

10  
DocMus Research  
Publications

# LITURGICAL ORGAN MUSIC IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

Preconditions, Repertoires and  
Border-Crossings

*Edited by Peter Peitsalo,  
Sverker Jullander and  
Markus Kuikka*



LITURGICAL  
ORGAN MUSIC  
IN THE LONG  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY



# LITURGICAL ORGAN MUSIC IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY

Preconditions, Repertoires and  
Border-Crossings

*Edited by*  
*Peter Peitsalo,*  
*Sverker Jullander and*  
*Markus Kuikka*

Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

DocMus Research Publications, vol. 10

© The authors and the Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki



VERTAISARVIOITU  
KOLLEGIALT GRANSKAD  
PEER-REVIEWED  
[www.tsv.fi/tunnus](http://www.tsv.fi/tunnus)

Cover illustration: Opening worship service of the first unicameral  
Parliament of Finland, held on 25 May 1907 at St Nicholas Church, Helsinki.  
Photograph by Signe Brander. Helsinki City Museum.

ISSN 2341-8257 (printed publication)

ISSN 2341-8265 (e-publication)

ISBN 978-952-329-091-4 (printed publication)

ISBN 978-952-329-092-1 (e-publication)

Cover and layout: Mikko Puranen

Printed by Unigrafia Oy, Helsinki

Helsinki, Finland 2018

# Contents

- 7 Introduction  
*Peter Peitsalo, Sverker Jullander and Markus Kuikka*
- PART I PANORAMAS
- 19 Revisiting Parisian Organ Culture from the  
Long Nineteenth Century: Models for Renewal in a  
Challenging Context for Religion?  
*Kurt Lueders*
- 43 From Rinck to Reger: Nineteenth-Century Organ Chorales  
Against the Backdrop of Bach's *Arnstädter Choräle*  
*Michael Heinemann*
- 69 Liturgical and Liturgically-Inspired Polish Organ Music in  
the Long Nineteenth Century  
*Krzysztof Lukas*
- 89 The Training of Churchwardens and Organists in  
Nineteenth-Century Finland and Ingria  
*Samuli Korkalainen*
- PART II ACCOMPANIMENTS
- 109 The Increasing Role of the Organ in Nineteenth-  
Century Roman Catholic Church Music on the  
Example of Organ Masses in Austria and Southern  
Germany  
*Maria Helfgott*

133 'All These Rhythms Are in Nature': 'Free' Rhythm in  
Plainchant Accompaniment in France around 1900  
*Benedikt Leßmann*

153 A Biographical and Comparative Perspective on Ilmari  
Krohn's *Advent and Christmas Hymns* for Voice and  
Harmonium  
*Martti Laitinen*

### PART III SOLO REPERTOIRES

181 Musical Dramaturgy and Liturgical Concomitance:  
Liszt's Two Organ Masses  
*Jonas Lundblad*

209 Retaining the Fine Bouquet: Otto Olsson's  
Use of Plainsong in Organ Music  
*Sverker Jullander*

245 The Organ Music of Lauri Hämäläinen in the Light of  
Liturgical Organ-Playing in Nineteenth-Century Finland  
*Peter Peitsalo*

279 Oskar Merikanto As a Developer of Liturgical  
Organ Music  
*Jan Lehtola*

302 Abstracts

315 Contributors

317 Index of Persons

# Introduction

The long nineteenth century was an era of transition, paradoxes and conflict in the area of church music.<sup>1</sup> A time of continuing decline in the position of the church and the organ in musical life – a process already well under way in the latter half of the eighteenth century – it also saw the birth of several reform movements relating to liturgy, organ and church music, movements that not only shaped many of the developments in the following century but have also had significant repercussions on present-day practices.

In Lutheran environments, the ideals of the Enlightenment and the emergence of new theological trends in its wake ('neology') favoured a pedagogically-designed, sermon-centred divine service, with the liturgy reduced to a minimum. In such a liturgical context, the singing of congregational hymns became an important element in shaping, uniting and educating the Christian community. By contrast, the primary functions of organ music in the service were to awaken religious feelings in the listener, to represent the sublime and the transcendental – two central concepts in Romantic music aesthetics – and to express the mood and emotional content of the congregational hymns. In the Roman Catholic Church, Cecilianism, with its strong preferences for plainsong and sixteenth-century polyphony, stood for historicism and a desire for restoration, but its cultivation of vocal genres (with or without organ accompaniment) was at the same time a reaction against the influential contemporary view of 'absolute' instrumental music as the highest form of musical art.

Until recently, the long nineteenth century has been largely neglected in liturgical-musical studies, probably because of its lingering association with 'decadence' – inherited from twentieth-century reformists.

---

1 The term was coined by the British historian Eric Hobsbawm in his trilogy on European history from the French revolution (1789) to the outbreak of the First World War (1914), published in 1962, 1975, and 1987, respectively. It has since been used by several other authors, often with slightly different start and end years.

As regards the organ music from this era, the traditional emphasis on progress, originality and ‘absolute’ music has led many scholars of today to focus on the emerging body of secular or paraliturgical works primarily destined for concerts, at the expense of liturgical compositions and musical practices. In nineteenth-century publications, however, the use of the organ in the liturgy, far from being neglected, received a great deal of attention and was intensely debated.

The focus of the present book is on liturgical organ music and liturgical organ-playing in its different forms: solo repertoire in the form of preludes, chorale settings, and postludes, accompaniment of congregational singing and other liturgical vocal music, as well as non-liturgical organ music echoing liturgical practices. In the last-mentioned case, it is of special interest to try to assess the importance of liturgical elements in the context of concerts, as well as to understand how non-liturgical concert organ music could gain acceptance in the church.

Important thematic strands in the volume include:

1) Historical preconditions: the forms and practices of organ music in relation to the various kinds of liturgical singing (hymnody) of the time; influential liturgical and aesthetic ideals; and, in a wider perspective, theological, philosophical, ideological and social contexts

2) Border-crossing: how liturgical-musical practices and repertoires transcended confessional, regional and national boundaries. Special attention has been given to the central, northern and eastern regions of Europe. In this context, the role of liturgical organ music in the creation of national identities is of special interest.

All articles are expanded versions of keynote addresses, papers and lecture-recitals held at the international conference *Liturgical Organ Music and Liturgical Organ Playing in the Long Nineteenth Century*, organized by the Sibelius Academy at the University of the Arts Helsinki, 20–22 January 2016.<sup>2</sup> The different formats of the conference contributions are reflected in the articles.

---

2 Abstracts and programme: <<http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe201601294251>>.

The book is thematically organized in three parts. Part One, *Panoramas*, takes a longitudinal perspective on the conditions of liturgical organ playing as well as selected repertoires, both in Europe's centre (France, Germany) and periphery (Poland, Finland). Catholic and Protestant traditions are both represented.

*Kurt Lueders* offers an overview of the developments in France in liturgy and church music in the course of the long nineteenth century against a background of dramatic political and cultural changes. The French Revolution brought about a crisis for the Roman Catholic Church which significantly affected the situation for organists, in addition to the general weakening of the organ's position in musical life in favour of the piano. Improved communications had led to an increased awareness of foreign culture, which gave rise to a sense of inferiority among French organists in relation to the 'profundity' of German music since the time of J. S. Bach. By the mid-nineteenth century the 'serious' style of playing and composing, as practised and taught by Lemmens, began to challenge the prevailing opera-influenced, pianistic style of liturgical organ music. The author points to the irony of the 'profane' liturgical pieces of Lefébure-Wely pitted against the 'sacred' non-liturgical organ music of César Franck. In the latter half of the century, the reforms of Gregorian chant – resulting in a quicker and lighter performance style – had a profound influence on organ music as well, and the harmonies of liturgical organ pieces were increasingly based on the church modes. Finally, the author poses the question of whether looking at the nineteenth century can provide us with models for dealing with similar challenges that we are confronting in our own time, such as secularization and new modes of communication, and in particular, how music can offer a viable alternative to the virtual – or even fake – realities that surround us today.

*Michael Heinemann* views from a German perspective the composition of organ chorales and the emergence of large-scale chorale-based organ music genres in the long nineteenth century in the wider context of the shift in the aesthetic and theological outlook around 1800, which had important implications for the function of the liturgy and of church music, in Protestant as well as Catholic contexts. The young

J. S. Bach's *Arnstädter Choräle* – chorale settings with bold harmonizations and virtuoso interludes, which allegedly caused confusion in the early eighteenth-century congregation of Arnstadt – are used to highlight various aspects of the complicated situation for liturgical organ music in the following century. The author disagrees with the view – dating back to the early days of the twentieth-century *Orgelbewegung* – of the nineteenth century as a period of decay in organ music and organ building. Instead, he holds that in comparing the organ culture of the nineteenth century with that of the eighteenth, one should not use the unique genius of J. S. Bach as a yardstick but rather the work of his contemporaries, the quality of which was rather equal to that of the following generations of organ composers. Although the nineteenth century was a period of change, there was also a continuity in organ composition, represented by the line from Bach's pupils and their pupils to nineteenth-century composers of Mendelssohn's generation. The suitability of different kinds of music for use in the church and its services, a topic intensely discussed throughout the nineteenth century, proved to be a complex issue: on the one hand, there was a demand for simplicity in order to not draw too much attention to the music at the cost of the spoken word and the liturgy; on the other hand, it was recognized that artistically more advanced music could have the power to create the desired religious moods and enhance the experience of the words, of a hymn for instance. A common topic was whether interludes between chorale verses or lines should be allowed, and, if so, how they should be shaped.

*Krzysztof Lukas* presents nineteenth-century Polish composers of liturgical and liturgically-inspired organ music. Between 1795 and 1918 Poland was occupied by Prussia, Austria and Russia, and the general level of church music was described as low by contemporary witnesses. However, several leading organists and composers made efforts to improve the education of church musicians and created a native repertoire of liturgical organ music. Connections to Germany were important on both the Lutheran and Roman Catholic sides. After Germany, Poland was the second most important centre of the Cecilian Movement in the world. Accordingly, Cecilian ideals were applied in Polish liturgical

organ music of the latter half of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the author argues that Polish hymns and organ pieces based upon them contributed to shaping and preserving a Polish cultural identity during the occupation.

*Samuli Korkalainen* describes the training of churchwardens – pre-centors with extra-musical tasks – and organists in nineteenth-century Finland as well as Ingria, a Province of Saint Petersburg, which was inhabited during the nineteenth century by a Finnish-speaking, Lutheran majority. The author investigates the factors that contributed to the foundation of professional education institutions for church musicians during the latter part of the century, replacing the private instruction given by certified churchwardens and organists. The contemporary development of a public educational system and the escalating demands on the improvement of the quality of worship music were important in this regard. In addition, the author discusses the curricula of these institutions and lists their pipe organs.

Part Two, *Accompaniments*, highlights the role of the organ in the accompaniment of plainchant, Lutheran hymns, and multi-part settings of the Mass Ordinary.

*Maria Helfgott* analyses the role of the organ in nineteenth-century Austrian and South-German settings of the Mass Ordinary. The author points out that the Enlightenment and the reforms of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II had an impact on Catholic church music in Austria; one resulting aim was to reduce the costs of the liturgical music by diminishing the use of instruments other than the organ. *Singmessen*, masses of easy religious songs in German, were promoted instead of florid and pompous orchestral masses in eighteenth-century style. Nevertheless, the latter, performed by bourgeois choral societies, remained popular in the nineteenth century and beyond. The author gives examples of mass compositions for few voices and organ in which the instrumental part ranges from a discreet *colla parte* accompaniment up to quasi-soloistic and virtuosic textures. The stylistic range of the masses is wide, reflecting a clash of idioms in nineteenth-century church music. On the one hand, there is a tradition based on the Viennese classical style, but which is open for innovation. On the other

hand, Cecilianism, with its anti-secular tendencies and revival of plainchant as well as the polyphony of Palestrina and his contemporaries, brought about a deliberate break with this tradition. In orchestral masses composed at the turn of the twentieth century, the whole orchestra could be substituted by the organ.

*Benedikt Leßmann* discusses the treatment of Gregorian chant in organ accompaniments and liturgical organ music in France from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, with a special focus on rhythm. He shows that even though there were different theories and ideas, there was consensus in perceiving Gregorian rhythm as ‘free’ in some sense. The established practice of accompanying plainchant with one chord for each note was questioned by several authors from the late 1850s onward, but it was not until 1884 that rhythmic accompaniment was presented as a valid alternative by Antonin Lhoumeau, whose idea of grouping the notes in binary and ternary rhythms, each with the accent on the first note, was later developed into a very influential theory by the Solesmes monk André Mocquereau. The changes in the practice of accompaniment also influenced the composition of solo organ music for the liturgy, both cantus-firmus-based, as in Guilmant’s *L’organiste liturgiste*, and ‘free’ pieces. The author sees this rhythmic development as a parallel to the growth of strictly diatonic harmonizations based on the scales of the church modes. Finally, the perspective is further widened to non-liturgical music with the example of a piano piece by Déodat de Séverac to demonstrate the profound influence of contemporary ideas on the performance of Gregorian chant on both rhythmic and harmonic developments even in secular compositions.

*Martti Laitinen* examines Ilmari Krohn’s collection *Adventti- ja Jouluvirsiä* (Advent and Christmas Hymns, 1902) from a biographical perspective and compares its chorale settings to the contemporary general style of hymn accompaniment in Finland, as represented by the 1897 edition of the chorale book by Otto Immanuel Colliander and Richard Faltin, as well as to Krohn’s own later output. The church musician, composer and musicologist Ilmari Krohn had made a name for himself as a collector, researcher and eager proponent of Finnish spiritual folk tunes. However, he was not elected in 1898 to the chorale committee

which had been assigned to select such melodies for the hymnal of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. As a private project, *Adventti-ja Joulu-virsiä* was the first part of an intended multi-volume chorale book in which Krohn displayed his preferences concerning the selection, shape and accompaniment of hymn melodies. Inspired by the German theologian Georg Rietschel and in contrast to Finnish hymnals from the second half of the nineteenth century, Krohn advocated an independent and 'truly accompanying' accompaniment to provide a calm background for the singing, which in his view would enable the melody to flow in a Lied-like manner.

Part Three, *Solo repertoires*, shifts the focus to individual composers, providing historical and biographical contexts as well as analytical insights into liturgical and liturgically-inspired organ compositions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

*Jonas Lundblad* analyses two late cycles of organ music by Franz Liszt, *Missa pro Organo* and *Requiem*, both of which were intended exclusively for the Catholic liturgy, more specifically the spoken or Low Mass, and were composed in an introverted, austere and, at least at first glance, simple style. Liszt here eschews the outward drama and technical challenges of his previous organ music as well as much of the expressiveness of his vocal church music. Both works are based on Mass compositions for male choir and organ, but the substantial differences in relation to the original vocal works, while related to the different liturgical contexts of the respective compositions – the sung and the spoken Mass, respectively – are also the fruit of a new conception of the function of (organ) music in the liturgy. Liszt here moves beyond the idea of purely devotional music (intended to express or enhance [the congregation's] religious feelings), but neither does he wholly subscribe to the total subservience of music to the proclamation of the kerygma that in the Cecilian movement led to the cultivation of an archaic musical style. Instead, according to the author, in these works Liszt intends to support and express the manifold living interaction between the individual believers and the 'objective' drama unfolding in the liturgy. He does this through an innovative approach to harmony which avoids traditional cadential resolutions in favour of enharmonic

or semitone-based connections and destabilizes the keys of individual movements, subordinating them to the tonality of the cycle as a whole.

*Sverker Jullander* analyses the Swedish composer Otto Olsson's use of Gregorian chant in his organ music. Olsson was the first – and, for a long time to come, the only – Swedish composer to use such melodies in organ music. Olsson used plainsong material in two collections of short pieces as well as in two larger works, all composed between 1910 and 1918. The author discusses Olsson's compositions in relation to general church music aesthetics, in which a distinction between sacred and secular became increasingly important. Both the use of melodies from the Old Church and their musical setting were central to Olsson, whose goal was to create music that could be recognized as 'church music and nothing else'. Olsson's settings vary considerably in form and character, ranging from free recitative to strict polyphony. The free treatment of the chant melody in the *Ave maris stella* variations (probably the first composed of his 'Gregorian' works) stands in contrast to the invariably unchanged *cantus firmus* in the other compositions. In most pieces, text-related musical symbolism is not prominent, the exception being Olsson's final plainsong-based work, the organ symphony *Credo Symphonicum*, in which the composer makes varied use of eight melodies to represent the Christian Creed and the Trinity.

*Peter Peitsalo* studies the organ music of Lauri Hämäläinen in the light of liturgical organ-playing in nineteenth-century Finland. With the collections *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan I-II* (Organ Music for the Church, 1869 and 1870) and *Helmiwyö* (A Chain of Pearls, 1878), Hämäläinen, a student of Gustaf Mankell in Stockholm, established a Finnish tradition of organ music in print. This happened at a time characterized by a growth of Finnish literature in general. Hämäläinen made contributions to the main types of organ music for contemporary Lutheran liturgy: preludes, four-part chorale harmonizations, chorale endings, and slightly longer free pieces, suitable as postludes. Hämäläinen's chorale preludes illustrate the dualism between a free and a strict type, typical of the genre in the nineteenth century and described by e.g. Abraham Mankell and Johann Georg Herzog. Whereas the free chorale prelude was selected or improvised by the organist on the basis of the spirit of

the poem, i.e. the hymn text, the strict prelude introduced the hymn tune as a theme. Hämäläinen's pieces show knowledge of German organ music from the Biedermeier era, a repertoire which was also available in Finland. On the basis of a comparison with contemporary Finnish chorale books, the author interprets the four-part chorales in *Helmiwyö* as a conciliatory contribution to the contemporaneous discussion about the principles of hymn revision.

*Jan Lehtola* examines the liturgical organ music of Oskar Merikanto against the background of his activities as an organist and organ pedagogue. The versatile Merikanto, a student of Lauri Hämäläinen, was one of the leading musicians in early-twentieth-century Finland and was known as a popular composer, organist, pianist, conductor and music critic. As a teacher at the churchwarden-organist school in Helsinki and Helsinki Music Institute, Merikanto wrote and translated textbooks and in 1907 made a tour of Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France and England, where he observed the teaching of several renowned organists. Merikanto shared his impressions of this trip in two articles summarized by the author, which contain suggestions for improving domestic liturgical music. Merikanto was an organ virtuoso who required a highly developed, up-to-date playing technique in his organ music for worship use. The author argues that Merikanto was influenced by the German music theorist Hugo Riemann in matters of musical expression and remarks that in his chorale preludes, Merikanto paid more attention to different musical characters and emotional states than to specific hymn tunes.

