priestly sacrifice of Christ and in assuming infallible authority in matters of doctrine and faith as a perpetuation of the prophetic office of Christ. Grace and truth are thus put into the hands of the clergy, and only through the communication of the clergy can the laity have a share in these blessings. Grace may be obtained only through the sacrificial acts and absolution of the clergy.—Indeed, the mediatorial position of the Roman Catholic clergy is accorded greater prominence and importance than was granted the Levitical priesthood in the days of the Old Testament. In Old Testament times the priesthood was bound unconditionally by Holy Scripture; thus the Levitical priesthood was not permitted to add to the revelations of Holy Scripture. In addition, the priesthood of the Old Testament was kept in its proper channels by the prophets, who, when necessary, did not hesitate to threaten and even punish the priesthood, which was obliged to bow before these messengers of God. It remained for the Catholic clergy to develop the first real hierarchy among the children of God; its priests are the sole bearers of the Spirit of God who have been called upon to continue and take over the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit according to the needs of the times. The exclusive and exalted character of this mediatorial position can hardly be exaggerated; it is put above judgments and criticisms of men, it is made indispensable for all who would be saved."[30]

Catholicism professes to believe in a universal priesthood, but regards this priesthood as being of only a figurative character.[31] Catholicism argues that the spiritual sacrifices of Christians can be only prayers and the term "royal" (*regale*, ) can have but a metaphysical meaning for the Christians.[32] The Catholic Encyclopedia says expressly: "In the New Testament, bishops and priests are, according to Catholic teaching, the sole bearers of the priesthood, the former enjoying the fullness of the priesthood, while the presbyters are simple priests."[33]

The great sacrifice of the Roman Catholic Church is the Mass, and the words "priesthood" and "sacrifice" are reciprocal terms.[34] The Council of Trent emphasized the intimate connection

between the sacrifice of Mass and the priesthood when it maintained: "Sacrifice and priesthood are by divine ordinance so inseparable that they are found together under all laws. Since, therefore, in the New Testament the Catholic Church has received from the Lord's institution the holy visible sacrifice of the Eucharist, it must also be admitted that in the Church there is a new, visible, and external priesthood into which the older priesthood has changed."[35] This same Council decreed: "If anyone affirm that all Christians indiscriminately are priests of the New Testament or that they are all mutually endowed with equal spiritual power, he clearly does nothing but confound the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which is an army set in array.[36] According to Roman Catholic teaching, the chief function of a priest is to serve as interpreter and mediator between God and man."[37]

While we need hardly give further consideration to the Roman Catholic conception of the priesthood at the present time, I should like to call attention to the fact that the Roman Catholic teachings concerning the priesthood have determined in very large measure the nature, the character, and the spirit of Roman Catholic church music and Roman Catholic liturgics. As beautiful and effective as it is in the services and churches for which it was intended, much Roman Catholic and Russian church music does not fit into a Lutheran service of worship any more than a chorale might fit into a Roman Catholic Mass or into the Divine Liturgy of the Eastern Orthodox Church. This is due almost entirely to the fact that the services of the Catholic churches recognize a hierarchy, whereas the services of the Lutheran Church recognize the universal priesthood.[38]

Before closing this section of my paper, permit me to add a few words concerning the Anglican conception of the doctrine of the universal priesthood, since the Anglican Church is a liturgical church body and since Anglican church music very often finds its way into the Lutheran church service.

The Anglicans retained tile designation *sacerdotes* (priests) for their clergy in the authorized version of their Thirty-nine Articles. This has prompted the editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia to remark: "The Catholic clergy alone are entitled to the designation 'priests,' since they alone have a true and real sacrifice to offer, the holy Mass. Consequently, Anglicans who reject the sacrifice of the Mass are inconsistent when they refer to their clergy as 'priests.' The preachers of Germany quite logically disclaim the title with a certain indignation."[39]

Although the Anglicans do not officially in any way reject the doctrine of the universal priesthood, yet we do find that the spirit and nature of this doctrine as conceived by Martin Luther did not play as important a part in shaping her policies and determining the character of her liturgies and church music as it did in the Lutheran Church. While Anglican congregations do illustrate their belief in the universal priesthood through the singing of hymns (usually three in a service), they do not participate in the presentation of the liturgical music. The liturgical parts, whether proper (seasonal) or fixed, are sung, as a rule, by choirs; liturgical hymns are quite unknown to Anglican worshipers. A large percentage of English hymns popular today were written not by Anglicans, but by English Dissenters of the 19th century who were dissatisfied with the spirit, work, and cold formalism of Anglican priests and High-Church men. Those who

joined the Oxford Movement in the 19th century were interested profoundly in liturgical services of the Roman Catholic Church as well as in ancient Greek and Latin hymns, which were beautifully and classically translated into English, but which also lacked the simplicity of the hymns of the Dissenters and of our Lutheran chorales. Here we find, I believe, a practical and functional aberration from the doctrine of the universal priesthood. The intellectual, linguistic, and cultural limitations of the common man were not taken into serious consideration, and thoughts were expressed and metaphors used which were too distant for the average worshiper. These practices definitely pointed to hierarchical tendencies which ignore the shortcomings of the common man and woman. The Anglican liturgies, particularly when presented in the manner in which they are presented in churches with High-Church leanings, do not breathe the spirit of the doctrine of the universal priesthood, and hymn singing has never enjoyed the popularity in Anglican circles that it has among the Dissenters of England and among us Lutherans.

Part II

We have already indicated that the doctrine of the universal priesthood, like all other teachings of the Scriptures, is not inert, inactive, lifeless, impracticable. We are all agreed, I am sure, that those who cry out: "Deeds, not creeds!" know not what they say; they understand not the dogmas of the Scriptures. Did not Paul write to Timothy: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God and is *profitable* for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works"?[40]

When Luther began to stress the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers, he turned on a current which not only activated, but even revolutionized church and society. We read in the Introduction to his Small Catechism that a visitation had forced him to the conclusion that the people live "like the poor brutes and irrational swine." Chapter X of Preserved Smith's *The Age of the Reformation* substantiates what Luther had said, and I am sure that Dr. Schwiebert of Valparaiso University, whose authority in the field of Reformation history we respect and honor, could tell us much about the conditions among the common people of Luther's day that would make us gasp. And yet Luther said to these same people: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvelous light.[41]—All men alike are consecrated priests and bishops."[42] This seems paradoxical, yes incredible. And yet Luther never changed his mind on this point. He often became thoroughly discouraged when he viewed conditions among his followers; their vulgarity and ignorance often appalled him. But he did not lose hope. He knew that in this doctrine of the universal priesthood, since it is intimately related to the doctrines of justification and sanctification, there lay a power and a constructive force which would change the hearts and habits of men and eventually bring about a complete metamorphosis, though he, in his lifetime, might not see it to any appreciable extent. Luther's position required a strong faith, particularly since a very large percentage of the clergy was unfit for its work according to later standards, but Luther's faith in the power of the Word was mighty and vital. That Luther was right, we know today.

Luther was aware of the fact that the doctrine of the universal priesthood was a force and a power which should express itself continuously in every phase of life and worship. At the time of Pentecost in the year 1523, a year before the appearance of the *Achtliederbuch* and of Walther's *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*, Luther's *Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Wittenbergensi* [43] was published. Only three years later, in 1526, appeared his *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts, zu Wittenberg fürgenommen.*[44] The publication of these two works is for us of the utmost importance. The Lutheran Church was destined to become a liturgical Church; that was taken for granted. Luther's democratic spirit, which was a product of his belief in the doctrine of the universal priesthood, did not induce him to ignore liturgical practice, order, sequence, and beauty. He did not permit the ignorance of the people to induce him to adopt standards for services of worship which were on a rather low level. For Luther their priesthood, not their cultural and spiritual poverty, was the determining factor. Although the *Formula Missae* called for a sermon in the vernacular, the service as a whole was conducted in Latin. The people had been accustomed to this, and Luther and Walther had not as yet been able to make a hymnal available. When Luther, in 1526, published his *Deutsche Messe*, he insisted that the publication of this mass did not bind his followers to its adoption and use. The Lutheran Church was not to be or become an hierarchical church like the Church of Rome, which insists that the Latin language be used throughout the world. The Lutheran Church was not to demand liturgical uniformity; each congregation was to be autonomous just as all Christians are priests. Though Gregorian music was used by most Lutherans, it was not adopted as the official music of the Church. Parishes could use it if they so chose, but if they preferred another type of chant settings, they were at liberty to make the change. The Lutheran Church was not to become a legalistic institution, and Luther's *Deutsche Messe* was prepared for those who desire to use it *"wie, wo, wann und wie lange es die Sachen schicken und fordern."*[45] This mass was adopted generally by the followers of Luther, usually, however, with slight modifications and changes. The standards in the various parishes and committees were not everywhere equally high or low. We find this state of things reflected in the liturgies of Luther's day as well as in those of later years.[46]

The doctrine of the universal priesthood asserted itself also in another way. Luther, in his *Deutsche Messe,* made provision for the singing of four hymns by the congregation. This was a most unusual innovation, though it is known that members of the Roman Catholic clergy had at times and in certain places permitted the laity to sing religious folksongs during the service of Mass. The step taken by Luther may, nevertheless, be regarded as a real innovation; it ultimately deprived the chant of its pre-eminence in the Lutheran service and made hymn singing the most important musical portion of the service. Hymn singing was intimately linked with liturgical portions of the service and not infrequently substituted for them. Thus we know that *"Christe, du Lamm Gottes"* took the place of the Latin Agnus Dei; *"Wir glauben all' an einen Gott"* became the Credo; *"All Ehr' und Lob soll Gottes sein"* and *"Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'"* were sung as the Gloria in Excelsis; *"Nun bitten wir den Heil'gen Geist"* was converted from a religious folksong into a church hymn and used either with the *graduale* or substituted for it. Several other similar changes were made.

What was at the bottom of all this? Did Luther dislike Gregorian chant? Was it really necessary for him to prepare his *Deutsche Messe* and introduce the changes? Bearing in mind Luther's regard for the doctrine of the universal priesthood and bearing in mind, likewise, that he stressed this doctrine time and time again, in the 1520's particularly, it is not difficult to answer these questions. The plain truth is that Luther wanted the people to be as active as possible in the services of worship. They were not to be mere onlookers and spectators. In the Roman Catholic Church the performance of the service of worship is entirely in the hands of the clergy and the choir; a Roman Catholic Mass has been and may well be performed without any worshipers present at all. This is part of the objective character of the Roman Mass. Luther wanted worshipers not only to be present, but also to be active in the service, and the best way to keep them active, he held, was through the singing of hymns and through participation in the performance of the liturgy proper.[47] His *Formula Missae* was to be used after 1526 where Latin was understood and where parishes might prefer a Latin liturgy; it was used chiefly in churches connected with schools, in order that students might establish their knowledge of Latin and be able to worship through the medium of this language. On one occasion Luther even remarked that if it were possible, he would like to see services conducted in Greek and Hebrew.[48] With regard to Latin, let us not forget that though this language is today archaic, in Luther's day it is was used quite widely; lectures were delivered at universities in the Latin language, governments used it to negotiate with one another, books were usually written in Latin, etc. After all, is it not often said today that every well-educated person should have a reading and speaking knowledge of at least two languages? Luther knew, however, that the common people ordinarily use one language only. His *Deutsche Messe* was prepared for Hans and Liesel, who understand no Latin. We repeat, one of the great beauties of the doctrine of the universal priesthood is that it is concerned about the welfare of all Christians and not of only a few.

The claim that Luther brought liturgical disorder into the Lutheran Church is not true. It is likewise untrue that Luther had little or no liturgical sense. Luther's policies, practices, and interests are often misunderstood and misconstrued by those who either do not know or fail to bear in mind that Luther was motivated greatly by the doctrine of the universal priesthood. A close examination of his *Formula Missae* and of his *Deutsche Messe* reveals that both were delineated from the Roman Mass, and a careful perusal of the liturgies used in various Lutheran churches after Luther's day will soon prove that basically they are the same and the variations which one finds are rarely of great moment. Luther's policy granted not only wholesome freedom to his followers, but it also encouraged them to be creative. His policy, based, let us not forget, on the doctrine of the universal priesthood, ultimately gave to the Lutheran Church a musical and liturgical heritage second to none. Luther did not make the tragic mistake Calvin and Zwingli made, who rendered their followers musically sterile and impotent. Luther did not make the mistake of Rome when it issued decrees at the Council of Trent which her many composers of later years ignored, and when the Roman Catholic Church endorsed the Romantic Palestrina Renaissance, which was spurred on by F. X. Witt and his *Cäcilienverein* as well as by A. F. J. Thibaut in the first half of the 19th century, a movement which sought to establish an artificial and archaic tone of church music and which discouraged initiative and enterprise among Roman Catholic composers in the fields of church music and liturgics. There is indeed a great difference

between a Church which is hierarchical and one which believes firmly in the doctrine of the universal priesthood and takes cognizance of the workings and implications of this great doctrine of the Holy Scriptures.

Much has been written about the significant developments which took place between 1523 and 1526. Friedrich Blume says: "Recognition of the doctrine of the universal priesthood, which steadily became more prominent and potent among the followers of Luther, political considerations which were prompted by revolutionary outbursts of the iconoclasts and fanatics, pedagogical considerations, and a strong inclination towards freedom in matters of ceremony: all served as driving forces which urged Luther to proceed from the *Formula* of 1523 to the *Deutsche Messe* of 1526."[49] Arnold Schering remarks: "We all know that Luther performed an act of great consequences when he opened the mouths and loosed the tongues of congregations which had long been mute in services of worship and enabled them to sing hymns; thus the singing of chorales became an essential feature of the Lutheran services of worship. Luther's act was momentous not only because the congregation became prominently active in its services of worship and was taken out of its isolation and put into the very midst of a living and active circuit of liturgical activity, but above everything also because through this act a complete metamorphosis of all other types of worship-music took place. The chorale became the core and center of Lutheran church music; it was sung by all and created a new type of traditional church music for the Lutheran Church. The chorale functioned like a leaven, it found its way into practically all forms and types of Lutheran church music, and accommodated itself to the needs of the Lutheran service."[50]

Permit me to read you one more quotation; I shall read this in its original German version: *"Luther kam dem Volksverlangen entgegen, welches längst in vielen Bemühungen und Versuchen offenbar geworden war. Seine Veränderungen der gottesdienstlichen Formen erscheinen zunächst keineswegs umfassender und grundstürzender Art; aber indem die neue Form dem Verlangen nach Einführung der deutschen Sprache und des Gemeindegesanges gerecht wird, verändert sie die von der Kirche geheiligten Anschauungen über das Wesen des Gottesdienstes. 'Die Priesterkirche wird wieder zur Gemeindekirche.' Durch die Abschaffung des vom Priester vollzogenen Opfers des Leibes und Blutes Christi (offertorium) erhält der Gottesdienst seine ursprüngliche Aufgabe zurück, durch die Wortverkündigung im Gesang, Lektion, Bekenntnis, Gebet und Predigt das Reich Gottes zu bauen."*[51]

It was not only Luther's deep-rooted love for music, but especially also his profound belief in the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers which prompted him to establish practices, policies, and usages which ultimately won for the Lutheran Church the reputation as the "Singing Church." Luther knew that the average person likes to sing, particularly when he is a member of a group or congregation, and he knew from personal experience that one can easily comfort and strengthen himself spiritually through the medium of sacred song. Luther's insistence on the use of sacred song won for him many adherents, and the words of the Jesuit Konzenius are well known, when he said: *"Hymni Lutheri animos plures quam scripta et declamationes occiderunt."*[52]

When we consider Lutheran church music, we think first of all of the chorale, the congregational hymn of the Lutheran Church. It was through the singing of chorales that the Lutheran Church has acquired its reputation as the "Singing Church," and upon the basis of its chorales the Lutheran Church has built her great musical heritage. We have already substantiated the truthfulness of Wilhelm Stahl's remark: *"Die Entstehung des evangelischen Chorals hängt somit aufs engste zusammen mit der Entwickelung der evangelischen Liturgie,"*[53] and we have shown that the doctrine of the universal priesthood prompted Luther to make the singing of chorales a constituent part of his *Deutsche Messe.* But the influence of this doctrine extends even further.

It was simple enough for Luther to recommend that hymns be sung regularly by congregations, but where were these hymns to come from? Let us examine this problem briefly and ascertain whether or not this, too, links up with the doctrine of the universal priesthood.

The first source of these chorales was Gregorian music.[54] Hymns like *"Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'," "Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott," "Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist," "Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit,"* and not a few others may easily be traced back directly to Gregorian chant. However, Luther and other Lutheran hymn writers realized fully that congregations would hardly be able to sing melismatic chant music with its free rhythms and sparse accents. Luther regarded music as an art; and yet, he was far more interested in putting music into the hands of Hans and Liesel as a means of worship rather than as an art. Strangely enough, by assuming this approach Luther created art of a high caliber—he gave to the world a type of music which is artistic, partly because it is natural, at times even naive and unpolished, certainly not artificial. He simplified even the chants which were to be sung by the clergy, since he believed that the average clergyman would not be able to sing florid Gregorian chant well. The result was that Luther and others accommodated themselves to the limitations of the people by simplifying this music and changing its character. Kümmerle says very strikingly: "The Lutheran Church was obliged to create a new type of church music which conformed to the spirit of Lutheranism and Lutheran worship; the foundation of this music is the Lutheran chorale with its folk-songlike character. Due credit must be given Martin Luther, whose genius and perspicacity prompted him to introduce the chorale into his services and the services of his many followers."[55] The music was written and arranged strophically, its accents were made more pronounced and occurred at regular and more frequent intervals, the rhythms were made less subtle and more simple, and the melismatic element was changed to the syllabic. These simplifications and accommodations were made for the sake of the common man, the doctrine of the universal priesthood was in action, a new type of church music came into being. Luther did not go to the extremes that the Pietists and others went to later; he did not oversimplify; [56] in his *Grosser Glaube* he even retained much of the melismatic element, and he did not reject music simply because it had been used by the Roman Catholics. Hymns were still sung with a certain amount of free rhythm, and measure bars were not as numerous as they are in hymns today. The fact remains that Gregorian music was converted into hymns and simplified that Hans, Liesel, and other members of the royal priesthood might be able to sing them and really love them.

A second source of our chorales were the religious folk songs sung by the people in the days prior to the days of the Reformation. Some of the grandest hymns of our Church were written long before Martin Luther ever saw the light of day, *i.e.*, between the 13th and 15th centuries. I need but call your attention to such hymns as *"Gott der Vater, wohn' uns bei," "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist," "Christ ist erstanden,"* and not a few more. Had Luther, Walther, and others not converted these religious folk songs into Lutheran chorales, they would undoubtedly be lost to us today. By adopting them, the Lutheran Church has made them her own, and they are today regarded also by non-Lutherans as Lutheran chorales, just as thousands of people living in America today are regarded as Americans and have a right to call themselves Americans, though they were born in foreign lands.[57] Religious folk song was as popular in the 16th century as it is today; Luther knew this and used what was fit to use. Texts were changed where this was necessary, and doctrinal aberrations were carefully deleted.

However, not only religious folk songs were adopted and converted into hymns; the same was done with secular folk music. While this seems strange to many, it is well to recall that in Luther's day no distinction was made between sacred and secular music as far as the music itself was concerned. Ca. 1500 it was believed that a tune or a melody itself is absolute, devoid of specific or suggestive content; in other words, a melody *per se* was regarded as neither sacred nor secular. When Luther denounced *"die fleischlichen Buhllieder"* in his musico-historically famous Foreword to the *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* of 1524, he had in mind the texts, not the tunes of these songs. Luther carefully avoided going to the extremes some of the early Church Fathers had gone to. Augustine, for example, had adjured Christians not to turn their hearts to certain musical instruments, believing these instruments to be inherently corrupt and carnal. Luther, on the other hand, did not denounce the use of the pipe organ in the church service, as did some of his contemporaries, who insisted that the organ suggests worldliness simply because many organists played dances and other types of unecclesiastical music upon the organ. Luther disagreed with Augustine also in another way, for Augustine had scruples of conscience at times because he felt he had been more interested in lovely music than in its sacred texts. Luther, on the other hand, remarked in one of his *Tischreden:* "I have very little use for those who, like the fanatics, despise music. For music is a gift of God, not of man. It drives away the devil and makes people happy; it enables us to forget wrath, unchastity, conceit, and other evils. After theology, I assign to music the highest and most prominent place of distinction and honor. Music reigns in days of peace."[58]

It is interesting to note that in the 16th century no fewer than 174 *Kontrafakturen* (secular songs converted into church hymns) were used in Lutheran circles of Germany; many of these, plus 114 more, found their way into Reformed services of worship.[59] In connection with this practice, Luther simply asked: "Why should such beautiful tunes be used only by the devil?"[60] We today distinguish between sacred and secular music and argue that so many good hymn tunes are extant that it is no longer necessary to use secular tunes like *Finlandia* and *Londonderry Air* in church services, since they suggest thoughts foreign to a service of worship. Luther was of a different opinion, partly because he lived when he did, partly because there was in his day a scarcity of available good hymns, which made it necessary for him and others to adopt such tunes. Again, however, we find the doctrine of the universal priesthood in action; Luther thought

of the common man and a wholesome type of music the common man loved. He set the standards for a democratic Church, not for one that was hierarchical. He wanted all worshipers to take an active part in the presentation of music in the church service; this meant, then, that the music had to be *volkstümlich* and simple, not melismatic, florid, involved. Difficult music might be sung by Lutheran church choirs willing to take the time to rehearse it and capable of singing it; hymns sung by the congregation must be simple and folk-songlike in character.

A third source were the hymns of the Bohemian Brethren [61] and, later, hymns from the Huguenot Psalter.[62] These were hymns of a fine type: simple, singable, fit for use in a service of worship, and loved by the people. Why they were adopted by the Lutheran Church is not hard to understand; they breathed the spirit of the Lutheran chorale; they were ideal for the royal priesthood.

The fourth and final source were original hymns written within Lutheran circles by Luther and others. Luther's words are familiar: *"Ich bin willens, deutsche Psalmen fürs Volk zu machen, das ist, geistliche Lieder, dass das Wort Gottes auch durch den Gesang unter den Leuten bleibe."*[63] Note the words: *"fürs Volk—unter den Leuten"* Luther is concerned about the laity of the Church; the doctrine of the universal priesthood is at work.

"Sing unto the Lord a new song" sang the Psalmist.[64] Luther carried out this instruction. So did his followers. And what a wonderful beginning did they not make with the very first hymn of the *Achtliederbuch* of 1524, *"Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein,"* a simple chorale version of the Gospel. Does that word *g'mein* not remind us of *allgemeines Priestertum?* This hymn, let us not forget, is by Luther, and here we have another master stroke by the great Reformer. As great as they are otherwise, the chief weakness of all pre-Reformation hymns is that they contain too little Gospel. The first chorale of our Church not only contained Gospel; it was the Gospel itself set to verse to be sung by the royal priesthood: Here was the new song, here was the response of Christendom to the words of the Psalmist: "Sing unto the Lord a new song." It is no wonder that Kümmerle says the following: "*Mit ihm (i.e., dem Liede 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein') beginnt 'als mit dem durchschlagenden Grundton das sogenannte "Achtliederbuch," die Urgestalt des deutschen Kirchengesangbuchs'; es ist 'die erste Stimme deutschen Kirchengesangs, die mit Blitzgewalt durch alle deutsche Lande fuhr, ein Preis des ewigen göttlichen Ratschlusses der Erlösung des Menschengeschlechts und des Evangeliums, der Freiheit.' 'Gewaltige Kraft, kindliche Einfalt und innige Tiefe sind die hervortretenden Charakterzüge dieses Liedes.'"*[65]

The *Achtliederbuch* was, it is true, not a Lutheran hymnal, but rather a collection of five-part music for choirs. However, it is interesting to note that all selections in this precious little volume, which was edited by some humble anonymous person, were *Choräle,* four by Luther, three by Speratus, and one by an anonymous author. Already in 1523, the year in which Luther's *Formula Missae* appeared and a year before the first collection of Lutheran church music was published, hymns were printed on fly leafs, including *"Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein"; "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her," "Es woll' uns Gott genädig sein,"* and *"Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ."* Langbecker [66] informs us that no fewer than 106 hymns were thus distributed among

the common people and tacked to the doors of the churches for the purpose of spreading the Gospel among the people through the medium of the chorale. The royal priesthood was active; it did not wait until the first hymnal was published.

Chorale melodies were scarce in Luther's day. The Church had more hymn texts than hymn tunes. However, from its very beginning it was customary to fit various hymn texts to one hymn tune. The Lutheran Church, as you know, follows this practice even in our 20th century. Only this past spring was I distressed when I read the following remarks in an article bearing the title "Ecumenical Trends in Hymnody": "Finally, we regret the too-frequent 'polygamous' practices followed in arrangement of words and tunes. For example, the grand, well-known chorale *'Wie schön leuchtet'* is forced to mate with seven different sets of words.—To your reviewer, this simply does not make sense.—It is hymnological polygamy, and we don't like it. This practice is used with about thirty well-known tunes and chorales which have been wedded to a given set of words, at least in popular thinking, for generations. We are not so poverty-stricken musically that this practice is necessary." With this I disagree, and I hope, brethren, that you will disagree with me. I say this not only because this practice has a good historical basis, but also because it helps to hold up before us the beauty of our hymn tunes, enables us to sing our best and most substantial tunes often but with different texts, makes it possible for the people to sing often the chorale tunes they love, and finally it recalls to our minds again the doctrine of the universal priesthood which seeks to simplify problems for the Church in the interest of the worshiper. It would be regrettable indeed if the singing of the tune *"Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern"* were restricted to the season of Epiphany and *"Wachet auf"* to the Advent season. It is self-evident that the spirit of a hymn tune must agree with the message and nature of the hymn text. I believe we must admit that the editors of our *Hymnal* were discreet in this respect, though many will naturally not always agree with the choice of hymn tune that was made. The average American hymnal contains altogether too many tunes; that is one reason why the average Protestant is acquainted with only a very few hymns.

I hope you will not mind this slight digression when I call attention to another fault the writer of the article finds with our *Hymnal.* He says in the same article: "The make-up is both ecumenical and cosmopolitan. Besides the usual types, we find hymns of Hebrew, Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian, Dutch, Bohemian, and Polish sources. Yet we are not satisfied. No Protestant church has such a polyglot constituency from Europe, so why should not an American Lutheran hymnal include at least a token inclusion of hymns from Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Hungary, and Iceland as well as those already mentioned? We regret that the Synodical Conference hymnal was not the first to do it." However, since when does it add to the intrinsic value of a Lutheran hymnal to include hymns from as many nations under the sun as possible? Are such cosmopolitan considerations really concerned about the royal priesthood, or are they not perhaps a *testimonium paupertatis?* I believe the same question might be put concerning some of the ecumenical tendencies of our day. Some evidently think in our day that by sectarianizing the musical taste of our people we are showing consideration for those who have been won over from sectarianism to Lutheranism and are thus showing regard for the doctrine of the universal priesthood; however, let us not forget that the doctrine of the universal priesthood was given us to establish and strengthen us, not to thin us out and weaken us. Just as there are times when

physicians will not permit us to eat certain foods for the sake of building up our strength and saving our lives, so are there times when the doctrine of the royal priesthood will deny us what many would like, so as to strengthen us from within and grant health to our Church. Let us recall at this time the fact that our chorales, by and large, come from the very ranks of the Church's members; they grew out of the soil, so to speak; they were an expression of the people themselves, not a type of music imposed upon them by those in higher places. Hence their ruggedness, wholesomeness, vigor, simplicity, and straightforward character. They are folk music in the highest and best sense of the word.

The forces of evil have attempted time and again to rob the Church of this heritage; these forces know what is good and salutary and try also in our own day to persuade us to discard our heritage and adopt what is alien. It has always been thus; the Church has always been obliged to battle against the forces of evil and ignorance in order to retain her great heritage in various fields. We must expect this also in the field of music. Many Pietists of the 17th and 18th centuries sought to dispose of many great chorales of the Lutheran Church and substituted hymns which they believed to be better. What was the result? They introduced hymns of a highly emotional and sentimental type. They threw out the fine choral music of Vulpius, Hassler, Praetorius, Schuetz, and other Lutheran masters and insisted that choirs sing nothing more advanced and less melodious than the *cantiones sacrae, geistliche Lieder.* There is nothing wrong with singing the *geistliche Lieder* of Johann Wolfgang Franck and other master composers of this type of music. We, too, advocate that more *geistliche Lieder* of the 17th and 18th centuries be sung in our church services by our choirs. They are one of the finest types of choral music we have. However, the Pietists made the serious mistake of ignoring the other types of fine choral music which belong to the great heritage of our Church; strangely enough, their whole approach to church music made them so sterile that they themselves were not able to write the very type of choral music they advocated to the exclusion of everything else and had to content themselves with the *cantiones sacrae* written by the so-called orthodox branch of the Lutheran Church. Luther had already warned against going to such extremes. When on one occasion several pastors complained to him that their choirmasters had their choirs sing music of a complex character, which the common people are not always able to understand, Luther replied: "What of it? Do the people understand everything you say in your sermons? Do we understand everything the Holy Spirit says in the Holy Scriptures? And yet does this mean that you should stop preaching and that the people should cease reading the Scriptures?" Luther was not an extremist, nor was he an iconoclast; he was a great believer in the doctrine of the universal priesthood, he sympathized very much with the common man and advocated the use of much music which the common man could sing and would enjoy, and yet Luther never advocated that choirs cease singing the great works of the masters. There are many who do not understand Luther's position; it is much easier to understand the position of an extremist, but surely a man of understanding and insight will follow not the extremist, but rather Martin Luther, the restorer of the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers.