We in the editorial team wish to thank all those who have made possible the publication of the present volume. Our thanks are due first and foremost to all of the contributors, who have submitted and patiently reworked their texts during the different stages of the editorial process and to the anonymous reviewers who, by fulfilling their unrewarded task, have contributed to elevating the quality of the publication. We also thank Lynne Sunderman and Richard Nicholls for painstakingly revising the English, as well as Anne Kauppala, editor-in-chief, and Tuire Kuusi, vice dean of the Sibelius Academy, for permission to publish the book in the series DocMus Research Publications.

We hope that *Liturgical Organ Music in the Long Nineteenth Century: Preconditions, Repertoires and Border-Crossings* will contribute to a deepened understanding of liturgical organ-playing and organ music during the period in question and that it will inspire continued research in this area, where much still remains to be done. Finally, it is our hope that our readers will find material for renewed reflection on the organ's liturgical mission in our own time, as well as on possible future developments of liturgical organ music and organ-playing.

*Helsinki and Piteå, October 2017*

*Peter Peitsalo, Sverker Jullander, Markus Kuikka*

PART I  
PANORAMAS



# Revisiting Parisian Organ Culture from the Long Nineteenth Century: Models for Renewal in a Challenging Context for Religion?<sup>1</sup>

KURT LUEDERS

The political upheavals that beset France over the course of the long nineteenth century, major milestones being 1789, 1815, 1830, 1848, 1851, 1870–1871, epitomize a course of intense evolution in which the Roman Catholic Church – and by extension its artistic and musical ramifications – had a constant stake. From the standpoint of the Church’s status and church-state relations, relevant dates hew more closely to the calendar century: 1801 with the *Concordat* and 1905 with its rescision, that is to say, the Separation of the Churches and the State. Church matters were thereafter subject to a ministry of public affairs (called *Ministère des Cultes*, a function which still exists today at a deep level within the Ministry of the Interior, having no uncertain importance given the religion-related questions confronting the country at present). While questions of liturgy and, indirectly, of church music surely had no bearing to speak of on political debate, they reflected the moving forces therein, if nothing else than as a gauge of the authority of the *Etat*, the national government. In particular, the long century was an

---

1 This paper is a significantly reworked version of my keynote address to the conference Liturgical Organ Music and Liturgical Organ Playing in the Long Nineteenth Century, given at the Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki, 20 January 2016, with the title ‘Imposing singularity or quintessential evolution? Revisiting Parisian organ culture from the “long 19th century”’.

ideological and political battleground over the control of educational structures and goals. It is easy to conceive of how questions of cultural growth and moral ideals could play themselves out on various sidelines, for instance in the realm of the music heard and, as the case may be, enjoyed... or put up with, in the course of the holy offices and the church year (Hameline 1977, *passim*).

The organist profession began the century weakened or at best way-laid by the strictures and priorities imposed by the Revolutionary era, in a context of destruction of instruments and the abolition of the choir schools in particular, but musicians and builders struggled through despite there likely being little or no material incentive to change their habits. Training traditions had been dissipated; the piano, with its mechanism, speech and character barely compatible with those of the organ, had taken over once and for all from the harpsichord, which previously had enjoyed several generations of *rapprochement* with the organ and its players.

Although the sounds of the French organ – as opposed to those of most Germanic countries – remained very largely unchanged through easily the first third of the long century (and the first quarter of the ‘calendar century’), the music attempted to keep up with the times. Around the time of the Revolution a leading organist-composer, when his moment to shine came at the Offertory, most naturally deployed his skill in the dominant language of the day (see Example 1).

The overall trajectory that led into fecund renewal features the names of Cavaillé-Coll, Fétis, Boëly, Lemmens, Chauvet – whose musical and intellectual heritage has been well studied. If truth be told, there would seem to be little connection between the French organ world around 1830 (when several portentous events occurred, among them the introduction of choir organs and the gestation of organbuilding firms crucial to the entire century) and that of predominantly Protestant or even Catholic countries in our Europe of 2016. Communication, the potential for effortless travel, the *de facto* spread of English as a *lingua franca* and the breakdown of many barriers between Protestant and Catholic musical expression are among the most salient points of difference. On a broader scale, nevertheless, there are useful compar-



Example 1. Guillaume Lasceux (1740–1831), opening of *Offertoire: Symphonie concertante*, from *Messe des Grands Solennels*, *Nouveau Journal de pièces d'orgue*, no. 1, 1783.

isons to be made and perhaps parallels to be drawn, beginning with the tensions – or interactions – among different national traditions and attitudes. This at the time was manifest in a latent feeling of inferiority vis-à-vis German organ art conveying the towering figure of Bach, but also recognition for the more generally accessible yet no less imposing Classical (and Catholic-compatible) figures of Mozart and Haydn. An indication of this is the project that the then well-known and well-published organist Adolphe Miné intended to devote to transcribing for organ all the symphonies and chamber music by Beethoven. As early as 1836 he put forth – in comments concerning training in improvisation – models that his own published compositions can seem to belie.

One sees in the works of [J.] S. Bach, Handel, Mozart, Hummel and other famous musicians that two or three measures of melody were

enough for them to invent magnificent organ or piano works in which the basic subject reappeared in the most varied of forms and accompanied by interesting episodes. [...] The art of managing a fugue in the severe style is a matter of the science of counterpoint. In addition, it is necessary to know a large number of good fugues by heart. In this respect the works of Bach and Handel are to be studied to great advantage. For the development of a fugue in the light, modern style one may take as an example the overture to *The Magic Flute* by Mozart and several works by Beethoven. [...] Another kind of improvisation which is more specific to the organist is the one that is performed in the *style lié* and fugal style. (Miné [1836], 186–187)<sup>2</sup>

There was no shortage of organist-composers, including in the provinces, who used this postclassical language, nor did theoreticians, at least, totally shirk the debate about appropriate taste and the proper language of the organ style (that is to say, as Miné implies, polyphony). A growing awareness of national styles and aesthetic attitudes readily filtered into organ lofts and the attitudes of leading organists.

Aside from a few serious organist talents, in our country we admittedly do not have profound musicians such as there always have been on the other side of the Rhine. Our spirit does not have that calm, that perseverance of the German, remarkable in the tenacity for going to the heart of all things; and then, unfortunately, going above all after the effect, we do not have the courage to impose upon the public the taste for great music. This is not to say that we do not like it, but we

---

2 ‘On voit dans les ouvrages de S. Bach, de Hændel, de Mozart, de Hummel et d’autres célèbres musiciens que deux ou trois mesures mélodiques leur ont suffi pour inventer de magnifiques morceaux d’orgue ou de piano, dans lesquels le sujet fondamental reparaissait sous les formes les plus variées et accompagné d’épisodes intéressans. [...] L’art de conduire une fugue dans le style sévère tient à la science du contre-point. Il faut en outre savoir par cœur un grand nombre de bonnes fugues. Sous ce rapport on étudiera avec fruit les ouvrages de S. Bach, de Hændel. Pour le développement d’une fugue dans le style léger et moderne on peut prendre pour modèle l’ouverture de la Flûte enchantée de Mozart et plusieurs œuvres de Beethoven. [...] Une autre espèce d’improvisation qui est plus spéciale à l’organiste c’est celle qu’on exécute dans le style lié et fugué’. (All translations in this article were made by the present author.)

too easily follow a dangerous slope for art: along with the crowd we too quickly succumb to passion, without seeking to be wary of an ephemeral, passing fad like the works whose triviality it [the crowd] fully shares. The slave of the public, rather than being the conductor thereof, we like more to accuse the century of bad taste than to gently bring it back around to eternal beauty, to works of genius magnified by skill. (Colin 1862, 211)<sup>3</sup>

Hence, at the beginning of the careers of Cavaillé-Coll and César Franck in Paris, a movement was already afoot to ennoble the organ and its practice, and an observer from abroad could assert that

the old ferocious and tinkling organs<sup>4</sup>, as devoid of any real devotional tone as a dowager in the days of the Regency, are gradually falling into discredit, and the old players, whose evolutions used to remind me of nothing so much as a game of hunt-the-slipper played by a party sitting on all the four ranges of keys, are giving way to better instructed and more reverential successors. Classical preluders and steady fuguists will come in time, and I think a Schneider or a Mendelssohn would run as fair a chance, just now, of becoming the fashion in Paris as the works of Gluck and the *names* of Palestrina and Orlando Lasso. (Chorley 1844, III/245)

---

3 'À part quelques talents d'organistes sérieux, nous n'avons pas chez nous, il faut l'avouer, des musiciens profonds comme il y en a toujours eu de l'autre côté du Rhin. Notre esprit n'a pas ce calme, cette persévérance de l'Allemand, remarquable par la ténacité à approfondir toutes choses, et puis, malheureusement, cherchant avant tout l'effet, nous n'avons pas le courage d'imposer au public le goût de la grande musique. Ce n'est pas à dire que nous ne l'aimions point, mais nous suivons trop facilement une pente dangereuse pour l'art; avec la foule, nous nous passionnons trop vite, sans chercher à nous défier d'un engouement fugitif et passager comme les œuvres dont elle a toute l'inconsistance. Esclave du public, au lieu d'en être les conducteurs, nous aimons mieux accuser le siècle de mauvais goût que de le ramener doucement à la beauté éternelle, aux œuvres du génie agrandi par la science.'

4 The words 'ferocious and tinkling' doubtless refer to the *grand jeu* and the *plein jeu*, respectively. One of Cavaillé-Coll's major achievements would eventually be to merge these two ostensibly antagonistic components into a single entity, the *grand chœur*, relying on the increased wind supply to use most of the organ's stops at once, analogous to the *tutti* of an orchestra.

a

Andantino.

viden  
N° 2.

b

12

Sus bergers en campagne.

CANTIQUE XIII

Pédale.

F. B. 45.

Example 2. François Benoist, (1794–1878), Pièce n° 2 from *Bibliothèque de l'organiste*, 1841–1861 (a); Alexandre-Pierre-François Boëly (1785–1858), Prelude on the Christmas hymn by Denizot 'Sus bergers en campagne', from *14 Préludes ou pièces d'orgue avec pédale obliée sur des cantiques de Denizot au 16e s.*, op. 15, 1847 (b).

Two Parisian figures stood out as models in the eyes of discerning musicians concerned with the place of the organ in the church context: François Benoist, professor of organ at the Paris Conservatory, whose overriding ideal was clearly Haydn; and Alexandre-Pierre-François Boëly, organist at St-Germain l'Auxerrois, whose veneration and emulation of Bach knew hardly any bounds (see Example 2).

In hindsight, the optimum path for the French organ to have taken appears to us obvious if not inevitable. Yet at several crucial junctures, things could have turned out otherwise, for example, if Cavaillé-Coll's Saint-Denis organ had not fortuitously benefited from the salutary importing of the Barker lever, or if Lemmens in person had taken a pivotal post such as at Saint-Sulpice or the Paris Conservatory following a hypothetical retirement of Benoist at what would be for us a 'normal' if not mandatory age, say 65 (1859). Beyond such 'what-if' conjecture, it is well to recall a few aspects that our facile lifestyle today can obscure:

*Firstly*: Surrounded, indeed engulfed as our daily lives are with music (or more accurately, a musically-generated, semiconscious sound stream), whether on command or imposed upon us, we must remember – and concretely imagine – that virtually to the end of the long nineteenth century for anyone not a musical professional, hearing concerted music was both quantitatively and qualitatively an exceptional and perhaps even unimaginable occurrence. In a barely-forced comparison, if one were given a chance to hear, just once or at best once in a while, the performance of a good *chansonnier*, a fine jazz rendition, or a work one didn't know by, say, Ligeti, what is the most likely to be chosen today? In church services, there can be little doubt about what the majority of average parishioners would prefer. Are not they ultimately the ones that pay the piper? Now just think that throughout the long nineteenth century in France (but, *nota bene*, no longer in the period just following it), formally performed non-dance music regularly and predictably heard was likely to be at the holy offices.

*Secondly*, given the nature of church practice, listening to music – or perhaps in certain cases trying not to – made up a great deal indeed of what the Catholic churchgoer did. Many would bring a missal to follow along with the translation of the Latin texts, but the aim of the liturgy

*per se* was not primarily edification. Communion wasn't common for the congregation, either, at least not at the major masses at morning's end. During the famous 1 pm low masses at Saint-Augustin in Paris, Eugène Gigout (and his successors) would play essentially an organ recital, only suspending this music momentarily during the consecration and elevation of the host. So the tenor if not the intrinsic quality of the music provided must have made a difference to the faithful, especially since

*thirdly*, the seats in the church were to be paid for. There was a set rate for occupying one's chair, constituting a fairly substantial portion of a parish's regular revenue. So people might legitimately be attentive to what they were getting for their money. Most likely the generous appointments of a coveted leading musician (say, Lefébure-Wely) to a series of churches had a lot to do with this phenomenon, which seems as foreign to us today as the fixture of a *suisse* and other *officiers du culte*.<sup>5</sup> We are used to and somehow take in stride the grotesque competition for the highest-paid sports stars or CEOs, but is there any reason a similar competition would not have existed in the nineteenth-century organ world, and for the same essential reasons?

*Fourthly*, most differently indeed from the Protestant organist who, as it were, co-conducts the proclamation of the Gospel, the nineteenth-century Catholic organist – here I mean the *titulaire* of the *grand-orgue* – rarely *accompanied* anything or anyone, beyond a solo violinist or cellist from time to time. This task befell the choir organ, destined eventually to take over a very significant part of daily liturgical practice in hundreds of churches all over France (a function assigned to the harmonium in smaller ones). Rather he responded with improvised versets in *alternatim* with the singers and played or improvised the 'functional' service music (*entrée*, offertory, elevation, communion, *sortie*). Furthermore, aside from organ inaugurations, there was basically no such thing as a church concert, even less with solo organ. When large-scale religiously inspired works such as oratorios were given, it would be rather in concert venues.

---

5 The term *officiers du culte* refers to those who in various ways 'officiate' liturgically in the service, including the organist and cantor functions; a *suisse* was a highly visible 'director of operations' at church ceremonies (a function roughly equivalent to that of a vergier).

Rossini's openly freewheeling but no less heartfelt *Petite messe solennelle* (1863) was originally conceived as for a private salon with piano accompaniment. Liturgical incorporation of large-scale masses and motets with orchestra or, later, with two organs remained a city phenomenon reserved essentially for solemn feast days. (From the outset commentators assumed that Rossini's late-in-life masterwork was only a preliminary to orchestration, which he indeed carried out just before his death.) To one extent or another, the masses and other offices, whatever their scope and given the role of the musicians and the relatively passive stance of the congregation, could often be assimilated to a concert experience. Does this have bearing on the nature and reception of the music we play almost exclusively in concert? And what is the pertinence of the large-scale sacred music repertoire in the context of today's liturgy? An intriguing question which, in the end, is hardly less relevant for Frescobaldi, Bach or Mozart than it is for Brahms, Franck or Stravinsky.

*Fifthly*, the organs were built and voiced for rooms that were generally full; at least this happened often and was not simply the exception. We visit, judge and record the instruments in a situation to which they were not fully meant to correspond. This should lead us to think constantly about musical context in all its forms and facets.

*Lastly*, as self-evident as the observation may seem, no one in that era could go into the church, switch on the lights and the motor and practice for ten minutes or four hours. Besides, the churches seem to have been occupied quite a bit. I hesitate to say 'constantly', but reading through Huysmans' novel *En Route* yields quite a vivid feeling for this vibrant human and thereby devotional presence in the church buildings. In any case, for a major parish organist there must have been a whole rhythm and ethos of daily life built around the hailing of organ blowers getting by on something like three euros an hour. Surely it was easier to work up a romance, a rousing march or an opera theme in one's own home and simply transfer it essentially intact to the sanctuary when the moment came.

Here again most likely I exaggerate by generalizing, but surely we are not far from the picture of countless long-forgotten musicians, professionals included, who proceeded in this way, along with the writers of music who catered to their needs, basic or circumstantial. The result

could only be a highly uneven corpus, to which commentators increasingly alluded in mid-century: habits were tenacious!

Why, having an abundance of publications worthy of taking their place in the library of a serious organist, must we be flooded in a deluge of petty, more or less bland rantings, drawn without elaboration, without inspiration, from the brains and the pen of a crowd of run-of-the mill organists? For them, the composition of a volume is the matter of a morning; they must produce, at any price, in order to sell a lot. Hence, what an abundance of advertisements! See how, with a trumpet call, works are published that, short of having any other merit, at least have that of being fitted with attractive, pompous titles. We're talking about large and small organ and harmonium methods, specially intended for beginners; collections indispensable to young organists containing a prodigious quantity of pieces in all the keys, for all parts of the office, applicable to all churches, all instruments, and all the rites, and for all the feast days in the year; collections of Noëls, Processionals, Benedictions, Marches, etc., etc. We'd never finish if we wanted to enumerate all the easy, indispensable methods whose titles are before our eyes. Open the first page of these precious methods; there you will find new, simplified procedures, pieces of sublime advice, such highly illuminating harmony treatises whereby with a bit of good will you can be convinced of becoming, in one week, a perfect musician. (Réty 1869, 289–290)<sup>6</sup>

---

6 'Pourquoi faut-il, qu'ayant en abondance des publications dignes de prendre place dans la bibliothèque d'un organiste sérieux, que nous soyons inondés par un déluge de petites élucubrations plus ou moins plates, sorties sans travail, sans inspiration, de la cervelle et de la plume d'une foule d'organistes vulgaires ? Pour eux, la composition d'un volume est l'affaire d'une matinée ; à tout prix il faut produire, afin de vendre beaucoup. Ainsi, quelle abondance de réclames ! Voyez comme on publie à son de trompe des ouvrages qui, à défaut d'autre mérite, ont au moins celui d'être revêtus de titres séduisants et pompeux. Ce sont de *grandes et petites méthodes d'orgue ou d'harmonium, spécialement destinées aux commençants; des recueils indispensables aux jeunes organistes, contenant une quantité prodigieuse de morceaux dans tous les tons, pour toutes les parties de l'office, applicables à toutes les églises, à tous les instruments, pour tous les rites et pour toutes les fêtes de l'année; recueils de Noëls, Processions, Saluts, Bénédictions, Marches, etc., etc.*; OUVRAGES SPÉCIALEMENT DESTINÉS AUX COMMUNAUTÉS RELIGIEUSES, SÉMINAIRES, etc., etc. Nous n'en finirions pas si nous voulions énumérer toutes les méthodes faciles, indispensables, dont le titre est sous nos yeux. Ouvrez à la première page de ces précieuses méthodes; vous y trouverez des procédés nouveaux et simplifiés, des conseils sublimes, des traités d'harmonie tellement lumineux, qu'avec un peu de bonne volonté on peut être convaincu de devenir en une semaine un musicien parfait.'

Today the standard is incomparably higher, and most organists have had serious training at whatever level corresponds to their ambition. But the question of models remains: What is 'mainstream', what is marginal? What is stirring, poignant, what is beyond reach, out-of-touch? Many agree with the Belgian musicologist Robert Wangermée that in the nineteenth century grand opera was sociologically speaking a major factor in creating a breach between an *art de masse* and an 'art for artists' accessible to the elite initiated in its language.<sup>7</sup> Yet operatic music or its stylistic traits may have been seen, in the church as well, as a kind of common ground in France, its finest products – particularly in the case of religiously-inspired plots and despite ecclesiastical purists' arguments to the contrary – construed as ultimately compatible with the emotional content of the offices. Yes, barring the improbable embrace of Bach or Couperin by what we nowadays call the *grand public*, grand opera may have been the highest creative corpus to which they could conceivably aspire, clearly surpassing the cabaret or the military band in musical depth. In today's world, especially via the internet, everything is effortlessly available to everyone; the church musician potentially has ample material at hand in the search for the modern equivalent of grand opera.

Lefébure-Wely comes immediately to mind to suggest the sound of music played by what Abbé Couturier deemed 'pianists at the organ' ('un *pianiste à l'orgue*', Couturier 1862, 50). To do justice to him would require a book-length study, a prerequisite being examination of his extensive secular output, particularly the unexpectedly diversified and rich *Sonate dramatique*, op. 157 for violin (1866) as well as the piano duo works. But the *noël* variations, published at the same time Réty was writing his book, provide an idea of his fundamental style at the organ while remaining within the bounds of an ageless genre in French organ music (see Example 3).

---

7 Robert Wangermée, 'Introduction à une sociologie de l'opéra', in *Critique sociologique et critique psychoanalytique*, Brussels, Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1970, 65; cited in Hameline 1977, 11.

**4<sup>e</sup> VARIATION.**

Mouvt. du thème.

*POSITIF.*

*PÉDALE*  
*jour de fœul.*

15252. II

Example 3. Lefebure-Wely, Variations 1, 2, and 3 (partial) on 'Où s'en vont ces gais bergers?' in *Noël varié: Offertoire pour le jour de Noël*, from *L'Organiste moderne*, vol. 9, 1867.

*Tres lié.*

*RÉCIT.*



**3<sup>me</sup> VARIATION.**

A défaut des jeux indiqués, jouer cette variation sur les jeux d'aanches du grand Orgue.

*Brillant et détaché.*

*FLÛTE de 4*  
*et OCTAVIN.*

*RÉCIT.*  
*jeux d'aanches.*

*PÉDALE.*  
*jeux de fond.*

*mf*



The idea that complexity of conception and development are beneficial to musical creation if coupled with proper inspiration, deepening the significance of the message for those who are equipped to receive and ‘interiorize’ it, underlies the poles that can be represented in mid-century France by the offertories of Lefébure-Wely and the seminal *Six Pieces* of César Franck, their publication being nearly simultaneous. Note that Lefébure-Wely in the best French tradition dubs ‘*offertoires*’ works of a clearly secular stylistic if not spiritual vein, whereas Franck, with much loftier compositional ambition, opts for secular titles (*Fantasy, ...symphonique, Final* in the place of *Sortie*) or at best parareligious ones (*Prière*). In terms of sheer compositional skill, both composers show considerable potential in what we would be prone to call ‘musical genius’. Both love their craft with passion and give only their best (which is far from the claim that everything they brought forth was automatically of lasting worth). But they essentially turn this ability in different directions, one ‘stroking the listener in the direction of the fur’, as the French say, the other taking the material itself to push the message further and further into transcendental realms, assuming the risk of losing the comprehension of many, even most listeners. Other artists – I think of Guilmant – sought to meet these two ideals halfway, with music that was generally routine and predictable, ranging from carbon-copy texture and structure to deft, lyrically-inspired handling of classical models. His music is un-provocative enough for any average listener to keep track from beginning to end, while displaying a knack for small features of variation and development that gently challenged that average listener to deepen his or her listening and comprehension; among the major French composers of his time, he went the furthest in supplying larger-scale repertoire expressly intended for the liturgy; in this sense he could be seen as a benchmark that could possibly be transferred to our day. It should be once again recalled that ultimately his contribution to the offices was largely that of a recitalist, meaning that he could readily play, say, a movement from his latest organ sonata for a communion or offertory.

In order to effect a transition to ‘proper’ organ style in a rejuvenated form, not just musical language but also organ technique needed

to be revived; to those in the know, this meant a culture of precisely-sustained notes (unlike the piano with its inherent dynamic tone combined with the myriad subtleties of its *sostenuto* pedal) and polyphonic thinking in the context of those controlled note lengths. This is not something to be found often in Lefébure-Wely. The epitome of this approach, indeed this axiom, is surely the lyrical yet noble *Prelude in 5 parts* by Lemmens, written exactly at mid-century. Technique was not to be a matter of brilliance and sparkle but of ‘taming the monster’, and mastering coordination among the keyboards, among them, emblematically, the pedalboard. The Parisian concerts by Hesse in the 1840s and by Lemmens in 1851–1852 convinced many that, in the words of d’Ortigue in 1854,

the most important study for the organist is that of the pedal, which he should concentrate on treating not as a mere struck bass part [*basse plaquée*, doubtless an oblique reference to Lefébure-Wely] but as an independent, concerted and harmonic part, the equal of parts represented by the two hands. For this he must effect a thorough, consistent study of the trios by J. S. Bach, whose pedal part is replete with such combinations, such difficulties that the imagination is appalled. Yet it is these trios that Mr. Lemmens, professor of organ at the Brussels Conservatory and today perhaps the foremost organist in Europe, performs with an ease, a freedom of allure that boggles the mind and causes one to doubt the obvious. (d’Ortigue 1854, col. 1068)<sup>8</sup>

What seems common knowledge today was a novelty and an immense challenge at that time. But the teachers, emboldened by Lemmens’s triumphs, took on the task. One example is the etude in

---

8 ‘L’étude la plus importante pour l’organiste est celle de la pédale, qu’il doit s’attacher à traiter, non comme une basse plaquée, mais comme une partie indépendante, concertante et harmonique à l’égal des parties représentées par deux mains. Il doit pour cela faire une étude profonde et suivie des trios de J.-S. Bach, dont la partie de pédale est remplie de telles combinaisons, de telles difficultés que l’imagination en est épouvantée. Ce sont pourtant ces trios que M. Lemmens, professeur d’orgue au Conservatoire de Bruxelles, et peut-être aujourd’hui le premier organiste de l’Europe, exécute avec une aisance, une liberté d’allure qui consternent la pensée et font douter de l’évidence.’

trio by his disciple Clément Loret, published in the latter's remarkably comprehensive 1877 organ method<sup>9</sup>. Even if the pedal part is limited to a continuo-like bass line of no thematic import, beyond Boëly there is hardly anything remotely resembling this texture in the music of Lefébure-Wely and his generation, and only progressively from 1840 or so were pedalboards designed to make it feasible in practice. The power of the technical resurgence in French organ playing during the latter half of the nineteenth century is prodigious, and when we look at the level of deeper virtuosity shown by the 1885 generation coming of age at the very end of the 'long nineteenth century' heirs to decades of re-generation, this can only inspire admiration and emulation for us today.

Parallel to and underlying the question of creation for the organ, the immense question of the plainchant or Gregorian repertory held a front seat in the debates and polemics that continued unabated at least up until the *Motu proprio* of 1903. It goes well beyond pondering what rhythms are proper for *Ein feste Burg* or, for that matter, *Freu dich sehr o meine Seele*. Here as well, the evolution between the chant-based versets of Lefébure-Wely and the last two symphonies of his successor Widor is stunning. The Lutheran chorale is, for practical purposes, a fairly straightforward affair. We are not likely to go back, in our liturgy, to any of the solutions that existed or were created or recreated during the long nineteenth century – Gregorian chant is hardly even used any more by the Church – but it is interesting to note that even in the area of contemporary songs used in the liturgy, the syncopated rhythms intended by the composers are often not properly rendered by congregations, used as they are to their own routine. The era's extensive controversies and tussles led eventually to the Solesmes reforms, which have been established as a norm for many decades now, although chant has also been subject to the precepts of historical performance practice, removing it even more from the context of the Catholic liturgy – but not necessarily for good. A long-term struggle for a proper, balanced

---

9 The trio was reprinted in *Les Maîtres Parisiens de l'Orgue au XIXe siècle*, ed. Kurt Lueders, vol. I, Bonn-Bad Godesberg: Forberg, 1982, 24–26.

language had to take place and remains an ongoing concern; there is no reason why older styles and modes of expression cannot nourish contemporary creation and religious forms today.

Aside from the input from the revelation of faraway cultures, coming toward the end of the century, the riches of modality to be (re)discovered owed greatly to the Church and the so-called Niedermeyer school, ostensibly at the source of the harmonic hues in Gabriel Fauré's entire language in particular. Respect for the modal character of plainchant yielded fine pieces that have their place in the concert repertory – I think for instance of the haunting *Canzona dans la tonalité grégorienne* by Boëllmann. Just how subtle the imprint of modality can be is heard in the chorale theme from Franck's Third *Choral* in A minor: the ubiquitousness of this music among organ lovers is such that we have probably lost a feeling for how daring such harmonic colour may have seemed at the time – outside the church framework, that is. Ironically, today the potentially stiff-sounding *Characteristic piece in the Phrygian mode* by Guilmant (which, by the way, was written in 1881) might actually be more immediately gripping than the time-worn passage in Franck!

A short verset for the seventh and eighth modes by Eugène Gigout, from 1895, gives an idea of how daring church organists could be in the self-consistent use of modality (see Example 4). Here is a *sound* that – for ears around the turn of the twentieth century – surely proclaimed 'Church'. It is stunning to reflect upon where the potency of this little seed was to lead with Tournemire and Messiaen, showing the way in a grandiose expansion during the 1920s and 30s. Is there an analogous sound in today's context? My experience, narrow as it is, suggests that Finland and the Baltics may be in a particularly favourable position to offer an analogous, non-avantgarde yet novel and highly eloquent palette. Rhythmic, periodic, and intervallic structures, as well as that *je-ne-sais-quoi* of a sort of northern-light tinge can likely enrich sacred music everywhere. Gigout's aesthetic, however, suggests that much renewal can come from within the centuries-old traditions of the church itself.

**FINALE FA**

**Moderato cantabile.**  
Fonds de 8 p. Gambes, Voix céleste, etc.

N° 110

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (F major), and a 3/4 time signature. The tempo and mood are indicated as 'Moderato cantabile'. The score is divided into five systems. The first system starts with a forte dynamic 'f' and includes a circled '1' and 'A'. The second system continues the melodic line. The third system is marked 'p' and features triplets. The fourth system includes the lyrics 'Cre - scen - do.' and is marked 'f'. The fifth system is marked 'p Molto rit.' and concludes with a double bar line.

Example 4. Eugène Gigout (1844–1925), *Verset* no. 110 [seventh/eighth mode, Finale F] from *Album grégorien*, 2e vol., Leduc, 1895.

The musical landscape sketched out above underlies the various writings by the thinkers whose essays and debates contributed to the evolution of organ and church music culture. Religion had its firm if not completely uncontested place in creating the social and moral fabric of the people: and music was no less a potent medium to achieve this

than architecture, pictorial illustration or verbal eloquence – hence the allusions to and analogies with rhetoric and the preacher’s art. How fascinating it would have been to participate in the discussions among church musicians at the time!

So these, in stenographic form, were a few elements from the history of organ-playing and organ music in nineteenth-century France; many more can be studied along the same lines. In the short time I have spent in Finland over the years, learning from observing and talking with colleagues, I have been struck by how much unity and apparent stability and consensus has come to the fore. Surely not everything is rosy – it seldom is! – but nineteenth-century French ecclesiastical discussion was a cauldron of boiling issues and polemics presided over by superior minds of the likes of Lammenais, Guéranger, and Dupanloup, while across the aisle potent literary and artistic movements were taking place. How to come to grips with all of that? Do we have anything similar we find ourselves confronted with today? Is there an ideal balance between traditional languages and less accessible, modernistic endeavours?

France today is not alone in facing momentous shifts in frequentation and use of churches: it could surely be argued that, between the shrinking of congregations, the closing of churches for the sake of security or redundancy, and the burgeoning of tourism, church buildings overall have arguably come to be occupied much more by visitors of every type than by congregations *per se*. Many musicians have, to different degrees, stood up for establishing the organ as a secular instrument like any other, so the approach that versatile musicians took in the nineteenth century to forge their identities and professional balances can perhaps inspire us yet today. It is my hope that the above remarks may lend some perspective and counterpoint to the other essays in the present volume.

However, the principal question that plagues me personally is not specifically musical but, it seems to me, has great bearing on our present-day and near-future strivings for excellence and relevance as musicians and scholars within our society: what becomes of the mystery and omnipresence of God in a world increasingly dominated by virtual

reality and new relationships among the modes of human attraction (or aversion), information exchange, intellectual inquiry ('fake news' and 'alternative facts'), and matters of privacy vs. public exposure? Music and art hold promise of an alternative to crass vying among what might be termed conflicting realities. Our world stands to be increasingly dominated, schematically speaking, by YouTube, and specifically for the organist, by Hauptwerk. Will Wikipedia and Google eventually replace the university itself, or at least reshape its ends and means? What is right, what is wrong? What is progress and betterment, what is regression or degeneration? What is noble and what is communicative, what is popular and what is elite, and can they be made to coexist peacefully or, better yet, merge without sacrifice or compromise of values, an age-old ideal that we see lurking constantly in the background within the nineteenth-century organ world as well?

After over a century-and-a-half of social, technological and cultural evolution, how valid still is the idealistic and potentially startling assertion by the always perspicacious Joseph d'Ortigue that '[t]he more the musician shows himself, the more the Christian disappears'? (*Plus le musicien se montre, plus le chrétien disparaît.*, d'Ortigue 1860, 366.)

Whatever the short- and long-range outcome of this questioning, may I salute the initiative of the Sibelius Academy by quoting Dom Guéranger in the conviction that 'what makes for our undoing today is ignorance about this past without which, after all, there would be no use in hoping to comprehend and have done with the questions of the present' (Guéranger 1841, xvi).<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> 'Ce qui nous perd aujourd'hui, c'est l'ignorance de ce passé, sans lequel, pourtant, on espérerait en vain comprendre et terminer les questions présentes.'

## Bibliography

### Scores

- Benoist, François 1841–1861. *Bibliothèque de l'organiste*, Paris: Régnier & Canaux.
- Boëly, Alexandre-Pierre-François 1847. *14 Préludes ou pièces d'orgue avec pédale obligée sur des cantiques de Denizot au 16e s.*, op. 15, 1847. Paris: Blanchet.
- Franck, César 1868. *Six pièces pour Grand Orgue*, Paris: Mayens-Couvreur.
- Gigout, Eugène 1895. *Album grégorien*, vol. 2, Paris: Leduc.
- Lasceux, Guillaume 1783. Messe des Grands Solennels, *Nouveau Journal de pièces d'orgue*, no. 1. Paris: Boyer.
- Lefébure-Wely, Louis-James-Alfred 1867. Noël varié, *L'organiste moderne*, vol. 9, Paris: Richault.
- Lefébure-Wely, Louis-James-Alfred [1866]. *Sonate dramatique*, op. 157, Paris: Richault.
- Lemmens, Nicolas-Jacques 1862. Prélude à 5 parties, in *École d'orgue basée sur le plain-chant romain*, Mainz: Schott.
- Lueders, Kurt (ed.) 1982. *Les Maîtres Parisiens de l'Orgue au XIXe siècle*, vol. I, Bonn-Bad Godesberg: Forberg.

### Sources

- Chorley, Henry F. 1844. *Musical Manners in France and Germany: A Series of Travelling Sketches of Art and Society*, London: Longman.
- Colin, Charles 1862. 'Adolphe Hess, séance à l'Eglise Sainte-Clotilde', *La France Musicale*, XXVI/27 (6 July): 211.
- Couturier, MM 1862. *Décadence et restauration de la musique religieuse*, Paris: Repos.
- Guéranger, Dom Prosper 1841. *Institutions liturgiques*, vol. 2, Le Mans: Fleuriot, and Paris: Débecourt.
- Huysmans, Joris-Karl 1895. *En route*, Paris: Tresse & Stock.
- Miné, Adolphe n.d. [1836]. *Méthode d'orgue* [...], Paris: Meissonnier & Heugel.
- Ortigue, Joseph d' 1854. *Dictionnaire liturgique, historique et théorique de plain-chant et de musique d'église*, Paris: Potier.
- Ortigue, Joseph d' 1860. *La Maîtrise*, April 1860: 366.
- Réty, Hippolyte 1869. *Etudes historiques sur le chant religieux et moyens pratiques d'en améliorer l'exécution dans les grandes et les petites paroisses*, Macon: self-published (2nd edition, Paris: Bray & Rétaux, 1870).

### Research literature

- Hameline, Jean-Yves 1977. 'Le son de l'histoire', *La Maison Dieu* no. 131, 'Musique d'Eglise: pratiques et idéologies', 1977/3: 5–47.