The fanaticism of the Pietists helped bring on the era of rationalism, with which it actually had some points in common. However, rationalism soon disposed of the hymns of the Pietists and substituted its own rationalistic hymns, which were another extreme type, a type which was even

worse than the hymns of the Pietists, since it contained no Gospel at all. When, in the 19th century, there began a great reaction against rationalism, and out of this reaction came men like Walther, Fürbringer, Stöckhardt, Crämer, Bünger, and others, the great chorales came back stronger than ever. It could not be otherwise; these men were too much interested in the fundamentals of sound Lutheranism to permit themselves to be taken into camp by something less worthy and less great.

The history of the Church shows that you may judge its eras by the music used and fostered; just as an era of decline will not want or even know what is best, so will an era of spiritual strength and fortitude resort to the use of those very gifts which build up from within and make strong. Our chorales are gifts of this type; we must retain them and perpetuate their use, for they are an expression and product of the doctrine of the royal priesthood. This cannot, I honestly believe, be said of certain High-Church tendencies rampant in the Christian Church today.

Already in Luther's day the chorale became the *cantus firmus* of the Lutheran Church, just as Gregorian chant had been the *cantus firmus* of Roman Catholic church music. Through its use of the chorale as *cantus firmus,* Lutheran church music soon distinguished itself from other types of church music and developed an individuality of its own. *"Im Choral laufen die einzelnen Strahlen der gottesdienstlichen Feier zusammen, vom Choral strömt die Energie wieder aus in die übrigen beteiligten Musikformen,"* says Arnold Schering.[67] Though used at first largely in the tenor, the *cantus firmus* was soon shifted to the upper voice so as to make it easier for the average worshiper to distinguish it from the other voices. This change proved to be a boon, for it improved congregational singing in the Lutheran Church. People were no longer obliged to search out the *cantus firmus,* for when used in the upper voice, it was as easily distinguishable in the 16th century as it is for us today. The Church and its composers were concerned about the royal priesthood.[68] The same concern became manifest in the range of chorale melodies, which rarely exceeded an octave.[69] When in the first half of the 18th century Bach harmonized these chorales, he was very much concerned about letting all voices sing melodies instead of having the lower voices do no more than support the sopranos. As a result, we find these chorale harmonizations a wonderful manifestation of the workings of the doctrine of the universal priesthood, which puts all men and women on the same plane as priests. Bach did not merely subordinate the altos, tenors, and basses to the sopranos, but gave each voice its due share of recognition. This explains why choirs love to sing these chorales; there is nothing uninteresting in what any voice does, since all sing melodies. Whether Bach was thinking specifically of the doctrine of the universal priesthood or not, we do not know; but have we not all learned that we often obey fundamental laws and certain policies of procedure without being fully conscious of this? The doctrine of the universal priesthood not infrequently functions similarly among us Lutherans. Let us think, too, of the implications found in a fugue, where, for example, the sopranos sing a chorale as *cantus firmus* while the lower voices sing a three- or four-voice fugue, as we find it in Johann Christoph Bach's motet *"Ich lasse dich nicht."*

The Latin language was used in the Lutheran Church to a great extent through the 16th century; as time went on, however, it was dropped more and more and gave way to the language of the people, though it was still used at times in choral music written in the first half of the 18th

century. In fact, we today insist that our services of worship be understood in their entirety by the worshipers, and if a choral selection is sung in Latin, a translation is usually provided. Bach wrote his great choral music for the church service in the language of the people. His monumental Mass in B Minor is sacred music, but not church music, nor was it written for the church service. It is interesting to note that Bach's setting of the Magnificat was not written according to Hoyle. Although the text of this canticle of the liturgy was known to worshipers in Bach's day in Latin as well as in German, Bach inserted four sections which are not part of the Magnificat proper at all, but which were in some way known to the people of Leipzig; one of these was a fugal chorus based on the chorale *"Vom Himmel hoch."* This was not only a concession to the linguistic shortcomings of the royal priesthood, but also proof of the Leipzig cantor's concern for this priesthood.

Similar concessions were made by Bach in his *Passions according to St. Matthew* and *St. John.* Although Schütz had already used a Lutheran chorale [70] in his setting of *The Seven Words,* Bach stressed it to such a degree in his Passions that his practice must be regarded as a departure from the old custom. While it is often hard for the common man to listen to these great and difficult settings of the Passion, yet he is afforded frequent relief through the interspersion of familiar chorales. The same might be said of the great cantatas of Bach and other Lutheran masters. The chorale, used as *cantus firmus,* was the familiar strain which the common man, unable to grasp and enjoy the contrapuntal complexities of these works, was able to follow and cherish. At times this *cantus firmus* was sung by voices, at other times it was played by a musical instrument, as in Bach's *Actus Tragicus,* the cantata *"Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit,"* where the opening phrase of the chorale *"Ich hab' mein Sach' Gott heimgestellt"* is heard in the clear tones of the flute, while other instruments and the sopranos present related music, but not the chorale.

Think of the hundreds of precious motets written by our Lutheran masters. Some of these are very simple or of only moderate difficulty; others are very difficult. But in many of them the chorale plays a most essential part, serving as the *cantus firmus* and again enabling the common man to follow and enjoy them. We all, I am certain, know of motets which are based either entirely or almost entirely on the chorale. I need but refer you to Bach's *"Jesu, meine Freude"* and Brahms' "*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her."*

I must, of course, call attention also to the thousands of chorale preludes which have been written by our Lutheran composers. You all know the importance of these works. You are all aware of the fact that every reputable organist, whether he be a Lutheran or not, must have chorale preludes, fantasies, and variations in his repertoire. Let us appreciate the fact that not only the chorale preludes of Bach, but also those of our other Lutheran masters are being played a great deal today. These chorale preludes have rightly been called tone poems; but they are really much more: they are a means of worship, instrumental confessions of our faith, proofs of the belief of our masters in the doctrine of the universal priesthood, for were they not written to create an atmosphere of worship, to guide the worshiper and prepare him for what was to follow? Let those who would dispute this consider the *Alternatimspraxis* of the Lutheran Church of the 17th century, where the congregation would sing one stanza, the choir the next, and the organist play

the third without being joined either by congregation or choir. The organist would then play a variation or a brief fantasy based on that particular stanza, while the congregation would follow the texts in its hymnals. The chorale variations of Scheidt, Walther, Böhm, and others were frequently written for such use and were not mere exhibitions of the composer's contrapuntal skill, but an expression of his faith in the message of the hymn text. In this connection it is well to recall that a church organist is a royal priest, and when he serves as organist in a service, he is not to set himself apart as a virtuoso, a show-off, or, if you will, as a kind of musical priest; neither, however, is he to cater to the bad tastes of those who would have him ignore churchly standards of worship. The good church organist is not a hireling. He is to carry out his work as a member of the royal priesthood; he is a part of the congregation with which he worships God; he is no more, but also no less. The same applies with equal force, of course, to the choirmaster and to the members of the church choir.

In conclusion, let me emphasize that we must regard the great musical heritage of the Lutheran Church not only as a precious gift of God, but also as a manifestation of Lutheranism's belief in the doctrine of the universal priesthood. This precious doctrine has exerted a tremendous influence in determining the nature of our Lutheran liturgies and the styles, character, spirit, and content of Lutheran church music. There have been periods in the Church's history when very little was said from the pulpits and in the literature of the Lutheran Church concerning this precious doctrine. Fortunately, it was then still perpetuated and presented through the medium of the music of our Church. Our heritage has thus rendered a most valuable service to the Kingdom of God. May our music always serve that purpose; may it ever be and remain a testimony of our faith in the universal and royal priesthood of all believers in Christ Jesus our Savior!

Note: Circumstances did not always permit the author to work with the St. Louis edition of Luther's works. Hence slight variations will be found in the quotations taken from Luther's works. W. E. B.

Cited References

1 *"Auf dem Erfahrungswege geschah es, dass das Verhältnis des geistlichen Priestertums zu Gott dem Reformator unserer Kirche in einer solchen Weise aufging, dass zu allen Zeiten das, was er erlebt hat, ein Typus für die Einführung eines Menschen in die Tiefen dieses priesterlichen Verhältnisses sein und bleiben wird. Seine Entwickelung in dieser Beziehung fällt mit seiner Entwickelung zum Reformator zusammen; denn das geistliche Priestertum wurde und musste mit Notwendigkeit werden zu seinem Stützpunkt in dem grossen reformatorischen Kampf." "Das geistliche Priestertum der Christen."* Dr. Peter Madsen. In autorisierter Uebersetzung von E. Schumacher. Druck und Verlag C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1882, p. 50.
2 Already in 1519, in a letter written to Spalatin on December 18, Luther pointed out, on the basis of 1 Pet. 2:9, that all Christians are priests and that the clergy is to be distinguished from the laity through the public proclamation of the Word (preaching) and the administration of the Sacraments.
3 Cf. *Das Papsttum zu Rom, vom Teufel gestiftet,* published in 1545, one year before Luther's death.

4 Even Augustine, whom Luther followed a great deal, referred to the doctrine very seldom and passed up several very good opportunities to refer to this doctrine in his *De Civitate Dei.*
5 *E.g., An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation, Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche, Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen, Vom Missbrauch der Messe,* and many more.
6 In view of the fact that the Council of Trent came out strongly against this doctrine and that we have here a fundamental difference between Lutheranism and Catholicism, one wonders why this profound theologian, unlike *Martinus Primus,* did not make more of the excellency of this doctrine. From the following we see that he did point out that the sacrifice of Mass is not, according to Scripture, to be required of the royal priesthood, but otherwise his remarks are rather simple and bare, quite unlike the statements of Luther concerning this doctrine. Chemnitz says: "*Praeterea vero Scriptura Novi Testamenti mentionem facit etiam regalis et sancti sacerdotii 1 Pet. 2 et Apoc. 1, 5 et 20. Christus fecit nos reges et sacerdotes in solis enim illis quattuor locis, praeter unicum Christi sacerdotium, mentio fit sacerdotii regalis in Novo Testamento. Illi vero loci non de solis presbyteris, sed in genere de omnibus fidelibus loquuntur, quibus certe pontificii, missificationes suas nullo modo communes facient. Et hostias, quae in illo Novi Testamenti sacerdotio offeruntur, Scriptura diserte describit, quod sint spirituales, et quales sint, expresse et nominatim enumerat, sicut in principio huius disputationis, testimonia illa Scripturae annotavimus, Rom. 12 et 15, Phil. 2 et 4, Hebr. 5 et 12, 1. Pet. 2. Nulla autem ibi mentio fit sacrificii Missae." Examen Concillii Tridentini* per Martinum Chemnicum. Ed. Preuss. Sumtibus Gust. Schlawitz, Berolini, 1861, *De Missa Pontifica,* p. 393.
7 *Catechismusmilch,* dritter Teil.
8 *The Vitality of the Christian Tradition.* Edited by George F. Thomas. Harper and Bros., New York; 1944. Chapter 5, *The Reformation and Classical Protestantism.* By Albert C. Outler, pp. 139–140.
9 Deut. 4:9–10; 6:7, 20 ff.; etc.
10 Ex. 12.
11 Num.18.7.
12 Is. 61:6.
13 *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.* Gerhard Kittel. Verlag von W. Kohlhamner, Stuttgart, 1938, dritter Band, p. 249. Translated by W. E. B.
14 *Ibid.;* translated by W. E. B.
15 St. Louis edition of Luther's Works, (Walch), Vol. X, 270. Cf. footnote No. 71. Translation from *Works of Martin Luther.* Holman edition. Vol. II, pp. 66–69.
16 *Ibid.,* Vol. XIX:114 and 118. Holman ed., II, p. 279.
17 *Ibid.,* XIX:998–999; Holman ed., Vol. II, pp. 323–326.
18 *Ibid.,* VI:779. Translated by W. E. B.
19 *Ibid.,*1044. Translated by W. E. B.
20 *Ibid.,* X:1584. Holman ed., I, p. 316.
21 *Ibid.,* V:996. Translated by W. E. B.
22 *Ibid.,* XVIII:1282. Holman ed., III, pp. 321–324.
23 *Op. cit.,* pp. 134–135.
24 *Op. cit.,* p. 249.
25 Matt. 15:9.
26 1 John 4:1.

27 St. Louis ed. of Luther's works, *Interpretation* of *Psalm 110.* V:1035–1036.
28 *Ibid.,* X:273; Holman ed., II, p. 69.
29 Rev. 5:9–10.
30 *Op. cit.,* pp. 64–65. Translated freely by W. E. B.
31 Cf. *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* Various editors and contributors. Published by Appleton, New York. Has imprimatur. Vol. XII, "Priesthood," pp. 414–415.
32 *Ibid.*
33 *Ibid.*
34 *Ibid.*
35 *Ibid.*
36 *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent.* Translated by The Rev. J. Waterworth. Published by C. Dolman, London, 1848, Sessions XXIII, p. 172, chap. IV.
37 *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.* Vol. IX, "Priesthood," A. Hauck, pp. 251–253. Original wording: *"Interpres ac mediator Dei et hominum, quae, sacerdotis functio existimanda est."* Catholic Catechism, pars II, cap. VII, qu. 23.
38 In a spirit of fairness it is well to state, however, that much music was written, notably in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, in which the styles of the Roman Catholic and Lutheran composers converged to such an extent that it is difficult to ascertain whether the music was written by a Lutheran or a Roman Catholic. One need but examine some of the compositions by Gallus (Handl), Lechner, Antonio Scandello, Hans Leo Hassler, Michael Praetorius, Kuhnau, Buxtehude, and others. We refer particularly to settings of the Passion and of the Mass (including the Missa Brevis; cf. the Missa Brevis of Buxtehude, published by Music Press of New York, edited by Paul Boepple).
39 *Op. cit.,* p. 415.
40 1 Tim. 3:16.
41 1 Pet. 2:9.
42 Cf. footnote 28.
43 St. Louis ed. of Luther's Works, Vol. X:221–225.
44 *Ibid.,* 226–257.
45 *Ibid.,* 226.
46 Cf. the various *Kirchenordnungen* of the 16th century; also *Der lutherische Gottesdienst des 16. Jahrhunderts.* Von Dr. Leonhardt Fendt. Verlag von Ernst Reinhardt, München, 1923, p. 82 ff.
47 We do not mean to imply hereby that the singing of hymns is not to be regarded as part of the performance of the liturgy. Lutheran liturgies distinguish themselves from those of the Roman Catholic Church through the omission of error and the singing of hymns.
48 *"Und wenn ich's vermöchte und die griechische und hebräische Sprache wäre uns so gemein als die lateinische und hätte so viel feiner Musica und Gesangs, als die lateinische hat, so sollte man einen Sonntag um den andern in allen vier Sprachen, deutsch, lateinisch, griechisch und hebräisch Messe halten, singen und lesen."* St. Louis ed., X:228.
49 *Die evangelische Kirchenmusik.* Dr. Friedrich Blume. Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, Potsdam, 1931, p. 29. Translated by W.E.B.
50 *Evangelischer Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst.* Vorträge der Tagung in Halle, 23. bis 26. Juni, 1924. Kap. III: *Die musikalische Ausgestaltung des evangelischen Gottesdienstes,* von Prof.

Dr. Arnold Schering, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, Halle, 1924, pp. 26–27. Translated by W. E. B.
51 *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik in Deutschland.* Johann Daniel von der Heydt, Trowitzsch & Sohn, Berlin, 1926, p. 36.
52 "The hymns of Luther have killed (damned) more souls than his writings and sermons." Cf. *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs der christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangelischen Kirche*. Eduard Emil Koch. Chr. Belserschen Buchhandlung, Stuttgart, 1852, Hauptteil, I. Band, p. 83.
53 *Geschichtliche Entwickelung der evangelischen Kirchenmusik.* W. Stahl. Max Hesse's Verlag, Berlin, 1920, p.15.
54 Some regard Ambrosian music as the first source. While it is true that the texts of several chorales (*e.g.,* "Nun komm' der Heiden Heiland") have been traced back to Ambrose, the tunes of these hymns were not delineated from Ambrosian chant.
55 *Encyklopaedie der evangelischen Kirchenmusik.* S. Kümmerle. Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1888, Vol. I, p. 748. Translated by W. E. B.
56 *E.g.,* hymns were not written or sung isometrically, *i.e.,* all notes were not given the same value. Cf. *Old Hundredth* in the *Common Service Book* of The United Lutheran Church in America (No. 492) and in most sectarian hymnals.
57 This does not imply, of' course, that all hymns found in Lutheran hymnals are to be regarded as chorales. The style, spirit, and character of many distinguishes them from the chorale, and besides, *e.g.,* in the case of the English hymns, they are still used and claimed by the Churches and denominations for which they were written. The Roman Catholic Church can hardly claim the chorales of the pre-Reformation era, because they were never adopted by the Church of Rome, but were written as religious folk songs, and the first Church to adopt and make great use of them was the Lutheran Church.
58 St. Louis ed. of Luther's Works, XXII:1541. Translated by W. E. B.
59 Cf. Blume, *op. cit.,* p.14.
60 Luther's exact words were: *"Der Teufel brauche nicht alle schönen Melodien für sich allein zu besitzen"*—the devil need not possess all beautiful melodies solely for his own use. Cf. Blume, *op. cit.,* p. 12.
61 *E.g.,* Johann Huss' *"Jesus Christus nostra Salus"—"Jesus Christus, unser Heiland."*
62 *E.g., "Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele."*
63 *Brief an Spalatin,* 1524. St. Louis ed. of Luther's Works, XXIa:582.
64 Psalm 96:1.
65 *Op. cit.,* p. 394.
66 *Gesangblätter aus dem 16. Jahrhundert,* Berlin, 1838.
67 *Op. cit.,* p. 27.
68 The custom of putting the *cantus firmus* into the upper voice was not initiated by Lutheran composers. This had been done previously in the music of the followers of Calvin and Zwingli. It is often claimed that Lucas Osiander introduced this practice into the Lutheran Church; this is not true. It had been introduced already before Osiander took steps to establish the practice.
69 The same is to be said in favor of Gregorian chant.
70 *"Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund."*

The Music of the Common Service and the Minor Offices

M. Alfred Bichsel

By way of introduction to this discussion of the music of the Common Service and the Minor Offices as we find them in the 1941 edition of the *Hymnal* of the Synodical Conference, there are a number of general observations concerning liturgy that must be made, so that a clear understanding of our position and aims might be reached as objectively as possible.

A group of church musicians for the second time has gathered for the purpose of deliberating on the heritage of the Church at this second Church Music Conference. That such meetings should be guided by the loving spirit of Christ and that they should be motivated by an earnest desire to seek the truth goes without saying. Such a spirit will prevent us from saying or doing anything except that which comes from such a zealous desire. What is to be offered in this review is offered not with a desire to ridicule the hard labor and honest work of earnest Christian men, but rather to offer suggestions and constructive criticism, so that future editions will eliminate that which is inferior and add that which is more in keeping with the spirit of Lutheranism.

In the first place, it must be remembered at all times that liturgy belongs to the field of adiaphora, and once that principle is established, you open the doors for a flood of diverging opinions and varying viewpoints. Allow me to state the problem in a very logical way.

The Third Commandment has an entirely different significance for us than it had for the Children of Israel, who were under the Old Testament Dispensation. For them Ex. 21:8 meant the rigid observance of a Sabbath, of prescribed festivals, of keeping certain fasts—in short, it meant the observance of the entire Ceremonial Law down to the most minute and most exacting detail. For us who have been freed from the law of fear and born anew to the law of love, it means constant worship and praise of God with no specified forms, times, or seasons.

Under the New Testament Dispensation there are only three specific commandments given by our Lord Jesus Christ concerning the public proclamation of God's Word and the administration of his Holy Sacraments, namely:

1. Preach the Gospel to every creature (Mark 16:15).
2. Baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost (Matt. 28:19).
3. Take, eat; this is My body; take, drink; this is My blood. This do as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of Me (Matt. 26:26 ff.; 1 Cor. 11:25).

Concerning the first injunction, or command (*i.e.*, of preaching the Gospel to every creature), there is no specified cultus, ritual, or ceremony. It may be done in various ways. What are Sunday school classes but the preaching of that Gospel to the young? What would you consider catechetical instructions but the preaching of the Gospel to those who are about to be confirmed in the faith? What else but the preaching of the Gospel would you call Bible classes? What are the religion courses that we offer on this very campus but the preaching of the Gospel? In

essence, the very life that the Christian leads should be a preaching of that Gospel to the world of unbelievers.

As far as the second command is concerned, namely, Baptism, there are more specific instructions—two, to be exact. The first instruction is one that is inherent in the word itself, "baptize," which means merely the application of water; and the second is that such application of water is to be done in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

Concerning the third injunction (the celebration of our Lord's Holy Supper), even more specific instructions were definitely given by our Lord. There are, for example, definite instructions by inference as to the elements that were to be used for the celebration. Following our Lord's example, the elements were to be blessed, and the elements were to be consumed. Finally, the Sacrament is to be celebrated frequently, a fact too often neglected by many Christians today.

Now, if the foregoing meager Scriptural injunctions are true, and they no doubt are, then it must logically follow that all forms of worship and all liturgy are superfluous and that ceremony is unnecessary. Basically that is true, but we must not jump to such a conclusion too swiftly. That public worship is commanded by our Lord is quite obvious. This we can see from the foregoing discussion and from the fact that He has promised to bless such a public service by His presence: "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. 18:20). St. Paul has recorded the fact that the early Christians did just that, and on many occasions Paul himself preached to them. Likewise according to St. Paul we learn that all things are to be done decently and in order. It is the opinion of some that on these last two words—decently and in order—we have the starting point and the authority for set forms and prescribed methods of worship, and that they form the basis for the entire liturgical development of the Church.

There may still be some who insist that as long as these set forms are matters of indifference and hence not necessary to salvation, it would be a good thing if they were all dropped entirely and that a simple service should be substituted. This they claim without apparently realizing that no matter how simple or how complex a service might be, you still have a set form that will be followed regularly. Any attempt to go beyond this will result in the danger of falling into the error of the religious enthusiasts who band themselves together and sit in silence until one of their group feels that he has a direct revelation from God—they do this trusting in a direct operation of the Holy Spirit. Such a type of service is entirely contrary to Scripture. As far as we are concerned, we are told that the Holy Spirit acts upon unregenerate man through the preaching of the Law, then the Gospel, then further He acts upon man when he is regenerated through the Sacraments.

Concerning the complexity or simplicity of a service, there is this to say: You are quite at liberty to throw out all liturgy, since it is a matter of indifference, but then at the same time you can no longer call yourself Lutheran, for Luther was definitely a man of liturgical persuasion, and the Lutheran Church is recognized the world over as being a liturgical Church, in fact the true liturgical Church as opposed to other liturgical bodies such as the Church of Rome, the Church

of the East, and the Anglican Church. Luther's principle of liturgical reformation was definitely one of purification and not of iconoclasm, as were the principles of the reformers of south Germany and Switzerland.

If we are truly desirous of recapturing and preserving the heritage of our Church, the liturgy must of necessity go with it, for to try this almost superhuman task by throwing out the liturgy would be somewhat like the surgeon who tries to save a man's life by removing a diseased heart.

If we are to follow the principle of Luther, it is the duty of all pastors, teachers, organists, and choirmasters to adopt an attitude similar to his (that is, one of purification and not iconoclasm) and sincerely to try to preserve that which has been given us of our liturgical heritage and to recapture that which has been lost through ignorance, neglect, and indifference.

There is no necessity for going into the history and development of the Common Service and the Minor Offices as we know them today; it is to be taken for granted that all of us know, or at least should know, these facts. The problem that confronts us at the present time is the adequacy or inadequacy of the present musical settings as they are given in the liturgical portion of the Synodical Conference *Hymnal* of 1941. A number of congregations have been slow in adopting the book, and some have adopted it against their better judgment. While sometimes their reasons for hesitation are without foundation, it must nevertheless be conceded that the liturgical portion of this book as well as its several predecessors offers a number of serious questions dealing with the unity of rendition and the unity of style in the musical settings.

All of us will concede that the gem of spiritual expression of the Lutheran Church is the chorale—first, in its simplicity as the ideal vehicle for congregational expression, then, secondly, as the mother of the many art forms to which it has given birth, such as the chorale prelude, the chorale fantasy, the chorale cantata, etc. There is nothing more foreign, therefore, to the spiritual implications of the chorale, and that also means its musical ideology and style, than is the Anglican chant of the 19th century, Yet the bulk and weight of the liturgical settings that we find in this present edition draws most liberally from those dubious sources. Picture to yourself, for example, how much at odds are the styles of the Kyrie Eleison on pages 7 and 17, and the accompanying Gloria in Excelsis, with its ugly barred cadences, thumps, and bumps. I submit to you in its place the Gloria in Excelsis from the *Strassburger Kirchenordnung* which has been edited in English for this publication. I should also like to submit the chorale *Allein Gott in der Hoeh' sei Ehr',* which derives its origin from the plainsong Paschal Gloria.

This destruction of the unity of style is found all too often in the musical settings of our Common Service and the Minor Offices. Other examples will be found in the Gospel responses Gloria Tibi and Laus Tibi. We suggest in its place a monotone response or some similar simple response which would fit better the style of the Choral Service, especially if Luther's Gospel tones are used on special occasions.

The next startling and unexpected jolt that we receive is the present setting of the Sanctus—where a complete Choral Service is used, the Agenda gives the old traditional tones for the

introductory dialog to the Preface (Dominus Vobiscum, Sursum Corda) and for the Preface itself. All goes well until the congregation is to sing the Sanctus, and then we have something which is quite foreign to the style of everything that has preceded it. As another suggestion permit me to submit the Sanctus of Lucas Lassius in the *Psalmodia Sacra* of 1533.

The mixing of styles is further brought out in the contrast offered by the Lord's Prayer when chanted by the pastor to the ancient tones, also indicated in the present Agenda, and the doxology given to the congregation. We suggest either the omission of the doxology, since it is not actually a part of the prayer, whereupon the congregation may conclude with a sung Amen—or if the doxology is preferred, we should like to suggest a setting such as the one found in the *Braunschweigsche Kirchenordnung* (1528–1531).

Among other settings for the Nunc Dimittis it might be stated here that the setting for Vespers on page 43, while poorly pointed, is far better in style and spirit than is the one in current use in the post-Communion portion of the service.

No settings for the Creed are suggested at this time, for they are easily obtainable in various settings, as, for example, those edited by Charles Winifred Douglas and others. At this point, however, we would like to urge a more widespread use of the chorale Credo of Luther—the so-called *Grosse Glaube*—No. 251—the second melody rather than the first.

Before entering upon a discussion of the unity of rendition, a word or two concerning the Minor Offices must be spoken. It seems that we have all but lost the ancient use and purpose of these offices. This also means that we have departed from Luther's conception of Matins and Vespers. He viewed these devotional services with the highest regard and urged their retention for daily use as well as for use on Sundays. The only apparent changes that he advocated were the reduction of the usual five Psalms to three and the introduction of a preaching office in connection with both Matins and Vespers. For the daily offices he suggested a homily on the Lesson, and on Sundays a preaching office on the Epistle for Matins and on the Old Testament Lesson for Vespers. Thus a Christian who attended all three services had an opportunity of hearing sermons on all the pericopes, for the sermon at the Mass was to be based on the Gospel. Today we have all but forsaken the Psalter in deed as well as in spirit, for in Matins we use, at the most, two Psalms, the first of which, the Venite, part of Psalm 95, is used at all Matins and is given on page 33 in a particularly bad Anglican setting. The second Matin Psalm is read responsively by officiant and congregation. At Vespers it is very rare that we ever have more than one Psalm, which, too, is read responsively by officiant and congregation. That is why I say that we have all but forsaken the Psalter in deed as well as in spirit. That so few Psalms are used at these offices gives evidence of this as well as the fact that we read them rather than sing them. We sing all manner of uninspired hymns, some of which are of dubious sentiment, especially some from the English and American heritage written and composed by mortal men, yet we are perfectly content to read God's own hymnbook in a sort of halfhearted, weak, monotonous mumble.