## Appendix

### Some major protagonists

#### **Benoist, François** (1794–1878)

Organ professor at the Paris Conservatory from 1819 to retirement in 1872 (succeeded by César Franck) and organist to the Imperial Chapel during the Second Empire.

#### **Boëly, Alexandre-Pierre-François** (1785–1858)

For most mid-century thinkers, the model of the classically-oriented organist and pianist. He revered Bach and the old masters and had the technical skill to adopt their style in his own works, while composing no less readily in the 'style moderne'. In 1851 he was famously dismissed, or retired, from his post in St-Germain-l'Auxerrois because of his propensity to play the classics and eschew the facile style that reigned around him. He was respected by all and taken as a model by many commentators and classically-oriented musicians, particularly Saint-Saëns and Guilmant.

#### **Chauvet, Charles-Alexis** (1837–1871)

Highly respected organist of St-Merry, St-Bernard and La Trinité. Known for his technical skill and impeccable taste, he was highly attuned to the German tradition. As assistant to Ambroise Thomas he may well have become organ professor at the Conservatory but for his premature death in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian war.

#### **Danjou, Félix** (1812–1866)

Organist at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, artistic spearhead of the organbuilding firm of Daublaine-Callinet (Cavaillé-Coll's major competitor during his first two decades in Paris), creator of a short-lived but important music magazine, polemicist on church music adopting a strict stance in favor of austere purity of religious style.

**Fétis, François-Joseph (1784–1871)**

Belgian musicologist and organist who worked for a time in France and straddled the two countries. A typical nineteenth-century figure of prodigious erudition, he directed the Brussels Conservatory and wrote influential articles about church music, particularly the highly polemically-tinged ‘L’orgue mondaine et la musique érotique à l’église’ in 1856. He backed Lemmens as the leading figure to reform organ music; recent research suggests that Fétis may have been the actual spearhead of the reform in technique and approach to the organ that is generally credited to Lemmens: the theoretician and the virtuoso joining forces in aesthetic progress.

**Lefébure-Wely, Louis-James-Alfred (1817–1869)**

Virtuoso pianist, organist, harmonium player and prolific composer for all these instruments, also a sought-after teacher in aristocratic circles. Organist at St-Roch succeeding his father taken ill, La Madeleine (1847) and Saint-Sulpice (1863). A controversial figure in his lifetime, he came to be largely considered after his death as the epitome of superficial, pianistic virtuosity and secular styles in organ playing, although contemporaries lauded his skill and originality as an improviser, and his unflagging devotion to his art. Recent decades have brought gradual reevaluation of his impact and influence and his music has gained ground on organists’ programmes.

**Lemmens, Jaak Nicolaus [Nicolas-Jacques] (1821–1881)**

Belgian organist, pianist, harmonium virtuoso, composer, Professor of Organ at the Brussels Conservatory before marrying a major English soprano and living in England. Significant reformer of organ technique and stylistic approaches, published an ‘organ method’ mostly devoted to his compositions. Trained many important Belgian organists as well as the Frenchmen Guilmant and Widor.

**Loret, Clément (1833–1909)**

Professor of Organ at the ‘Ecole Niedermeyer’ from the mid 1850s (after his mentor Lemmens had declined the appointment), and as such

teacher of many significant organists in prominent positions in the provinces.

**Niedermeyer, Louis (1802–1861)**

Swiss composer naturalized as a French citizen after 1848, composer of operas, friend and collaborator of Rossini (who in the *Christe eleison* section of his 1863 *Petite Messe Solennelle*, by the way, recycles the virtually intact *Et incarnatus est* from Niedermeyer's 1849 mass). Himself a Protestant, Niedermeyer turned to the reform of Catholic church music. In 1853 he succeeded in founding a government-subsidized church music institute as a revival of Alexandre-Étienne Choron's *Institution royale de musique classique et religieuse* of 1817: the *Ecole de musique religieuse et classique*, better known as the Ecole Niedermeyer, which lasted until well after World War I. Fauré, Messager, Gigout, and Boëllmann were among many famous musicians who received their training here.

**d'Ortigue, Joseph-Louis (1802–1866)**

Friend of Berlioz, important music critic, probably the most profound thinker writing on sacred music in mid-nineteenth-century France. Co-founder with Niedermeyer of *La Maîtrise* (1857–1860), arguably the most lastingly significant church music publication of the nineteenth century in France. A 472-page 1861 compilation of his writings, *La musique à l'église*, has been an oft-quoted source virtually from its publication onward.

# From Rinck to Reger: Nineteenth-Century Organ Chorales Against the Backdrop of Bach's *Arnstädter Choräle*

MICHAEL HEINEMANN

When we talk about organ music, and especially chorale settings for the liturgy, there is really no chance to avoid Bach, even if our topic is the nineteenth century. Therefore, the *Arnstädter Choräle* (BWV 715, 722, 762, 729, 732 and 738) will serve as our starting point. In these compositions, the young Johann Sebastian – juvenile, provocative or ambitious, depending on how we like to see him – introduced a new style of chorale setting in the context of the service, an enterprise which, in the words of the church council in Arnstadt, caused confusion in the congregation. The bold harmonies that Bach employed to accompany these well-known melodies made it impossible for people to continue their singing – or, at least, it disturbed their piety or religious feelings (*Bach-Dokumente II*, no. 16). It seems thus that Bach's manner of harmonizing the chorales was unsuited to the liturgical context in which he served. But could it be that Bach *intentionally* confused the congregation as an expression of boredom with the many services he had to play, or as a protest against the working conditions imposed on him by the Council? Or, did he perhaps imagine that it was expected from him, as a young and gifted organist, to show his ability to accompany chorales in a modern style, and was thus genuinely surprised at the reaction that followed? Perhaps he shouldn't have been so surprised; the small Thuringian town of Arnstadt – little more than a village – was anything but a centre of progressive art and artists, and hardly the right place for artistic organ music or a suitable stage for

virtuoso players. (Actually, we do not know whether these organ chorales are ‘compositions’ properly speaking; rather, they may have been written down as exercises in harmony or as sketches for improvisations, which may have been even more – or perhaps less – daring than the notated versions.)

The case of these few, albeit well-known, chorale settings focuses on certain aspects that will guide the following discussion since they are paradigmatic for the understanding of organ music in the liturgy in the nineteenth century as well:

1. The quality of the instruments
2. The state of organ composition
3. The state of the art of organ-playing, including the education of organists
4. Opportunities for organ-playing
5. Liturgical duties
6. The public’s expectations

### **The quality of the instruments**

The Wender organ, at which Bach served in Arnstadt, had two manuals and 21 stops. It was completed and examined by Bach in 1703, and after its inauguration the examiner was engaged as organist. People apparently liked the organ and Bach’s artistic manner of playing it. And from his compositions of these early years, we may safely conclude that the organ was adequate for playing his ‘progressive’ music: it had a well-functioning action and was well tuned. Neither the council members nor Bach himself complained about the quality of the instrument, and we have no reason to suppose that Bach in his playing would have wanted to demonstrate deficiencies in the instrument – if such there were. It is therefore unlikely that the alleged ‘confusion’ would have been caused by inadequacies in the temperament of the organ, or by Bach playing too quickly or too noisily. We may thus assume that the instrument was adequate for realizing the composer’s intentions, in the same way as accounts of his playing at other organs emphasize

that the instruments did not present any difficulties to his use of bold harmonies. A report on his playing the Trost organ in the Altenburg Castle Church states that his idea of playing 'Wir gläuben all an einen Gott' a half-tone higher for each of the three verses was realizable only on this organ and with this player (*Dresdner Gelehrten Anzeigen* 1798, no. 7). (The idea of playing chorales in this way returned in the nineteenth century in syllabi for teaching and examination – a small but noteworthy sign of the skills required from organists, as well as the capacities of the instruments.)

There is no reason to assume that organs were generally insufficient in the first part of the eighteenth century, nor is there any such information for the following decades. The high level of organ-building in central Germany and beyond continued during the entire Romantic era, and the high estimation of Baroque instruments, particularly the Silbermann organs, is reflected in music journals as early as the 1830s (almost a century before the *Orgelbewegung*). A brief look at the history of organ-building in the nineteenth century confirms the impression of the great value put on tradition. Furthermore, about 90 per cent of the organs were built with mechanical (tracker) action, and it was not until around the turn of the twentieth century that we find more and more 'industrial' instruments, a development that provoked criticism and paved the way for the *Orgelbewegung*. But even the innovations around 1800 launched by Abbé Vogler – seen as the worst enemy of serious organists in history – turned out to be just an episode; for instance, the changes that he initiated in the Marienkirche in Berlin had already been removed by the 1830s. As for the erection of new instruments – for example, the organs by Buchholz in Greifswald and Ladegast in Merseburg – there is absolutely no reason to speak about a decay in organ culture during the nineteenth century. Neither would there have been any reason for spending large sums of money on great new instruments if there had been no one capable of using this wealth of sounds in services, concerts, or on other occasions. Regardless of the era, organs are too expensive to be built exclusively for purposes of decoration or representation.

### The state of organ composition

What strikes us in Bach's *Arnstädter Choräle* is first and foremost their harmonic richness. The sequences of chords and sounds deviate considerably from contemporary standards, justifying the characterization of Bach as 'the forefather (*Urvater*) of harmony', a label that in his lifetime was used not infrequently in a pejorative sense, but by the end of the eighteenth century – which had experienced the much narrower harmonic spectrum of early classicism – it had become more of a compliment. Something similar can be said about Bach's use of counterpoint and intricate voice-leading. From this point of view, the term 'decay', commonly used in descriptions of organ music from around 1800, is quite understandable; in the history of composition, normally seen as a history of progress, the simpler harmonies and textures in the organ music of Carl Gottlieb Umbreit, Johann Andreas Dröbs or Christian Heinrich Rinck, for example, cannot be regarded as representing a new or advanced state of the art of organ composition. On the other hand, we find an uninterrupted tradition of artisanal composition, especially with the pupils of Bach (and their pupils), whose compositions are neither better nor worse than those of Bach's contemporaries. The unique position of Johann Sebastian Bach, whose compositional skills widely surpassed those of his colleagues, and not only in Saxony, has distorted our view of the historical situation, and also of the general standards of organ-playing, which, if we again disregard the exceptional case of the Thomas Cantor, did not decline as a whole.

Furthermore, there were organists in the second half of the eighteenth century who produced chorale melodies and preludes for practical purposes in a style that did not change at all. Although it is thus not possible to speak of a progress in writing organ music during that era, it seems to me all too easy to postulate that a new beginning for organ composition came only with Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy; his music rested on traditions that had never been discontinued. The new development of organ composition, as exemplified in the sonatas of August Gottfried Ritter in Magdeburg and Johann Gottlob Schneider in Dresden, not to mention the virtuoso music of Ludwig (Louis) Thiele

in Berlin, is not imaginable without an existing tradition of organ-playing and composition, perhaps weakened at times, but never broken. The works of organist-composers such as Adolph Friedrich Hesse and Gustav Merkel, while not equal to the piano masterpieces of Schumann and Liszt, are not totally insignificant. The depreciation of organ music from this period, and perhaps from the entire nineteenth century, seems to emanate from the *Orgelbewegung*, which, with its preference for baroque music – in particular the organ compositions of pre-Bach masters – was prone to denouncing not only the instruments but also the music of the recent past. The success of this movement reached its peak after the Second World War; with new instruments built in neo-baroque style and the destruction of romantic organs, especially in West Germany, the music composed for these instruments disappeared for at least a generation. The first rediscoveries of this music, dating from the 1970s, were followed twenty years later by an increasing number of reprints, and it is perhaps only today that we are finally able to appreciate the wealth and quality of nineteenth-century organ music.

However much there is to be said for this organ music, one cannot disregard the strong element of epigonism and mere craftsmanship, rather than art, to be found especially in chorale settings. The history of chorale preludes from 1725 to 1850 is indeed difficult to describe in terms of development or progress. Most of the pieces show the same quasi-polyphonic manner of writing, and the harmonic spectrum of the later settings is very often more limited than in the earlier pieces. Moreover, the *cantus firmus* does not allow much variation in musical form. This conventional manner of writing is found in pre- and postludes alike, and the texture of the organ sonatas of Merkel not infrequently shows clear similarities to that of Bach's preludes. The explanation that organ composition does not allow a multitude of compositional methods cannot be sufficient, since there are actually a few examples of organ composers around the mid-nineteenth century who show awareness of the state of the art regarding composition and the invention of sounds; these include Julius Reubke and Gustav Eduard Stehle (and, to a lesser extent, Gustav Flügel and Franz Liszt), who attempted to create a quite new kind of organ music informed by contemporary aesthetics.

The genre of the fugue remained much more traditional, did not develop after Bach and petrified into a learned *métier*, the great exception being, of course, Antonín Reicha, whose method for composing fugues seemed downright ridiculous to Beethoven. But Reicha's new system for constructing a fugue was explicitly intended to be anti-epigonic, with its search for alternative methods for answering a theme and creating musical forms; its influence can be perceived in Beethoven's late works as well as in Liszt's early compositions. Mainstream organ music did not change, however, and on the whole, the extremely conventional manner of composing prevented organ music from keeping up with the development of music aesthetics and modes of composition. This undoubtedly revealed conservatism – but not quite decline.

The problem of reconstructing a history of organ music is that, to a greater extent than for other instruments, written and printed compositions represent only a portion of the organists' repertoire. In particular, (printed) chorale preludes are very often not, strictly speaking, compositions, but rather models for improvisation or are intended for didactic purposes. This situation, which is already present at the time of the *Arnstädter Choräle*, must be kept in mind when assessing the state of organ-playing around 1800, especially in services. The lack of printed music – not only of music of high artistic value – at that time should not lead us to view the quality of organ-playing as generally inferior, and the reports of the poor skills of organists must be critically evaluated with regard to origin and purpose, and even to where the observations were made or published. Though we cannot ignore the fact that only a small body of organ music was published around the turn of the nineteenth century, we should not jump to the conclusion that the organ culture of the time was inferior. Reports about the playing of organ arrangements from operas during services signal a change in taste but not a decline in performance skills. On the other hand, information about adaptations for the organ of preludes and fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (WTC) does not tell us much about preferences for contrapuntal music, if we consider that it was mainly the preludes in C major from WTC I and in C-sharp major from WTC

II that were performed; these pieces were clearly chosen according to an aesthetic of sensitivity and not in the spirit of the Bach tradition of counterpoint or *stile antico*.

The situation becomes even more difficult to evaluate when we come to the field of improvisation, where the total lack of musical documentation leaves us with the sole option of discussing the skills of the players. The difference between the printed organ music of organists such as Adolph Friedrich Hesse or – later – Anton Bruckner, and their reported achievements as improvisers, however, gives the impression that our perception of the situation of organ music in the nineteenth century remains incomplete if we fail to pay attention to these sources. The state of the art of organ-playing simply cannot be ascertained solely by evaluating printed compositions.

### **The state of the art of organ-playing, including the education of organists**

In a textbook from the end of the eighteenth century, the organist is advised to play passion music with his arms crossed in order to show his devotion and humility (Moritz 1790, 145). This suggestion – a rather strange one from a modern perspective – may appear to be a joke, but it could perfectly well have been serious. Playing the organ in services, especially during Lent, would require a special posture, not only mentally but also physically. The playing was regarded as a kind of religious exercise, and the physical behaviour should have an impact on the spiritual attitude of the organist. Whether the recommended posture would seriously impede the organist's playing light music or arrangements from operas, is uncertain (but is perhaps worth testing).

Recommendations such as that cited above may deserve some amount of criticism – but at the same time they show the intensity of the discussion on how to play the organ in a proper and dignified style. As widespread as degenerate modes of playing were (from this point of view), there were also strong reactions against them, showing an awareness of how it should be. A degraded state of organ-playing in general cannot be deduced from these debates.

Similar advice to the organist, though worded in somewhat more serious and sophisticated terms, can be found in organ tutors, whose presence at the end of the eighteenth century further suggests the importance assigned to a ‘correct’ style of organ music and organ-playing at that time. Even the demand for a revival of the practices of former (allegedly better) times confirms the relevance of this issue, since otherwise there would have been no interest in conducting such a discussion.

At the turn of the century, however, some new accents were added to the discourse; it seemed no longer self-evident that organs were intended mainly for divine services. Johann Christian Kittel found it necessary to include the word *praktische* (‘practical’) in the title of his organ tutor *Der angehende praktische Organist*, in order to underline the liturgical function of the instrument and its particular suitability for the church. Kittel opened the introduction to his book with some moral instructions:

The moments that we devote to the adoration of the Supreme Being, the reflection on our destiny, the consideration of our duties, are the most important and holy ones of our life. The sublimity and dignity of the subjects with which our spirit here concerns itself, require a serious disposition, separated from all worldliness. Therefore, one should always intend to conduct public divine services in the manner that would seem the most suitable for preparing for and evoking such a disposition. The solemn sound of the bells, the majesty of the temple, the seriousness of a great assembly, the splendour of clerical ceremonies – these are circumstances, which, though we may not be fully aware of it, exert a powerful influence on our senses, strain our perceptions and make our spirit more receptive to the most sublime and great that it may attain – that is, instruments for the enhancement of our devotion.<sup>1</sup> (Kittel 1808, V)

---

1 ‘Die Augenblicke, welche wir der Anbetung des höchsten Wesens, dem Nachdenken über unsere Bestimmung, der Erwägung unserer Pflichten widmen, sind die wichtigsten und heiligsten unseres Lebens. Die Erhabenheit und Würde der Gegenstände, mit welchen sich unser Geist in demselben beschäftigt, erfordern eine ernste, von allen Irdischen abgezogene Stimmung. Man ist daher stets darauf bedacht gewesen, den öffentlichen Gottesverehrungen diejenige Einrichtung zu geben, welche am passendsten schien, eine solche Stimmung vorzubereiten und herbeyzuführen. Der feyerliche Ton der Glocken, die Majestät des Tempels, der Ernst einer großen Versammlung, das Gepränge der kirchlichen Cer[e]monien – alles das sind Umstände, die, ohne daß wir uns dessen gerade deutlich bewußt sind, mächtig auf unsere Sinne wirken, unsere Empfindungen höher spannen, und unsern Geist für den Gedanken an das Erhabenste und Größte, was er erreichen kann, empfänglicher machen – mithin Beförderungsmittel der Andacht.’

Among these methods for evoking a religious mood, Kittel sees music as the most important, and therefore the organist is obliged to be careful in using his instrument. He should not only arouse his audience but also entertain and educate it (the baroque triad of *docere, delectare* and *movere* is still current).

From this point, the organization of Kittel's tutor becomes easily understandable. In the beginning stands the chorale 'Sey Lob und Ehre dem höchsten Gott', which, whilst considering the place and occasion of the performance, should be varied according to the rules of art and taste. It should be noted that the presence of the chorale always serves as a guarantee for the dignity of the composition, and for Kittel, as a pupil of Johann Sebastian Bach, it is self-evident that the style of the composition should approach the music of his master. Remarkably, the organ works of Bach also serve as models for a freer style of handling the instrument. For, although Bach preferred the learned style – according to Kittel – with respect to his contemporaries, he would certainly have been able to write in a sentimental mood as well, as evidenced by certain examples: precisely the above-mentioned preludes in C major from WTC I and C-sharp major from WTC II, whose mood Kittel used here to extol the exemplary style of his teacher (Kittel 1808, II: 65; see the reference to Johann Sebastian Bach on p. 31). Crucial to Kittel's argument, and not only here, is the emphasis put on the player's attitude; it is not the composition that is the most important or decisive factor in judging the adequacy of an organist's playing, but rather his manner of performance and its circumstances. This means that the reconstruction of a culture of playing the organ or accompanying chorales is not only a matter of written-down compositions, but also involves a consideration of the specific context of the performance as well as the individual style of the organist.

This extended conception of organ-playing becomes even more explicit in the organ tutor *Vollständige Orgelschule für Anfänger und Geübtere* of Justin Heinrich Knecht (1795–1798), where it is evident already in the book's external appearance. Whereas Kittel's book comprises only one volume, printed by a local publisher in Erfurt and intended for a readership in that region, Knecht's tutor consists of three large volumes

and was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, one of the most prominent publishing houses in Germany. Knecht's introduction at first glance looks similar to Kittel's, but it lacks the theological foundation of the latter. And it is hardly a coincidence that the name of Abbé Vogler is found on the very first page, together with the most important organists in history: Bach, Handel, and Johann Gottfried Walther. Consequently, it is not the chorale that constitutes the centre of Knecht's curriculum but rather exercises in the form of scales and arpeggi – more characteristic of piano tutors. The core of the syllabus is improvisation, and not only in the liturgy. To this end, Knecht gives ample information about the organ as an instrument that incorporates a wealth of sound colours from the orchestra, and he describes the organ as suitable not only for the learned style but equally for a brilliant, ardent, even brisk manner of playing. He characterizes the organ as solemn and magnificent, but also as sweet, lovely and gentle. Following his intention of preparing the organist to treat his instrument, with its wealth of sounds, as an orchestra, in the second volume, Knecht describes the stops and their use in detail. It is not the texture of the music that is the focus, but the realization of the music by using attractive and impressive sounds. Pieces with solo voices are used as examples to demonstrate the quality of individual stops, as are movements from concertos for wind instruments. Indications such as *cantabile* or *rondo* make it clear that this is no longer a culture of chorale settings, but of pictorial music. The paradigm is Vogler's 'The Resurrection of Jesus', a rather entertaining piece divided into short sections, entitled 'The Horrible Silence of the Tomb', 'The Gradual Disappearance of the Dawn', 'The Earthquake', 'The Descent of the Angels, Who Remove the Stone from the Grave', 'The Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Tomb', 'The Flight of the Roman Soldiers', and 'The Triumph of the Angels' (Knecht, vol. II, 130). This is not music for a service but for entertainment by a virtuoso organist playing in churches – in particular, Vogler himself.

It would be too simple to accuse Knecht of abandoning the traditions of organ-playing. On the contrary, in a catalogue of famous organs, he declares Silbermann, Wagner and Hildebrandt to be the most renowned organ builders, and in connection with the organ specifications

included in his tutor, there are no comments to suggest a partiality to Vogler's ideas of 'simplification' of the instruments. Knecht's proximity to Vogler only becomes evident in the third part of his book, in which he discusses issues of modal harmony, using as examples chorales, but even more so Gregorian chant. This was a problem that was intensely discussed by Vogler (and also by Carl Maria von Weber), both of whom advocated simplified versions of Bach's chorale settings; here it is not a question of restoration nor of unreflected adherence to the past, but instead a plea for modernism.

Around the turn of the nineteenth century there was a significant change in organ culture in general; alongside the practice of playing the instrument in a baroque manner, i.e. in the tradition of Bach and his pupils, another line developed, that of treating the organ as a 'modern' instrument, using it not only in services but also for entertainment, sometimes bordering on amusement and artistic sensationalism. Here the performance itself becomes more important; the aspect of presentation comes to the fore and seeking sounds believed to have an impact on the listeners, not only on their spirit but on their hearts – and probably their bodies as well. (This was likely similar to what happened with the *Arnstädter Choräle*, where the confusion experienced by the congregation was not just on the intellectual or mental plane, and the impossibility of continuing to sing was an actual sensory event and not a cognitive decision.)

### **Opportunities for organ-playing**

The organ was still regarded as one single instrument, but more and more varied practices for playing the instrument developed over time. Organs sounded not only in the liturgy but also in concerts, whose structure and content were quite different from those previously reported. Admittedly, the audience listening to Bach's recitals in Dresden were attracted to, not to say stupefied by, his playing; it was probably less his skills in contrapuntal composition than his extraordinary virtuosity as a player that impressed them (and likewise with Handel in London). But as we know, none of the music played in these concerts

followed the dramaturgy of a programme, with its spectacular events, earthquakes or tempests. The church as a place for divine service still precluded the use of music without reference to religion.

This situation changed radically at the turn of the nineteenth century, when the liturgy and church service became more a matter of mood than of mind. Spiritual elevation and enhanced religious feelings could be evoked by different kinds of music, such as the ancient sounds of vocal polyphony in the style of Palestrina and strict baroque counterpoint, but also with arrangements of arias from contemporary operas. This was not yet a sign of secularization, as is often assumed, but only of a new era, bringing about a shift in the approaches to religion in general and liturgy in particular.

There was a gap, not only between services and concerts (or paraliturgical events), as could be observed in the time of Handel, whose organ concertos served as interludes in oratorio performances, or of Bach, whose *Orgelproben* were well known, although unfortunately, the programmes of these events have not been preserved. In both cases, the greater part of the performances was doubtless improvised (as we can assume for most of the music performed in those days, when renowned artists in all probability did not play notated music, apart from their own works, for which they needed little more than sketches, such as we know from Handel's organ music). The establishment of organ recitals independent of services during the first half of the nineteenth century was not a problem for organists or for their audience, but rather for the liturgy and its music, so it makes sense to describe the interdependence of the two spheres where organ music could be heard. On the one hand, the organ as a church instrument was commonly associated with the chorale, and a large number of organ compositions – including some with an 'objective' title such as 'sonata', with no allusions to religion – were based on chorales or included a familiar melody at least in slow movements; furthermore, a completely new compositional genre emerged: sonatas based on psalms as more or less hidden programmes. Such works were too extended to be used within the liturgy, not to mention the considerable technical difficulties involved in performing compositions such as Reubke's famous sonata on the 94<sup>th</sup> psalm, but

also similar pieces by Gustav Merkel, Friedrich Kühmstedt, Johann Gottlob Töpfer and Philipp Wolfrum. Not infrequently, in order to get permission from parish authorities to perform such compositions in the church, it became necessary to include references to religion, often provided by the inclusion of a chorale.

On the other hand, there was no reason to refrain from using modern techniques and modes of playing the organ in the liturgy. But a problem now developed, commented on by no less a composer than Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. In a letter to his friend, the theologian Ernst Friedrich Albert Baur, he wrote: 'A proper church music, i.e. for the Protestant service, intended to have its place during the liturgy, seems to me impossible, not only since I am unable to see, at *which* place in the service the music should intervene, but rather since I can't *at all* imagine this place.' And he added by way of explanation: 'but still I don't know, [...] how it would be possible in our context for music to become an integral part of the liturgy, and not just a concert that would, more or less, stimulate devotion'.<sup>2</sup>

The dilemma that Mendelssohn touches upon is fundamental – as it still is today. If the liturgy puts the kerygma in the centre, the music will retreat to the background, serving as simple accompaniment. At the same time, the music should not be too elaborate, lest it disturb the emotional mood; too much advanced compositional technique or virtuosity or just persistent sounds, are not ideal for evoking religious sentiments. On the other hand, it is precisely the structure and complexity of 'high art' music that might make it seem an appropriate expression of veneration, even if the composer's intention is not known. Hence, the question of which music is best suited for evoking religious sentiment is linked to different kinds of qualities relating to the skills of the player

---

2 'Eine wirkliche Kirchenmusik, d. h. für den evangelischen Gottesdienst, die während der kirchlichen Feier ihren Platz fände, scheint mir unmöglich, und zwar nicht blos, weil ich durchaus nicht sehe, an welcher Stelle des Gottesdienstes die Musik eingreifen sollte, sondern weil ich mir Überhaupt diese Stelle gar nicht denken kann. [...] aber bis jetzt weiß ich nicht, [...] wie es zu machen sein soll, daß bei uns die Musik ein integrierender Theil des Gottesdienstes, und nicht blos ein Concert werden, das mehr oder weniger zur Andacht anrege.' Letter to Ernst Friedrich Albert Baur, 12 January 1835, in Schiwietz and Schmideler 2011, 140–141 (translation by the present author).

and the instrument, as well as the texture of the composition and, not least, the context of the actual performance.

Mendelssohn's problem concerns the question of how it is possible to prevent the music from dominating the liturgy to such an extent that the words and, by extension, the role of the pastor will seem superfluous, the music becoming, in the words of E. T. A. Hoffmann, the 'worship itself'. With the idea of 'absolute music' as the peak of musical development, musical performances linked to extra-musical functions as well as compositions used for accompaniment in the liturgy, were rated as inferior, even if they were connected to a chorale melody. Perhaps Mendelssohn saw his organ sonatas as a solution, in particular the first movement of the D-minor Sonata, op. 65,6, since the chorale partita, which would normally have no place in the liturgy, could have the potential of turning a concert into a paraliturgical event. In a similar way, the slow movements, with *religioso* as part of their titles, indicate a relationship with religion; again, it is not quite clear whether these pieces came to the concert hall from a liturgical context or if vice versa, they were intended to show the possibility of composing autonomous pieces that were also suited for the service. Although here we see the suspension of Mendelssohn's dilemma, that of music simultaneously being art *and* serving an extramusical function, that dilemma still remains in large-scale fantasias on chorale melodies – a new genre that grew in importance over the course of the nineteenth century since they allowed for the incorporation of modern music aesthetics and the dramaturgy of musical theatre. There is a straight path from Mendelssohn's last organ sonata, via Gustav Flügel's fantasias on chorales, to the great chorale fantasias of Max Reger, for which a liturgical use is unthinkable. The reverse of the development of such great music – great in shape as well as in content – was the decay of music for the liturgy, and it is no wonder that the article 'Choralbearbeitung' (Chorale setting) in the second edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Wollny et al. 1995) has little to say about the Romantic era.

This is not to say that only a few organ chorales date from this era or that all of them are unimportant. What is true, however, is that this genre, so popular during the Baroque period, was no longer attractive

to composers in the nineteenth century since the occasions for using it were rare. This gap between large-scale fantasias on chorales, requiring exceptional skills from the player, and the large quantity of small pieces which have more the character of textbook examples than of proper compositions, suggests that there were two cultures of organ-playing in terms of artistic level, function, social status and, not least, topography.

The difference between art music composed for organ recitals, which attracted more attention as the liturgy petrified, and functional music, which does not really require a skilled professional player, simultaneously shows the difference in social status between organists, as exemplified by their place of employment. The first type was a virtuoso artist travelling and demonstrating his art for an audience, which in turn became a crowd on the lookout for entertainment; this type of organist, if at all employed by the church, performed at the main churches of musical centres, which boasted huge instruments and many occasions for performance outside of the liturgy. The opposite type of organist worked as a teacher besides carrying out his musical duties; this was a very common combination since it joined the obligations of education in the school and the church, offering at the same time a common aim for musical practice in lessons and services. The skills of such organists, who were mostly educated in seminaries, modelled on the *Institut für Kirchenmusik* in Berlin, founded by August Wilhelm Bach with support from the Prussian government, were as a rule not very advanced, although perhaps not quite as poor as described – often humourously – in many articles at the time.

Many of these organists were not, of course, capable of playing a recital; however, the wealth of editions, for instance from the publisher Gotthilf Wilhelm Körner of Erfurt, which included dozens of series and hundreds of volumes and contained easy music for liturgical purposes as well as many compositions often in first editions by baroque masters including Johann Sebastian Bach, came out years before the well-known Griepenkerl volumes of organ works published by C. F. Peters, and the Bach-Gesellschaft edition of the composer's complete works. The editorial level of these early editions was by no means inferior; they

were carefully prepared to present an authentic version. Because of the limited artistic capabilities of organists in smaller towns and villages, organ recitals were rare, not to say non-existent – with the exception of the inauguration of the instrument. However, I see a contemporary parallel with the use of organs, as well as in the difference between professional organists and those who try to play the organ during services in order to support the singing of chorales.

### **Liturgical duties**

The above-mentioned differences between cities and villages, between professional players and part-time organists, between the requirements of concerts and the liturgy, are problems more relevant to the Protestant than to the Roman Catholic liturgy, but they converge on a highly controversial topic: the interludes between the lines of the chorales. Once again I now return to the *Arnstädter Choräle*, which from this point of view can be seen as an attempt by a young organist to unite art and (liturgical) function through accompanying congregational singing in an elaborate style. The resulting irritation in the Arnstadt congregation was frequently repeated in criticisms and admonitions in the nineteenth century, although the gist of the criticism was no longer that people were confused whilst singing, but rather that they were disturbed in their devotion. The organist's endeavour to interpret the text through his choice of harmonies, and to enhance the solemnity of the moment by playing artistic interludes between the lines, was disregarded. The organist's duty was seen as one of supporting the congregation with his playing, using suitable harmonies and registrations that should not become an end in themselves (although this could also be seen as a kind of veneration). Such restrictions not only meant that the organist should abstain from too-elaborate interludes but also constituted a recommendation for a modest accompaniment with a limited set of harmonies that refrained from all movement in the other voices. If evaluated solely from a composer's perspective, this style opens itself to harsh verdicts, and the critical judgments passed in two further editions published by Bernhard Christoph Ludwig Natorp and

Friedrich Keßler (1836, 1870) on the *Choralbuch für evangelische Kirchen* (1829), with its preludes and interludes by Christian Heinrich Rinck, are typical of the opinions prevailing some 100 years after Bach: the texture of the four voices is described as modest but resourceful, with some sentimental sweetness, trivial, sparse to the point of skimpiness (cf. Salmen 1967, 33–34).

Still, even in such recent reviews one finds a mixture of arguments which had already complicated the discussion in the mid-nineteenth century. Liturgical, aesthetic and pragmatic arguments were interwoven. The question of whether interludes – both between lines or between verses – were necessary to support the singing of an inexperienced congregation was mixed with the argument that unusual harmonies would not only disturb worship but hamper the continued singing. Beside such arguments concerning the conditions for congregational singing in the liturgy is the no-less-intricate quarrel between art and theology: though it may seem reasonable from a homiletic and kerygmatic perspective to express the textual content of a hymn by individualizing the harmonies for each verse or even for each line, such an approach risks turning the practice of accompanying chorales into a sophisticated kind of organ music, which would counteract the striving for noble simplicity in order to enhance devotion. The discussion was dominated by the question of how artistically advanced the music for the liturgy could be and still avoid disturbing the piety and worship of the congregation. The matter was not easy to decide, since both sides – theology and art, organists and priests – were aware of the demands of the liturgy but also that music could serve as a means to enable religious experiences. It must be admitted that there was also the phenomenon of vanity in organists as well as priests, both of whom vied for the attention of the congregation, likely wishing to cast a light on their skill and even their *persona* as well.

As regards the music, however, the worries concerned more the quality of the interludes, and nineteenth-century tutors unanimously recommended restraint in case of doubt on that point in order to avoid undue attention to uninspired, or, from a liturgical perspective, unsuitable music-making. Nowhere have I found a plea for extensive interludes; even Johann Gottlob Töpfer and August Gottfried Ritter, both of

whom were excellent organists, composers and authors on a wealth of themes relating to organs and organ music and normally emphasized the usefulness and necessity of this praxis, recommended restraint in this respect with regard to the liturgy. In their opinion, virtuosity, as commonly displayed in the cadenzas of concertos, had no place here. The total prohibition of interludes, however, is found mainly in Calvinist regions, where music, if at all permitted, was tolerated exclusively in the form of modest accompaniment.

The accompaniment of the chorale was also the subject of intense discussion on several accounts: harmony, tempo, texture and, above all, registration. Concerning harmonies and chromatic modulations, rules were formulated that were similar to those for interludes, *mutatis mutandis*. Tempo and agogics are rarely mentioned in textbooks and instructions, probably because the mode of singing varied considerably between regions and congregations, depending on their size, structure or age. The texture of the accompaniment might change according to the competence of the singers; if, as is often emphasized, the main purpose of the accompaniment should be to support the singing, it could be useful to double the melody and just add the bass line, or to shorten the accompanying chords so that the chorale melody could dominate, discreetly supported by modest harmonies. There is no consensus, however, as to whether the pedal should always be used or not.

Much more attention is given to issues of registration. Here, recommendations in tutors or introductions to anthologies reveal the existence of a great deal of bad practice: very often the authors found it necessary to point out that registrations should never be so strong that the singing could not be heard. As Johannes Cordes explains in his *Paderborner Orgelbuch* (1904), this only leads to a more intense, louder, even shouting manner of singing since the congregation not only likes to be able to hear itself but to actually drown out the organ. The accompaniment should be intended solely to support the singing, to offer a fundament that highlights the beauty of the chorale. This meant that mixtures, sesquialteras and cymbels should be excluded when accompanying chorales; usually flue stops – Principal 8', Gamba 8', Flute 8', etc. – would be sufficient, in some cases with an added Flute 4' or, if

the congregation tended to deviate from the correct pitch, Octave 4'. In such situations, it could be useful to play the *cantus firmus* as a solo with a strong but well-tuned stop, accompanied by two middle voices on a separate manual and the bass in the pedal. Other advice given by Cordes is relevant even today: to play the first note of the melody solo, beginning the accompaniment when the congregation starts to sing; to hold the chord or the pedal note during breathing pauses; to add or remove stops at the beginning or at the end.