Our present settings for the Minor Offices, too, are a queer mixture of plainsong and Anglican barred chants. The contrast is even more apparent in the opening portion of both Matins and Vespers, for almost in one breath we chant a simple "Make haste to help me, O Lord" and quickly follow it up with a barred Gloria Patri. In Matins the same contrast is immediately repeated as we go through the Ferial Invitatory, a simple chant, and then follow it up with an Anglican Venite. The greatest tragedy of our Matin settings, however, are the Canticles, for the Te Deum in its present Anglican setting is really unfortunate. Is it not possible to urge one of our musical scholars to give us an English edition of the German Te Deum? A good metrical translation of the Te Deum is needed in chorale form taken from the *Pikardisches Gesangbuch* of 1539. The Benedictus, too, is most unfortunate, for it reiterates the melody of the previously mentioned Gloria Patri. An English metrical translation of the chorale Benedictus by Koepfl (1537) would be a most welcome change from the present Anglican setting.

What has been said concerning the opening section of Matins is also applicable to Vespers. The melodies for Labia and Adjutorium are adequate enough, but the unity is again shaken by the melody of the Gloria Patri. Reference has already been made to the neglect of the Psalter or its distorted use where it is in use at all.

The Vesper canticles fare much better than the Matin canticles, for though they are not well pointed, they make use of material which is far superior to the barred chants and more in the spirit of the chorale, hence of Lutheranism.

The matter of the unity of rendition is one of local and individual difficulty rather than one that comes as the result of specific publications. However, it can trace its source to a definite lack of specific training of the clergy in their seminary days and to a lack of precept of their older brethren in the office.

While many have never given the problem much thought, or while many have never considered it a problem, there are many of us who feel that a fifty-fifty spoken and sung service lacks the unity that would make for an adequate Choral Service. This does not necessarily mean that the entire service is to be chanted, but that at least the parts that belong together as a dialog between pastor and congregation should either be one thing or the other, and not a mixture of speaking and chanting. For a pastor to say "The Lord be with you" to his congregation and for them to reply by singing "And with thy spirit" seems almost as pointless as for us to use that method of exchanging greetings in everyday life.

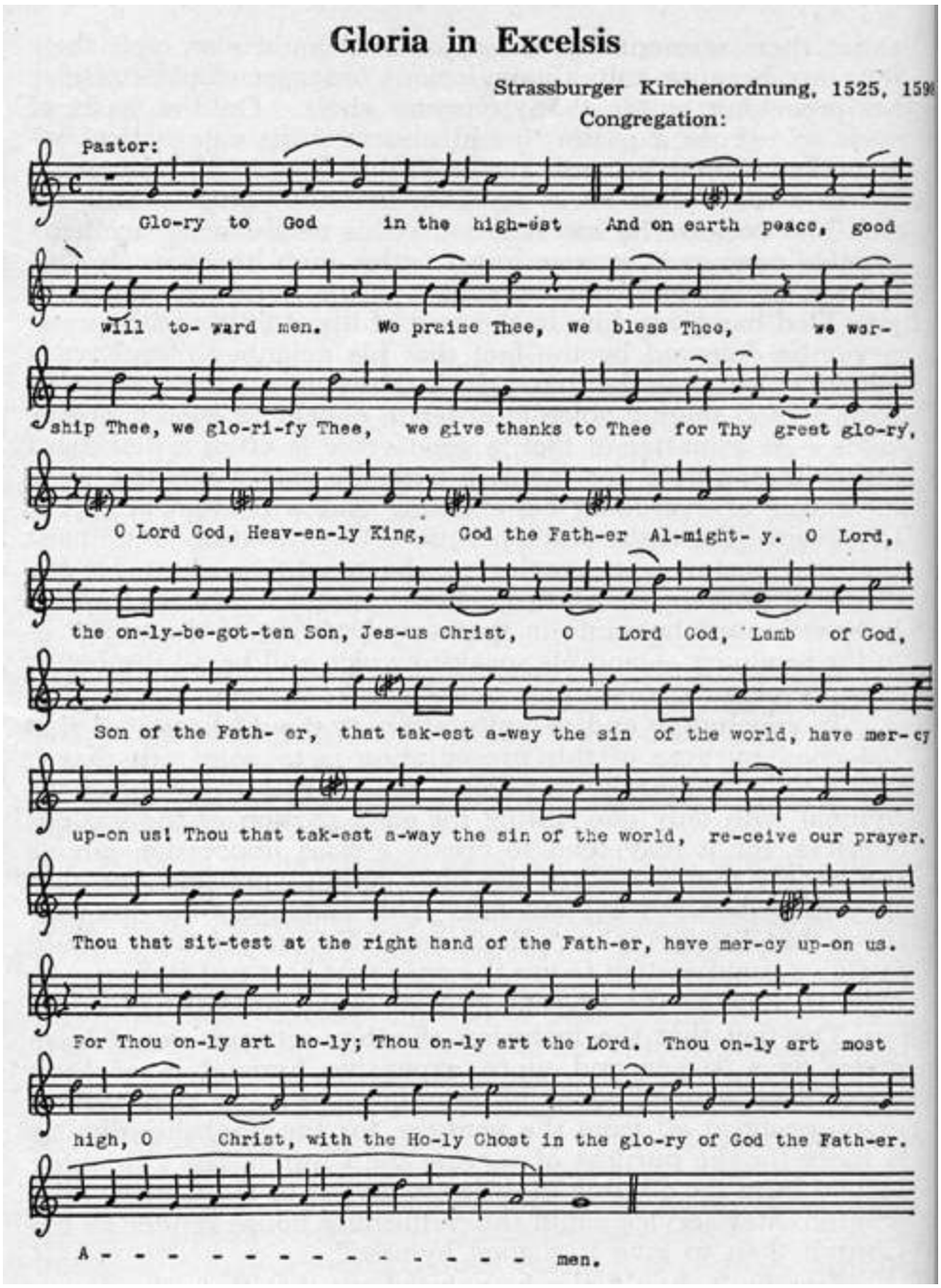
It is a matter of constant wonder to many of us that in bilingual congregations a pastor chants his German liturgy, but uses this fifty-fifty system for his English service. Upon inquiry the usual answers that one receives are that the German people are used to the Choral Service and like it, and that the English are not used to the Choral Service and do not care for it, or that these pastors cannot chant in English, or that German chanting sounds better than English chanting. Many pastors give for an excuse the fact that they cannot chant at all or that they cannot chant like Pastor X at Trinity Church. If they would pursue the same line of reasoning about their sermonizing, those pastors would also omit their sermons, because only a vainglorious braggart

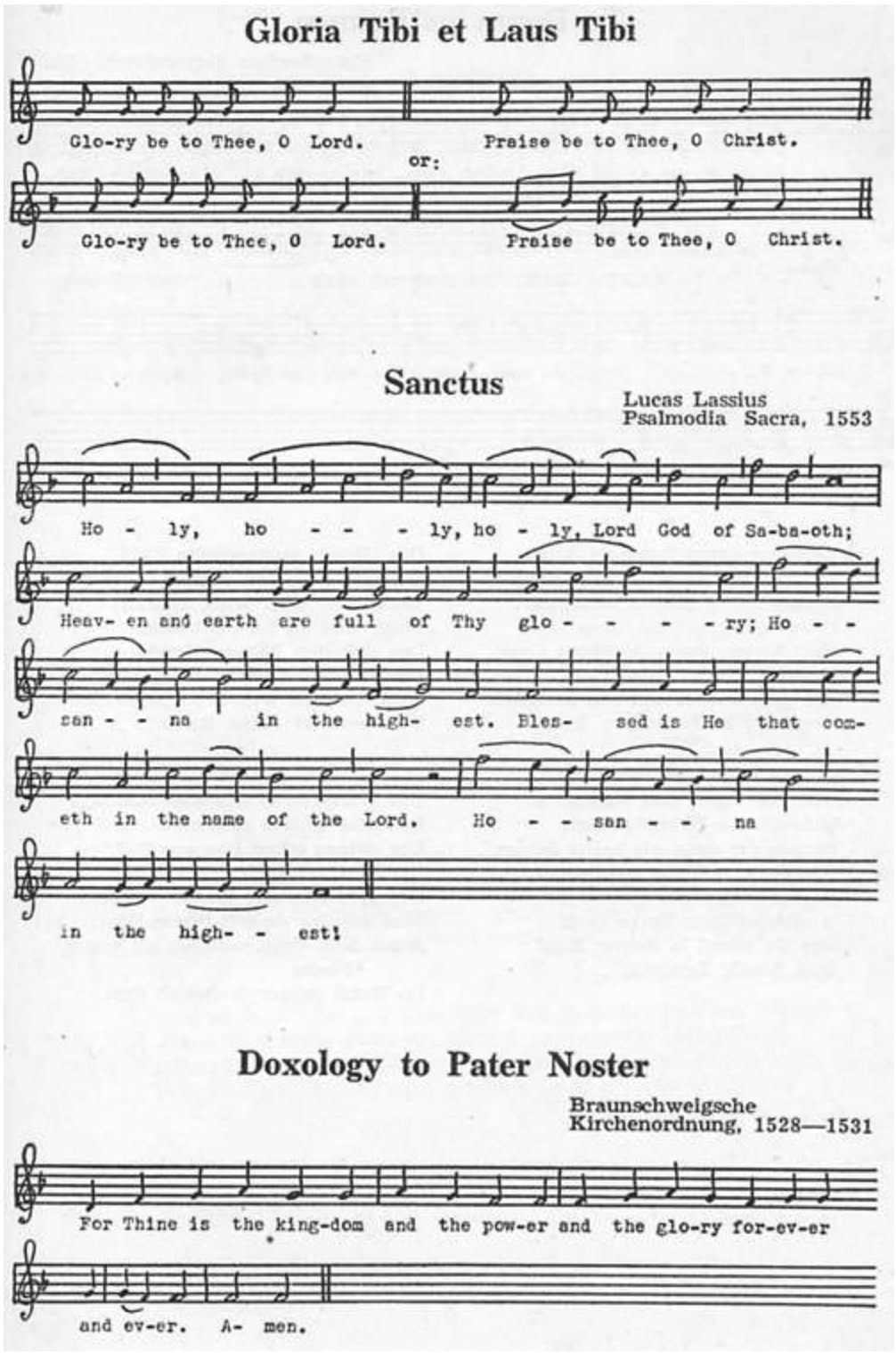
would consider his preaching better than someone else's. On the basis of such an excuse a pastor would also stop his catechetical instruction simply because he feels that Pastor X is a much better teacher than he is, or again he would stop visiting his sick just because he has heard that his neighboring brother's bedside manner is ever so much better than his own. In this matter, as in everything else, the pastor must use whatever gifts God has given him to the best of his ability, and he must never be deterred by the fact that his neighbor may have a better voice than he has. It is absolutely unnecessary to have a good singing voice in order to develop a good chanting voice. As a matter of fact, a good voice is often a detriment rather than a help, for the man with the good voice is always in danger of overdoing his chanting and will often permit it to become dramatic and operatic. We maintain and insist that any pastor can chant or can be taught to chant, for the chant is nothing more than choral speech. The beginning, however, must be made in the early training of the pastor—in the seminary—and his speaking voice will be all the better because of such training.

In concluding and recapitulating, it should be stated that the chief purpose of this presentation is to point out that it was a definite mistake to publish the liturgical portion of the hymnal with only one setting for each portion of the various services, for it may tend to create a false impression among the people that these are the only settings possible and that they must be used without fail. This endangers our point of view that liturgy is an adiaphoron. Several settings would enable a congregation to use the ones that best suit their needs, even if they be the present inferior Anglican settings.

The fact that the inclusion of other settings would have given us a larger and more expensive hymnal is of little importance, even if our publishing house were to realize little or no profit at all from the venture, for the publishing house is there for the purpose of serving the Church, not of making money from the Church in order to give it to the Church, and what greater service could the publishing house render to the Church than to give it a good hymnal?

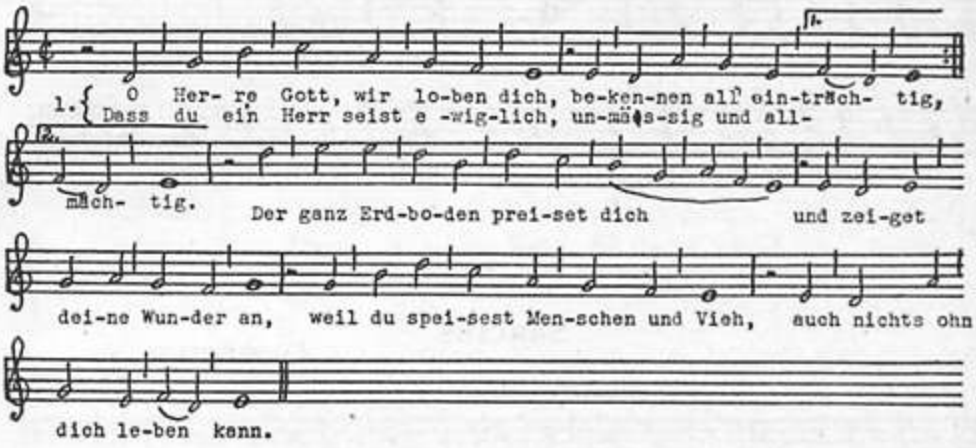
Finally, it should also be pointed out that these few pages that you have received may be totally inadequate and even poorly done, but they were given you in sincerity to point out that something can be done even by those with very little ability. This work is to be done by our eminent music scholars who have the gift and the experience. May they be urged and constrained to render this most needful service to our Church, so that the future will profit by the mistakes of the present and the past.





Te Deum in Reimen

Pikardisches Gesangbuch, 1539



2.

Der Engel und Erzengel Schar
Im Himmel hoch dort oben
Singet mit Freuden immerdar,
Höret nicht auf zu loben
Dich Vater, Sohn, Heiligen Geist,
Einigen allmächtigen Gott,
Der du Himmel und den Erdkreis
Regierest nach deinem Rath.

3.

Die Cherubim und Seraphim,
Himmlische Feuerflammen,
Singen dir stets mit heller Stimm',
Sprechen fröhlich zusammen:
Heilig, heilig, heilig bist du,
O allmächtiger Herre Gott,
Der du lebest in deiner Ruh'
Und König Zebaoth.

4.

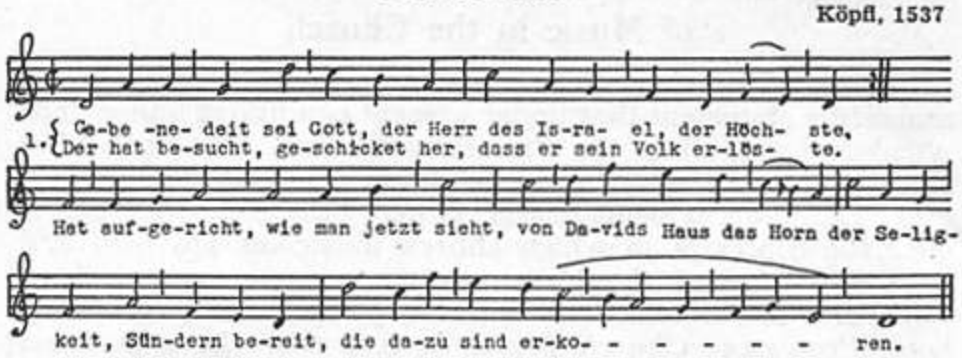
Die löblich auserwählte Zahl
Deiner gesandten Boten
Verkündet dein Wort überall,
Thut, was du hast geboten.
Des gleichen haben allezeit
Die rechten Propheten gethan,
Nach deinem Willen prophezeit
Und bereitet deine Bahn.

5.

Die Märtyrer so friedsam und still
In recht' gutem Gewissen
Um deines edlen Namens Will'
Ihr Blut aus Lieb vergiessen,
Die geben deiner Wahrheit Preis
Und düngen sie mit ihrem Blut:
Auch dein Volk, welches all seinen Fleiss
Im Bund deiner Wahrheit thut.

Benedictus

Köpfl, 1537



2.

Vor langer Zeit hat's zugeseit durch den Mund der Propheten,
Zu retten sie ist er bereit von den Feinden aus Nöthen,
Von Hassers Hand, die allesamt, wie er dann hat verheiszen
Barmherzigkeit, weit ausgebreit, den Vätern ist geleistet.

3.

Er hat gedacht an seinen Bund, dem Abraham geschworen,
Dadurch dann auch ein jeder kunnt', von Gott aus Furcht erkoren,
Von Feindes Kraft, an Gott behaft't, mit heil'ger Furchte streben,
In g'rechtem Sinn, ganz frei dahin, dieweil er hat das Leben.

4.

Und du, viel seligs Kindelein, wirst Gott's Prophet genennet,
Denn sein Vorgänger sollst du sein, auf dass er werd' erkennet,
Zur Seligkeit auch werd' bereit sei'm Volk dahin die Strasse,
Wenn er hinlat (erlässt) ihr' Missethat, macht sie so quitt und lose.

5.

Durch die herzlich Barmherzigkeit, so oben her geflossen,
Besuchet Gott uns arme Leut, die da sitzen verdrossen
Im finstern Thal, in Todesqual. Drum kommt er mit sein'm Segen,
Richt't unsern Fuss, auf dass er muss gehen auf des Friedens Wegen.

6.

Ehr' sei dem Vater und dem Sohn und auch dem Heil'gen Geiste,
Als es im Anfang war und nun, der uns sein' Gnade leiste;
Dass wir wandeln und stets handeln zu Lob göttlichem Namen.
Wer das begehrt, dem wird gewährt. Nun sprecht von Herzen: Amen!

Changes in the Approach to Bach

Hans Rosenwald

It has become almost a fashion to discuss the work and style of Johann Sebastian Bach. The ample and splendid research work carried on in this respect by American scholars reflects the intense desire on the part of conscientious musicians to re-evaluate Bach's multifaceted genius.

Indeed, dissatisfaction with the average Bach performance of today is only too justified. The interpretation of both the master's vocal and instrumental works offers a garbled picture.

For a meeting such as ours, problems dealing with Bach must be of an especial interest. I was, therefore, very much honored indeed when my good friend Professor Hoelty-Nickel asked me to speak on this subject, probably without knowing that through previous work I was well prepared to do so. I have had the great pleasure of giving, some two weeks ago, six lectures on Bach here at this university, and the organists and choir directors of the Lutheran churches who were present seemed to be interested in the discussions, so much so that I found their inquisitiveness characteristic of the general awakening to Bach which we can witness today in the Lutheran Church. Within the American scene there can be but little question that a more intense cultivation of Bach, a general Bach culture, must primarily rely—at the present state of affairs—on the support of the church musicians. Here again no church musician has a greater obligation toward Bach than has the Lutheran. No music is as much rooted in the Lutheran religion as Bach's. It is for that reason that one can assume a general interest in Bach problems on the part also of such a venerable assembly as the present one. To be sure, I know that some members of this assembly have objections, often raised, to an intellectual analysis, or to a scholarly approach, and even to a discussion of Bach, or Lutheran church music, or perhaps any music; these gentlemen I must ask for patience, but from the beginning I will also give them the assurance that our discussions of style are not meant to replace our obligation to relive Bach as a Christian, as a Lutheran, as a German, or as a man. On the contrary, no intellectual analysis can be of value if it is not borne by the love of music-making and if it is not nurtured by the same Christian spirit which has been the inspiration and the motivating factor behind all Bach wrote.

Interpretation of a genius is subjected to the ever-changing philosophy of successive generations: each period views the great with its own eyes. Thus portraits of composers change and develop. The perception of one period is, however, not lost to the following; on the contrary, it adds new traits to those existing. In the case of Bach, the "evolutionary conception of his interpretation"[1] appears to be most fascinating. Only recently has a New York scholar, in outlining its growth, tried to show that the rationalists ignored the emotional contents of Bach as much as the romanticists forgot about the architectural features of his gigantic works. He concludes that only today, after the complete edition of his works, we begin to see the real Bach. Though the latter part of this statement must be fully acknowledged, I feel it necessary to revise the information, regarding the evaluation of Bach by his contemporaries and the classicists up to Beethoven; until recently I myself have believed that Bach was completely unappreciated in his own time.[2] Today, I must confess that the popular fiction that no truly great artist receives legitimate recognition for his work during his lifetime, simply because he is ahead of his generation, finds,

in the case of Bach, little nourishment. Consequently, Ernest Newman's [3] elaboration on this theory: Even if the work of Bach had been printed more generously during his lifetime, it would have "received less than its due recognition because his own ideal in music was largely alien to the spirit of the new age," can scarcely be maintained. The same author's emphasis upon the "fact" that but a small provincial circle (students, churchgoers, and the "society" of Leipzig) was acquainted with Bach's works, is also misleading. A study of the acts of the city of Leipzig and the evaluation of important treatises on music, some written in Bach's period, some shortly after his death, reveal that the sentimentality of the musicographers of the last generations has surrounded Bach's life with too much of the glamor of solitude. It seems that Leipzig was Germany's foremost musical center between 1730 and 1750, rivaled only by Hamburg; that, as Bach was recognized as a celebrity in Leipzig, this recognition was fairly identical with acknowledgment at least throughout Germany. Undoubtedly he lived in the consciousness of the *professionals,* if not in the hearts of the people, a fact which is testified by Scheibe,[4] who, in 1737, severely criticizes his influence, and later by Mizler,[5] who defends Bach's conservative art against Graupner and Telemann. Bach's son, Philipp Emanuel, who, because of the new homophonic style shaping itself in his era, disagreed with his father's technique and even called him an old wig, nevertheless makes the following statement in his autobiography: "Not easily traveled a master of music through Leipzig without meeting my father and playing for him. Father's greatness in composition, in organ and piano playing, was so well known that no musician of reputation would have failed to contact this great man and to know him better, whenever possible."[6]

In a previously written article,[7] I have already attempted to correct some misinterpretations regarding the romanticists' relationship to Bach. Almost without exception, Bach biographers make Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy responsible for having brought the master to the consciousness of the nineteenth century and pass over discussions of Mendelssohn's predecessors. However, Mendelssohn's re-performance of the *St. Matthew's Passion* after its hundred years' slumber was a cultural deed of such dimensions that his position as Bach discoverer is by no means weakened if we give credit to those who eagerly studied Bach before and concurrently with him. Such study was necessarily confined to but a few standard compositions, for the epoch was not concerned with collection of autographs or printings and was still less interested in reediting musical documents. Beethoven expresses his desire to do some charitable work for the daughter of Bach, "the immortal god of harmony."[8] This is, of course, but an indication of the Bach-awareness so conspicuously reflected in his last quartets and also coming to the fore in the last works of Mozart, particularly in the concluding movement of the Jupiter Symphony. In Goethe's encyclopaedic art philosophy, Bach plays a decisive role, which the Olympian master himself once epitomized in the classical words: "In Bach's works eternal harmony carries on a dialog with itself on what God felt in his bosom shortly before the creation of the world."[9] Goethe's clear-cut conception of the genius of Eisenach is revealed in his correspondence, not as yet musicologically evaluated, especially in the letters to his friend Zelter. This Goethe composer, one of the most dynamic personalities at the beginning of the last century, frequently discussed the "problem" Bach with Goethe. I refer to the following quotation from one of his letters: "Bach's works are partly vocal, partly instrumental, and both. In the vocal music there is a frequent discrepancy between music and words, and he has often enough been

criticized for it. He is not strict in the observation of melodic or harmonic rules which he applies with greatest daring. In his settings of Biblical texts, however, I am inclined to admire him: what holy freedom, what apostlelike irony, what unexepected things come up which, in spite of the foregoing, do not awaken doubt in regard to his sense and taste. . . . Yet he is dependent upon some task, and one should understand him from his organ compositions. This is his real soul . . ." [10]

In spite of Zelter, his teacher and intimate friend, who saw in a performance of Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion* insurmountable obstacles, Mendelssohn re-performed the work on Good Friday, 1829. The deed has always seemed surprising, but an analysis of Mendelssohn's early church music, a neglected field of even Mendelssohn monographers (due to the fact that a great number of these works have never been printed [11]), reveals the composer's previous close study of Bach's organ works and cantatas. His deep penetration into Bach's spirit is the more admirable as his elegant, unproblematical personality was little akin to the transcendental loftiness and mystic inwardness of the old master. How far-reaching Bach's influence on Mendelssohn is might be ascertained from this one example out of many: his organ Passacaglia in C minor, composed in 1823 and reminiscent of both the B-flat minor Prelude of the *Well-Tempered Keyboard* and Bach's organ Passacaglia in C minor, shows strongest resemblance with these works in construction and thematic conception, in rhythmic order and technique of variation. That in spite of this resemblance it has decided original traits speaks in favor of the boy then fourteen years old. In this and in many following works lies the nucleus for his later championship of Bach.

Instead of showing the result of such championship on Mendelssohn's contemporaries and followers, I shall say one word about the Bach-approach of a representative of postromantic composition, Max Reger. He appears to have imbibed Bach's polyphony more deeply than any other composer. When Reger, at an early age, dedicated his Opus 16 to the *manes* of Bach, he could rightly do so, for herein he proved himself, as a polyphonist, no less spontaneous than his idol. Brahms recognized such unusual talent and exchanged photographs with the young composer. Proudly could Reger say: "Others make fugues, I can only think in fugues." Declaring the organ as the basis of all church music, he writes: [12] "Only a compositional technique growing from Bach will bring us the true progress of music." Today we are able to recognize the aptness of this statement, for the works of those who have pressed the stamp of their personality upon the musical situation of our day, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Hindemith, and some others, can scarcely be dissociated from Bach and polyphony. A study of Reger simultaneously reveals the relationship of baroque and modern counterpoint. To no lesser degree, it indicates polyphonic crisis in romantic conception.

Why, in spite of the fact that the great composers of the nineteenth century have taken Bach to heart, has that century, on the whole, misunderstood his style? An abundance of published transcriptions and arrangements proclaim this misconception; had the post-romantic virtuosi enjoyed the inventions of Edison and Berliner, we would have, in addition, acoustic testimony convincing us of their misunderstanding of Bach's stylistic features.

Musicology did not become effective on the subject of Bach until 1850. Then the Bach Society was formed with the aim of collecting the scattered works of the master. In 1873 and 1879 Spitta's basic biography appeared. Scholars then turned to the investigation of the historic fundaments on which every correct rendition must rely, and analyzed the thought of Bach and his period in order to find a closer relationship to his style. With more original versions reinstated, the problems of performance became more conspicuous. One realizes how little the sound pictures of the romanticists corresponded to Bach's means and intentions. Andre Pirro [13] and Albert Schweitzer [14] interpreted the pictorial and poetic elements of Bach's vocal works and found that he used identical or similar motives for the portrayal of identical or similar ideas and emotions. The knowledge of melodic motion, rhythm, and harmony as involved in these vocal works helped them toward interpretation of the instrumental compositions which, in exchange, revealed the relationship of melodic directions and rhythmic formations to contrapuntal workmanship, instrumentation, orchestral accompaniment. What Spitta had already outlined was now confirmed: a thousand threads run from Bach to his forerunners in Germany, Italy, and France. Hermann Kretzschmar [15] and Alfred Heuss [16] viewed Bach's style partly phenomenologically, partly hermeneutically, and Ernst Kurth [17] was the first to investigate thoroughly the architectural aspects of Bach's work and, as a result, came to a full evaluation of the master's polyphony. Spitta had stressed the absolute musician,[18] Kretzschmar had confirmed his *Affektenlehre* [19] by means of him, Werker [20] proceeded to the scrutiny of the smallest mathematical proportions of the works. But, in spite of all these painstaking investigations and thorough aesthetic interpretations, we must realize that the phase of Bach-research from Spitta to Schering [21] represents a period of musicology with little or no influence on music life. Here lies the reason why the concertgoer of today thinks of Bach in terms of Stokowski's transcriptions, why the piano student approaches the *Well-Tempered Keyboard* through romantic "editions," why the *St. Matthew's Passion* is sung with subjective dynamics and fluctuation of tempi, why the organ works are played with refined effects of quasi-exotic color and exuberant timbre. Singers, instead of considering voice and instrument in Bach's arias and duets as two equal factors, treat them as though they were primitive forerunners of Schubert's songs; instrumentalists sacrifice plastic design, the accuracy of the fabric and the purity of form to coloristic "beauty" and romantic "expression" and replace sentiment with sentimentality. To quote Woodworth: "The unsuspecting public is treated to exaggerated dynamics, improper harmonic effects, rubato, misshapen phraseology, bad voice-leading, and such a thickening of texture of the music as to make it nothing less than a travesty."