All of these rules and observations, recommendations and advice concerning chorales and interludes may be easily applied for preludes, whose design should not be so elaborate that they would draw attention away from liturgical events to the music itself. Such events in Protestant services include the sermon and in the Catholic liturgy, the consecration. The separation in the Mass (according to the regulations of the Council of Trent) between the liturgical action of the priest at the altar and the congregation, who was mainly a silent spectator rather than an active participant, led to different music than in the Protestant liturgy; it also led to a different kind of organ-playing. Since congregational singing is not at the centre of the music of the liturgy here but rather Gregorian chant sung by only a few, the importance of accompanying, introducing and framing the chorale melodies received less attention than solo, even independent, organ-playing during large parts of the mass, and not infrequently during the entire service. The consecration in particular was accompanied by organ music, which was often criticized as of inferior quality or even unsuitable. It is easy to understand that such a continuous flow of organ sound would need a competent organist, whose repertoire of improvisational techniques would have to be extensive and versatile enough to not bore the listeners but to support – once again – worship and piety. In want of such skills, many organists had recourse to written compositions. That this was not to the liking of all listeners is evident from reports such as one from an anonymous reviewer in the *Kirchenblatt Bistum Paderborn* (1865, 352–353) who complained about a 'misuse' of the instrument, since it had been played (1) too much, (2) too long, (3) too loud, and (4) too wild. From the initial *Asperges me* to the concluding *Ite, missa est* in

the High Mass, all parts of the liturgy – except the sermon – had been accompanied by the organ, and, according to this critic, the organist had too often used the trumpet and the mixtures. ‘Wild’ in this context refers to the use of secular or even profane music; similar reports are not uncommon during the nineteenth century. It was not exceptional for an organist to play a polonaise during consecration. One of the most prominent critics of the habit of playing marches and arias from popular operas during Mass was Franz Liszt.

As mentioned above, such criticisms indicate that the discussion on organ music as part of a ‘true’ sacred music was quite vivid. But the comments on how the instrument should be treated are rich in polemics that concerned not only the kind of music that was played but also the context and the manner of playing. It goes without saying that opera arias with virtuoso *coloratura* or brilliant piano music do not seem suitable for the liturgy, and the report about the playing of a polonaise during consecration seems rather strange even today.

It might be worth asking why such music could be at all considered suitable for the liturgy and the instrument. Three circumstances can be mentioned here. First, the congregations in such churches would have had an understanding of worship that was quite different from official doctrine; they may also have wanted to be entertained even during the service. This might be another sign of secularization, or perhaps it just reflects a conception of the relationship between *sacrum* and *profanum* that was not much different from that of the Baroque era, when opera arias with a slightly changed text could be used in services, though even then such practices provoked a similar discussion about the suitability of theatrical music for the liturgy, a problem that could not be solved in a satisfactory way. (In the masses of Haydn and Mozart, this difference was still not significant; only with Romantic-era aesthetics did change come, though apparently more marked in Protestant than in Catholic countries.).

Second, the repertoire of an organist playing light music in the service may have been so small that he had to have recourse to pieces that he played in other contexts; alternatively, he may simply have been devoid of taste.

Third, what irritated or even enraged the reviewer could have been the manner of performance or the place where the piece was used. Not every composition played on the organ is suitable for the liturgy, but not every performance of a piece of light music in the church necessarily profanes the service. For instance, playing arrangements of 'In diesen heiligen Hallen' from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* was accepted, as was the middle section of the overture to the same composer's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. In Protestant services, the playing of 'free' pieces on the organ, without reference to chorale melodies, was often called 'melodramatic', a vague term which could refer to anything from a generally serious mood to operatic effects demonstrated in a sentimental manner.

To evaluate this discussion from a present-day perspective, we must respect the attitude of the reviewer as well as that of the musician, posing questions about the function of music, especially organ music during concerts and services, in the church room in general and in the liturgy in particular. As regards the competence of the organist, this is quite a complicated discussion since not only his skill in performing written compositions but also his general ability to handle the instrument must be taken into account. During a service, especially a Catholic Mass, the organist had to play several types of music: from accompaniment to singing, to pre-, inter- and postludes, to improvisations (*sub communionem* and/or during the consecration), to written compositions (firstly, his own; secondly, J. S. Bach's; thirdly, his contemporaries'). Only if all of these aspects of the organist's competence are considered together is it possible to judge his artistic skills; these did, of course, vary between organists, but there is no justification for passing a generalizing derogatory verdict on organ music and organ-playing in the nineteenth century.

### **The public's expectations**

None of the reports on incompetent organists and inferior organ music, judged to be ill-suited for worship and devotion, originated with the congregation itself, whose expectations for music in the church room, and in particular during services, would have differed consid-

erably from opinions published in books, journals or pamphlets. The public apparently liked the kind of entertainment offered by organists such as Abbé Vogler or the breathtaking virtuosity of Adolph Friedrich Hesse or Johann Gottlob Schneider, to mention just a few of the most renowned virtuosos, whose art was admired both during services and on concert tours. A brief view of the reception of J. S. Bach's organ music shows a large number of performances that were obviously not intended to familiarize a greater audience with new repertoire but rather to allow them to listen to music that they already knew quite well. Especially in the larger towns and cities of Protestant Central Germany, we may assume a broad and growing familiarity with organ music, including works from previous epochs as well as by contemporary composers, not to mention virtuoso improvisations of sometimes doubtful quality. When organ music is mentioned in contemporary novels, it is by no means as an example of a culture in decline, but rather as a musical phenomenon, the sound of which leaves a deep impression, which is, of course, connected to the special atmosphere of a church event, or to the sacred space itself. Even reports of organ demonstrations that used programme music, which in the nineteenth century included the popular genres of battles or tempests in particular, express admiration for the instrument's resources and the player's prowess. The critical judgments of the aesthetic value of some of the pieces presented on such occasions are by no means verdicts on the quality of the instruments or the players. Since the oft-reported playing of opera arrangements, marches and dances obviously required a well-functioning instrument and a competent organist, the reports can be seen as not derogatory but rather as confirming the qualities of the organs and their players while simultaneously pointing out that the instrument and the occasion were worthy of other music.

Nevertheless, the audience liked it. The organists too saw no obstacles to meeting their desires, likely by playing fewer elaborate compositions but more improvisations, which could fulfil the requirements of any occasion and use all of the resources of the instrument. The success of such presentations on the organ was a function of sound and texture, and of the occasion and the listeners as well. The implications of the

nineteenth-century view of the purpose of the liturgy were significant: there was a demand for several 8' stops, which endowed the music with subtle nuances particularly during the consecration, to evoke the impression of a miraculous act. For this purpose – and to maintain an atmosphere of devotion and piety – the sound of the baroque organ seemed unsuitable; it was perceived as too light, too sharp, perhaps too garish, or simply too loud. The expectations of the listeners varied with the occasion: it was not only a question of concerts or services but of differences between the various feasts and, not least, the size of the room and the congregation itself. It was therefore, then as now, difficult to establish general rules for the handling of an organ, and, similarly, for what constitutes suitable music for a specific situation.

The treatment of chorale melodies involved not only the accompaniment of congregational singing but also the playing of preludes. Printed organ music throughout the nineteenth century gives plenty of examples of preludes and other chorale-based music, from quite simple settings to the great fantasias of Reger, the latter a type of composition with no liturgical purpose but which demonstrated the elevated level of organ composition at the end of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of that century, however, stand the chorale preludes by Rinck, serving perhaps as models and inspiration rather than as full-fledged, elaborate music. Between these extremes lies the field of improvisation, huge but rarely and inadequately documented. There is a multitude of examples in organ tutors, however, sometimes equipped with remarks prompting the pupil to use his own mind to develop his taste and power of judgment.

Unfortunately, the available documents do not provide much concrete information. How helpful it would be to have access to reports from actual performances together with information on the music played on the occasion. It is precisely this dearth of documentation that makes that of the controversy between Bach and the council in Arnstadt so precious. We often connect this controversy to his chorale settings, and even if we do not know very much about the actual performance, in particular the registrations and tempo that he used, but also the occasion on which they were played and even his purpose of

writing them down, we nevertheless get an impression of the impact of his music – and of the methodological difficulties involved in the reconstruction of the historical situation. After all, we do not know as much as we would like about the circumstances of his employment during these years, and nothing about either the congregation's or the council's ability to understand or enjoy this music.

Perhaps Bach used these chorale settings to demonstrate some secret art, or just harmonic innovations, to a pupil, as did Edmund Pfühl to little Hanno Buddenbrook in the famous novel by Thomas Mann, one of the most famous reports on organ-playing at the end of the nineteenth century. The young Buddenbrook, who loves music (perhaps as a way of avoiding his severe father, a rich merchant and member of an ancient, though declining, family), likes to sit beside his teacher during the services in the Marienkirche, the main church of the Hanseatic city of Lübeck. Hanno is perhaps the only member of the congregation who can really grasp the art that Pfühl presents to him while adding a few words to explain the artistic design of his playing, which both pupil and teacher regard as the proper service, alongside the dull and boring sermon. It is not quite clear whether the organist played a piece that he had composed in advance or improvised on some motives and sketches that he had prepared, since the construction of a fugue with a retrograde theme does not seem to be ideally suited to extemporized counterpoint (Mann 1986, 505–506). This art of playing the organ does not require a congregation; the organist, sitting alone in the church (or with only one person very close), plays his music, not in order to impress or make people admire his art, but as a quite personal manner of devotion – perhaps using the B-A-C-H motive, in retrograde or transposed, but surely with crossed arms.

## Bibliography

### Sources

- Cordes, Johannes 1904. [Vorwort], in *Orgelbuch zum katholischen Gesangbuch 'Sursum corda'*, Paderborn.
- Dresdner Gelehrten Anzeigen* 1798.
- Kirchenblatt Bistum Paderborn* 3/1865.
- Kittel, Johann Christian 1808. *Der angehende praktische Organist*, (1st ed. 1803), Erfurt: Beyer & Maring (reprint Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1986).
- Knecht, Justin Heinrich 1795–1798. *Vollständige Orgelschule für Anfänger und Geübtere*, 3 vols, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel (reprint Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel 1989).
- Mann, Thomas 1986. *Buddenbrooks: Verfall einer Familie* (1st ed. 1901), Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer.
- Moritz, Carl Philipp 1790. *Andreas Hartknopf: Predigerjahre*, Berlin.

### Research literature

- Bach-Dokumente II: Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (eds), Kassel: Bärenreiter 1969.
- Salmen, Walter 1967. *Geschichte der Musik in Westfalen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Kassel: Bärenreiter.
- Schiwietz, Lucian and Sebastian Schmideler (eds) 2011. *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Sämtliche Briefe*, Vol. 4, *August 1834 bis Juni 1836*, Kassel: Bärenreiter.
- Wollny, Peter et al. 1995. Headword 'Choralbearbeitung', in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik, Sachteil 2*, 2nd ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter.



# Liturgical and Liturgically-Inspired Polish Organ Music in the Long Nineteenth Century

KRZYSZTOF LUKAS

## Introduction: The general level of church music in Poland

This article is devoted to the most important Polish composers of liturgical and liturgically-inspired organ music<sup>1</sup> in the nineteenth century. It also describes the general musical culture, especially the development of church music in Poland within the context of the political situation, which was undoubtedly very difficult after 1795: the country was removed from official maps and was partitioned by Prussia, Austria, and Russia. This historical fact greatly impacted Polish culture, including organ music. Secularization and the decline of church music was common throughout Europe, and had already begun by the second half of the eighteenth century (Mrowiec 1964, 15). The same process took place in Poland: Polish organ music at the beginning of the nineteenth century was of a very low level. The reason for this was not only secularization, but also the political situation of Poland given that the three occupant powers worked against the development of Polish culture.<sup>2</sup>

---

1 'Liturgically-inspired music' denotes pieces based upon hymn tunes (chorales), intended for concert performance.

2 It is important to mention that the territory of Poland before the partitions at the end of the eighteenth century (1772–1795) was very different from the one we know nowadays. The denominational structure of this territory in the nineteenth century was also different, e.g. Protestant influences were stronger in Prussian part. This had an impact on organ culture which was developing differently in parts occupied by Russia in comparison to those occupied by Prussia and Austria.

The level of education amongst Polish church organists during the nineteenth century was generally low. Complaints about uneducated organists can be found in sources throughout the nineteenth century. In 1825, Waclaw Raszek wrote in the preface to his *Kancjonał muzyki kościelnej* (Hymnbook) that many organists were not able to read music. The same complaints are also found in periodicals from the second half of the nineteenth century: in 1857 (S. W. Kuczyński: ‘O muzyce kościelnej’ [About Church Music], in *Ruch Muzyczny* [Musical Movement], no. 10), in 1878 (Pawlak 2001, 265), in 1890 (‘Położenie organistów’ [The Situation of Organists], in *Muzyka kościelna* [Church Music], no. 9), and even in 1909 in a newspaper for church musicians (‘Śpiew kościelny’ [Church Singing], in *Od redakcji*, XIV, no. 21), edited in Warsaw. In this last publication, the editors wrote that it was their dream that all organists would be able to read music. Complaints about the church music in Warsaw can be also found in the German periodical *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (‘Aus Warschau’, vol. 14, N° 10; ‘Musikalische Reiseblätter’, vol. 15, N° 22). The level of not only religious but also secular music and musicians during the nineteenth century in Poland was generally low. Complaints about this state of affairs can be also found in musical periodicals from those times, both in Poland and abroad (‘E. K. Amatorowie i artyści’ [Amateurs and Artists], in *Ruch Muzyczny* 1857, No. 12–13; ‘Musikalische Reiseblätter’, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Vol. 15, N° 19). Of course, great musicians such as Elsner, Freyer, Chopin or Moniuszko were exceptions to this general situation.

Liturgical organ compositions at the beginning of the nineteenth century resembled piano writing, not only in terms of texture, but also of form (Sonatina, Arietta<sup>3</sup> etc.), with characteristic Alberti bass accompaniment.<sup>4</sup> This process of using pianistic texture in organ music was common throughout Europe (Mrowiec 1964, 115). Compositions for liturgical purposes were based on the new aesthetic ideas of Johann

---

3 Pieces of this type were composed by Karol Kurpiński (1785–1857) and Waclaw Raszek (ca. 1765–1848).

4 Some examples of such pieces can be heard on following website: <<http://www.organ-music.net/page/polish.html>>.

Christian Kittel, presented in his work *Der Angehende praktische Organist* (Erfurt 1801–1808). The form of such pieces was to be simple, without complicated polyphonic techniques, and figurations were only to be used in the melody (Frotscher 1935, 1133–1134). Later, the new conceptions of church music were taken further: the influence of secular music and the heritage of the Baroque era were to be rejected. In both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, Bach's Preludes, Toccatas and Fugues were forbidden because they were not considered as constituting church music. Instead of Bach's music, short pieces named *Lento*, *Adagio*, *Largo* or *Cantabile* were supposed to enhance the religious atmosphere (Mrowiec 1964, 116).<sup>5</sup>

Generally, organ music was to exclude all fast tempos: slow tempo and a lack of movement were associated with piety and spirituality. It was not surprising that such organ music, in connection with substandard instruments, provoked the demise of this repertoire. The standard varied from one place to another. However, the demise of organ music could even be observed in Germany, and it was only the renaissance of Bach's music that reversed this situation (Gołos 1972, 186). Similar processes could be observed in Poland. Some pieces composed by Ignacy Dobrzyński (1807–1867) and Józef Krogulski (1815–1842) show a return to an imitative style of writing. Many composers of that time in Poland composed pieces which were not very interesting. But, considering the generally low level of organists' skills and of church music in Poland, we realize that their engaging in composition of this type was important in itself.

### Karol Freyer

The greatest organist and composer of organ music in Poland in the first half of the nineteenth century was Karol August Freyer (1801–

---

5 Complaints about the style of pieces can be found even much later: in 1889 a reader of the periodical *Muzyka kościelna* wrote in his letter to editors that the level of church music in Kielce Cathedral was bad. He reported that whilst there, he heard pieces in a Diabelli-style and singing 'as at hunting'. The letter was not signed by name, but in Latin: *homo quidam*, 'a human being' (*Muzyka kościelna* 1889, rok IX, no. 10).

1883), who was organist of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, Warsaw. He was born in Oberschaar, Germany, and took his first music lessons at the age of six with cantor K. B. Geißler in Annaberg. At the age of ten, he moved to Leipzig and took lessons in composition and theory of music with the famous organist Friedrich Schneider. Schneider later suggested that he take lessons with the Warsaw master Józef Elsner, who was also Fryderyk Chopin's teacher. In 1827 Freyer moved to Warsaw and remained in Poland until the end of his life. He studied music theory in Warsaw and also began teaching. Freyer was the first music teacher of Stanisław Moniuszko, who was eight years old at that time and who subsequently became the greatest composer of Polish operas. Freyer was a close friend of Fryderyk Chopin.

Freyer was a great organ virtuoso and composer, admirer and performer of J. S. Bach's music (he was one of the first subscribers in Poland to the Griepenkerl edition of Bach's organ works). The Russian composer Mikhail Glinka heard Freyer performing Bach in Warsaw, and was very impressed by his interpretation and admired his exquisite pedal technique (Gołos 1972, 182; Ransel and Shallcross 2005, 82; Stinson 2012, 115). Many positive reviews of his concerts can be found in periodicals from the first half of the nineteenth century not only in Poland, but also in Germany (e.g. 'Vermischtes', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 1841, vol. 14, N° 50; 'Vermischtes', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 1841, vol. 15, N° 1, written by Adolph Hesse). He was without doubt one of the first European virtuosos of the Romantic period who travelled as a concert musician to different parts of the continent. In that matter he can be compared with the great organist and composer from Breslau – Adolph Hesse, who was a famous organ virtuoso admired by Chopin (who heard him play in Vienna) and was a friend of Freyer. Indeed, Freyer dedicated some of his compositions to Hesse. Hesse was famous as a performer of Bach's music, and Freyer, as mentioned above, was also one of the first acclaimed Bach performers of the nineteenth century.