Today there is no longer excuse for such discrepancy between historic truth and practical performance. Not only Bach's works, but thousands of compositions from the fifteenth through the eighteenth century are available in scholarly editions and furnish a secure basis for correct performances. Consequently, we need no longer see Bach through the eyes of composers who, naturally interested in creative work, each studied "their" Bach and extracted from his style whatever they considered most appropriate for their own composition. Turning from the composer's approach to Bach to that of the scholar simply means adopting a conception which, in the history of our sister arts, has long been taken for granted. This point is aptly stated in H. B. Alexander's preface to Pijoan's *An Outline History of Art:* "The artist's place in the world of beauty must be discovered not by himself, but by another who is endowed with a broad

perception of the pathways of time as well as with a faculty for seizing the work of the hour in all its present intensities."[22]

The romantic composers, both as composers and romanticists, necessarily did not have the proper view of Bach. Their music is a reflection of personal adventure, a mirror of their emotions, their suffering, their thinking. Bach's music is a reflection of the cosmos, a mirror of his religion and of the "pre-stabilized" harmony of the world. Aesthetically speaking, all romantic music is development and evolution, whereas Bach's is achievement, static principle. Thus the romanticists failed to see that Bach's work is inflexible and unchangeable, the emanation of *essentia dei*. Their own music, characteristic of non-tonic harmony and chord formations weakening centralized key feeling, prevents them from sensing Bach's concentration upon tonality, his relativeness to the cadence as basis of chord succession, the discipline of his ordering cadential effects. They, absorbed in loosened, softened chords for the sake of color and clang, for chromatic penetration of inner voices, for alterations and enharmonic changes, cannot possibly be sympathetic to Bach's never-resting rhythm, his economy of ideas, his concentration of melodic energies and objective projection of sound. Thus, even Reger, notwithstanding his healthy, musical, unliterary intellect, succumbed to the flow of melody and color to which he sacrificed logical chord-formation and concentrated form. He sinks from fff into ppp and weds the polyphony of Bach with the chromatic expressiveness of the modern orchestra and the bombastic armament of modern organ registration. Just as subjectively as Reger transposed Bach's piano pieces for the organ, with his creative phantasy overpowering the aesthetic ingredients of eighteenth-century style, Busoni, in transposing Bach's organ works for the piano, wavered between seriousness as a Bach scholar and ambitions as an impression-making performer. This is clearly stated by Pannain: "Busoni finds his goal in the personality of Bach as the poet finds his goal in nature. It is a past world . . . which he develops and transforms as if by magic. . . . Magic for Busoni is the artist's power of transmuting the meaning of the letter, of impregnating all existence with the new essence. . . . Certainly Busoni's aesthetic ideas are entirely personal, bounded by certain conditions, and to be taken in a personal sense."[23]

Though Bach knew no rubato which, since Liszt and Chopin, became the romanticists' second nature; did not know our crescendo and diminuendo, which, since the Mannheim School, no composer, classic or romantic, could disassociate from music; was unaware of clang in which the nineteenth century saw the magic power of music, the element which made music, as an art, superior to poetry and painting; utilized no such nuances as result from the separation of composition and interpretation (which began with Beethoven), the aesthetic foundations of his art were, and are still today, confused with those of a later time, in particular with those of the period from Beethoven to Richard Strauss.

As the protest against superficial transcriptions and unorthodox arrangements, subjective performances and distortions, is not a matter of pedantry, but simply an insistence on the doctrine that "style is a reality in music,"[24] musicologists would be going too far if they, in their endeavor to reinstate Bach's style in its deserved rights, would scornfully shrug their shoulders at interpretations through mediums other than those customary in Bach's day. It should be clear that we champion a performance of Bach representing all the spiritual and material

elements involved in his work, no less, no more. The question as to what Bach would have done if he had had modern singers and instrumentalists is increasingly futile the more we comprehend that the great artist creates according to the laws of his inner voice. With this point of view in mind, we are safe in saying that no measure of Bach would have become better, *i.e.*, more Bach-like, if he had had better media. Thus, to my mind, we should repeat what can be repeated and not bother about the things which, owing to changed situations, cannot be materialized. As too little time is left for going into the details of a Bach approach on this basis, a few principal ideas might be stated to illustrate its spirit.

First: The playing of Bach's piano works cannot be made dependent upon the number of harpsichords and clavichords available. To insist, as some German scholars have done, on the exclusive use of reconstructed instruments is questionable counsel in Europe, and more so in this country. It is superfluous to say that the release of recordings of old music played on old instruments is no less desirable than the New York Bach Circle's similar pursuit in regard to concerts. However, the production of old keyboard instruments is, and will always be, limited. This does not entitle the old-fashioned piano teacher—or, I should rather say—it entitles *only* the old-fashioned piano teacher, to argue that, as we perform on an instrument different from Bach's, we might just as well endow his style with "modern" feeling. Such performances as Serkin's *Departure of the Beloved Brother* or the piano team Vronsky and Babin's C Minor Concerto are as good Bach as we can have today, indicative of proper shading, dynamics, tempi, phrasing.

Second: More important for our purposes than a discussion of what should be played on harpsichords, clavichords, and pianos are the problems arising from the "discovery" of the properties of the baroque organ. When some twenty years ago the Schnitger organ of the Jakobikirche of Hamburg as well as some other organs initiated animated discussion of organ problems, a campaign against the modern organ was organized. Some musicologists took a very aggressive viewpoint toward the modern organ as a suitable vehicle for Bach's church music. Nevertheless, the hostility against the modern organ as a Bach instrument, still existing in some parts of Europe and now finding echo in this country, is of little use. To be sure, when an organist changes from a modern instrument to the old one, he begins to see everything more correct and genuine, and his support of the movement: "Back to the Old Organ" is understandable. The organ tone of the old instrument is much fresher, the registers often possess more individual life, etc.; nor can it be denied that the old masters sound more characteristic in style on the old organ. Also, it always is a joy to hear how modern organ builders have learned from the wisdom of their precursors and do much to make our modern instruments more capable media of old music.

However, we must not lose sight of the problem in its practical application. Where capable musicians with a knowledge of and a conscience for style sit at modern consoles, genuine Bach music can be heard despite the modern features of the organ. The main issue remains: How great is the organizing power of the interpreter? Is he responsive to stylistic situations? Does he have enough sense for the differentia of color and timbre? Granted that pneumatics and electricity have been a detriment to Bach's church music, a greater is lack of Bach conception, and it is the duty of every Lutheran organist to acquire a feeling for authentic registrations and for the Bach

idiom. Wherever the mechanics of the organ are precise and the sonorities are fundamentally usable, nothing stands in the way of a good Bach rendition.

Besides, we know that the heaviness of the action on the older instruments, particularly at extensive use, is a handicap. The beauty of the old organs, as regards my personal musical feeling, is often reduced by the mechanics of the *traktur* reduced not only for the player, but also for the worshiper. The old temperature of the organs, even of the "modern" Silbermann's, proved to be a major difficulty when decades ago in Germany old organs were utilized for church concerts and services with old sacred music. It is probably well known that the so-called "non-tempered tuning" often is the very element which gives the old organ its particular effect, one which is immediately lost when they are tuned in the well-tempered system.

As I see it: All the advances which the old instruments have in favor of a stylistically and coloristically better rendition of Bach's music are compensated for in the modern instruments by the great opportunities to which they lend themselves as vehicles of *all* good Christian organ music—old or modern.

I have heard music by Reger played on the baroque organ. Surely Reger, as other nineteenth-century masters, cannot be adequately expressed on such an instrument, for their more compact idiom is alien to the extreme dispositions of the old instruments.

Fritz Heitmann once said: *"Selbst die monumentalen Bachschen Werke, wie man sie z. B. auf der Freiberger Silbermannorgel gehört hat, konnten dart über ein gewisses Mass an Mixturen-Helle und Schärfe nicht vertragen, wenn ihr Anhören auf die Dauer nicht zur Anstrengung statt zu musikalischer Erhebung werden sollte. Hierher gehört auch die Beobachtung, dass ausgezeichnete, aber organistisch nicht geschulte Musiker interessante Registermischungen, die dem Organistenohr immer noch möglich sind, 'herausstechender' Obertöne wegen als 'unmusikalisch' und unschön ablehnen, gerade auch bei der älteren Literatur. Wenn wir also von den Dispositionen der Alten lernen wollen, seien wir uns dessen bewusst, dass die Charakteristik des Orgelmässigen ihre Grenze finden muss in der Linie des musikalisch Schönen. Dass diese Grenze nur schwer festzulegen sein wird, schliesst nicht aus, dass wir sie im Auge behalten müssen, soIl die Orgel als musikalisches Instrument ferner eine Rolle spielen und nicht die Angelegenheit einer orgelklanglich extrem eingestellten Minderheit bleiben."*

To be sure, in the discussion of the organ problem in connection with Bach, I am taking the practical view of the Lutheran church organist and of the Church without intending to minimize the valuable discoveries of fellow musicologists who have given us most informative facts about the old instruments. All I want to state is that while the baroque organ such as Mr. Biggs plays (the baroque organ at the Germanic Museum at Harvard University) is warmly welcomed for musicological purposes, such as historical concerts, etc., a modern organ which can do justice to all styles is at this time a more desirable instrument for the churches. The stylistic problems must be solved by the musician who on *one* instrument should be capable of presenting the entire literature from Paumann to the moderns, by using his discrimination for the different stylistic epochs of organ music. Heinrich Reimann said many years ago: "Only in the conscious or

unconscious disregard of the artistic viewpoint lies the explanation for the many mistakes and misconceptions made in the building of organs for concert or church purposes. . . . The reason for these misconceptions is lack of experience, arbitrariness, temper, and vanity, even the incapability or commercialness of organists and organ builders. . . . The main task, however, is always an artistic approach to the instrument. Provided that certain elementary conditions are taken care of, this approach lies in the heart of the player."

Third: The singing of Bach's works must be subjected to revision in general. More expression than technique is fundamentally required, always *bel canto* plus declamation. The governing idea for the study of solos as well as for the training of the chorus must be the consideration that Bach is just as much a poetic musician as Wagner and Hugo Wolf are musical poets. In regard to the Evangelist parts in the Passions, we must not forget that the Apostles report, live the events; in order to sing these *recitativi,* one must first learn to speak them. Bach thought of a dramatic interpreter gifted with power of characterization rather than of a *bel canto* singer. The principle of the vocal concerti can and must be reinstated if we want to regain beautiful balance between the *concerto,* the *quartet,* and the *ripieno* choir. There is no reason why, instead of amplified performances with a thousand and more singers (as I recently heard), the *St. Matthew's Passion* could not be presented with a chamber choir,[25] for one can prove that Bach had, for each of the two choruses, only twelve singers. The use of boys' voices in the cantatas is another ingredient which could reflect Bach's *timbre* more precisely, for the ease in their high registers and the homogeneity of soprano and alto is by far superior to women's voices. In fact, the use of a boys' choir seems the more satisfactory since the art of *falsetto,* which determined the sound picture of Bach's vocal performances, is now practically a lost art.

In all his vocal writing there lives something of Bach the organ composer. His vocal compositions are the ultimate expression and transfiguration of organ style. Spitta says that Bach's church music, so to speak, calls for a great organ with registers that are sensitized, flexible, and individualized to the degree of speech. Schweitzer shows that many a vocal melody was directly born from the spirit of the organ. In the range no difference can be found between the solo passages and the chorus. The maximum range for the soprano is from C^1 to B^2, for the alto from $F^{\#}$ to E^2, for the tenor from C to B^1, and for the bass from $F^{\#}$ to $F^{\#1}$. The difficulty lies in the intervals, in the frequency of figuration, in the high *tessitura,* and in the free entrance of exposed tones. Bach, for instance, makes it, as a rule, impossible for the singer to draw a deep breath before a long tone—by preceding that tone with a number of shorter beats. There are many coloraturas which cannot be sung on one breath without becoming ugly. In those cases the singer must analyze his melodies, excerpt the motives, and phrase them according to logic. Generally speaking, the solo cantatas demand even more from both the technical and the expressive power of the singer than the choral cantatas within which those written for the holidays almost throughout require more than the others.

An interesting study is the comparison of the passages which Bach writes for women's voices—strictly lyrical and often subjective—with those for men's voices which sing always the objective, more contemplative and narrating parts. Whenever a situation reaches its climax, be it a joyous or a doleful one, Bach uses the alto voice, whereas passionateness, vividly manifested,

is expressed by the high register of the soprano whose flexibility again and again Bach exploits for these purposes. Just as the tenor always is the narrator, Bach's basses always are the symbols of brilliance and majesty.

Fourth: The orchestral parts in the cantatas and Passions as well as the instrumental works can be performed in the style of the old *collegia musica* by confining the number of participants to from 32 to 38 players, the maximum ever at Bach's disposal. However, such confinement means, in reality, not as much insistence upon the limited number as upon the *spirit* of music-making involved. Comparing the orchestra with the chorus, we must never forget that Bach wanted more orchestra players than singers. We usually hear more vocalists than instrumentalists. Therein practically all Bach performances of cantatas and Passions fail. We are used to Bach choruses that are twice and three times the number of instruments: at once that equal partnership of instrumental and vocal forces which characterizes Bach's sound picture is destroyed. Albert Schweitzer, both magnificent scholar and a practical musician, suggests a happy medium between the limited resources which Bach had at his avail at the St. Thomas Church and those suggested by the amplitude of the churches and concert halls in which Bach's sacred works are given today. For a chorus of from 50 to 80 voices he suggests an orchestra of 28, namely, 6 first and 6 second violins, 6 violas, 4 cellos, 2 basses, 2 flutes, and 2 oboes. And while he suggests also, for larger groups, choral forces which outnumber the orchestra, he emphasizes the leading role which he feels the instrumental parts should play. Disapproving of "the practice of thrusting the orchestra like a wedge into the choir," he proposes, for the sake of better effects, the placement of strings and wood winds in front of the choir. Dorian in his book *The History of Music in Performance* advises as follows: "If there is no room in present-day Bach practice for orthodox adherence to the master's customs, the least one may ask for is an arrangement in which the modern apparatus re-emphasizes all the structural ideas of Bach's setup. This can best be accomplished by studying the original features of the historical renditions. We cite the *St. Matthew's Passion* as the most typical. In this work, Bach uses two orchestras, with at least 12 players in each. Normally, however, his orchestra comprised from 18 to 20 players, corresponding exactly to the *grosse Cantorei* of his singers which performed the Sunday cantatas and sometimes concert music as well."

Let us not forget that though the coloristic interest of the beginning eighteenth century was remarkable, it exhausted itself in experiments with the harmonica, with the mandora and colazione plucked by young girls and art-loving students, with the musette and flageolet blown by adventurers in a new style. Thus Bach's distinction between clavichord- and harpsichord-coloring was then pretentious, and what he considered coloristic effect might well be studied from a comparison of the *St. John's Passion* aria "Betrachte, meine Seele" for *viola d'amore,* lute, and continuo, with "Komm, suesses Kreuz" from *St. Matthew's Passion* with obbligato *viola da gamba.* It can also be noted in the varying orchestration of the *Brandenburg Concerti.* These were daring experiments to which the noise-accustomed ear of the twentieth century might not always respond with sufficient sensitiveness.

Fifth: Such economy of coloristic effects reminds us of the necessity of evaluating the ensemble works as community music. In all his compositions there is one aesthetic idea inherent: The

Church makes creator and listener one, its dome embraces music "producers" and "consumers." This idea of the Church is extended to music-making in other environments as well. With such a conception in mind, the vocal and instrumental interpreter of Bach will bury the remainder of sheer virtuoso allure.

Sixth: In thinking of Bach's orchestra and chorus and its limitations, we must be aware that, though the master never had a *perfect* ensemble, he had one versed in all styles, steadily in session, capable of acclimating itself to any condition, obeying exactly the enforced ideas of its master. The singers of St. Thomas were no singing angels, and the students of the Leipzig *Collegium Musicum* scarcely had the brilliancy of the Philadelphia Orchestra, and though their performances may not have been acoustic models, they were clear-cut, concrete, intelligent, and—humble. If only a ray of such reverence in performance could shine into every Bach rendition in our day!

Seventh: A good Bach performance often depends upon the degree of perfection in the projection of polyphony. Meetings of the last years have evidenced that, on the part of progressive educators, there is today an emphasis upon the polyphonic idiom as an essential element in music education. Not only does an ear early trained in polyphony make for better performers, but it produces better, because more observant, listeners. The cultivation of polyphony in the school system is of greatest importance not only for Bach, but for Palestrina and for the best in modern music as well. It reflects our desire for building communal feeling, it seems a pedagogical postulate indicative of democratic music culture, for, as stylistic expression, polyphony doubtlessly can be correlated to that co-operation of individuals for the sake of humane ideals which democracy has written on its flag.

Eighth: No less should the so-called "intellectualism" of this polyphony be re-approached in our time. It is curious indeed to think that the greatest work of polyphonic-canonic writing, *The Art of the Fugue,* had its first Chicago performance in 1939.[26] One can visualize this composition as a standard work in music education. I doubt very much, however, that its available arrangements suit pedagogical purposes and, therefore, some years ago, suggested a clear-cut condensation to twelve movements (this permissible especially under the aspect that the whole work is fragmentary) in an orchestration for strings alone. The idea has been tried, I believe, with success,[27] for the youngsters can perceive the work in this sober version in its original greatness as thought, as abstract idea.

Ninth: So much has been written about the problem of time in Bach and other old masters that here we can only summarize the situation in brief. There are sufficient treatises on hand which can give us the basic explanation on Bach tempi in such a way that we are afforded an approximate notion of the tempo rules. The assertions of so-called authorities that the old music was always played slower is definitely proved wrong no matter whether we draw information from Quantz or St. Lambert, who, in his *Principles of the Keyboard* (Paris, 1702), has given us, in a pianoforte treatise, much enlightening information as to the time signatures and their function as indicators of tempo. The author says in the eighth chapter of his book: "From all this I conclude that, since in Music one is so little exact in observing the rules of Signs and

Movements, the Reader who is studying here the principles of the Harpsichord, should not hold himself up very much for all that I have said on this matter; that he may make use of the privilege of the Musicians, and give to Pieces any movement he pleases, in paying only very little attention to the Sign, provided he does not choose for a piece a movement directly the contrary of that demanded by the Sign, since that can destroy the grace of a piece, and if the movement chosen be appropriate to it and bring it to life."

Although the author justifies a subjective music approach, this work and other treatises suggest the necessity for all organists and choral directors to achieve a true feeling for the Bach tempo. Leopold Mozart in his *Violin Method* of 1756 once suggests that a good musician must be able not only to beat time accurately and evenly, but also to recognize from a piece whether it has a slow or a somewhat faster tempo. "Even when the composer seeks to explain the character of the movement more clearly by means of additional words," Mozart says, "it is, nevertheless, impossible for him to specify exactly this character." The ability to deduce this character from the piece he calls the real strength of the musician. "Every melodic piece has at least one part from which one can be quite sure of recognizing the natural tempo of the piece . . . but this recognition requires long experience and good judgment. You will not contradict me, when I count this as one of the highest perfections of music."

With all good approaches, little will be gained, however, if teacher and student fail to comprehend the man behind the work. Underlying the fertility of Bach's compositions is the endurance of the boy who, with greatest industriousness, absorbed the musical scores of preceding generations; the energy of a man who, notwithstanding narrow confines and insufficient means, produced timeless art works with indefatigable vitality; the aged genius whose soul was moved to deepest depth not by love, the great inspiration of all romantic music, but by the awareness of death. Death, to him, the Lutheran, was the redemption from narrowness and insufficiency of earthly life. This conception produced the ethical power and the cosmic significance of his work which cause personal features to fade. In its omnivalidity lies the secret whereby he will appear to all generations in eternal youth, or, as the Swedish Archbishop Soederblom said to his disciples: "He was the fifth evangelist: Go and work also for him."[28]

It is regrettable that in the twenties of this century there began a general movement—if one can call it that—which endeavored to "absolutize" Bach's music, which wanted to deprive Bach of his best human values by applying to his muse a theory which, after the first World War, became indicative of much of the German attitude toward music. To quote just one example: It was said that little of Bach's music had associations with emotions and general human elements, and that his music should be understood from a sheer musical viewpoint. Such an approach to Bach, of course, would ultimately land at a complete disregard of the religious values even of his church music. It was propagated by certain modern composers who analyzed all music, their own and others, without considering its mental and emotional background, and it was unfortunately supported by well-known musicologists who held up high the banner of the absolute. Alfred Heuss in the *Zeitschrift fuer Musik*, May, 1927, wrote an essay about the cantata *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, in which he proved that the seven stanzas of the chorale which constitute the different parts of this cantata for Easter Sunday, together with a strictly programmatic sinfonia,

were written in the way in which they are conceived, as a result of the influence of the text upon music. He went into the details of explaining why. "It lies in the essence of Bach that the old, medieval poem in the Luther version and the melody, Easterlike gay but intelligible only from the standpoint of the Middle Ages, influenced Bach to quasi-archaic moods," he exclaimed. He showed that the tonalities which Bach chose in order to portray the "strange war of life and death" ("Es war ein wunderlicher Krieg") were chosen consciously. In short, he gave a lengthy analysis of the cantata for the sole purpose of showing that Bach derived his inspiration from the text, that thought and religious conscience had ignited the flame of his artistry. The very fact that Heuss felt the necessity for writing such articles—as incidentally had some other writers—indicates that he was concerned about a musicological attitude which investigating the details of musical technique failed to give consideration of the most important, the religious-human, in other words, the extra-musical values of Bach's art.

Friedrich Blume, in the program book to the Bach Festival of Berlin in 1927, had written, analyzing the same cantata: "It is almost strange that the text speaking of the war between life and death has failed to inspire Bach to a more vivid projection, unless one wants to see such a tendency in the powerful movement of concerted voices. The frequency with which such phenomena appear in Bach's cantatas shows that it is wrong to look for inspiration of the musician through associations conditioned by the lyrics; many passages, particularly of the earlier Bach works, can be understood only through its absolute musical qualities."

A statement of this order would mean that we *can* understand Bach without the religious impact, the motive behind the work. I feel that Bach is not an artist who played with music just as with tones. Behind his writings I feel the artist and the human being. Separating his music from Bach's mental and emotional existence, seeing it just as manufactured musical merchandise is, I believe, missing the understanding of its significance. If the Lutheran Church in this hour is encouraged to sing and play more Bach, if our Lutheran musicians are called upon to engage themselves with the problems which this music presents to us of today, it is so only because we believe that in this music we find the mirror of a human being with imagination, with a strong heart, with a fresh mind, a great character.

In the arts, Luther exercised two important influences: One is in the prose. The entire literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is influenced by Luther's sermons, pamphlets, and translations, whether we think of Sebastian Frank, Johannes Fischart, or even Christian F. Gellert. Similarly, the chorale was given its impetus by Luther whether we think of Nicolaus Herman or the 131 hymns of Paul Gerhardt. These chorales, as we have said last year, are the weapon of the Lutheran Church. The German Lutheran soul is expressed in them as it sang, as it was moved by religious spirit. Then Master Bach came along. In his Passions and cantatas as well as in his chorale harmonizations there is, once more and for the last time, the Lutheran spirit summarized in its musical expression: Bach is a cantor, a singer in the true sense of the word.

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The Venetian Organ Music in the Lutheran Church

Leo Schrade

Of all the music the sixteenth century produced the compositions for organ do not appear to have attracted any particular interest among our organists. The scholars, to be sure, investigated the field, and patient research uncovered many a work of remarkable distinction. Our knowledge of the organ music in that age has grown to be reasonably complete. We also have acquired a fairly sound basis to pass judgment on such matters as historical importance and artistic value.

Naturally, the development of the organ compositions in the sixteenth century can hardly be presented merely on the strength of accessible editions. But the student who measures and estimates the vast output of the organists on the ground of the original sources, manuscripts, and prints will be in a position to draw a nearly integral picture of its growth. The scope of the original material is comprehensive; of acceptable modern editions there are but a few; they, nonetheless, cover a ground sufficient enough at least to arouse the interest of our organists in a practical revival of the compositions. This does not bear upon the Lutheran organist alone. The indifference to this part of organ music is more or less general. And we find the occasional performance of a few works to be truly an exception.

The reasons for this omission are manifold. Many of them are based on prejudice. We may hold the organ music of the baroque age chiefly to be responsible. In fact, it has overshadowed the work of all the precursors. Constant comparison with the baroque art has not allowed the organ music of the sixteenth century to come into its own. Yet there may be very little to justify a penetrating comparison on truly historical grounds. And then, too: the idiom of the sixteenth century organ music is taken to be more remote, more foreign, hence too difficult to understand. It, therefore, has scarcely been admitted to the repertory of organ concert music today. Let us omit all further reasons.

While it may be a matter of debate what to revive in modern organ concerts and what not, the use of sixteenth-century compositions within the service of today does not seem to be questionable. For we should be ready to assume liturgical aspects for the organ music as much as we demand a link of kinship to relate the vocal music to the service. The function of an organist cannot be less responsible to the service than the discharge of duties we expect from any other musician active in the Church. Monstrosities such as those performed in the Nikolaikirche at Leipzig on May 4, 1801, by Abbé Vogler, whom so many organists hold in high esteem because of the dubious novelties he introduced, are not only objectionable from a religious point of view; they are utterly tasteless under the artistic aspect. But there is nothing more persistently repetitious than tasteless demonstrations. Vogler played, first, the chorale "Wie schoen leuchtet der Morgenstern"; second, a sea battle combined with a hurricane; third, an unnamed hymn; fourth, an organ concert for flute, probably of his own making; fifth, a journey on the Rhine interrupted by thunder; sixth and last, the psalm *Miserere*—and well chosen indeed was the psalm, from the listener's point of view.

In the course of the centuries, the organist has quite frequently shown a considerable lack of responsibility toward the service. Even sixteenth-century records are full of complaints and reprimands that the organists play *"fremde Stuecke und Motetten, Buhllieder und weltliche Gesaenge"* in the service. This admonition, recorded in innumerable instances, places the emphasis not so much on the secular character of the music as on *"fremde Stuecke,"* on foreign compositions, in no way related to the service for which they were used, foreign even if they were motets. But the majority of organ compositions of which the repertory of the sixteenth century consists is linked to the service. It is with this part of the repertory that we want to concern ourselves now and here.

An obvious question may be raised immediately. Are the Venetian music and the Lutheran Church not contradictions in terms if, indeed, the material should be viewed under liturgical aspects? The answer will be negative. As a matter of fact, the historical relations were so close that a great deal of the Protestant organ music in Germany during the latter part of the sixteenth century was directly and indirectly influenced by the Venetians. This we intend to show in the various phases of the development.

The position the organ occupied in the Lutheran Church has so often been discussed that we may be permitted to mention only such matters as are pertinent to our subject. Nevertheless, it may be well to remark in parenthesis that the use of organ music in the Protestant Church deserves a new historical presentation, since the last original study is more than half a century old, while all authors still continue to copy from Rietschel's standard work of 1893 instead of approaching the subject under aspects of new material, which would amplify our knowledge considerably. The limitation of the problem to the question whether or not the organist has accompanied the congregation in singing the chorale, a question that does not apply to the sixteenth century, has obscured many other views of equal if not greater importance. If, to name an instance, the regulations of the service excluded organ accompaniment principally from the Credo, *"Wir glauben all' an einen Gott,"* which even in Bach's time at St. Thomas was to be sung unaccompanied, we immediately see that the matter cannot be considered to have been of technical nature. It would be unwise to assume the sixteenth-century organist to have had difficulties in producing a simple setting to be used as an accompaniment, a setting which the composers of the time knew very well to employ in other forms; they were even acquainted with structures that carried the melody in the upper part. The discussion involved not a technical, but a liturgical problem in so far as the organ composition made the relation between word and music an issue of continual dispute. Hence the accompaniment presented itself as a matter of liturgical principles. Even as regards the alternate versions, the use of the organ in separation from the text was quite often under attack. Many manuscripts carried, therefore, indications that while the organ was playing the verse, a boy should sing, or the congregation should recite, the text with a low voice. On grounds of the same principle, objection to the accompaniment came forth wherever it was feared to obscure the perceptibility, or to slighten the importance, of the text. The present interpretation of the famous Goerlitz tablature by Scheidt of 1650, generally assumed to have set the beginning of chorale accompaniment, is more cautious and perhaps also more in keeping with what Scheidt himself has stated: it gives allowance to the alternate form. An unlimited approval of any accompaniment to go together with the singing of the congregation

could hardly be expected as long as religious considerations prevailed; but it became accepted usage as soon as the relation to the text underwent fundamental changes.

Liturgical questions are of prominent significance in nearly all the Protestant organ music of the sixteenth century. The frequent objections to "foreign compositions and motets" can only be understood if the *de Tempore* is taken to be the guide. For a motet at this stage of the development generally is a religious work. If nonetheless it is not accepted unless specially qualified, it must be the *de Tempore* alone that decides whether or not a motet shall be regarded as usable in a certain service.

The organist has his duties assigned to definite sections in the liturgies of the Matins, Mass, and Vespers, as is well known. So far as Luther's own time is concerned, the best source of information is still the *Itinerarium* by Wolfgang Musculus of 1536, wherein he refers to the Weimar and Eisenach masses. The organ composition appears as independent work or in alternation with the chorus. At the beginning of the service either a Prelude, or the Introit, or both, are to be played. The Kyrie has usually the arrangement of an *alternatim* performance, although Michael Praetorius records an interesting case that after the first Kyrie a Ricercar can be inserted. The Gloria, when used, shows again the *alternatim* form. Both Epistle and Gospel are followed by organ compositions, either in the form of a motet or a postlude, while the Credo adopts the *alternatim* version, in case organ playing is at all admitted. The same alternate form holds true for the Sanctus. Before the Agnus Dei there occurs an organ composition, probably of introductory character, or a motet with the same function, whereas the Agnus itself is to be played alternately. The Mass is concluded with an organ work. This is the outline we know to have been in use in many churches, although absolute certainty or unvariable standards for all services cannot be taken for granted according to the Lutheran principles of liturgy.