Freyer's first concert tour took place in 1834 (Mendelssohn's first concert tour of England was in 1829, and Hesse's first concert travels in Germany took place in 1828 and 1829). During his first concert tour Freyer gave concerts in Breslau, Dresden, Leipzig, Hamburg and Berlin,

amongst other cities. Critics of Freyer's concerts confirmed that he had become one of the most outstanding organ virtuosos of his time. He was also praised by Felix Mendelssohn and Louis Spohr (Gołos 1972, 182; Erdman 1994, 102). Other concert travels led him to Paris and Kraków. After returning to Warsaw as a famous virtuoso, Freyer opened a private music conservatory which was the only one of its kind in Warsaw at that time. All other universities in Warsaw were closed by the Russian authorities following the failure of the Polish November Uprising against the Russian occupation in 1831. Underprivileged students could receive free education at his school (Gołos 1972, 182).

In 1837 Freyer became the organist of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, Warsaw, which had the best organ<sup>6</sup> in so-called Congress Poland.<sup>7</sup> Freyer also founded a choir which performed works by great composers. The Lutheran Church in Warsaw became an important centre of good music, visited not only by Lutherans but also by Roman Catholics. We know that one of the visitors was Fryderyk Chopin. It is interesting to observe that Chopin played the organ in his early years. As a high school student in 1825, Chopin often accompanied Masses. There is even a report that he played fugues of different masters as well as his own improvisations, and that he was highly-skilled in pedal playing (Gołos 1972, 184).

In 1861, the Russian authorities permitted the opening of a University of Music in Warsaw, called the Warsaw Institute of Music (presently F. Chopin University of Music). Freyer thus closed his private school and became an Organ and Theory Professor at the new institute. He transferred his students to the Institute of Music and founded schol-

---

6 The Lutheran Church in Warsaw had an eighteenth-century organ built by Friedrich Schweinfleisch, and it was rebuilt according to a design by Freyer (Gołos 2003, 67, 97) in 1837–1839 by German organ builder Robert Müller, Jr from Wrocław (Seidel 1843, 17, 194; 'Vermischtes', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 1839, Bd. 10, N° 30). In general, organs in Poland built in the first half of the nineteenth century continued to draw upon Baroque tradition. Influences of Vogler's reform and new tendencies in organ-building were observed later in the nineteenth century (Gołos 1966, 73–77).

7 Congress Poland, formally The Kingdom of Poland, created in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna, was united with the Russian Empire through a personal union, with the Tsar of Russia as Head of State.

arships for them there. In 1871, he was one of the founding members of the Warsaw Music Association.

Karol August Freyer was not only an esteemed music teacher and virtuoso, but also a composer. He wrote mainly organ music but also masses, variations for piano and even dances. Many of his compositions are still played today. In addition, he also published an organ method and edited a hymnbook for Lutheran communities in Poland. His works were published in Berlin, Leipzig, Warsaw and even in New York. As a composer he can be compared with Johann Christian Rinck, August Gottfried Ritter, Johann Gottlob Töpfer or Adolph Hesse.

Freyer's organ compositions can be divided into groups of concert and liturgical pieces. Although he composed many organ pieces, only three of them are for concert purposes. It seems that Freyer was more focused on composing practical pieces for lesser-skilled organists. The three concert pieces are: *Fantazja koncertowa op. 1 f-moll* (Concert Fantasy in F Minor, op. 1), *Wariacje nt. hymnu rosyjskiego op. 2 E-dur* (Variations on Russian Hymn in E Major, op. 2), *Wariacje koncertowe nt. Bortniańskiego op. 3 es-moll* (Concert Variations on Bortniansky-Hymn in E-flat Minor, op. 3). The third composition was inspired by an Orthodox hymn tune. Freyer performed these pieces on his concert tours. They were published by Bote & Bock in Berlin, and by Hofmeister in Leipzig. Freyer employed the early Romantic variation technique, in which influences of Weber and Mendelssohn may be discerned. Obligato pedal playing was very important to him. The Finale of *Fantazja*, op. 1 is virtuosic, and the pedal part is very difficult to play; none of Mendelssohn's sonatas requires such a developed pedal technique. His pieces from op. 4 to 18 contain over 100 compositions, including preludes in three or four parts, and the *Practische Orgel- und Harmoniumschule*. It appears that in the 1850s, Freyer composed 104 liturgical chorale preludes which were inspired by Bach. Baroque, Classical and Romantic elements were combined: some motives and themes are clearly Baroque, but the harmony is early Romantic. Some preludes that are lyrical in character are homophonic and are reminiscent of the style of Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*.

Freyer's origin was German, and the influence of German church music was clear in Polish Protestant churches, but Freyer was also a

teacher of Roman Catholic organists and contributed to improving the level of Catholic church and organ music in Poland. His music had a great impact on younger generations of Polish organists and composers. The popularity of Freyer's music can be proved by the fact that it continued to be published abroad long after his death. In 1941, G. Schirmer in New York published a collection of 93 organ solos, including several of Freyer's pieces. Freyer's *Andante in B-flat Major* was included in *The Liturgical Organist* (ed. C. Rossini), published by Fischer in New York (Gołos 1972, 188).

### Stanisław Moniuszko and Teofil Klonowski

One of Freyer's pupils, already mentioned, was Stanisław Moniuszko (1819–1872), composer of Polish national operas and songs for voice and piano. He also composed many chorale preludes and variations on Polish hymn tunes. Moniuszko was the second most outstanding Polish composer of the Romantic era after, of course, Chopin.

Moniuszko was an organist of St John's Church in Wilno (1843–1858) and was very interested in improving the level of church music. For that reason he founded *Stowarzyszenie Św. Cecylii* (The Association of St Cecilia) in Wilno in 1854.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, this association had no support from the clergy and appears to have been inactive. Moniuszko also had plans of founding a publishing house with the intention of popularizing Polish church music, but this plan was unfortunately never realized. He was also a founder and conductor of a church choir. With this choir, Moniuszko performed works such as Mozart's *Requiem*, fragments of Haydn's *Schöpfung*, and Mendelssohn's *Paulus*.

Moniuszko composed two collections of liturgical organ pieces. The first is called 'Songs of our Church composed for Organ that are to be played at a Spoken Mass'.<sup>9</sup> It not only contains harmonisations of hymn

---

8 This association had no relation with the German *Cäcilienverein*, founded in Bamberg in 1868.

9 *Pieśni naszego Kościoła na organy ułożone i do grania do Mszy czytanej przeznaczone*, wyd. Gebethner i Wolff, Warszawa 1862.

tunes, however, as the title might suggest. In fact, there are two types of pieces in this collection: short preludes as well as longer chorale fantasias, which contain several dozen bars.

The second collection of Moniuszko's liturgical pieces for organ is named 'Vespers and Ostrobramska Song "Welcome Holy" composed for Organ with Harmony by Stanisław Moniuszko'.<sup>10</sup> The titles of both collections suggest that the pieces are for liturgical purposes.

Chorale preludes based upon the Polish hymns 'Idzie, idzie Bóg prawdziwy' and 'Wesoły nam dzień nastał' are very difficult to play and could be used as postludes. The harmony is more advanced than in other pieces and is sometimes reminiscent of Chopin. These pieces are also reminiscent of some shorter liturgical compositions of César Franck from the second part of *L'Organiste*, especially the French *Sortie*. Moniuszko's pieces are different from German compositions such as those of Gustav Merkel or Moritz Brosig, in which parts are more independent. Moniuszko composed longer homophonic fragments with chords, and both Franck and Moniuszko provided an optional pedal part to strengthen the lowest line (Erdman 1994, 106).

In his liturgical compositions, Moniuszko tried not to exceed a certain level of difficulty, most probably because he wanted to make them playable for average church organists, and saw no reason to compose more complicated pieces. This is understandable considering the level of church music at that time not to mention the fate of his *Association of St Cecilia*. Most of his compositions for organ can be played without pedal. Moreover, it is possible to stop part-way through a piece, if necessary, for liturgical purposes.

Another Polish composer of liturgical organ music in the nineteenth century was Teofil Klonowski (1805–1875). He was the author of the hymnbook *Szczeble do nieba* (Stairs to Heaven), published in Poznań in 1867, and which contained hundreds of Polish Catholic hymns with short preludes based upon their associated tunes. Most of the preludes were written by other composers (e.g. Rinck, Volckmar, Bodenschatz, Hesse,

---

10 *Nieszpory i Pieśń Ostrobramska 'Witaj święta' ułożone na organy z harmonią Stanisława Moniuszki*, wyd. Gebethner i Wolff, Warszawa 1862.

but also J. S. Bach, which was unusual in Roman Catholic publications). Klonowski composed some of these preludes using a polyphonic technique. In this respect, his pieces were similar to many Austrian and German liturgical pieces of that time, which were not influenced by the *Cäcilienverein* (Gołos 1972, 192; Erdman 1994, 108–109). Klonowski was also a member of an association called *Harmonia*, which fought for the preservation of Polish culture in Poznań under Prussian occupation. His publication of Polish hymns was without doubt a contribution to the aims of that association.

### **The impact of the Cecilian Movement**

The German *Allgemeiner Cäcilienverein deutscher Zunge*, founded in 1868 in Bamberg, had a great impact on Roman Catholic church music in Poland. After Germany, Poland was the second most important centre of the Cecilian Movement in the world. The objectives of this movement were simple: creating short and easy liturgical pieces which could be interrupted part-way through if necessary, with a simple pedal part; *Fugenstil* was considered the most appropriate for the church; longer pieces were accepted only for prelude and postlude. The style of such pieces had to be very different from that of concert compositions.

In 1874 the first Roman Catholic church music school (*Kirchenmusikschule*) was founded in Regensburg. This city became the most important centre for Catholic church music. For that reason, some of the most significant Polish organists and composers of organ music from the second half of the nineteenth century went to study there.

Because of the political situation in partitioned Poland, the Cecilian Movement was not developed equally in all parts of Polish territory. The *Cäcilienverein* had very little impact in Warsaw, in contrast to Pomerania (Pelplin), the region of Poznań and Galicia (Tarnów). Those Roman Catholic priests who were also musicians helped to popularize Cecilian ideas. In 1887 Bishop Ignacy Łobos founded *Towarzystwo św. Wojciecha ku wspieraniu muzyki kościelnej w diecezji tarnowskiej* (The St Adalbert Association for support of church music in the diocese of Tarnów). This association founded a school for organists in Tarnów

in 1888. The principal lecturers were two outstanding church musicians, the Roman Catholic priest Franciszek Walczyński (1852–1937) and Stefan Surzyński (1855–1919), both of whom studied in Regensburg ('Dycezyalna szkoła organistów w Tarnowie' [Diocesian School of Organists in Tarnów], in *Muzyka kościelna* 1889, no. 8). This was the first high-level school for organists in Poland, but its activity was interrupted by the First World War. The school contributed to the raising of standards of organists in Galicia. Nevertheless, the situation for organists in the Austrian part of Poland was rather bad. There were many remarks in newspapers concerning church musicians in Cracow being poorly paid, and having to depend fully on the decisions of priests.

The St Adalbert Association in Tarnów also had a choir that was conducted by Franciszek Walczyński, a priest who was also a very prolific composer of liturgical pieces. He composed a large number of preludes for organ which were published in many foreign editions: Bertarelli in Milan, Capra and Chenna in Turin, Procure Générale in Paris, and Cohen in Regensburg. His piece *Adorazione. Quasi Fantasia* was published by Otto Gauss in Regensburg in 1910 in the collection *Orgelkompositionen aus alter und neuer Zeit zum kirchlichen Gebrauch wie zum Studium*. This indicates that he was highly regarded amongst Cecilian musicians. Walczyński's compositions strictly corresponded to Cecilian rules: they were easy to play, without chromatic alterations or modulations. None of his compositions could be used for concert purposes, although his compositions were positively evaluated by famous musicologists Gotthold Frotscher and Adolf Chybiński (Erdman 1989, 110–111).

### **The second half of the nineteenth century: A renaissance of organ music in Poland**

Generally, the second half of the nineteenth century could be called the Renaissance of organ music in Poland. This was most noticeable by the number of organists and composers educated at The Warsaw Conservatory and The Cracow Conservatory. Among them was composer and pianist Gustaw Roguski (1839–1921) who studied in Warsaw,

Berlin, and in Paris with Hector Berlioz. From 1874 on he was a professor at the Warsaw Conservatory, and from 1907 on, President of the same institution. Roguski composed two books of organ preludes that were published in Warsaw in 1865. Some of these preludes were based on Polish hymn tunes, especially those for Christmas. His Prelude in A Minor was published in Regensburg by Otto Gauss in *Orgelmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (one of the four volumes of the aforementioned *Orgelkompositionen aus alter und neuer Zeit zum kirchlichen Gebrauch wie zum Studium*). It is based on a theme which the Polish musicologist Jerzy Gołos compares with a hymn tune composed by Karol Kurpiński, 'Ty, którzyś slowem'. Roguski's preludes constitute a significant contribution to Polish organ music of the nineteenth century and show a higher artistic level than those composed by Walczyński or Klonowski, who wrote for a different purpose. Works of Polish composers were published within the Gauss collection in 1910 in a separate book (*XII Polnische Komponisten*), which confirms the important contribution made by Polish composers to the European organ literature.

Another very important Polish composer, pianist and organist was Władysław Żeleński (1837–1921). He studied in Cracow and Prague (organ with Josef Krejčí), as well as in Paris (composition with Napoléon-Henri Reber). After his studies, he worked in Cracow, and following the death of Stanisław Moniuszko, he became a teacher of harmony and counterpoint at The Warsaw Conservatory. In 1881, he returned to Cracow, where he founded The Cracow Conservatory in 1888. He was the Director of the Conservatory and remained in this position until his death in 1921.

Żeleński was a composer of important symphonic works and operas, but he also composed for organ. His twenty-five preludes for organ were published in 1881 and became a standard work, still used in the Polish education system for organists. Some of those preludes were based on Polish hymn tunes and may be used as liturgical pieces. Not all of the twenty-five preludes were composed by Żeleński. In this collection, he used seven pieces by other composers (two of which were composed by Karol Freyer and one by Stanisław Moniuszko). The preludes are divided into groups of two, three, and four-part preludes, some

of which are homophonic, others polyphonic. In the preface, Żeleński explains that he composed these preludes in his spare time in order to assist organists in the cultivation of good taste and to encourage them to treat the instrument in a more noble fashion. He remarked that the organ represented one of the most important factors contributing to the perception of beauty for people living in villages. For those reasons, he based some preludes upon well-known hymn tunes and folk melodies. The preludes can be played without pedal, and Żeleński suggests practising them at first on the piano. Żeleński also composed *Prelude Pastoral*, op. 68, commissioned by Joseph Joubert for his collection *Les maîtres contemporains de l'orgue* (vol. VIII, 1914).

Another outstanding personality among Polish organists was Wincenty Rychling (1841–1896), who was of Czech origin. He studied in Prague with the same professor as Żeleński – Josef Krejčí. Rychling was a friend of Żeleński and was influenced by him, moving to Cracow where he became an organist at The Castle Wawel Cathedral in 1869, in addition to subsequently becoming an organ teacher at The Cracow Conservatory. He composed a collection of Christmas pieces called *Pastorałki* that was published in Cracow at the beginning of the twentieth century. This collection contains 102 pieces, some of which are based upon Polish Christmas carols. Besides this collection, he also composed *Preludya kościelne na organ lub harmonium* (Church Preludes for Organ or Harmonium). Well-known in Poland is his Toccata in F Major, a short piece unsuitable for concert purposes, but which could be used as a postlude. It was published in the USA in 1929 (and not until 1968 in Poland), and probably crossed the Atlantic Ocean in the hands of one of his pupils. This short piece requires a developed pedal technique and demonstrates the rich harmonic ideas of its composer.

### **The brothers Surzyński**

One of the greatest Polish composers and organists born in the second half of the nineteenth century was Mieczysław Surzyński (1866–1924). He was one of the most famous organ virtuosos in Europe of his time and enjoyed an outstanding reputation also in Poland, as can be gath-

ered from many articles within periodicals for church musicians from the first thirty years of the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> In the periodical *Muzyka kościelna* (Church Music 1931, no. 1–2), Hilary Majkowski referred to him as ‘the Polish Bach’.<sup>12</sup> He was born in the Prussian part of Poland in Środa near Poznań and studied composition, theory, piano and organ in Berlin and Leipzig. He was a winner of The European Improvisation Competition in Saint Petersburg at the beginning of the twentieth century,<sup>13</sup> where the chairman of the jury was Hugo Riemann (Hilary Majkowski: ‘Mieczysław Surzyński – Polski Bach’, in *Muzyka kościelna* 1931, no. 1–2). His outstanding improvisation skills were confirmed by another great Polish organist and composer, Feliks Nowowiejski, who called him a ‘genius’ in his article about organ improvisation in 1927. Nowowiejski reported that he heard Surzyński improvising in Poznań on the theme of the well-known melody to the Polish patriotic song ‘Rota’, composed by Nowowiejski (Feliks Nowowiejski: ‘Improwizacja na organach’ [Improvisation on the Organ], in *Muzyka kościelna* 1927, no. 4). Surzyński’s compositions became popular, and his first four collections of piano pieces were published in Leipzig, as Surzyński commented in his autobiographical notes (Mieczysław Surzyński, ‘Notatki autobiograficzne’ [Autobiographical Notes], in *Wiadomości muzyczne* [Musical News] 1926, rok II no. 11). As a student in Leipzig, he was recognised by Brahms and Grieg. After his studies, Surzyński returned to Poznań, where he became more interested in church music for choir and organ. Influenced by his older brother Józef, who was a Roman Catholic priest and composer of church music, he went to

---

11 See for example *Pismo organistowskie* 1928; *Muzyka kościelna* 1931, 1939.

12 This designation may refer to the fact that three of his older brothers (Stefan, Józef and Piotr) were also organists and composers. His father Franciszek was also an organist and music teacher (<<http://www.archiwummuzyczne.pl/musics/people/561>>).