One other, more or less intrinsic, element may be pointed out. In some church orders of widely separated provinces in Protestant Germany (1535, 1544) an extraordinary ideal appears to have been set before the organist: his activities should be employed "to the honor of music lest it decline"—an extraordinary point of view, indeed, that seems to allow music to exist as an art for its own self. We do not know of any such statement to have been made anywhere else. That it was meant to favor art for art's sake is, however, unlikely. It rather implied that nothing in the nature of tradition should be destroyed or eliminated by the Protestant Church if change was the only reason so to do. Since all organ music used in the church during the age of the Reformation is linked to definite purposes, the aspect of "art for art's sake" would be without any reality.

And Protestantism had, in fact, a tradition of organ music to look back to, which to preserve, alter, and improve upon became the concern of the organists. Tradition provided two forms through which sixteenth-century organ music came into being: the *ars inveniendi* and the *ars transferendi:* the art of inventing new and, to a degree, independent compositions, and the art of translating existing works, usually of choral character, into the medium of organ music. In Germany this tradition reaches far back into the fifteenth century, the most comprehensive source being then the famous *Buxheim Organbook,* which contains more than three hundred compositions, transcriptions of motets, masses, and secular music, as well as free inventions. The

technique of playing alternately in conjunction with the choir was equally well established in tradition. As a rule, however, alternate compositions must be regarded as an outgrowth of the *ars inveniendi.* For most of the alternating forms are originally composed upon a *cantus firmus.* This technique had far surpassed all experimental phases at the time when Protestant organists availed themselves of the structure to be applied to their own compositions. Nearly all the movements of the Ordinary of the Mass were composed in alternating fashion. So they were in the past, so they remained in the Protestant Church.

But also with regard to organistic craftsmanship and artistic quality as well, the tradition upon which the Lutheran organist could draw was by no means small. Especially the school of Paul Hofhaimer had produced many organists of great distinction who were ready when the new Church called upon their skill and contributions. Cities famous in the history of the Reformation became also prominent in the history of organ music: Constance, Strasbourg, Augsburg, and Speyer. Johann Buchner, Johann Kotter, Kleber, Luscinius, Georg Scharpf, Conrad of Speyer, all were more or less intimately connected with the school of Hofhaimer. And it is these that stand at the beginning of the Protestant organ music.

Between this school, which had the most important share in building up a Protestant repertory of organ compositions, and the second phase, which we shall presently take into consideration, the original sources are none too numerous; and it is to be assumed that much has been lost or relatively little has actually been written down. A certain change in the repertory strikingly impresses the student. Whereas the organ tablature of Johann Buchner sets still a fairly good proportion of the Ordinary of the Mass in the alternate arrangement, the movements of the Mass begin gradually to disappear from the tablatures after the Hofhaimer School. Instead, the motets play the more prominent role. This can only mean that the alternating Mass was largely based on improvisation, since other documents make ample mention of alternate playing to have still been in use where and whenever the Ordinary of the Mass was part of the service.

The organ tablatures, manuscripts, and prints now show a stereotyped order: the first section is usually given over to religious music, chiefly motets in Latin and German; it is followed by secular music: French chansons, Italian madrigals, or German songs; the final section brings dances. Such is the repertory of the organ tablature by Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach, organist at St. Thomas in Leipzig, who published his work in 1571. Of particular significance is the exclusive treatment of German motets such as *Herr Gott nu sey gepreiset* and *Aller augen warten auff Dich* by Matthias Le Maistre or *Ich ruff zu dir Herr Jhesu Christ* by Lassus. The compositions are altogether as strictly liturgical as the original motets have been. Many of them are to be attached to Epistle, Gospel, or Sermon; in other words, to the most distinguished part of the Lutheran service. Others are Introits or Communions. Of composers, there are represented: Matthias Le Maistre, Lassus, Ivo de Vento, while the repertory of the secular songs shows the works of Isaac, Hofhaimer, and others. The compositions the church regulations refer to are arrangements of motets in whose stead the organ compositions have been used. They are not literal if we compare them with the vocal originals. They are transcriptions according to the nature of the instrument.

One of the last works in this group, which came out in Strasbourg in 1577, is the tablature of Bernhard Schmid the Elder. The only factor of significance to be mentioned involves the liturgical compositions; they are—in the first part of the tablature—exclusively Latin motets, and, with exception of two, all by Roland Lassus, whereas—in the second part—the number of German motets is extremely small. If we set the Strasbourg repertory over against the Leipzig compositions, we find that there were local differences, well in keeping with the nature of the Protestant service. The Strasbourg repertory consists of works provided by Netherlanders and by Germans who follow the ideal of the North.

The second phase, however, shows a new group of musicians in the lead. The new group turns the artistic interest toward the South, toward Venice. Long and distinguished has been the history of Venetian organ music, although nothing is known of any composition previous to the school of Adrian Willaert, unless Cavazzoni should represent an older group.* Among the earliest organists who occupy a place of fame in the history of Venice there is Dionisio Memmo, the only Italian whose studies can be traced back to the school of Hofhaimer. That in Venice the art of organ music was cultivated with remarkable intensity can be imagined in view of the elaborate *Regolamenti* previous to 1541; they were enforced whenever a new organist came to be appointed. Unusual craftsmanship was expected from any applicant; clear rules reveal its scope. Among the regulations, the fulfillment of which preceded the appointment, many involved the art of improvisation. One is worth mentioning. We read: The examiners open a choir book and select at random the beginning of a Kyrie or a motet. The *cantus firmus* is to be copied and to be handed over to the competing organist who, on the organ for which he is to be appointed, must improvise a regular *Fantasia* on the given *cantus firmus* without confusing the individual parts; he must lead the parts as though four voices were singing. This improvised *Fantasia* is to attain a special place in the repertory of organ music.

*Knud Jeppesen, during the war, published a study on *Die italienische Orgelmusik am Anfang des Cinquecento Kopenhagen,* 1943, especially on the work of M. Cavazzoni.

Yet the relations between the Protestant North and Venice we have in mind are neither of incidental nor exceptional nature. We think of the phase in which the Venetians lead the development. And this is the case in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The German South, largely Catholic, played the intermediary role, and, above all, the cities of Munich, Nuremberg, and Augsburg stood out in performing this function. The lively interchange of artistic achievements became, of course, possible on the basis of the international position the Netherlanders occupied. They largely acted as missionaries of their art, or as ambassadors traveling from one country to the other.

When Roland Lassus turned Munich into a European center of musical culture, the city rose rapidly to capital distinction, and the links between Munich and Venice came to be closer than ever. Lassus himself maintained steady communications with the Italians, and his genius attracted the musicians of the South to Munich. Since Lassus, the most important representative of the last phase of Netherlandish music, directly and indirectly influenced Protestant composers more than anyone else at the time, and since they themselves granted Lassus' work a position of

great renown, we readily recognize the historical value Lassus had had with his own work and as an intermediary of various artistic forms of others. Lassus set the pace, as it were, for many Protestant organists who made use of his output in the field of motets.

And Lassus drew Venetians to the musical culture of Munich. Whether or not Giovanni Gabrieli himself had been in Munich during the years 1575 through 1579 is not clearly established. At all events, the compositions of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli had a firm place in Munich and in Nuremberg and Augsburg as well, where both Andrea and Giovanni had the Fuggers as their friends and patrons. But the organist Gioseffo Guami, related to the school of Venetian organists, was for a time in Munich and thus became a missionary of the art he had acquired in Venice. Lodovico Zacconi, the most interesting and learned theorist after Zarlino, should by no means be overlooked. Ivo de Vento, Netherlander by birth and an offspring of the Willaert School, was organist at the court of Munich; unfortunately, no organ composition of his has been preserved. In Ivo de Vento we have one of many Netherlanders who went to Venice to study under their own countryman, Adrian Willaert, or at least in his school.

One of the chief organists of the period advanced from this school: it is Jacques Buus, who acted as organist in Vienna from 1553 to 1564. Thus he came to carry the art of *Ricercar* composition to the Northern regions, an art widely cultivated by Venetian organists. The same service was performed by Annibale Padovano, from Padova, as the name indicates. His work ranked high in the Venetian repertory of organ music. When he became *Maestro di Capella* at the court of Graz, related to the house of Bavaria by marriage, another door was opened through which to introduce Venetian works to the North.

It is, of course, impossible to enumerate all the links of communication that existed between the North and Venice. They all had an estimable share in installing the Venetian music firmly in the North. And since the organ composition had a favorite place in the repertory, the art of organ music benefitted from any one of the communications. We must, however, mention Hans Leo Hassler, one of the best Protestant composers, who, a student of music in Venice probably under Andrea Gabrieli, gave the relation of German musicianship to the Venetian School the character of personal intimacy. In more than one respect his stay in Venice had profound consequences on German composition in the Protestant Church. Himself a composer of organ music, he demonstrated with his own work a transformation of the Venetian style to a degree of artistic individuality. Jacob and Caspar Hassler, his brothers, both active in the composition of organ music, added to the renown of the family which Emperor Rudolf II raised to noble station. The fathers of his home town Nuremberg, where Hans Leo chiefly worked, readily granted with great pride that among the living composers of Germany none was his equal.

Nuremberg, the center of music printing, whence after the glorious days of Rhaw's office at Wittenberg the Protestant musicians drew most of the material they needed, put out a number of collections, of anthologies, which unfold a rapid increase of works of the Venetian School toward the end of the century; and the collection of the *Symphoniae Sacrae,* which Caspar Hassler prepared for publication in 1598, presents Hans Leo's work in closest contact with Giovanni Gabrieli.

This movement that brought the Venetian compositions into the repertory of Protestant music reached the stage of climactic conclusion in the third part of the *Syntagma Musicum* by Michael Praetorius. At the threshold of a new epoch he summarized the achievements of the age of the Lassus and Gabrielis. He surveyed once more the significance of the Venetian School, and with his comprehensive analysis of the repertory he endeavored to fasten the relation between the Protestant musician and the Southern art. The turn of Heinrich Schuetz to Venice initiates a new age.

What is it, then, that the Protestant organist was able to learn from a school that consisted of Catholic musicians only? What significance lies in the Venetian organ music? German Protestant organists between the time of Hofhaimer and the offshoots of his school on the one side, the rise of the Venetian organ school on the other, largely devoted themselves to forms of the *ars transferendi,* to the transcriptions of vocal works into compositions of organistic propriety. Perhaps they placed too much emphasis on the *ars transferendi* at the expense of inventive activities. Such, at least, is the general opinion of the historians. Nevertheless, organists were in great need of the *de Tempore* compositions. And what other procedure could be accepted to produce such works as were related to a liturgy based on the religious texts, unless the existing *de Tempore* motet was used as a starting point? There was, we believe, an inescapable necessity for the Protestant organist to follow the path of the *ars transferendi.* To brush his output aside because of an obvious lack of originality shows very little understanding of the situation on the part of the historian.

The extraordinary importance of the Venetian organ school lies in the discovery of a new approach to composition. The Venetian organists made again apparent that an organ composition need not merely transcribe vocal works to be fit for the sacred service even to the extent of materializing the *de Tempore* character. In other words, the Venetian organists demonstrated again new ways of handling a *cantus firmus* in an organ composition. To a certain extent they even freed the organistic work from the vocal compositions, at least for certain categories. They also provided independent forms to be used for sacred purposes.

To be sure, the technique of taking a *cantus firmus* as a basis of an organ composition was by no means new to the German organist. The technique was known and well mastered in the fifteenth century and in the Hofhaimer School by Buchner, Kleber, and Kotter. This technique, however, seems to have severely suffered from the prevalence of the transcriptions. At least, the sources that fall into the period between Buchner and the Venetians show a definite neglect. Now, the Venetian style once more brought the technique to sight, and once more the composition with the use of a *cantus firmus* became one of the most distinguished forms an organist could accomplish. Among such forms as resulted from this procedure we have the *Fantasia,* the *Ricercare,* the *Canzone,* although some specimens of the latter category lean heavily toward a vocal model. Highest in rank, they now come first in the repertory. Of course, the relationship between the organ composition and the vocal style or even vocal models is not broken off completely as the *Canzone* often indicates; it is still preserved, but in no way merely on the basis of the *ars transferendi.*

In addition to these compositions, the Venetian organists widened the scope of the repertory by a large number of manifold introductory works, for which there was a great demand in the services. The Prelude, the Intonation, the Toccata enter the repertory in great quantities. Although shaped in the so-called free style, the introductory compositions of the Venetians have to a large measure embodied the purpose which they were intended to serve. By having composed introductions for more or less definite purposes, the Venetians cleared the way for relating the purpose of the composition to certain acts in the service. As a matter of fact, most of these Venetian compositions originated in conjunction with the service. The Protestant organist had merely to alter the purpose according to the liturgy of his church, whereas the artistic problems remained the same. Hence, the significance of the Venetian School is to be found in the new repertory of organ music, in its style, in the concept of structure, and in the maintenance of liturgical purposes from which to derive the form of composition. The liturgical purpose and the form of music stand in the relation of mutual influence.

The chief representatives of the Venetian School were Jacques Buus, Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, Claudio Merulo, Annibale Padovano, Vincenzo Bell'Haver, Sper'in Dio Bertoldo, Diruta, Luzzasco Luzzaschi, the teacher of Frescobaldi, Gioseffo Guami, and Paolo Quagliati who—like Luzzaschi—belongs for reasons of style to the group. Under aspects of artistic value the most important of all were Buus, Andrea Gabrieli, Annibale, and, perhaps still more than the rest, Claudio Merulo. Adrian Willaert is regarded as the founder of the School. But we cannot develop any picture of his organistic activities. If he really has composed any specific works for organ, they are now lost. His *Ricercari,* to be found in an anthology of *Fantasie, Recercari, Contrapunti a tre voci,* published twice, in 1549 and 1559, are handed down, in the fashion of vocal works, in part books. They are materially different from a genuine organ composition, as a stylistic comparison with a *Ricercare* by Buus may well show which has come down to us in form of part books and in tablature (1549). Close as the structure of a *Fantasia* or a *Ricercare* is to the vocal form, either motet, or chanson, or madrigal, the Venetian composers gave evidence that despite the derivation of the counterpoint from the vocal polyphony the organ *Ricercare, Fantasia,* or *Canzone,* each is a product of its own because of the transformation made to meet the faculties and proprieties of the instrument. Especially the *Ricercari* of Andrea Gabrieli and Claudio Merulo unfold the ingenuity of the masters and at the same time the discipline with which they work out an organistic counterpoint.

Many of their *Ricercari* have a great variety of as many themes each to be treated in fugal manner as a vocal composition would have lines each to be provided with new thematic material. While Andrea Gabrieli may adhere to the strict development of each theme, Claudio Merulo will often insert episodes of great organistic brilliancy between the sections that are built as fugal interpretations of the themes. Of particular importance is the skillful use made of figurative material for contrapuntal imitation, so that the ornament by virtue of the function it fulfills as counterpoint comes to be substantial rather than decorative. This turn had a decisive influence on the German organists, who, after Hofhaimer and before the Venetians, doubtless had depleted the structural significance of the ornament.

But Claudio Merulo and Andrea Gabrieli, on the other end of their various forms, also developed *Ricercari* that were dedicated to the presentation of one theme only. The material set over against was then worked out in the function of subordinate counterpoints while the theme itself made its appearance in the course of the composition by way of the various devices of the polyphonic style, such as augmentation, diminution, inversion, or rhythmical transformations. The *Fantasia Allegra* by Andrea Gabrieli, undoubtedly a very late composition, is probably one of the finest examples of this type.

The organ compositions that appear in contrapuntal style can perhaps best be grouped according to three structural aspects: the first comprises works whose vocal models we know after which they have been fashioned; the second consists of compositions for which a *cantus firmus* has been used to provide the thematic material; the last, but not always the most advanced, group includes works where the themes are original inventions of the composers. It is on this ground that the organist evolves the possibility of liturgical usage for the *Ricercare* as well as the *Fantasia.* The mere fact that a contrapuntal style labels the composition is not the decisive and satisfactory element to give the work a generally religious impression. On the contrary, the sacred implications are much more concrete or real, that is to say, liturgical. For by a correct choice of the vocal model or of a proper *cantus firmus* the organist is able to make the *Ricercare* or *Fantasia* the substitute of the *de Tempore* motet. By a wrong choice of the vocal model, the *Ricercare* will remain *"ein fremdes Stueck,"* foreign to the liturgy, no matter how rigidly the counterpoint may have been carried out. For the Protestant organist this was decidedly the most important factor. The orders of the services pointed out that the organist should play an adequate, or the same, or a related, or an appropriate composition in connection with the Epistle, Gospel, or Sermon, or at other places in the service, and it is here that he could make the *Ricercare* with themes properly chosen to stand for the appropriate vocal work. In the same sense as the cantata was to function as the *de Tempore* composition in the Protestant service of Bach's age, as the motet reflected the character of the *Proprium* in the age of the Reformation, so the organ *Ricercare* reached out for the same distinction, not because of its contrapuntal structure, but because its form granted the organist to materialize the *de Tempore* character. The Protestant composers accepted this position for the *Ricercare.*

The Venetians opened also other possibilities for the use of the organ in the service. We mentioned the introductory compositions, such as the Prelude or the Toccata. In this category again Andrea, Annibale, and Claudio Merulo surpassed the others. The number of such works they wrote is considerable. The Gabrielis, Andrea, and even more so his nephew Giovanni, had next to the elaborate types of Preludes the simple and purely functional intonations. Indeed, they are exceedingly simple and often very short pieces, unpretentious in any artistic sense, with no aesthetic effect planned by the composer. Since these artistically almost uninteresting intonations have largely been written by Giovanni Gabrieli, considerably younger, but by no means inferior to the genius of his uncle, we learn the frequent assumption not always to be safe that the latest product is bound to be a progressive improvement upon what preceded. It would be a serious misunderstanding to take—as, indeed, it has been done—the purpose for which music is to serve to be detrimental to its artistic qualities. Irrespective of the general implications of this problem, works of the musical past have often become artistically great because they served definite and

superior purposes. We do not want to say that the intonations of Gabrieli are great artistic achievements. They are not; they were not intended to be such. But they have to be judged according to the purpose, as all introductory compositions must be viewed from this angle. Again, we should group the introductions according to the purpose, regardless of the names they bear: Prelude, Toccata, Preamble, Intonation, or Introit. So far as we can see, three groups may be established: the first according to a plainly musical purpose of securing the intonation for singers to follow; the second according to the musical composition which is to be introduced; the third according to an unnamed purpose for which the introductory composition is to be used.

In the first group the intonations of the Gabrielis are clearly representative examples. In view of their structure we venture to suggest that these small, unpretentious pieces which do not seem to contain any artistic problem at all have been employed whenever singers followed to perform the chant *choraliter.* The type is structurally distinct: a few chords around a tonal center and figurative material equally focused on the tone from which to start the chant. Many Venetian composers have set such intonations under various names of musical forms.

The second group presents structures usually derived from the polyphonic composition to follow. This explains the varieties of structures which occur in this group. If, for instance, an elaborate motet is to be introduced by an organ composition, the introduction will appear to be modeled with equal elaboration of the contrapuntal structure. Often the pure intonation and the motet structure are combined in one, and this gives the *Toccata* of Claudio Merulo its particular distinction, who composed twice the full series of *Toccate* in the various modes, carrying out both the contrapuntal style and the brilliant figurative form that points to tendencies of the intonation. Merulo has probably given his best in the *Toccate.* But Annibale Padovano appears to be entirely his equal whenever he has worked according to the same principles. There are also introductions which present themselves fully as *Ricercari* were they not expressly named Preludes. Obviously, the motet to be taken up by the choir has fathered the form. Thus it was possible to name even the motet itself, played on the organ, to be a *Toccata,* as is the case in one of the originals.

The third group is rather difficult to establish. Some of Merulo's *Toccate* have an extraordinary scope, too large to be merely introductions. They appear to have grown to a size as though they had absorbed the composition which originally was to follow; as though introduction and motet had been coupled the way *Toccata* and Fugue were to form a unity in times to come. In such a case the introductory composition, if intended to be performed in the service, took, in all likelihood, the liturgical place the vocal motet ordinarily occupied. There are, however, not too many compositions of this type, at least not among Venetians proper. But of the Protestant composers who were attached to the Venetian School there is Hans Leo Hassler, who has composed unique works in this category. The University Library of Padova preserves the Ms. 1982, which contains 39 large works: *Ricercari, Fantasie,* two Fugues, *Canzoni,* and introductory compositions; of Hans Leo Hassler, Jacob Hassler, Claudio Merulo, Christian Erbach, Hassler's successor as organist at the cathedral of Augsburg, and Sweelinck. Among the introductory compositions there are four Introits by Hans Leo Hassler of truly enormous size, with more than 200 double bars. We have no doubt that these immense compositions function as

musical forms to stand for the full liturgical act at the beginning of the Mass. In some regulations we read: "After the Preamble has been played on the organ, there follows the *Introitus de Tempore.*" Hassler's compositions seem to combine both the Prelude and the Introit. Thus the organ composition would embody a definite part of the liturgy itself. If so, this seems to be one of the most important events that has taken place as a result of the relationship between Protestant organists and the Venetian School. For, obviously, Claudio Merulo started to lead the organ composition toward an independent completeness within the service.

Let us finally characterize the sources indicative of the artistic interchange between the North and South in the field of organ music. That in the Padova manuscript Hassler and Erbach appear at the side of Merulo and Sweelinck surely is no accident. Many organ tablatures in the last years of the century accept the Venetian repertory for the *ars transferendi*, but do not go so far as to carry over the *Ricercari* and Preludes. The tablature of Jacob Paix (1583) contains only two very elaborate *Fantasie* which in some fashion seem to presuppose an influence of Venice. Some tablatures have an extraordinary clarity in arranging the organistic material strictly according to the *de Tempore*, as, for instance, that of Ruehling von Born (1583), who stresses, however, the Netherlandish side of the repertory. There are other tablatures completely careless in any matter of order, as, for instance, the work of Christoph Loeffelholtz of 1585, or, worst of all; the manuscript 1593 of the Prussian State Library at Berlin.

We do not want to burden this information with a list of mere names and dates. It may merely be said that the tablatures dedicated more or less exclusively to the *ars transferendi* widen gradually their repertory and take over a large portion of the Venetian vocal works to be transcribed for organ. The tablature of Johann Woltz, dated 1617, with over 200 compositions, is a late, though not the last example. Since the number of manuscripts and prints is much too large to be listed here, the situation may be illustrated through the work of Bernhard Schmid the Younger. His tablature appeared in Strasbourg in 1607. It shows the historical change more clearly than many another publication. The turn toward the Venetian repertory is, indeed, complete. Since Schmid's work has been widely used, its position in history is not insignificant. A large portion of the Venetian introductory compositions is represented, all arranged in the proper order of modes according to which Schmid apparently made his selection to give the German organists enough material of modal Preludes. Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli appear; so do Claudio Merulo and Diruta. The introductory section is followed by transcriptions of motets among which Italians again prevail. There is a special section of twelve fugues by Andrea Gabrieli, Banchieri, Soriano, Mortaro, and others, probably also suggested for usage in the church. And this is more or less the standard type. German Protestant organists accept the repertory of Venice, in full and without change. They play Venetian Preludes, *Ricercari*, and fugues, and they compose their own works accordingly. The first quarter of the seventeenth century is to a large measure marked by the art of the Venetians. The Protestant organists have, in prompt reaction to the artistic achievements, kept alive the music of the South, as they were also to be the chief heirs to Frescobaldi's art, which despite the serious efforts of Michelangelo Rossi was rapidly to die out in Italy.

A last intermediary between North and South has still to be mentioned: Jan Pieters Sweelinck, the last Netherlander who goes to Italy, not, as his forefathers did, as missionary of the

Netherlandish art, but himself to learn in Venice under Zarlino while at the same time studying the organ works of Gabrieli and Merulo. The journey of Sweelinck to Venice is a clear indication that the Netherlandish epoch approaches its last hour. When Protestant organists later flocked to Amsterdam to study under Sweelinck, men such as Jakob Praetorius, Scheidemann, Gottfried and Samuel Scheidt, Siefert, and Schildt, Sweelinck conveyed many a Venetian form to them—to be sure, no longer in purity of style. For Sweelinck's work is not the offspring of the Venetian School alone. The English art of variation played an equally, if not more important part in the growth of Sweelinck's organ music. The *Organistenmacher*, as he was called in the German North, opened for the seventeenth century a new source upon which to draw.

The new epoch prominent in its organistic accomplishments soon put the Venetian art into oblivion, although Samuel Scheidt has been profoundly stimulated by it.—It may take courage, historical erudition, and taste to revive what has been forgotten for all practical purposes. Whoever is in search after music that once has been the outgrowth of intense liturgical demands will soon find that the Lutheran organist was fully justified in adapting the Venetian art to his own service.

The Choral Music of the Lutheran "Kantorei"

Leo Schrade

The subject we are to discuss implies an element of vital importance to the life and stability of all musical composition in a certain epoch: the unity between the artistic style, its geographic origin, the purpose of composition, the repertory, and the musical education. If the unity exists and is in keeping with the predominant spirit of the time, outstanding achievements of the highest artistic quality usually give the period its lasting distinction. All the great epochs of the history of music betray such a unity. If no full harmony between all these factors comes to pass, contradictions arise, and conflicts of more or less severe nature entangle the individual composer. Although his accomplishments may, despite adverse conditions, still be profound and even unique from an absolute point of value, his historical position will often be distressingly ineffective, if not tragic.

The institution we characterize as typically Protestant, the *Kantorei,* or rather its history, shows both phases: now that all is inner unity, and the existence of music and musician fully harmonious; now that the unity breaks down, and the Protestant composer comes to be exposed to confusion and conflict.

Since for the time being at least, we do not pursue scholarship for its own sake, since, in other words, we desire to draw the benefits from scholarship which we take to be the guide in what should be done today, the lessons history has in store for us should attentively be studied. And the history of the Protestant *Kantorei* holds many a lesson it will be wise not to overlook.

The *Kantorei* entered upon its most glorious epoch when, after 1450, the rise of the Netherlandish School brought about a musical style, various factors of which necessitated the most elaborate form of a choral institution. The new music was essentially religious, since its style took origin in direct relationship to the liturgy, to the Ordinary of the Mass. In contrast to the period prior to 1450, the Netherlandish style was essentially vocal, in place of the previous structural contrast between a predominant vocal part and instrumental accompaniment; it became essentially choral, instead of the soloistic art that preceded; hence its melody was made to be essentially functional; that is, melody derived its character from the function it fulfilled in the polyphonic total.

All these characteristics called for the group as the proper medium of performance, for the choir. The style of the Netherlandish music made the organization of choirs a necessity. The two main characteristics, those of being religious as well as choral in substance, were the very backbone of the *Kantorei* as the institution which was organized according to the needs of the music composed. For an institution never has, or should never have, and in good times actually did not have, a life of its own apart from the music. On the contrary, the style of music always formed its own appropriate conditions and proper institutions.

The adequate institution of the Netherlandish music was the *Kantorei.* Since the style of the Netherlanders lasted as an international force for about 150 years, from 1450 to 1600, the age of

the Reformation coincided with the age of the Netherlandish music. And the *Kantorei* existed throughout the period as an international organization.

What, then, is the *Kantorei,* and what its specifically Protestant form? The term *Kantorei,* which Luther and the Wittenberg circle of reformers so frequently used, was applied to various types during the sixteenth century and for a short while thereafter, all of them important for the organization of Protestant church music. To enumerate the types in question immediately: there is the *Hofkantorei,* perhaps to be mentioned first because of the splendor it gained until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War cut short the story of its fame. Second: there is the *Schulkantorei,* which functions as church choir; it has a variety of names; next to *Schulkantorei* we find it to be called *Schulchor, Chorus musicus,* or *Chorus symphoniacus,* or *Figuralchor,* all terms being equally expressive of the choral polyphony they perform; for *musica,* or *symphonia,* or *chorus,* or *musica figurata,* all is related to the polyphonic form of vocal music. The *Kurrende,* a special branch of the *Kantorei* at the school, may merely be mentioned in passing. There is, thirdly, the *Kantorei* in the narrower sense of the word. It is often called *Kantoreigesellschaft* if applied to the city, *Adjuvantenverein* if applied to the village. None of these organizations is an original creation of Protestantism, although the Reformation has worked out the third type, the *Kantoreigesellschaft,* with characteristics entirely its own.

The *Kantorei* at the courts fulfilled a function of particular importance, since German princes came to be the chief supporters of the Protestant cause. The singers were appointed and paid by the court. Their duties consisted of providing the music for all activities at the court, religious and otherwise. Since the princes, mainly for reasons of representation, had a keen interest in high qualities of the music, they called musicians of first rank to their courts. Most of them came from Flanders, a land incredibly prolific in turning out musicians, extraordinary not only in genius but also in numbers. The *Kantorei* of the court antedates the Reformation. It had an estimable tradition at the time when German princes began to turn Protestant. Luther was deeply concerned with the lively continuance of the activities; and if any *Hofkantorei* was intended to be dissolved for reasons of religious austerity, Luther immediately gave vent to his disapproval in terms characteristic of both his directness and impatience.

The shift of musicians from one court to the other was relatively easier and more frequent than the change from one church to the other, especially if such a change implied the turn from the old religion to the new. The early period of the Reformation displayed a lively interchange in musicianship at princely courts. Above all, the imperial court assembled many Netherlandish musicians. Indeed, under Maximilian I it became the very center of Netherlandish art, which Ferdinand I made successful efforts to keep alive. The leading musicians of the young Protestant Church came nearly all from that school. And many a composer at a Catholic court provided music for the Protestant service. Even Lassus, who worked under one of the severest representatives of the Counter Reformation, Albrecht V, composed several specifically Protestant texts. In 1526 Stoltzer wrote the music to the Lutheran Psalms, commissioned by the Duke Albrecht of Prussia and Queen Mary of Hungary. Arnold von Bruck, priest and court composer of Ferdinand I, contributed works to the Lutheran liturgy. So did Stefan Mahu, perhaps also in the *Capella* of Ferdinand I. The intimate relationship of Senfl to Luther is too well known

to be discussed. Balthasar Resinarius, pupil of Isaac in the imperial *Capella*, himself became Protestant and one of the better composers in the early years of Protestantism. Without lengthening the list of musicians any further, we may say that the structure of the court *Kantorei* was fully maintained by the Protestant principalities. At the head of such institutions there were often the best composers of the time. Hence their artistic faculties made the Protestant church music appear from the very outset with compositions of European prominence. We understand fully why Luther insisted on the maintenance of as many *Hofkantoreien* as tradition had established. There is still another factor worth mentioning: in various cities a mutual interchange of musicians took place between the *Kantorei* of the town's church and that of the court. Here and there the singers were the same. On the strength of such an agreement the musical activities presented, indeed, a remarkable picture of artistic uniformity.

The second type of the Protestant *Kantorei* is as strongly rooted in tradition as is the court choir, yet still closer to the organization of the Lutheran Church: I mean the school choir. Protestantism upheld the medieval ancestor of the school *Kantorei,* as it did in so many other matters, external and spiritual. But here, too, the most illustrious period began when the Netherlandish composers formulated their musical ideal within the medium of choral polyphony. It is through the organization of the school *Kantorei* that the Netherlandish music obtained its best vehicle of expression. And the stern discipline with which the institute has been ruled explains the miraculous achievements in the choral art of the cathedral choirs. It is the greatest age of choral singing in all history. Without the *Kantorei,* Protestant church music would never have become what it was during the century of the Reformation.

In this organization, school and church work side by side. The musical education is entrusted to the school. The results of the education are presented in the church. The *cantor* of the church is the teacher in the school. His position gives him social distinction. Next to the rector he is second in the faculty. Rector and cantor decide upon the admission of pupils to the school, whereby very often the cantor makes the musical interests bear upon the decision. For the school *Kantorei* comprises all the students of the school. The singing is compulsory. All pupils have to participate in choral singing.

Bugenhagen, in Luther's time the chief organizer of liturgy and school for the North of Germany, put music first in the curriculum of study in schools. The compulsory training took place daily, in most schools after lunch from twelve to one; some plans of study give also the reason for this order: the singing should take place daily because it was done in honor of the Lord; and it should be from twelve to one because it was recognized as an efficient prompter of digestion.

Out of the whole student body the best singers of the higher grades from *Tertia* to *Prima*, rarely the youngsters, were combined into the school choir to appear chiefly in the services of the church, partly also on festival occasions of the community. The rigid regulations made the outstanding results possible. In the first place, the compulsory singing of all students, regardless of talent or interest, promoted a musical education so widespread and general as to grant music to remain part of man's life. Musical education was not meant to involve only those who had

their minds already set upon music, but to provide as broad and fertile a ground as possible, so that the finest would grow thereon actively to be shared by all. Our school organizations merely take care of the student who is sufficiently interested and satisfactorily talented; they neglect all others; and music as a medium of expressive activity will not be attainable as long as the majority is left aside and given over to merely passive listening and aesthetic pleasure. In the second place, the organization fitted closely the music made by it. The compositions the time produced were almost exclusively of choral nature. The institution to carry them out was organized for and together with them. Since the discipline was strict, the training thorough and comprehensive, the fruits the efforts bore were equal to the compositions themselves. And great was the fame the school and church choirs acquired in the age of the Reformation: Leipzig, Dresden, Schulpforta, Lüneburg, Nuremberg, Halle, Hamburg, Wittenberg, and many another city had, in the course of time, built up a prominent reputation.

The last type, Protestant in a particular way, is of special interest. The *Kantoreigesellschaft* is to a lesser degree an offspring of tradition. To be sure, it also had certain models from which it developed. The *Kantoreigesellschaft* of the Protestant period had its predecessor in the so-called *Kalandsbrüderschaft,* a brotherhood founded for musical and religious purposes to combine both laymen and clergy. It was sometimes named "Society of Choir Singers." But it is significant that these medieval brotherhoods entered upon the state of dying out at the time when Luther came. Hence the link between the Protestant *Kantoreigesellschaft* and tradition cannot be regarded as particularly strong. It is even more than doubtful—so far as I can ascertain—that the founders of the *Kantoreigesellschaften* intended to revive the old brotherhoods with new, Protestant ideas. It seems that the societies were founded rather out of the needs and characteristics of Protestantism. For when they began to rise, they were largely without organization, and it is only toward the end of the sixteenth century that they adopted the regular statutes of a society. How were they formed? The burghers of the city, often together with some pupils of the school, had regular gatherings in order to study the music to be sung in the services. The study was usually conducted by the *cantor*. This was voluntary choral practice for the purpose that members of the congregation should enable themselves to take part in the liturgical music of the service. To quote from an original source: the citizens of the town should meet that "to the honor of the Almighty, on the high feasts and Sundays, they should help in singing the *musica figurata* to the services of Mass and Vesper so that subsequently youth may be kept in practice and be able to improve upon the art of music." In the days of Luther the burghers of the congregation, high or low in station, gathered to the end that music should be made the form through which the congregation could express itself. Since the Lutheran liturgy is based on the active congregation, the share it has in the musical manifestations is of the utmost importance. But this has often been questioned by scholars, particularly for the early period when the members of the congregation were said to have been unable to sing the compositions taken into the repertory of Protestant church music. Some scholars suggested that possibly the singers of the trained choir were distributed over the church to support the congregational singing. There is a passage in Luther's works that explains the share of the congregation differently. He tells that it assembled on certain days of the week to practice the music to be sung in the service.* This conforms to a few other documents we have where it is said that in certain cities young people came together in the church for an hour or more in order to prepare themselves for the music; and the documents

praise the laudable zeal of the youngsters who thus distinguished themselves from the habitual loafers of the town.

*I am indebted to Professor Roland E. Bainton (Yale University), who is preparing a book on Luther, for having called my attention to this passage in Luther's Table Talks.

In the early days of the Reformation these *Kantoreigesellschaften* sprang up according to the needs of the Church. Inasmuch as they were first without strict regulations, they also had something of a democratic character. For burghers of all stations united themselves in view of what the Church needed. The picture was to change toward the end of the century. Burghers of the upper class no longer took part in such musical practice of the congregation. Simultaneously this group of singers became more and more organized as a regular society. The statutes adopted were extremely elaborate, rules being put down for nearly all the society was to undertake. The singers practiced once a week for four or five hours; they met in the school or in the home of one of the members. Luther himself had something of a *Kantoreigesellschaft* in that on regular days his friends met in his house to practice that music which he made every effort to gain for Protestantism. Due to industrious practice and discipline the period in which these societies came to their best was about 1600 and after, until the Thirty Years' War ended the custom. Although the societies were revived after the war, they never again became what they originally were.

These three organizations, then, contributed to the realization of Protestant church music: the *Kantoreigesellschaft* most to the congregational singing, the *Hofkantorei* most to the artistic development, the school *Kantorei* most to the advancement of musical education. They all reached their height from about 1550 to 1620 in Protestant regions. They all suffered from the blight the war put upon them. But there were also artistic reasons why they never again came to true life. These reasons will have to be discussed.

And all these institutions were united on the ground of a common repertory. A common style, common forms linked the three together to reach a common end: the organization of the new liturgy by way of music.

It is a striking fact that Protestantism associated itself with the Netherlandish music. The association became, indeed, so close, and the influences, direct and indirect, were so manifold that the ideal of Protestant music and the ideal of Netherlandish composition grew to be one and the same. I do not mean merely the use Protestantism had made of the musical heritage related to the older Church. All such relations, often of external nature only, led to transformations in the sense of the new religion, frequently so far-reaching re-interpretations of the old material that at times we can no longer attach a primary importance to the source of influence. What I mean lies apart from the sphere of external influences. I mean the complete identity that came to exist between two ideals of composition. This, of course, is not only taken for granted on the basis that Luther himself declared Josquin des Prés to be the greatest of all composers and his personal favorite as well. However consequential Luther's own judgment may have been to the form of a musical liturgy, it is not likely alone to have had sufficient power in producing the identity between Netherlandish and Protestant musical terms. Historically speaking, there is hardly any

epoch in German music, the classic period excepted, that presents itself so free from conflict and so fortunate in unity despite the greatest religious rupture that ever had come upon the country. Glareanus, the intimate friend of Erasmus, once described the political picture Germany displayed to the world in the most exasperating terms. There was, in other words, nothing, political and religious, that would even in the slightest resemble a unity. Nevertheless, German music was, either before or after in the baroque, as united as in the century of the Reformation. And in spite of the severest antagonism in matters religious and political, there was continual communication between the Netherlandish and German Protestant circles in music. Surely, this cannot be explained by some sentimental reason that music is an internationally unifying agent. Even the word of Luther, by its own weight and value, could not have produced the astonishing unity. The reasons for all this lie deeper. To give an account of them is all the more important as they provide means of solving an extraordinary puzzle in the history of Protestant music. They cast light upon the fact that Protestant music is united and uniform in the epoch of the Reformation, disunited and full of conflicts in the baroque age.

German polyphonic music during the Middle Ages had at all times been exposed to compositions that came from countries for centuries in the lead of the artistic development. France, Burgundy, and Italy had provided style and repertory which German musicians accepted with profound interest. The student of the history of German music knows that it never was independent or of any importance in the concert of European music. Only relatively very few compositions contained a peculiar character and showed a structure, genuine and native, for which no other country had stylistic parallels. Viewed under European aspects, even this type remained as ineffective as all other polyphonic music of Germany. Nonetheless, the type has decisive bearing on the problem we have raised. Some of the early polyphonic compositions, not produced under outside influence, the works of the Monk of Salzburg in the second half of the fourteenth century and those of Oswald von Wolkenstein in particular († 1445), bring forth the structure of the *tenor-cantus firmus Lied* in the sphere of secular music. The melody of the *Lied* is placed in the *Tenor,* the second part above is set as counterpoint. The *Locheim Liederbuch,* some compositions of which are extended to three parts, works out this native structure even more significantly in that the *cantus firmus* is used as *Tenor* in the middle while two free contrapuntal parts frame the central *Lied.* To be sure, this *Lied* maintains the contrast of performance that generally prevailed in all secular songs of the time: one part to be sung, the others to be played; here the *Tenor* is vocal, the surrounding parts instrumental. It is the structure, however, that counts.

When the Netherlandish school came to birth and the compositions of Ockeghem, its founder, began to appear in increasing numbers after 1450, a style gradually arose to attain European rank which conformed to the native concepts of the German polyphonic song. A *cantus firmus* was borrowed, arranged as *Tenor* in free rhythms and long emphatic values, placed in the center of the work, and around this central melody there rotate, as it were, the three free counterpoints with long melismas and in almost endless lines. We immediately think of the wonderful words with which Luther described this very structure, in a manner I believe to be without equal. The character of the *cantus firmus* that carries the melody distinguishes the *Tenor* from all other parts: the sustained tones, irregular in the succession of the rhythmical values, give the voice an objective solemnity and structural prominence which has often been acoustically underlined in

that an additional *Trombone* accompanied the voice of the *Tenor.* Thus all other voices became subordinate to the *Tenor.* This is the oldest stylistic form of the Netherlandish School and has been maintained, at the side of other forms, throughout the age, by varying degrees of its frequency. Since the form, however, corresponded to the structure of the polyphonic *Lied* in Germany, it is understandable that the German musicians fully absorbed the Netherlandish art as soon as they came to know it. For they grasped the form on the strength of their own tradition which allowed them to seize upon the Netherlandish compositions most eagerly. Hence, the rapidity with which the new style spread in Germany; hence, also, the obstinacy with which German musicians adhered to the style even at a time when the Netherlandish style had lost its place and influence in all other European countries.

A second reason had definite bearing on prompting an inner coincidence of Netherlandish and German music. The medieval repertory of German polyphonic compositions presents a definite contrast to the style that governed the art of the epoch. It consisted chiefly of sacred works collected by German musicians. Their manuscripts differ essentially from the rest of the continental sources in so far as there is this emphasis on sacred music, whereas the style prevalent in the age had secular connotations. When the new forms emanated from the Netherlands, they came forth with a new sacred message—after centuries past, the first genuinely religious style in polyphonic music. At this point, German tradition that gave preference to sacred compositions even when they were not in fashion, and the new profoundly religious work of the Netherlanders came to reach an inner agreement. Both the artistic structure of the composition and the religious tendency in the music enabled the German musicians to accept the forms that came from the Netherlands with a spontaneous understanding.

There has, of course, been an inner evolution within the Netherlandish style itself, and it is Josquin des Prés who between the most important years of his activities, between about 1490 and 1510, has carried it further than anyone else. In his epoch-making motet *Ave Maria,* of perhaps 1500, and the *Missa Pange Lingua,* which came later, Josquin eliminated the structural contrast between the sustained *Tenor* and the melismatic counterpoints. He invented his own theme for every text phrase to be imitated successively by all the parts in fugal manner. The length of the melodical phrases as well as the entrances of the voices were non-symmetrical, cadences were avoided, rests scarce, and an uninterrupted stream of balanced melismatic lines resulted from such a concept of composition that with reference to the work of Josquin and of Gombert the very learned Spanish theorist Thomas de Sancta Maria said in 1565: entrances and cadences should be treated in such a way that they do not stand out by themselves; for this is a very delicate problem, in fact, the greatest beauty and art possible in music. The third and last phase of evolution in the Netherlandish music is chiefly related to the motets of Roland Lassus, who endeavored to achieve a new style of declamation. But whatever the changes were that came into being, the German musicians kept closely in touch with all of them; indeed, they proceeded in the same pace as did the Netherlanders. Once the contact had been established at the very origin of the style on the basis of an inner relationship, it had been maintained through its phases. This keeping in pace with the Netherlandish development is characteristic of the German music in the century of the Reformation.

These two forms we have tried to describe in brief, that of the *Tenor-cantus firmus* composition and the imitative structure with or without borrowed melodies, were well established in the choral repertory when the Reformation began to introduce the Netherlandish music into the new service. Just as much as in the work of Josquin himself both types were kept side by side, so the music the young Church took over showed the two phases at once. The early Protestant composers were altogether related to the Netherlandish School, whence they came by birth or by training.

A last factor that linked Protestantism and Netherlandish music tightly together may be mentioned. Luther's *Von Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der Gemeine,* the *Formula Missae,* both of 1523, and *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes* of 1526 had shifted the center of gravity away from the Ordinary of the Mass to the Psalms, Responsories, Antiphons, Hymns, Magnificat, hence to the *Proprium,* to the *Officium,* and especially to the Vespers, because the texts of these parts were based on the Scriptures. All these chants, if polyphonically arranged, became motets. With the generation of Josquin the Netherlanders had also placed a new artistic emphasis on the motet composition as music of the Proper rather than on the Ordinary of the Mass, on which the Ockeghem School had focused all its interest. Here again Protestantism found the Netherlandish music to be fully adaptable to its own liturgical tendencies.

When Georg Rhaw started an office of music printing at Wittenberg in 1525, the very foundation for a Protestant music was laid. Rhaw followed closely the order Luther had given; and several collections he published were prefaced by Luther himself and Melanchthon. Perhaps less important as a composer, although *Thomaskantor* in Leipzig in 1519 when the famous dispute between Luther and Eck took place, Rhaw was musical organizer and educator of the first order. It was he who provided the music needed in the service of the young Church. And he, too, brought the traditional institution of choral singing, the school, to a full unity with Protestantism—surely inspired by Luther, but still on the strength of his own genius as an educator. If we study the prefaces to the Wittenberg anthologies, we find hardly any that would neglect to emphasize the necessity of institutional training for the church music. Many collections were dedicated to school and church alike. Rhaw united *Kantorei* and church. For he related the music of the service first to the one and only adequate institute of musical training; second, he provided the material for which to train. In his strictly liturgical consideration he showed himself to be the equal to Luther's genius and an educator in the truest sense. Contrary to our own days, where educators often waste their time with trying to invent the most elaborate systems of methods according to which one should teach, with scarcely any solicitude about what to teach, Rhaw, truer to the task of education, took care, above all, of the material, that is, the subject of education. The method of training was derived from the subject. The material being of choral nature, the *Kantorei* was by necessity to carry out the education. Since the musical repertory of the *Kantorei* and of the church were one and the same, Rhaw performed his duties in the office of liturgy as much as in the service of education. Hence his systematic publications of liturgical collections, particularly comprehensive during the years from 1538 to 1545. The *Proprium de Tempore* is represented in the Hymns, the *Officium,* as Vespers, through the *Antiphonae dominicales et feriales,* as well as the *Magnificat,* and furthermore Rhaw's special *Officia* for Easter and Christmas. All this comes forth in the form of the motet, which,

therefore, grows to be the most important strictly liturgical polyphonic composition of the service: as music of the *Officium,* and as *de Tempore* composition in accordance with the Epistle and the Gospel of the day. Of the 778 compositions Rhaw published in the course of seven years, about 550 are liturgical motets. And there are only ten compositions of the Ordinary of the Mass. Obviously, the liturgical ideas of the men at Wittenberg manifest themselves in this order of the Protestant repertory. The Protestant musician, the *Cantor,* becomes a motet composer. The majority of these strictly liturgical compositions, however, is still the work of Netherlanders: of Josquin des Pres, Isaac, Pipelare, Brumel, and of Senfl, Stoltzer, Finck, Arnold von Bruck, Sixt Dietrich, Balthasar Resinarius. The Catholic Netherlander and the Protestant German work hand in hand. The Netherlandish repertory becomes the repertory of the Lutheran *Kantorei.*

This character is maintained with all its intensity throughout the sixteenth century, or through 1620. To be sure, the output of specifically Protestant composers grew in size considerably. But the picture did not change. Protestant composers continued to write in the manner of the established style. The ideal of polyphonic composition the Protestant musician adhered to remained identical with that of the Netherlandish polyphony. And together with this indissoluble unity between purpose of composition, style, repertory, and education, the Protestant *Kantorei* passed through its most glorious history.

The unity broke into pieces in the new century, which brought about a complete change in the historical situation. The creative center shifted to Italy; the Netherlanders died out; so did their choral polyphony. The new repertory was organized by secular forms: the opera and cantata. The soloistic style required new schools of musical training, schools in which the solo style was to be acquired. All this, as everyone knows, took place in Italy, from where the new music advanced to become the baroque style of Europe.

When, around 1620, the Protestant *Kantorei* entered its first phase of crisis, it was not only the great war that became the cause of all the calamities that were recorded. Surely, the war brought destruction and enormous material damage to the institute of the *Kantorei.* But when the organization was to be restored, the music the *Kantorei* once cultivated had passed by forever. Heinrich Schütz was among the first to foresee the immense difficulties that would arise if the *Kantorei* would not be reorganized from within through the new forms of the music itself. And he made it the task of his life to eliminate the wide discrepancy that came to exist between the Protestant German tradition and. the new style of Italian music. For the leading style was no longer sacred; nor was it choral. There came upon the German musician the inescapable alternative either to transform the *Kantorei* entirely to make it an adequate medium for the new forms or to remain hopelessly backward and to fall completely apart with the musical ideas of his own time. For his own work Schütz finally succeeded in eliminating the gulf that had opened up because of the rise of the baroque music. With regard to the education of Protestant musicians he failed and, as he himself admitted, failed totally. The organization of the *Kantorei* did not change. Instead of renewing its repertory and style, it adhered to the old works of the past, which became more and more obsolete. Since it was no longer fed by new works in the old fashion, the quality of the *Kantorei* rapidly declined and became inadequate even in its own field. When a man of genius, such as Schütz, at the end of his life must admit that the German musicians did

not really understand what he set out to do, that they only had lost their craftsmanship in composition, that he at last must beg of them to compose rather in the sixteenth century form, and that—he curses the day when he turned to music as his profession, the full tragic implications of the discrepancy between the artistic style and musical education, should it ever come to pass, are clearly apparent.

The Protestant baroque music in Germany never achieved a fully adequate institution in which to train musicians for a church music that was in keeping with the time. The Protestant *Cantor* ceased to fulfill his most distinguished function as motet composer for the liturgy. Motets were sung, but works completely outdated. Even the performance of motets was of no concern to him; it was done by the prefect, or *precentor,* and often by a special choir. The repertory of motets was by the time Bach acted as *Thomaskantor* 150 years old. What made Schütz suffer, still affected Bach. To make the cantata a profoundly liturgical work in place of the motet, Bach's task, has been understood by the Germans no better than the work of Schütz. And the bitterness of old Bach sprang from the same cause as the despair Schütz felt when old: from the complete rupture between religious composition and musical education which both men saw to be a catastrophe of Protestant church music.

The lesson we must learn from this is self-explanatory. The character, the style, the form of composition must always be related to the function the work has to fulfill within the liturgy, or else the performance of music in the church becomes an arbitrary and at times even regrettable accident. Second: The educational institution entrusted with the performance of the service must be in full harmony with the style of music. Third: Since our contemporary music does not seem to fulfill either of the two conditions, Protestant church music of the past when it was greatest, when it was truest, should be first in being considered for the repertory of the church music. If so, the institution must be conformed to the music to be cultivated. Perhaps an Institute exclusively dedicated to the task is the only answer.

Herder's Conception of Church Music

Leo Schrade

The end of the baroque age brought a final decision upon a struggle that the historian of church music must assume to have been inborn, as it were, in the nature and spirit of the time. The decision was disastrous to church music. During the baroque, Italy gave vent to an almost excessively secular spirit that seems to have been the very guide of man in the age. Italy set the tone in the music of the period. But all Italian baroque musicians who composed sacred works made themselves difficult to be understood: if they wrote works of religious nature, they wrote in the style of the Palestrina School, obsolete and vastly outdated; if they wrote compositions in keeping with their own time, they chose the operatic style, with complete disregard of the religious character. Either religious and antiquated, or contemporaneous and non-religious: this alternative all baroque musicians faced. You may start with Monteverdi and proceed to Alessandro Scarlatti or even to Durante, who still composed a *Missa à la Palestrina*, and you will always find this double-faced church music, the two features wholly incompatible with one another. Even at the beginning of the classic epoch a composer such as Michael Haydn is by no means free from the conflict. We all know that during the baroque period it is Bach who became its most tragic victim, the conflict being related in Germany partly to the lack of institutions appropriate for the style of the epoch. There was scarcely anyone to understand the religious implications of his work, which to us have absolute rather than historically relative values. The procedure of the administration at St. Thomas should have been a sinister warning that, if heeded, would have saved Bach from many an affliction. Although acting according to the severe admonition that the *cantor* elected to St. Thomas should never venture to introduce operatic mannerisms into the church, the municipal council knowingly turned first to composers who made famous names for themselves as operatic musicians.

No wonder, then, that the continual predominance of the secular spirit as well as of profane expressions in the arts during the baroque epoch did not allow church music to enter a phase of being reconsidered in all its needs and characteristics. No matter how deep our veneration of Bach may be, historically he was a musician most tragic in isolation, unique—not only because of the incomparable scope of his genius, but because of the religious aim indigenous to his work. And by 1750, the approximate end of the baroque music, anti-religious feelings, or, more correctly, religious indifference had its way. The epoch of classic music began with such an indifference in matters of religious quantities in music, and even the conflict that marked all activities along that line during the baroque now lost its edge. A reconsideration of church music and its style lay entirely beside the interests of the classic musician. His attitude toward it was individualistic. Church music on the whole did not contain any problem to him who established the foundation of classic music in other media. A reform of church music was to him no matter of concern.

We have to be aware of this situation fully to understand [Johann Gottfried] Herder's (1744–1803) importance as well as the impact his ideas had had on the discussion of church music. For Herder fathered a new movement in church music which the spark of profound ideas set in

motion to effect the most far-reaching consequences in idealistic thoughts, well-considered reform, and practical realization.

In his *Maximen und Reflexionen über Kunst* Goethe once said that "the two pivots around which all true music centers are the sacredness of church music on the one side, the gaiety of folk melodies on the other." It is as though Goethe had made this statement under the influence of Herder. For Herder's work rests indeed on these two pillars in so far as it is related to music.

Historians of literature know of the unrivaled importance Herder has had as an innovator of all the concepts that concern the nature of folk music. Very little is known about the significance of Herder in the category of church music. A particularly essential discovery Herder made is to be derived from his profound search into the nature of the folk song; it casts light upon his view of music in general, his view of church music in particular. Music as a living force of human culture must not be valued exclusively under purely artistic, aesthetic aspects. On the contrary, aestheticism as a medium by which to assess music as an art may lead to a complete neglect of the primary, original elements of music. In other words, we must learn how to take musical forms as immediate expressions of man's activities in his daily life. There was not much in the musical art of his time that would have allowed Herder to take such a view. He found many artistic achievements to be far remote from being expressive of acts in man's life. In fact, it was the folk song alone whose various categories showed the making of music, the singing, as an outburst of man in relation to what he was doing and feeling.

The same, or a similar, but not as clear an aspect was held by Herder for church music. Inasmuch as he himself as a youth in his home had come to understand the singing of hymns, of sacred songs, to be part of his daily activities, so he wanted the larger issues of church music to be taken as acts of the religious life and not as phenomena of pure art.

We now may have no difficulty in recognizing the soundness of Herder's statement; yet in his own time it must have come as an extraordinary utterance.

Together with the assumption that sacred music must maintain something apart from, or beyond, purely artistic aestheticism, Herder was well on the way to discover liturgy as the very source of all church music. This second discovery made his views still more extraordinary in his time. It had far-reaching implications. It meant nothing less than the thesis that music should not aim at being an art for its own sake. The goal should lie outside its own self. Herder struggled to find a new definition of music, a new end, consciously opposed to all that his immediate predecessors, the rationalists of the Enlightenment, had asserted. With his definition Herder offered the foundation of a new view of music to a generation to come after him, to the Romanticists. As an anti-rationalist Herder assumed that music reached beyond its own self, had a divine origin; according to its origin and nature it had the inner tendency to return to the source of its origin, to the divine. Music should, therefore, have the same object as religion itself: the eternal, which belief and contemplation aim to grasp. In the service of religion the music should become free from individuality, or better, from expressions of the individual. Thus Herder laid not only the ground for new metaphysics in music which the Romanticists with their keen sense for the

irrational were eager to accept, to expand, and even to transform, Herder made—first theoretically—the juncture of liturgy and music possible again. That is to say: he put up the most important demand that any church music, or any style of church music, must be the result of the liturgy. Within the scope of the demand Herder established again a new end for church music. The answer to the fundamental question which end sacred music is to serve is as pure and simple as it always was when genuine church music has been created: the praise of the Lord. The attitude sacred music assumes for itself is derived from the end, and again the answer is simple and direct: Devotion must be the character of the music. And what must be the form of church music? It must show calm solemnity of motion, dignity, and purity of harmonies, avoidance of extraordinary, individualistic, expressive details; it must abide by impersonal laws.

We have anticipated these all-important, though general and abstract, definitions. We shall discover more of their peculiar significance when following the process of Herder's arguments closely.

Herder had been concerned with the nature of church music from the time of his earliest years of study. In fact, his great teacher, Hamann in Königsberg, called the great *Magus,* or wise man, of the North, who had inspired him to search into the nature of folk music under the influence of the English, had in all likelihood laid a certain ground for the concepts of church music also. And when Herder, after his stay at Riga and Bückeburg, finally came to Weimar and entered the discussion of the subject in 1770 with a young and very gifted theologian, J. G. Müller of Gottingen, the ideas took on definite shape. Herder presented them in *Briefe das Studium der Theologie betreffend* (1780/1), the immediate results of the conversations with Müller. The ideas recur in Herder's famous work *Vom Geist der Hebräischen Poesie* (1783), which has an additional treatise on music by Matthias Claudius, where for the first time Palestrina appears as the ideal of the renewal. They are further expanded in the essay on St. Cecilia (1793), which already contains the results of studies Herder had carried out in Italy. In addition to many individual essays we need not mention here, there are *Adrastea* and *Kalligone,* the most important treatises on art aestheticism, wherein Herder included the problems of church music. Taking all these works into account, we arrive at a clear picture of what Herder set forth as indispensable needs of church music. Many of the values Herder rediscovered have been drawn from history as the very source of knowledge. And the highest of these values is the unbreakable link between liturgy and music; or unbreakable it was in all periods when sacred music played the role of greatness. Basic in Herder's concept is the truly Lutheran idea that the congregation forms the liturgy; the congregation to him is "a community, one and all-embracing, united by one spirit." And again, true to Luther, the congregation is taken to be the symbol of the liturgy. Hence all devotion has a significance above the individual. To quote from *Kalligone:* "It is devotion that raises man and the congregation beyond the expression through words and gestures; for to give vent to their feelings there remains nothing but the tones. True devotion is unconcerned with the individual person who sings; its tones come from heaven; devotion sings in man's heart; the heart itself sings and plays." We should think we were reading a passage of Augustine, who in describing the power of religious music tells of man's outburst into tones when words become insufficient. And we have no doubt that inasmuch as Augustine has derived this character of music from the singing of hymns and psalms, so Herder again recognized the

original nature of the hymn. From these principal aspects Herder gathered the suggestions that involved a complete reform of Protestant liturgy, a movement that started with him, to be continued up to the time of Liliencron. What Herder had to say about church music is but a logical conclusion from anticipated principles, is a consequence in logical thought, yet deducted from historical reality.

Herder makes the plain and realistic statement: "The time of Christian church music has gone"; and he asks immediately in his position as a reformer: "What character must true church music have?" In keeping with the approach of a reformer, Herder tries to uncover the reasons for the disappearance of true church music. "Where is the decline? When did it start?" The answer is historical, but simple and short: Decline began together with the rise of individualism. Musically speaking, the individualism has manifested itself, first, by way of dramatic effects in conjunction with the opera, second, in the category of the *Kirchenlied.* The *stylus a cappella,* the *stylus ecclesiasticus,* bound to the choral motet of the sixteenth century gave way to the dramatic *cantata* of profane connotations. The choral motet, expressive of a group, of a community, was replaced by the individualistic *cantata.* The dramatic *cantata,* however, did not lead the listener to the contemplation of the meaning of the sacred text; it challenged him to admire art, sound, and passion. The human side, identical with the dramatic, intruded and pushed itself into the foreground. The individual solo voice in the *stile concertante* destroyed the choral community. The counterpoint as a medium of an idea had an end with Bach. The new musicians created forms expressive of the natural feelings of the individual; they made the composition to be "the confessions of their own hearts." That was the end. And in the category of the modern *Kirchenlied* a similar process took place. Once vigorous and majestic, an utterance of a united congregation, the *Kirchenlied* had now become a song full of feeble, individualistic sentimentalities. "I believe," says Herder, "that especially a well-known pious school in Germany is responsible for having started to emasculate and corrupt the *Kirchenlied.* That school toned it down to some sort of a *musica camera* [secular] with charming but sweetish melodies, full of tender sentiments and trifles; hence the *Kirchengesang* lost all its majesty that once controlled the entire congregation; instead, it became a toyish weakling."

In view of this characterization of a historical process, related to the secular music of opera and cantata and to the congregational song, Herder took as clear a stand as anyone can wish who concerns himself with matters of liturgy and music. But how is Herder to fit his views into the picture of baroque music? Are there not latent contradictions in his thesis? Indeed there are. They will be mentioned in due course.

If the concept of the liturgy is based on the congregation, and if sacred music must always be a direct outgrowth of the liturgy, any reform Herder will suggest must needs center around the relationship between music and congregation. The profound studies of the psalms and lyrics of the Old Testament as well as the literature of the hymns of the early Christian Church enabled him to recognize the musical nature of psalm and hymn and their importance to the congregation. Hence his categoric demand that "the song of praise, the hymn, must at all times be the basis of all sacred music." For the singing of the hymn is entirely identical with the manifestation of the community. And since Herder the theologian and historian of religion had come to realize that all

decline was due to the predominance of individualism, the reform must aim at new activities of the congregation. Hence "the basis of all sacred music is the choir." With truly Lutheran understanding, Herder states with the words of the Scriptures: "A congregation must sing; and when two or three people come together, they form a congregation, together with all Christendom on earth." This argument is of special importance. For in so far as three people symbolize Christendom as a whole in the sense of the congregation, so the feelings expressed by the choir must stand for the feelings of all mankind Christian. Never should an individual person speak of himself. All feelings should always be generalized to a degree that all men have a share in them. The choir is capable of presenting all shades of such general feelings, as psalm and hymn are expressive of all and every situation man may ever encounter. Arias, duets, terzets, all allowing individualism, can never attain to primary rank in church music. The choir stands high above these soloistic forms, because it is a symbol of the congregation. Arias are used only for the sake of change. To quote Herder: "It lies in the nature of the matter that the choir hymns are interrupted by arias," for sacred music needs this kind of change. The arias are contemplative in the relation to the message of the choir; they are passive in contrast to the active confession of the choir; or they are even a challenge by which to call forth a new active part of the choir.

The next demand concerns the recitative. Herder finds the justification for it according to the tradition. "The recitatives in church music can never take any other place than that of the lessons." The musical nature lies in the declamatory prose of the Gospel. It should be maintained for the recitative of sacred music. But a few words selected from the lessons should be sufficient, since the congregation is familiar with the Biblical story; a few words, mere indications, and no complete and coherent narration. Above all, the recitative should avoid being descriptive, painting, realistic. No recitative, however picturesque the text, can ever be successful in painting or picturing the story. But music is capable of being fully expressive by taking a few suggestive words or passages as starting point, as stimuli. Herder put down an extraordinary idea. He strove after a new regulation between word and tone in church music. Since he assumed that the nature of music allowed only general, not specific, human expressions, he was opposed to all descriptive music. And any text whose character was based on realistic images would therefore be unfit for music. The text must be adapted to the music. A text designed to be put into music must be formed from the outset according to the general capacities of music.

From this thesis, to which we shall return, Herder drew certain conclusions as to the further characteristics of church music. "Sacred music should by no means be dramatic; it fails of its own purpose if the composer endeavored to make it so." Dramatized Biblical stories do not belong in the church; they can be used for private performances as devout cantatas. No individual—it may be Peter, John, or Mary—has the right to expression by gestures in front of the congregation. Their words should be the singing of all, *allgemeiner Gesang.* Every aria, duet, or terzet stands out from the whole; every syllable chosen by the poet or artist to show himself is detrimental to the effect of church music. Dramatic music and religious music exclude each other.

And then the final demand that church music should be "a unity, an entity from beginning to end of a service or feast, a unity inspired by one idea from the first tone to the last."

Some additional characterizations are to be found in Herder's "Oratorio and Cantata," which he included in *Adrastea* of 1802. Here, Herder takes the oratorio to be genuine church music. To him the oratorio is entirely separated from the opera; for one significant reason: "The pure Grecian choir or the psalm and the hymn are the very model of the oratorio." The opera always needs action on the stage together with the tones. Where, however, poetry and music alone exercise their power, there the oratorio and the cantata originate.

And Herder places all expectations of a renewal on these two forms. Both the oratorio and the cantata occupied his mind throughout his life. In his earlier years he was attracted to the aspects and needs of church music in general. Before formulating all his ideas about the matter to a complete plan of reform, he immediately started out to provide the material for a church music to be reorganized. In his turn to the cantata as a musical category, he clearly thought in terms of the baroque age rather than of his own to become the classic epoch. From the very start Herder was retrospective with regard to this musical category or, better, conservative in his strong feeling for history and tradition. When he came to Riga, his ideas undoubtedly were encouraged by a man whose work was largely related to the past. The man was the composer Johann G. Müthel, one of the better among the last pupils of Johann Sebastian Bach. He became Herder's composer in Riga. There Herder wrote the Pentecost cantata, poetically not quite in keeping with his ideas on the character of a text as we just have interpreted. For Herder used here—especially for the recitative—a descriptive form which he later rejected, full of the realism in images that had been a typical mark of the baroque style. He revised his poetry immediately. And none of the Bückeburg works show features of this kind. In them Herder made himself a poet for music. His language is so unusual that it is worth explaining. What we discover in his prose, particularly where he speaks about music, psalms, and hymns, can be found equally in his musical poetry. Herder indeed endeavored to form a musical language of his own, a high-pitched, tense, vigorous tone that is altogether characteristic of his style. He has the style of a missionary; whatever he speaks sounds like a sermon; it has an emotionally excited quality, somewhat exaggerative perhaps—permissible when spoken, less convincing when silently read. The style puts the words in a manner repetitive, stammering, abrupt. This occurs indeed in the recitatives: incomplete sentences, isolated words, uttered abruptly, often senseless if viewed under aspects of logical structure, but strongly suggestive if viewed merely as media for music. The composer who followed Herder closely as author of *Die Kindheit Jesu* and *Die Auferstehung Lazarus'* was Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, the so-called Bückeburg Bach.

But, above all, Herder maintained the liturgical connection for the cantata. In this he became the true relative of Johann Sebastian Bach. The indispensable liturgical quality of the cantata was based upon the texts of the Bible; that is, the text of the poet should be drawn from the Bible and the sermon, and thus become a *de Tempore* composition; second, it should give the choir the rank of dominance to stand for the congregation; third, and most important, the chorale should again be the symbol of the congregation.

Whether Herder formulated these ideas under the influence of Friedrich Bach acting as an intermediary to make Herder acquainted with Johann Sebastian Bach, or whether he arrived

independently at Bach's form of the cantata on the strength of his own liturgical considerations, is open to question. I believe that Herder was rather original in his aspects.

The oratorio appeared to Herder as genuinely sacred music because of the Biblical text as well as the significance of choral composition. He turned out to be an enthusiast of Handel's work, whose *Messiah* he translated and brought to performance in Weimar. Of course, the oratorio could never become a religious composition in any liturgical sense. Yet Herder found it to be an adequate medium for religious feelings.

The third form of church music should again be the motet, with a liturgical implication in that it was to be a *de Tempore* composition. And for this Herder did not have the encouragement of his own time or of the period of Johann Sebastian Bach. For Bach's motets were occasional works, and during Bach's time the motet as *de Tempore* composition was an antiquated appearance, as, for instance, in Leipzig the *Florilegium Portense* provided the motets needed for the service.

Herder made two discoveries. The first involved the character of church music in general: it should have a slow, solemn tone; it should be the vehicle of polyphony in contrapuntal style. The solemnity of style was found by Herder in Palestrina's work and the entire school around and after Palestrina. Herder became the champion for the revival of Palestrina, wherein the Romanticists were to follow him. We always attributed to the Romanticists proper what came to be a revival of the sixteenth-century vocal music. Herder seems to have been the originator, the *spiritus rector*, responsible for what became a regular movement, chiefly as a result of his initiative.

Herder arrived at his concepts of church music first of all by linking all musical activities to the liturgy. The Lutheran liturgy controlled all his musical views. And by his profound knowledge of the very nature of liturgy he made his discoveries and definitions of church music. Second, it was the history that gave Herder the impulse. One thing is hardly to be separated from the other. He went to Italy to study church music. It was a journey historians of literature are said to have difficulties in explaining. We may interpret it as research in church music, which in fact he carried out mainly in Rome; thus the journey could have meaning.

But Herder—like nearly all the Romanticists after him—came in touch with only one side of church music: the age of Palestrina and those phases of baroque church music in which composers imitated, or tried to imitate, the style of the sixteenth-century choral music. Herder hardly knew the other side of church music in the baroque that appeared with all the features of theatrical, operatic composition. Since this rift cut through the work of nearly every individual composer, it was possible to determine the character of their compositions to be predominantly in the manner of the sixteenth century polyphony, if the observer was—for one reason or another—not aware of the existence of the operatic style in religious works of the same composer. This is exactly what occurred to Herder. He knew merely the works written in the style of Palestrina. When once, in *St. Cecilia* (1793), he exclaimed: "Saint Cecilia, what wonderful and hearty tones did you give to your favorites: Leo, Durante, Palestrina, Marcello, Pergolesi," he had in mind their choral music of conservative nature. And, accordingly, Herder

characterized the style of church music to be solemn, dignified, slow, impersonal, and non-individualistic. Drawn from the choral music of the sixteenth century, these characteristics were taken to be indicative of "old" music. The term "old" became identical with religious. This the Romanticists took over from Herder, to maintain it for the entire movement of revival. And here we come to the far-reaching influences Herder's concepts of church music have exercised: the beginning of Romanticism and its return to historical music. While we have often been made to believe that Romanticism, on account of its general relation to the Middle Ages, had suddenly discovered old music, it is Herder who fathered the relation—because of his understanding of liturgy.

Shortly after Herder had published some of his prominent works that contained the discussion of church music, his influence made itself felt on the side of literature and of practical organization as well. The literary influences can clearly be singled out, since often the writers themselves admit their indebtedness to Herder. In the way of spreading Herder's ideas abroad much had been done by Reichardt, who carried Herder's mission further in church music and in the field of folk songs. Even a novelist such as Heine, through and through sensualist in his approach to art, drew many a characterization of church music from Herder, especially in his novel *Hildegard von Hohenthal* (1795). And in his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst,* Schubart referred to Herder as well as to Reichardt. The Romanticists seized most eagerly upon Herder's work and carried his ideas into the aesthetics as a branch of philosophy, as August Wilhelm Schlegel had done in his *Vorlesungen* of 1801; or they presented them in form of poetical, novelistic subjects, as Tieck had done in his *Phantasus;* or they took them as a basis of historical studies, as Forkel had shown in his musical history of 1801; or they accepted them as an element of primary importance for the formulation of the general ideas on the nature of music, as especially Wackenroder had demonstrated. Wackenroder became the discoverer of romantic, medieval Nuremberg and Albrecht Dürer; so in the field of church music he became— under the influence of Herder—the advocate of the Palestrina School. Abbé Vogler, whose romantic organ contributed much to the loss of sacred music in the sense of Herder, nevertheless appeared to be a spokesman for Herder's ideas. In 1786 he praised the music of the Palestrina School as the only possible form of church music. The same man who introduced the romantically colored orchestral organ said in 1786: "The effervescent orchestra, the impassionate tempo in performance, the abrupt character in our instrumental music have become too familiar with us; together with these modern features, the essential nature of church music gets lost; so does the faculty to compose for voices." In truly Herder fashion he admonished the modern composers not to use instruments when they compose church music; they should take Palestrina and the old musicians as models. Their works "do not grow old; they will be the same a hundred years from now what they were two hundred years past." This contradiction in Vogler gives evidence of the power the idea of church music which Herder conveyed to his contemporaries has had.

Herder wrote his famous essay on St. Cecilia in 1793; she was presented as the personification of old church music. So Kleist wrote his short story with the knowledge of Herder's essay. And Kleist, in his turn, exercised his influences on E. T. A. Hoffmann's brilliant story *Sanctus.*

An effect of great importance is noticeable in Leipzig. There the *Thomaskantor* Hiller published a very significant essay with the programmatic title "What Is True Church Music?" (1789.) And at the same time he founded at St. Thomas a small group of singers, a revival of the *Kantorei* to a degree, devoted exclusively to the performance of old music in the church: a foundation that has lived on ever since under the name of the "Motet." Rochlitz brought his essay on Palestrina in 1810 and published his collection of prominent vocal compositions to provide the material needed for choral singing. We know of the enormous effect this movement had on historical research: Thibaut's *On the Purity of the Muscial Art* of 1825; Proske, Fux, Kiesewetter, von Winterfeld, and many other scholars of great distinction. One of the finest works on the question of church music directly influenced by Herder must still be mentioned: E. T. A. Hoffmann's magnificent essay "Alte und Neue Kirchenmusik" of 1814. Though Protestant, like Herder, Hoffmann places Palestrina, the "father of all music," in the center of church music. "The sublime, simple style of Palestrina is the truly dignified expression of a mind inspired by the most intense devotion; the church is its true and sole home." An interesting, but also important turn. For Hoffmann denies that the concert hall or any private institution is the right place where to perform the music. The concert hall undermines the very purpose of church music and admits an aspect of purely aesthetical nature which is wholly opposite to church music: the aspect of *l'art pour l'art.* Church music must, therefore, be made in church, and there only, Protestant and Catholic alike; for church music must always be the outgrowth of the cult, of the liturgy. Hoffmann goes even so far as to suggest that the rehearsals should also take place in a sacred, not profane location, lest the profanity of the surroundings affect the performance and falsify the work. Hoffmann showed extreme interest in the history of music and pleaded vigorously for historical studies, himself a student of the treasures in the Dresden Library. New editions of old compositions should be circulated among the public to arouse concern with church music. He also made brilliant and profound comparisons between works of the Palestrina School and the baroque age on the one side, the classic period of Haydn and Mozart on the other. But Hoffmann was a skeptical and relentless mind. He is fully aware that the style or manner of writing is only a secondary matter. The very cause of the modern decline lies considerably deeper. In fact, the frivolously rationalistic Enlightenment had deprived man of his capacity to believe; faith being destroyed, church music became an impossibility. No true sacred music, he asserts, was ever composed without religious faith. What can one do in a time that shows at best religious indifference? What should one say to a young composer who wants to compose church music? The only possible and sincere advice lies in history. Let him study works great in the history of church music; let him study the true medium of church music: counterpoint; let him delve into those works that should convey to him what is rightly religious in musical terms; and let him hope for the best that, together with the discoveries he makes, the basis, faith, will be re-established.

One who had absorbed the spirit of both Herder and Hoffmann should be mentioned last: Richard Wagner. There is an outline Wagner had drawn up in Dresden for the renewal of Catholic church music at the Court Chapel. What does he—the Protestant—propose?

First: Palestrina's works and those of his pupils represent the epoch of highest standards and greatest perfection of church music. Second: The quality of church music depends on the vocal

choir and the organ. Third: Historical research should unearth older music to make it known through new editions. Fourth: A school of choral music should be founded. Fifth: This would probably lead to the revival and to what Wagner called the "restitution of a truly sublime religious church music." Even women and Protestants should be admitted, Wagner added in his *Memorandum* for the Catholic court.

And the list of facts, altogether results of Herder's ideas, is here by no means complete. The activities were so numerous and so lively that they cannot all be enumerated; they affected research as well as performance. But let us review the significance of Herder:

The ideas, born in Herder, involved church music and liturgy simultaneously; Herder spoke as theologian, historian, reformer, and musician. His ideas caused a movement and were carried far into the public through the media of literature, poetry, and philosophy. This gave his ideas a breadth they would otherwise not have achieved. Therefore they caused a general awareness of needs and problems concerning the nature of church music. Since Herder's own time had no acceptable church music, the past had to provide it—not for the sake of knowing the old music, but to relate it anew to the service. Research came into play, again not for its own sake. Herder made his successors conscious of the relation between music and service. With his plea, there came the immediate demand for practical organizations. Since the choral music was declared to be the true Protestant church music and since the current style had abolished the choral organizations, new foundations were in immediate need. From the "Motet" in Leipzig to the *Singakademie* in Berlin, from the Institute of Church and School Music to the Berlin *Domchor* (1842), there is a growing expansion of choral institutions. Since Herder, also the question of a reform of the liturgy through music has been kept alive: alive with the Romanticists, alive in the Berlin movement in which Frederick William IV had a share, alive down to Rochus von Liliencron. The revival of church music in the Lutheran Church throughout the nineteenth century has been a matter of the liturgy. It is, in fact, a movement that was intended to produce a reform of the Protestant liturgy by means of music.

We must ask ourselves whether or not the most important movement of church music in not so remote a past holds principles and precepts valuable to us. The question presents itself. For church music has still not produced a genuine style of composition that can be regarded as a direct outgrowth of the Lutheran liturgy. We do not have the music, we do not have works that are of ourselves and of the Lutheran Church as well. The compositions that embody the Lutheran spirit are still those of the past. Hence the problem Herder has posed still holds true today. I believe that the situation today is precisely the same as the one that made Herder speak of the nature of church music. The movement he caused held failure and success. The study of his ideas has, I trust, decisive bearing on what we now do and think.

The Junior Choir and Our Musical Heritage

Theo. G. Stelzer

It is characteristic of the human mind to seek a goal. This goal tends to be rather immediate. Only by prolonged training do we acquire the art of suspended judgment. It is possible that the topic of this paper may suggest a vast store of old musical values which we call our heritage and a group of young people, called juniors, while the essayist is to point out a new way of achieving grand and remarkable success in a phase of choir work which had become increasingly important as our men went to war. But let us survey the situation more carefully. We cannot buy our musical heritage at every music store. Nor can all juniors sing what we find. We are confronted with two broad problems which should challenge us to do our best. They are: *A. Preparing Junior for Our Musical Heritage;* B. *Preparing Our Musical Heritage for Junior.*

A. Preparing Junior for Our Musical Heritage

Finding the voice implies a system of ear training which co-ordinates the use of the muscles of the vocal mechanism with the aural sensations. Unfortunately, there are many juniors who have very vague ideas of tone and of singing. We are, therefore, pleading the cause of preparing junior for our musical heritage by beginning in earliest childhood.

The sustaining of a tone is, next to vocalization itself, the first great step in this important preparation. Already when the infant produces sustained tones in "goo" and similar sounds, the true foundation is laid if satisfactoriness associates itself with such activities. To the extent that this sustaining of tones is delayed beyond the first year will we have trouble in training the child to sing. *Moving the tone* follows very soon after this.

Matching a tone is usually achieved before the child is two years of age. It is interesting to watch children tuning in with tones within their range if stimulated to do so. The trouble, however, lies in the stern fact that too few parents are aware of the training they are giving their children by giving them an opportunity to match tones. Only when a tone can be matched, are we ready to sing a *musical phrase* upon hearing it. This, in turn, is prerequisite to the singing of a *rote song.* All of these abilities must be mastered before we can even think of having junior accept our musical heritage.

Adequate training in school music is most desirable in preparing junior choirs. Schools which have had a long-range plan in musical training are now in a position to reap rich harvests in interested junior and senior choirs. Wherever such training was postponed, neglected, or haphazard, it must be made up. Then it becomes necessary to train young people gradually in the abilities just named until the ear has become a competent judge of tone and until the voice responds.

Patterns of *melodic and rhythmic figures* representing wide areas of musical literature should be included in the rote-song materials. Even as the spoken language precedes the reading thereof, so the rote vocabulary is helpful in later music reading. For this reason we are doing a positive and

great thing in preserving our musical heritage when we train our children to sing accurately such samples of church music as are within their scope. While our *Curriculum in Music,* our *Music Reader,* and other texts point out the way, and while other materials are in preparation, the important responsibility resting upon this group of church musicians is to go out and do the training. We must teach. We must speak for such training in our parent-teacher meetings. Yes, we may well show the parents how to do it when we visit the homes in our regular soliciting calls. Let us regard ourselves as specialists with a purpose and then go out and do it.

Note reading, eye, and ear training are definitely based upon a rote vocabulary. It is so much easier to teach someone to read music if a fairly large song repertoire is mastered. In fact, if the opportunity is given, children will practically pick up note reading by themselves. In recent tests of 875 members of Lutheran eighth grades it was found that knowledge of common musical symbols and the ability to read music was lowest of all subjects usually taught in our schools. While the averages attained in other studies were above fifty per cent of the items given, in music it was about thirty-three per cent, with many zero scores. Again, the way to bring our musical heritage to junior is to train him to sing and to read music before he grows into self-consciousness. It is up to us to do this training and to stimulate parental and congregational as well as civic interest in such training.

Syllables, numbers, and notes are the usual means for such reading, whether diatonic or chromatic. The rote-to-note process is much more easily administered in the course of the regular school progress than at a later date. We are well aware of movements in southern Texas to postpone the reading of music until after the eighth grade. Since so many children can be and have been taught to read in the lower grades, this is not the time to retreat. Let us first overcome inertia until we have conclusively proved that it can be done wherever our influence is felt, then we may restudy our means and devices. The so-fa syllables are still more functional than numbers, and notes need not be cryptological.

If a known song is sung in syllables by the teacher as a second stanza, the children may learn by rote to associate the pitch values with each syllable. This is a valuable step since it enables tuning and is a direct training for harmony. After such conditioning has taken place, the visual notes may be presented together with syllables and tone. Since this is a process of growth, we should not begin too late. It is evident that sustaining, moving, and matching a tone prepares for rote singing. We know that the mastery of a large number of rote songs creates a readiness for note reading. The best time to learn anything is when such readiness is there. If we pass up such readiness when it is keen, we shall be obliged to use much greater efforts in supplying extrinsic motivation at a later date. There is a direct ratio between the amount of time elapsing between readiness and consummation and the amount of motivation needed. The old adage is applicable: "Strike the iron while it is hot." It is safe to conclude that our chances for success in maintaining our heritage are contingent upon our success in training our children in these abilities before they are juniors.

Part singing involves an appreciation of harmony, overt or covert. It might as well be overt. It is true that children who have been taught to read at an early age will be able to read their own part

against any other part which is well written. There is, however, a way of establishing the basic premises of aural harmony in the children without formal courses in tone relations.

The melodic law recognizes rest tones and active tones. It states that the degree of tension or pull of an active tone to a rest tone is inversely proportional to the distance between these two tones. While that would sound difficult to a child, it can be experienced. It can be demonstrated that do-mi-so are rest tones inherent in their fundamental by using the piano. Depress c-e-g without making a sound; hold the chord while playing the c two octaves lower: the chord will sound even after the low c has been released. If the active tones of the dominant, including the seventh, are so depressed, their fundamental will, likewise, stimulate action. In this case the strong activity of the active notes can be felt until they are resolved to their respective rest tones. We gain a great deal by taking the children into our confidence and showing them the true causes for that which they can feel. Thus they become intelligent singers, listening, thinking entities in the choir.

The harmonic law is a natural outgrowth of such listening. It can be sensed as an aggregate relationship of active tones to rest tones. Even as a single dynamic tone seeks its nearest static tone, so a resolving chord inclines toward its natural resolution. Since the first actually different tone in the natural series lies a fifth above its root, or octave thereof, it can be demonstrated to children that the chord of the fifth (V) resolves naturally to the first chord (I) of the tonality. Through actual tuning, the children will easily associate *mi* and *so* with *do.* Similarly, the action of a resolving chord is experienced as it seeks to go to the chord of resolution: I-V-I. It actually represents a home-coming. Also, it will be appreciated that the chord *do-mi-so* represents home, rest. Therefore, as we go farther away from home, we return in an orderly manner, each succeeding chord representing a step. The total series of a natural progression is not beyond the level of experience of children. They will be better able to listen to music with such knowledge. As they grow older, they may be expected to advance in efficiency in mastering such progressions. Actually, the roots are do-mi-la-fa-re-so-do. These, in turn, can be harmonized by ear. This constitutes the natural progression: I-III-VI, IV-II-V-I.

Instrumental training, also, contributes to this cause. We must recognize the fact that our children are better prepared for our great heritage with each instrument they understand or play. If we conceive of music as vibrations, we shall be interested not only in vocal production, but in instrumental as well. Furthermore, such training will strengthen our coming juniors to accept the heritage which is theirs.

Tuning is essentially tonal agreement in pitch, intensity, and quality, whether it be vocal or instrumental. These three factors must be guarded throughout the school life of the child. It is through listening that true tuning is achieved.

Voice training begins already in the primary grades if it has not been fostered at home. While John Wilcox of Chicago has done much to explore the possibilities of the lower range of the child voice, the safe range of the primary child still lies within the treble staff, as a rule. This assures a flutelike tone which is light and without strain. As the range extends and the quality of the voice unfolds, we exercise increasing care to maintain that flowing smoothness supported by

the breath. Although we are not usually explicit about instructions in breathing when dealing with children, the basic principle of quick, copious inhalation is ever applied. This, more than any other factor, helps us at the time of voice mutation. The boy glides easily into the lower range if his throat is in the position of inhaling while singing. This, in turn, is the natural incentive for true diaphragmatic and abdominal control. Again, juniors who have this background are in a position to accept our heritage, having gained much of it in their learning process.

Diction, as expressed in the use of *vowels* and *consonants,* is acquired by children already in the second year and following. Nevertheless, we must be on guard at all times to increase their appreciation of a functional use of vowels by showing them the normal cycle from the hum through M-ooh-oh-ah-ay-ee-N, or, including the intermediate vowels and beginning at the other point: N-ee-ih-ay-eh-ah-aw-oh-uh-ooh-M. All combinations can be derived from this schedule. The drill of musical materials can be enlivened and enhanced by frequent use of various vowels.

In similar manner we must train our children early in the use of *consonants.* If the resonant consonants are appreciated as tone-sustaining factors, if the cognates are understood as voiced or pure explosives, our diction as well as our tone will be improved.

Resonance increases with age. By careful training and watching, the fundamental tone will become richer as age advances, without interfering with the normal adjustment of upper partials. There is reason to organize choirs according to the predominating prevalence of upper partials. The ethereal quality of children's voices is due to the presence of strong fifths. Adolescents generally have more of the overtones than their seniors. The untrained voice tends to lose much of this brilliancy with age. Training in breathing and resonance prolongs the usefulness of the voice. .

Breathing is largely dependent upon posture on the alert. The four-point contact when standing with the back against a wall is at present a standard test for proper posture. Stretching the hands high above the head is an added incentive to breathe diaphragmatically. Quick, copious inhalation through mouth and nose is, perhaps, the surest procedure to achieve the open, free throat. Training will establish the ability to maintain this position in vocalization. It is important, however to note that habits of long standing are generally persistent. Therefore, early training is a tremendous asset in junior choir work. Again we must remind ourselves that junior's training begins in early childhood.

Types of junior choirs depend largely upon range whether the voices are changed or unchanged. The other dominant factor has been pointed out as the presence of overtones or upper partials. If these two factors are kept in mind, very interesting combinations can be assembled proportional to the number of persons available. We shall indicate the range applying to the types as we present them.

The types of organization deserve intensive study and continuous attention. The conventional mixed choir is often a barrier to junior. If the principles which have thus far been stated are

accepted, we shall be deeply concerned with all voices while they are uniformly trebles and shall provide for them materials which they can sing in unison or in parts. As the adolescent period advances and mutation occurs, we shall provide opportunity for singing S. A. B., four and more parts for the boy choir the combined junior and senior, or for multiple-choir participation. Each type has its own possibilities and limitations.

Treble choirs are limited to children, young adolescents, and women. The *unison choir* must present materials within the range of its members. In the primary grades this is usually within the range of the treble staff. A light, flutelike voice should be encouraged at this age. We are still sinning on the side of loudness, notwithstanding the criticism of some English periodicals. If we permit the low chest voice to be used, let us be sure that the music is confined to the pitch in the neighborhood of middle C, and not too far above F in the first space. As the voice ascends it must be encouraged to become lighter. Downward vocalization is recommended for this type. As the voices mature, part singing must be introduced for physiological as well as musical reasons. This will enable all to sing within their range. Let us admit the reality that multiple parts are not dependent upon the musicality of the director and members of a choir alone, but upon the need dictated by the range represented in the group. Let us learn to supply these physiological needs. As age advances, the range of a group approximates a normal probability curve, either extreme of which will have fewer cases than the middle sixty-eight per cent. These extremes, in turn, will be well served by a few persons who truly belong there.

S. A. B. choirs are regarded by some musicians as the beginning of junior choir work. We have pointed out that much preliminary work is desirable. If this training process has not been there, the director must provide it as time advances. The important part in this type of organization is the control of range. Even though some of the young singers can sing beyond the limitations here suggested, it is well, for a time, to respect the bounds. Most important is the changed boy voice. The materials must be held as much as possible to remain within the octave from middle C down. If we allow one whole tone on either side, we have sufficient coverage for good expression and harmonization. In the key of B flat, this would include its root and a tenth above it for the baritone. The soprano is not so delicate nor sensitive. Nevertheless, it is well during this period to hold the materials within the treble clef. The altos may well sing to A below the treble staff. In *vocalizing,* the director may stimulate flexibility and expansion of the range. Singers of this age must be trained to omit notes beyond their present range without feeling embarrassed about it.

The boy choir deserves greater consideration in the organization of choirs of four or more parts. Two kinds are recommended. The most common of these is well known in Episcopal churches. Father Finn has written a fine book on this procedure: *The Art of the Choral Conductor.* It accepts boy sopranos who have an unusually clear and light tone a third or fourth above the treble staff. Altos must be able to sing a good tone as far below. Of course, these sopranos and altos are exclusively boys. Boys only have such quality. This quality must be experienced to be understood and appreciated. The tenors and basses are adults with corresponding ranges above and below the bass staff. It must be remembered that members who do not have the extreme

limits of the ranges suggested become useful when the parts are divided or when the range in the composition does not approach these limits.

A less known type of boy choir includes boys only, selected from Grades Five or Six to Grades Ten or Eleven. For social reasons it is desirable that the grade spread be as small as possible. In this type of boy choir the range is extremely limited. Also, the unchanged voices are called first and second tenors instead of sopranos and altos. The range of these so-called first tenors is then limited to the octave beginning with D below the first line of the treble clef while the second tenors are limited to the scale of A in range. Similarly, we speak of first and second bass instead of tenor and bass in the changed voices. Here, too, the first bass is limited to notes between the two D's while the bass is held within the range of the B flat scale. This allows us to place each boy into his convenient range. It corresponds quite nearly to his conversational tone. Thus we achieve a new type of flowing resonance and ease which is spiritually edifying as well as fascinating and intriguing. Again, this type must be heard and experienced to be understood and appreciated. It is the new challenge to our increasing new high schools.

The standard mixed choir of young people is attainable to the extent that the ranges are represented in voices to meet the demands of the score. It is a mistake to expect immature voices to sing the standard senior choir compositions without regard to range. If the age-group is spread sufficiently to include the required range, and if an adequate testing program precedes the assignment of parts, we may use anything within the ability of singers. Then we may say that our junior problems tend to disappear.

The multiple-choir idea has received new impetus through the work of Kenneth E. Runkel. He calls the children's choir the junior choir, the choir of young people of high school age is called the chapel choir, while adults constitute the senior choir. A combination results.

B. Preparing Our Musical Heritage for Junior

If we still have ministers of music who believe that junior choir work begins after adolescence, we suggest a revision of views. If, on the other hand, we have gained sufficient ground in the promotion of musical training for our children, we may look hopefully toward the solution of the second great problem of preparing our Lutheran heritage for their use. The finding of such materials is as important as the preparation thereof. We recognize, however, that much progress has been made in this endeavor.

Finding our Lutheran heritage is largely a problem for our musicologists. Nevertheless, most of us must cultivate the attitudes of scientific research in order to succeed in this cause. Music for our services has been prepared by our forefathers. It is our heritage if we will but accept it. The Lutheran Church is recognized as a liturgical Church. In order to maintain that position, we must accept and continue its liturgical tone. Since this involves attitudes as well as knowledge and skills, we must aim to bring this heritage to our children in their earliest age. They must grow up in a liturgical atmosphere of worship. Let us not minimize the lasting impressions created in children by their participation in the worship service by seeing the behavior of worshipers, by

hearing what is spoken, chanted, sung, or played, and by singing along in the familiar repetitions. Thus the chants, the responses, the chorales, and hymns are assimilated. There is value in repeating motets and anthems from the point of view of the listener as well as of the singer. Thus it becomes a true heritage. Our heritage must first of all be regarded from the point of use in the service; after that has been satisfied, there is much to be done about our heritage for the sacred concert, if we may use that term.

The preparing of the materials of our Lutheran heritage is a tremendous challenge to our own arrangers, compilers, composers, and to our publishers and jobbers. What a pleasure it would be for us to conclude now by handing out a catalog containing adequate materials for the organizations suggested! Yet there is value in research and production. Therefore, our *compilers* must find the heritage now extant and make it available in convenient form. This is a true challenge and, if met, a valuable contribution. Our *arrangers* must take the gems of old and adapt them to specific choirs, respecting their limitations and abilities. It is in this field that a goodly amount of psychology must be used. The logical way is to edit the findings of old masters and reproduce them. That is proper for senior choirs. If, however, insufficient materials are found on the junior level, it is the thesis of this paper that adaptations must be made so that youth can contact this fountain and drink and grow thereby. Various types of choirs must be considered as definite entities in any arranging of masterpieces.

Composers have a peculiar challenge in this area. They are contributing to the cause of maintaining our heritage by writing on themes of this heritage and by composing in the spirit of a Lutheran heritage. In order to do so, they must have studied, they must be imbued with, they must appreciate this heritage. The question of extent, however, is legitimate. If we wish to bind our composers to the style, counterpoint, and harmony of any period, we may as well take them from the list of contributors. The composer is creative. In order to be creative in the field of our Lutheran heritage, he must 1) be thoroughly familiar with the elements of this field; 2) be capable of conceiving the basic germ of an idea in the true Lutheran spirit; 3) be able to develop this idea for the organization chosen; and 4) have the patience and persistence to refine it until it is a worthy masterpiece. Given this freedom, and we ask no more freedom than you would grant Bach or any of his contemporaries over their predecessors, the composers in our midst will be encouraged and challenged to provide for us and our posterity a revitalized American edition of a Lutheran heritage which will stand up well in the light of musicological research and before a listening, participating, worshiping Church.

Lutheran publishing houses can do much in the solution of this problem. As jobbers they can make accessible to us the usable heritage of old. We appreciate what leading music houses are doing in this respect. As headquarters for Lutheran music, however, we suggest Lutheran publishing houses. Furthermore, it is very desirable that they publish compilations, arrangements, and original compositions which bring this heritage to us in usable form. It may well be said that the accessibility of materials often governs the type of choir that will be organized. Junior choirs have sprung into existence in proportion to the amount of music obtainable. Let us appoint ourselves as a committee, individually, to submit our findings and our

needs to our publishing houses so that we may the more adequately take care of junior's musical needs in terms of our Lutheran heritage.

The conclusions to be drawn are obvious:

I. We, many of us, must interest ourselves in the development of junior choirs:
    1. by thorough training of children in school music;
    2. by organizing groups in accordance with the people available;
II. We, more of us, must become proficient in supplying music for various types of junior choirs:
    1. by editing the best and most suitable in our vast heritage;
    2. by arranging and composing for junior choirs in the spirit of this heritage.
III. More attention must be given by our Lutheran publishing houses to making this heritage accessible to us in attractive form:
    1. as jobbers;
    2. as publishers.
IV. We, all of us, must collaborate with each other, with compilers, arrangers, composers, publishers, and users:
    1. in the free statement of our needs in dealing with junior choirs;
    2. in freely offering our findings and contributions for the consideration of all that are interested.

If we, collectively, can find, reproduce, and produce the materials of our rich heritage, we shall, with God's continued blessing, also find an increasing number of juniors who will carry on this heritage to posterity.

Problems and Attitudes in Church Music. The Status of Music in the Church
J. E. Sanderson

Alfred Einstein, in his recent book *Greatness in Music,* makes the statement that under present conditions music finds no place for itself in the Protestant Church. He deals with Bach as one of the musically great but does not mention any other Lutheran as being great. Others have expressed regret over the contempt in which church musicians are held and have laid most of the blame on the musicians themselves. Archibald T. Davison dealt with the problem long ago in his book *Protestant Church Music in America.* In a personal letter, he also expressed his disapproval of degrees in church music because they usually leave their recipients with a badly deficient general background. This lack can be remedied only by a conventional course in the theoretical aspects of music, if at all. Observation affirms that sound taste in music comes the hard way, as do most other good things. Certainly musicians cannot be made by teaching people to memorize their part in an a cappella chorus, especially if the repertoire is partly questionable or spurious musically.

It seems that the Church has achieved an historic low not only in its music but also in its attitude toward music. Reflection upon that point causes one to ask what has become of the creative capacity and activity so characteristic of early Protestantism. Has the urge died? Have we as a Church looked backward so steadfastly that we have atrophied our ability to focus on the present and the future? Any student of musical history is aware that creativity in music is very intimately bound up with contemporary social factors. Inasmuch as the Church is traditionally conservative and backward looking, can we thank this attitude for strangling creative work by robbing it of the necessary contemporary justification? If the answer is *yes,* what can one do about it? Certainly we need not expect the Church to let loose of its historic anchors or to discard its carefully nurtured traditions. On 'the' other hand, we cannot prevent our generation from being contemporary in its thought or even forward looking.

In the first volume of the *Craft of Musical Composition,* by Paul Hindemith, it is stated that Bach is out of step with the present times. A sound understanding and appreciation of Bach's prodigal genius and consummate craftsmanship is also expressed. The same volume indicates that the Church and creative music no longer seek each other's company. We might answer that Bach was out of step with his own time. Otherwise such men as Telemann would not have outshone him. Hindemith's organ sonatas are certainly contemporary and equally out of step with the decadent romanticism now current in the Church. Worse, they have no clear affinity with the spirit of the Church. Bach is consonant with the Church in spirit but out of step with current practice and appreciation. There is no current tide of Lutheran creativity. All things point to the consideration that there is no music so suitable to the Church as that which the Church produced, and in the absence of creative work indigenous to the Church in our time we must return to our origins unless we wish to sell our birthright for a mess of pottage.

Unfortunately such a proposition is sure to receive general agreement and equally certain to be impossible practically. Much that is said and written about Bach is purely fatuous. It is a combination of vanity, silliness, and hypocrisy. These attributes are present in much that is said

and written about the chorales. Their present disuse is partly traceable to the constant revision of our hymnals to make them agree with the current secular mood and practice. In their present metrical form the chorales are so far removed from their original grace and character that the alteration amounts to a change of idiom. Their innate heaviness has been so exaggerated by their present form that only congregations with a preponderance of Germanic heritage can or will sing them. The struggle to have the chorales used sympathetically is being lost little by little. Terpsichorean hymns are displacing the older type.*

*The writer here refers to the chorale settings as they are found in the hymnbook of the U. L. C. A. and the N. L. C. A. In the *Lutheran Hymnal,* published in 1941 by Concordia Publishing House and adopted by the Synodical Conference of North America, the Lutheran chorales were introduced in their traditional rhythmic form. Editor.

Our vanity in the possession of such treasures reminds one of a man who owns a rare painting which he keeps hanging with its face to the wall. What we do not own spiritually we do not own in reality. Our position would be less ludicrous if we boasted more about what we use than what we own.

Bach—Is He Ours?

Now, if we raise the issue of the true spirit of Bach's art, we are likely to come to the consensus of musicological opinion that Bach's genius shows in the chorales and buds in the organ works, but flowers in the church cantatas. (Not that the technique of their composition is different from the secular ones.) And who of us uses them? Who of us could use them? Our trained church orchestras are very few, and these do not include the instruments without which the cantatas do not deliver what they were conceived to deliver. (Hayes, *Old Instrumental Music.*) Organ accompaniment is usually impossible because the organ has degenerated into a congregation of solo tones and will not show the contrapuntal lines clearly. Anyhow, such music is accounted as very hard to play because our organists are nurtured in the atmosphere of romanticism.

The situation ought to be redeemed somewhat by our well-known choirs and orchestras, but it is not. The directors of these choirs frequently go at their work as though Bach had written in the idiom of emotional romanticism. They fail to understand that the emotion of the words is written into the music, so they make a futile and destructive effort to gild the lily. It leaves one with the disheartening impression that for Bach to be accorded popular reception he must be misconstrued and mangled. And, again, no one who feels as Bach felt can ever forgive the director of the Philadelphia Orchestra for what he did to the Toccata and Fugue in D Minor. Worse, the direction of that number on the screen called forth movements characteristic of nothing if not of the snake charmer at a county fair.

What has been said of Bach is true, *mutatis mutandis,* of other worthy Lutheran church composers. Here is the basic problem of church music. In extenuation of such conditions is the fact that musicians today are more aware of the true intention of the classics than they were a generation ago. What they grasp today will be understood by the layman in the next generation.

The director of a popular a cappella choir was asked recently why he did not use any of the classic choral polyphony. He answered that he did not know how to interpret it. His church-music degree did not include such things, and his failure hinged on his inability to romanticize choral polyphony. The concepts of woven rhythms, driving dissonances, and so forth, are foreign to him. The high school choir in the same town recently sang a difficult work by Palestrina and genuinely enjoyed and understood the effort. So the appreciation is not all on one side, and by the same token neither can leadership or acceptance come all from one side.

There is no question but that our standards have risen in the last generation. How did they come to be what they were?

Historical Sources of Problems and Attitudes

The answer is involved in our cultural heritage. The patriarch of eastern Lutheranism was educated among the pietistic influences at Halle. Pietism is essentially a revolt against formalism which ignores the moral obligations of Christian life. The significant point is that being born with the spirit of revolt, Pietism never learned to judge the time when revolt was no longer in order. Thus it held within itself that which made it capable of going farther than many have been able to follow it. When antiformalism evolves into antiliturgism, then the moral obligation tries to balance the score by evolving into neopharisaism or a tacit doctrine of good works.

Pietism had not reached the seed-pod stage when it first reached our shores and began to function under pioneer conditions. One of its first acts was the arrangement of a church order which its later fruits tried desperately to destroy. Ultimately its own fruits came into direct conflict, which conflict well-nigh absorbed the total energy of the Church for a long while. We summarize in this fashion in order to point out that such could not have been the case had not the Church lost two very important factors in all cultural life. We refer to a sense of heredity and a sense of form.

Obviously it was impossible to maintain a sophisticated artistic heritage under the prevailing. conditions. Economic considerations forced the practice of union Lutheran-Reformed churches. That in turn compelled a dilution of Lutheran forms of worship. The failure of the mother church to provide a missionary for so long assisted in breaking any existing sense of genetic relation. Where liturgical properties collapsed entirely, people came to think of the service as a preaching service. The expression is still very commonly used in reference to a Sunday morning service. The laity lost the art of worship, and the clergy lost their understanding of the reciprocal relation and effect of the liturgy and the sermon. Indeed, having become suspect by virtue of having been the focus of a bitter fight, the service dropped out of catechetical instruction. Thus it lost its legitimate function as the form by which believers expressed the faith impressed upon them by the Catechism.

Having reached that point, need one ask the fate of music directly related to the liturgy or the church year? Emotional romanticism had been wandering around seeking just such a house newly swept and garnished; so, of course, it moved in.

Up to the present, individual congregations have been led to return to their heritage, but by and large there is nothing to report but slow and somewhat spasmodic progress. Much of the effort expended in reform has been and still is really an effort at Anglicanizing. We cannot feel that this move promises anything definite or permanent. The battle to gain correct orientation is not yet won. Observe that our first edition of the *Common Service Book* contained a setting of the service to a curiously modified form of plainsong. This was omitted in succeeding editions because it was little used and less understood. One gets the feeling that if we will not accept what we have, our alternative is to create a new culture or wallow in nonentity.

In a recent article in *The Lutheran* an author wrote with more heat than light on the matter of revising our hymnal. Looking over his sponsorship of hymns that are simply unsingable and hymns that just are not hymns, we can observe the shadowy form of the urge to popularize. It is hiding behind the skirts of that disreputable siren who advises that we draw men in even if we lose our soul in doing so. The Church has never been popular, and the popular has never been the Church. The answer does not lie in that direction.

Form

The loss of the sense of form is rather more difficult to trace, but in evidence on more sides. Benedetto Croce's theory of the aesthetic rests upon the proposition that form rather than content is the positive result of aesthetic experience or activity, and we use the word *form* as he uses it. The aesthetic issue of our impressions, be they religious or otherwise, appears as form. The content is what initiated the activity. It is sensibility to form in this sense that we are lacking. Modern painting gives us a feeling of being amorphous, as does much modem music. Both types of artistic expression can find a reception only among people who are oblivious to its being a hybrid of chameleon or jellyfish.

In the Church this loss appears to have come about by force of the same circumstances that deprived us of a sense of a heritage. If one starts at the beginning, he sees a service in which liturgy and sermon form a balance. It is to be hoped that the sermon has some elements of form such as introduction, body, and conclusion. But if not, the liturgy has the balance of its sacrificial and sacramental elements, and in addition the grave vitality injected into it by its responsive construction. Naturally, some of these values had to be lost in pioneer life. But farther back in the chain of cause-and-effect relations lies the fact that the Church itself has lost its sense of form. On what other basis could it later have tried to eliminate its liturgical heritage from its culture? And what other force would have seduced it so that it left itself open to charges of rationalism, humanism, syncretism, and what not, in spite of its clearly defined theology?

Now, the music of the classic Lutheran age may be melodic, homophonic, or polyphonic in its technical organization, but in any case it was born in an age that was acutely conscious of musical form along with other forms. It has very little in common with the culture described above. No wonder it is thought of as musicians' music, just as organists who stick to the classics are considered musicians' musicians.

The Education of Pastors

The evolution of such conditions took place during the incumbency of certain generations of pastors. Responsibility for it rests upon them and upon those who guided or misguided their education. Amorphous education allows neophyte pastors to explore all the bypaths of philosophical and metaphysical probability before they have well learned their own theological heritage. What they need is a theological stake to which they can tie during their philosophical grazing. Often the curriculum is so crowded with more or less irrelevant courses that the student is never exposed to a systematic survey of generic conceptions. So he graduates wondering what he can believe and ignorant of what the Church does believe. Here is the root from which grow hazy doctrinal ideas and a paucity of something to preach about.

All this is not meant as a detour into the realm of education. It is a suggestion of how the clergy arrived at a state of mind which could tolerate, not to say entertain, theatrical music, attitudes, and antics as a substitute for genuine church music. It cannot be denied that the pastor's acceptance of the theatrical was antecedent to the congregation's. He did not know any better. He did not know good from bad. He was not taught in his home congregation by practice and precept, and the seminary did nothing to orient him.

Clerical Attitudes

The pastor's lack of orientation manifests itself most consistently in his attitudes in dealing with music and musicians. His most offensive attitude springs from his lack of humility. He seems to feel that dealing constantly with inspired Scriptural truth has made him an oracle and paragon of erudition in all branches of human knowledge. He has never tried to handle notes and is not aware that to a musician there is something ultimate in their deportment and in their meaning when assembled. His truth is authentic and specific, but the form of truth encountered by the creative musician (or re-creative) in the pursuit of his task is a concrete indication that there is an ultimate reality behind the pastor's teaching. Why is it that so many pastors are so inconsiderate and insensitive? They seem qualified by nature to stomp roughshod through a garden of roses and still expect the gardener to remain calm and gracious. One can only assume that they do not sense that there is a garden. Unfortunately, if the gardener gives vent to his exasperation, he is accounted hard to get on with and of unstable temperament. He lacks words to say that behind those roses is the mystery of all growing things. Another attitude implicit in some of the dealings between pastor and musician is that the work of the latter is unimportant. This attitude seems to grow out of the pastor's insensibility to the preparatory and didactic effect of proper music. Perhaps it is true on both sides that, being specialists, both parties see things out of perspective. What the musician wants is not constant fawning or public approbation. It is rather freedom to work and to make the contribution that he can make.

Not the least of the problems in trying to keep a music program going is the frequency with which the musician encounters disorganization and lack of energy in the pastor. Even where the church year is followed, it is usually beyond human capacity to co-ordinate the music with the rest of the service. The reason is that the pastor does not know what text he is going to take for a

given day, much less where he is going to take it. On one occasion three choirs in a church were started on the Easter music in the early part of February. That was after several futile efforts to get the pastor to say what he wanted. Three weeks before Easter the pastor presented the director with a completely unexpected program for the Easter season. That another program was in an advanced stage of preparation did not concern him. The director immediately dropped the rehearsed material without being able to say why to the choirs, which naturally angered the most faithful members. They lost interest. The second program had to be put on as best it could, which was far below standard. Then the congregation wondered aloud why the Easter music was so poor.

Problems and Remedies

The limited understanding of the congregation is manifest nowhere so well as at an occasional wedding. Pastoral advice and professional suggestion together are frequently impotent to guide affairs into their proper channel. Music at a wedding can establish an atmosphere of dignity or reflect the gravity of the occasion in the lives of those involved. Too often it succeeds only in being trivial or morbidly emotional. Sometimes one infers that its purpose is to stir those present into a frenzy of erotic anticipation. The more successful such exhibitions are, the less is it in order to hold the ceremony in the church. The incident had better be staged in a ballroom. The light is better there, and one could be certain whether it is the ghost of Wagner or of Mephistopheles that hovers over the proceedings.

The elimination of such conditions will depend upon a long term of training for pastors and people. This training must be administered by persons qualified for the task by instinct, training, and experience. While so engaged, they must be provided a living equal to what they could get elsewhere. Here is where the practical begins to pinch.

Large congregations can afford the services of a competent musician without much question. However, most of the Lutheran churches are not that large and cannot stand the financial burden. Just what are they to do? Just what do they do?

Sometimes a pianist is given limited instruction on the organ, no instruction in church music, and turned loose to make the best of it. Here is one source, of the musical outlook against which we must contend. Maybe the church engages a person who has studied organ seriously. That is usually better, but the same problem exists in a lesser degree. What can the average church do?

The church at large has a great contribution to make through its schools. Many church schools have a music department. For good reasons they are organized so as to meet established academic requirements. They offer courses in PSM and soloist courses. Most of the soloist-course graduates never grace a concert platform after graduation. They become part of a given community and function according to local needs in the light of their training. Their training ought to qualify them for just such service as the Church most needs. If academic requirements stand in the way, they must be ignored or changed. It is the Church, not the academic world that is to be served.

It seems practical, then, that those who do not major in PSM in the music department of a church school should be trained with reference to the needs of the Church and the position they will find themselves in after graduation. Such schools as we have do not turn out concert artists. These must finish elsewhere. Majors in organ particularly ought to be given such instruction as will qualify them to become organist-directors in an average circumstance. Special effort should be made to equip them with a sound sense of taste. Usually the church that engages a good organist or director will not have sufficient funds to pay a second person of equal qualifications. Unequals cannot work well together in any case. Persons taking such a course should be advised that their best efforts probably will not earn them a sufficient living, but must be supplemented from other sources.

There is another contribution that the Church can make through its theological schools. Ministers whom the Church has not adequately trained cannot be criticized for their ignorance. When the home congregation enjoys low-grade music and the seminary ignores its responsibility in the matter, where is the student pastor to learn? It is not desirable that he entertain the same point of view as a good church musician. Certainly he should be able to recognize a hymn tune on sight. He should be helped to realize that music is a scientific art of great complexity about which he knows almost nothing and that what he likes in music may or may not be in place in the church.

The local congregation also has a practical contribution to make. It should wish to hold up its head in musical matters and be willing to assume the responsibility for its cultural position in the community. Of course, its business dealings with its hired servants should be above reproach. It must not force the musician to make bricks without straw.

Many choirs must rehearse in a clammy, cold church or else retire to a small room with inadequate light and ventilation. Here they struggle with poor resonance and an entirely different sort of accompaniment. They learn to base their tempo and dynamics on the percussion effects of piano hammers rather than by feeling and thinking as a unit. The result becomes obvious on Sundays.

The organist is in an even worse predicament. He can work at a piano in reasonable warmth or shiver at the organ, or ignore his own development and go to seed. Many churches where one hears the same things played much too often deserve worse than that. The piano is suitable for preliminary work on organ music, but mastery over organ technique can be gotten and held only at the organ. In summer the closed church is as hot as it is cold in winter. If the organist opens the windows when he comes in to work, the effect will begin to be felt about the time he is obliged to leave. The larger the church, the more that is true.

If the organist must supplement his income by teaching, it is imperative that he have conditions under which teaching and practice are possible. Otherwise he is limited to two three-month periods in the year. The organ cannot be mastered in that fashion, and the undertaking is too uncertain to be depended upon for income.

The congregation also has a responsibility to its members. It is not uncommon to find a church in which no one may touch the organ except the organist. The music committees seem to feel that the cost of running the organ is not justified and that using the organ may damage it. Such activity is something of a nuisance but bears some desirable fruit. It is a great aid to the sympathy with which the organist's efforts are received. It helps organist and people to grasp each other's point of view.

Moreover, an organ that is used fairly constantly does not develop action troubles within the normal life of its leathers. A little instruction and supervision may not produce organists, but it does help the congregation to become aware that they are being served by a competent person rather than by an exhibitionist or buffoon.

Remote as it may seem, one of the most trying problems in church music centers around the janitor, the coal bill, and the light bill.

A more serious problem is presented by the church organ. Many of our instruments are simply travesties or caricatures of their ancestors. We must stop buying romantic organs and return to the use of organs built for liturgical music. The music of Bach played on the average organ is a fiasco, and the common man is entirely correct in his rejection of it as it is too frequently played. It reminds one of a casualty at an old-fashioned taffy pull. The fine contrapuntal lines become lost in a muddle of sticky formlessness. How can one expect music created from conceptions of contrasted texture to be playable on an organ whose diapasons sound like factory whistles and whose mixtures sound like air-raid sirens?

Perhaps the most serious obstacle to reform is the church musician himself. With typical human perversity and unteachableness he frequently conforms himself to a woefully obsolete and outworn tradition. He may do so because he has not the character to act upon the basis of new knowledge in the presence of an opposing majority. Or he may seek to curry favor in the right places by sacrificing his musical integrity. Perhaps mental and spiritual inertia is a factor.

Whatever the case, if we wish to return to our heritage and receive a sympathetic hearing, we had better investigate how our music was sung or played by the people who wrote it. We must submit to the evidence rather than be guided by prejudice or preconception. Here is a basic problem concerning which this group should assert its leadership.

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