13 The exact year in which the competition took place is still unclear. The Polish musicologist and organist Jerzy Erdman cites 1902 (relation of A. Więckowski, one of Surzyński’s students) and 1910 as possible dates. The later date comes from one of Surzyński’s family members, according to whom one of the participants was Alexander Scriabin; it is possible that this was a piano improvisation competition. In 1931, Hilary Majkowski wrote in the periodical *Muzyka kościelna* that the competition took place ‘30 years ago’. One thing is certain: Surzyński became famous in Europe after this success.

Regensburg in order to study church music. These studies inspired him to compose liturgical pieces which corresponded with the ideas of the *Cäcilienverein*. In 1891 he moved to Saint Petersburg, where he was responsible for the organising of church music at The Metropolitan Cathedral. Nine years later he moved to Saratov (Russia) to become a piano and theory teacher at the Conservatory.

Surzyński was famous as an organ virtuoso and gave concerts in cities including Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, Salzburg, Vienna, Poznań, and later at the Warsaw Philharmonic Hall, where he was organist and choir conductor from 1904. In 1906 he became a professor of organ and counterpoint at The Warsaw Conservatory. In 1909, he also became organist of St John's Cathedral, Warsaw. We also have information about his pedagogical achievements. In 1913, personalities such as Rachmaninov, Scriabin, and Glazunov, who were present at student examinations, were very complimentary about the standard of his students' playing (Erdman 1994, 112). During the First World War he was deported to Russia as a prisoner and only returned to Poland in 1921 in bad health. Three years later he died in Warsaw.

Surzyński wrote several important concert pieces. Most famous is the 'Improvisation on a Polish Hymn', *Święty Boże*, op. 38. Some of his other concert pieces are also inspired by the liturgy and based on hymn tunes. He also composed many liturgical pieces: *Rok w pieśni kościelnej* ('Year in Hymns' in 5 volumes), *55 łatwych preludji na organy lub harmonium*, op. 20 (55 Easy Preludes for Organ or Harmonium) and many other little pieces which were included in different collections of liturgical pieces for organ and written by different composers, but which were published under the name of one composer.<sup>14</sup> For this reason, it is impossible to determine how many liturgical compositions he wrote. Many of his pieces for church purposes were published in supplements to periodicals or in collections of liturgical pieces containing compositions by various composers. Surzyński was also very active as a reformer of church music in Poland. As already mentioned, he

---

14 Some of his liturgical pieces were published in collections of his brothers' works, e.g. *Pastoralki* (Christmas Preludes) in the collection of Stefan Surzyński, op. 67.

was influenced by the Cecilian Movement, although many examples can be found which show that he did not strictly observe the Cecilian rules of church music composition, which advocated the exclusive use of diatonic themes.

Nevertheless, further important composers of pieces in the Cecilian style were two of Mieczysław Surzyński's older brothers: Józef (1851–1919) and Stefan Surzyński (1855–1919). Józef Surzyński was a Roman Catholic priest, organist and choir director of the cathedral in Poznań who had studied the history of Polish music, music theory, theology, and philosophy (Gołos 1972, 194; Erdman 1994, 140). During his theological studies in Rome (1874–1880), he met Franz Witt, one of the most important ideologists of the Cecilian Movement. Thereafter, the church authorities ordered Surzyński to study church music in Regensburg. He was active within the field of reforming church music according to the ideas of the Cecilian Movement in Poland. In 1883 in Poznań, he founded The St Adalbert Association (*Towarzystwo św. Wojciecha*), which aimed to develop church music. He was also the editor of the periodical *Muzyka kościelna* (Church Music). In 1903 Józef Surzyński was honoured for his musical activity by Pope Leo XIII with the medal *Pro Ecclesia Et Pontifice*.

It is difficult to know how many liturgical compositions Józef Surzyński wrote. They were published in many collections of liturgical pieces in different countries, in addition to church music periodicals. In contrast to those of his younger brother Mieczysław, his pieces followed the rules of the Cecilian Movement very strictly. All of his known compositions were composed for liturgical purposes in the Cecilian style. In some of his chorale preludes, he used Baroque contrapuntal patterns. The chorale prelude based on the Catholic song 'Zdrowaś bądź Maryja' (*Ave Maria*) is a good example. His liturgical compositions were highly recognized by German theorists of the *Cäcilienverein* (Erdman 1994, 140).

Stefan Surzyński also studied in Regensburg. He worked as an organist and choir conductor in Poznań and Tarnów. As mentioned earlier, he was also a teacher at the school for organists in Tarnów. His compositions were published in Warsaw (Gebethner i Wolff) and

Tarnów (Z. Jeleń). He also published several collections of liturgical pieces which included pieces by other Polish Cecilian composers. A collection of preludes and trios for organ, edited by Stefan Surzyński, was positively reviewed in a Cecilian newspaper, *Musica sacra* (F. X. H. *Organaria* 1898, N° 5).<sup>15</sup> Like his older brother Józef, Stefan composed short pieces in Cecilian style for liturgical purposes.

### Feliks Nowowiejski

The greatest Polish composer of organ music was undoubtedly Feliks Nowowiejski (1877–1946). He wrote nine organ symphonies, four organ concertos, and several other concert pieces. No other Polish composer wrote as many pieces for organ as Nowowiejski. Following his studies in Poland (Święta Lipka), Nowowiejski continued to study in Berlin and subsequently in Regensburg. On his graduation certificate from Berlin, we find the following opinion:

Despite a short time of study he has managed to become educated as a confident, professional organist. His great diligence and impressive musical gifts allowed Nowowiejski to learn to play great compositions by Bach and modern composers properly and with understanding. He revealed this ability several times during organ recitals organized by his professor [...]. He also dedicated himself, with great enthusiasm and surprising success, to piano performance, working under the direction of Adolf Stemler, and ending up being able to acquire both pianistic agility and the ability to interpret classical works with stylistic faithfulness [...]. In the area of composition, which he studied with Mr. Ernest Edward Taubert, he exhibited a fluent musical invention. He learned the ability to shape various musical forms with confidence and has been able to master, with assuredness and indications of unique talent, all the principles of constructing a great symphonic form. (Cited from Krzysztof Szatravski, in Trochimczyk 2009, 225)

---

15 This collection contained pieces of M. Surzyński, J. Surzyński, H. Jarecki, H. Makowski, J. Nowialis.

Nowowiejski only studied for three months in Regensburg, but this short period influenced him profoundly. Nowowiejski confirmed and explained that fact himself in his article 'About the Meaning of Regensburg for the Church-Musical Movement'. He wrote for instance that some parts of his oratorios hark back to the Regensburg-style (Felix Nowowiejski, 'O znaczeniu Ratyzbony dla ruchu kościelno-muzycznego', in *Muzyka kościelna* 1933, no. 9–12). Besides his concert music, he composed many easy and short pieces in Cecilian liturgical style. His liturgical compositions won awards at international competitions in France: in 1911 in Arras, and in 1922 in Paris. His award-winning pieces were published in the collection *Parnasse des organistes du XXème siècle - pièces pour orgue ou harmonium à l'usage du service Divin - œuvres couronnées au Concours de 1911*. This collection contains six of Nowowiejski's compositions: two offertories, March in C Major (first volume), *Méditation* in E Minor, Offertory in G Major, and *Angelus dans les Pyrénées* (second volume). The 1922 pieces were published as part of the anthology *Anthologie de musique sacrée selon l'esprit du 'Motu Proprio' de S. S. Pie X (Entrée Solennelle en Ut majeur, Marche Solennelle en Ut majeur, Prélude en Sol majeur)*.

Unlike Mieczysław Surzyński, Nowowiejski followed the rules of the Cecilian Movement very strictly. His short concert pieces are much more difficult to play than his liturgical pieces. Also, the musical language of his liturgical pieces is different: they are very tonal, and their melodies are diatonic. Some of his concert compositions for organ are also inspired by the liturgy, several of which are based upon Gregorian melodies: 'Introduction to the Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*', op. 9, no. 8; 'Introduction to the Sequence *Victimae Paschali Laudes*', op. 9, no. 9; 'Prelude on the Kyrie from Mass XI (*Orbis factor*)', op. 9, no. 3; and the second and third organ concertos. Nowowiejski based other compositions upon Polish hymn tunes. The most famous is *Fantaisie polonaise*, op. 9, no. 1 (Polish Fantasy), in which the composer uses several Polish Christmas carols as well as motives from Polish folk music.

In common with many other Polish artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Nowowiejski was also involved in political activities. In 1918 Poland became independent again after a period of 123 years.

In 1919 he gave numerous concerts in his home province, Warmia, advocating the vote in favour of Warmia's joining Poland, not Germany, in the East Prussian plebiscite (Szatrawski, in Trochimczyk 2009, 223).

### **Conclusion: Liturgical organ music as a shaper of national identity**

Researching Polish liturgical music throughout the nineteenth century is not easy: many pieces have not been published since appearing in their first editions, rendering them unknown even in Poland. On other hand, scores and recordings of some pieces mentioned in this article can now be easily found on the internet. Many of them are not very interesting and do not represent a high compositional level. However, recalling the difficult political situation in Poland during the nineteenth century, one must conclude that within such a historical context, Polish hymns and the organ pieces based upon them must have been very important to the people because they formed a part of the heritage and culture of Poland. Prussian and Russian occupants in particular were constantly trying to uproot Polish culture. For this reason, hymnbooks and organ compositions (both for concerts and liturgy) based upon Polish hymns had special meaning at that time. In many little towns and villages, organists were often the only musicians and supplemented their work with teaching in schools. Żeleński wrote about their important role in the preface to his Preludes (1881). Considering these historical facts, the significance of the work of these composers and organists, who were admittedly not of the highest level, can be better understood when viewed from this perspective. Pieces composed in the Cecilian style need to be evaluated within the context of the ideas of this movement. The fact that many of them were published in different countries is proof that Polish composers were acclaimed in Europe.

Polish musicians were aware of their role in preserving Polish traditions and culture. Most of the composers and organists named in this article were also teachers, founders of schools and conservatories, conductors, organizers of concerts, editors of hymnbooks, scores, and periodicals about church music. Teofil Klonowski was a member of an

association that fought for the preservation of Polish culture, a cause actively supported by the Surzyński brothers and Nowowiejski. Many of their hymns and liturgical compositions from the nineteenth century are used in Poland today, and as a part of tradition and cultural heritage, are true symbols of the connection with previous generations.

## Bibliography

### Newspapers and periodicals

*Musica sacra* 1898.

*Muzyka kościelna* 1889, 1890, 1927, 1931, 1933, 1939.

*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 1839–1841.

*Od redakcji* 1909.

*Pismo organistowskie* 1928.

*Ruch Muzyczny* 1857.

*Wiadomości muzyczne* 1926.

### Research literature

Erdman, Jerzy 1989. *Organy*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej.

Erdman, Jerzy 1994. *Polska muzyka organowa epoki romantycznej*, Warszawa: Konsultacja.

Frotscher, Gotthold 1935. *Geschichte des Orgelspiels und der Orgelkomposition*, Berlin: Hesse.

Gołos, Jerzy 1966. *Zarys historii budowy organów w Polsce*, Bydgoszcz: PZWS.

Gołos, Jerzy 1972. *Polskie organy i muzyka organowa*, Warszawa: PAX.

Gołos, Jerzy 2003. *Warszawskie organy, tom I historia*, Warszawa: Fundacja Artibus.

Mrowiec, Karol 1964. *Polska pieśń kościelna w opracowaniu kompozytorów XIX wieku*, Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.

Pawlak, Ireneusz 2001. *Muzyka liturgiczna po Soborze Watykańskim II w świetle dokumentów Kościoła*, Lublin: Polihymnia.

Ransel, David L. and Bozena Shallcross (eds) 2005. *Polish Encounters, Russian Identity*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Seidel, Johann Julius 1843. *Die Orgel und ihr Bau*, Breslau: Leuckert.

Stinson, Russel 2012. *J. S. Bach at His Royal Instrument: Essays on His Organ Works*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Trochimczyk, Maja (ed.) 2009. *A Romantic Century in Polish Music*, Los Angeles: Moonrise Press.

Żeleński, Władysław 1881. Preface to *25 preludiów 2-, 3- i 4-głosowych na organy lub fisharmonię*, Kraków: PWM (1960).

### Internet sources

*Organ Music: Music of Poland*.

<<http://www.organ-music.net/page/polish.html>>. Accessed 15 October 2017.

Pracownia Kultury Muzycznej Pomorza i Kujaw i Folklorystyki Akademii Muzycznej im. F. Nowowiejskiego w Bydgoszczy n. d., Archiwum muzyczne.

<<http://www.archiwummuzyczne.pl/musics/people/561>>. Accessed 29 December 2016.

# The Training of Churchwardens and Organists in Nineteenth- Century Finland and Ingria

SAMULI KORKALAINEN

Churchwardens<sup>1</sup> and organists pursued a straight path in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria: from manifold tasks to the post of musician, from a modest standard to a higher level, from private training to professional education. In 1809, having been taken over by the armies of Tsar Alexander I in the Finnish War, Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire – after being a part of Sweden for centuries. At the beginning, there were no huge changes; on the contrary, the first decades of the Grand Duchy can be seen as downright uneventful. Russia promised to honor Finland's Lutheran faith, the Finnish Diet and the Finnish estates as long as the Finns remained loyal to the Russian crown. Nevertheless, around the middle of the century, there were many ideological, social and cultural changes, and an awakening of national cultural identity was evident in all spheres of Finnish society. The 1860s saw the beginnings of public education, when the national school system, independent of the Church,

---

1 I am using the word 'churchwarden' to mean *lukkari* in Finnish, *klockare* in Swedish and *Küster* in German. There is no exact English translation for this word. The words 'precentor', 'cantor', and 'parish clerk' have been used in earlier related studies, but I find them all problematic. 'Precentor' and 'cantor' are not accurate, because even though the churchwarden was a predecessor of the present-day cantor, in the beginning of the nineteenth century the post was not first and foremost that of a musician: individuals in this position had many tasks besides musical ones. Moreover, there were also cantors at that time: in Turku Cathedral, for example, there was an organist, a cantor, and a churchwarden – all separate positions. 'Parish clerk', on the other hand, sounds like a kind of secretary and not a musician at all.

was established. The formation of primary schools<sup>2</sup> permitted students without a wealthy background or with Finnish as a mother tongue access to education. In 1865 a decree was passed on rural municipalities which changed municipality types from ecclesiastical to civil. With the easing of the political climate, the Finnish-language press saw strong growth. These and many other similar changes had an impact on ecclesiastical life and church music (Vapaavuori 1997, 21–32).

In the second half of the century, music in Finnish society was also being developed resolutely and with determination – both among ordinary people and in the new arenas of high culture (Vapaavuori 1997, 32–36). At the same time, measures were being taken to improve congregational singing. Consequently, there were significant changes to the offices of churchwarden and organist. The aim of this article is to describe how the musical training of churchwardens and organists changed and improved in the second half of the nineteenth century. For this article, I have sifted through archival material concerning the Finnish churchwarden-organist schools and the Kolppana Seminary in the Finnish Archives in Helsinki as well as earlier related studies. The most important research literature is Kaarlo Jalkanen's (1976 and 1978) studies about the post of churchwarden and organist as well as the official proposal of organizing the education of churchwardens and organists (Mietintö 1909).

The situation in Finland is also compared with Ingrian<sup>3</sup> parishes. When Finland was incorporated into Russia, connections between Finland and Ingria became even closer. However, Finnish Lutheran parishes in Ingria were not a part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. Administration of these parishes was unclear until 1832,

---

2 *Kansakoulu* in Finnish, *folkskola* in Swedish, sometimes also called 'folk school' in English.

3 Ingria (*Inkeri* or *Inkerinmaa* in Finnish, *Ингрия* in Russian, *Ingermanland* in Swedish and in German) is a crescent shaped Russian region, which extends from the Karelian Isthmus to Saint Petersburg and beyond, all the way to the Estonian border. Ingria was settled by Finns after the Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617 when it became a part of Sweden. In 1710 Ingria came to be ceded back to Russia. In the nineteenth century, majority of inhabitants of the area, the Ingrian Finns, were still Finnish-speaking and Lutheran.

when they became a part of Saint Petersburg Consistorial district, which belonged to the Lutheran Church of Russia, together with the Baltic countries. Until 1832 all Lutheran churches of the various national groups in the Russian Empire were detached, but from 1832 onwards, their administration was concentrated in Saint Petersburg, which brought different liturgical and ecclesiastic cultures into closer contact with each other. Owing to this development, Baltic-German influences also spread to Ingria (Murtorinne 2015, 137–143; Petkūnas 2013, 16–17). The old Swedish liturgy was replaced by the new Imperial Agenda, which was meant to be used at every Lutheran altar in the entire Russian Empire with the exception of Finland, which had its own Lutheran church (Petkūnas 2013, 169, 179). Most of the leaders of the new church organization were Baltic Germans, but most of the Finnish-speaking pastors in Ingria still came from Finland (Murtorinne 2015, 139–140, 143–146).

In the first half of the nineteenth century every Evangelical-Lutheran parish in Finland had an office of churchwarden, but owing to the shortage of organs, the post of organist existed in only some parishes (Jalkanen 1976, 15–16, 18). The profession of organist was one of a purely musical nature, whereas the churchwarden's duties were manifold. While their most important task was to lead church-singing, they also had to teach children to read, deliver the diocesan mail for the clergy, vaccinate people, and sometimes even brew beer for the ministers. Thus, the churchwarden's profession was not first and foremost to be a musician. For this reason, organists were held in higher esteem than churchwardens (Jalkanen 1976, 11–13; Mietintö 1909, 1, 4).

Moreover, for financial reasons, the post of organist was for the most part combined with that of churchwarden. It was primarily only cathedrals and certain of the more important towns that employed a separate organist (Jalkanen 1976, 18), who were in many cases immigrants from Sweden or their descendants (*ibid.*, 12).

In Ingria, the situation was quite similar; there was an office of churchwarden in every Lutheran parish, but even though their most important task was to lead church-singing, they had many other duties which had nothing to do with music. When there was a lack of pastors,

churchwardens even held Divine Services, emergency baptisms and funeral services, and for the most part, the office of churchwarden was hereditary, from father to son (Murtorinne 2015, 147).

### **Private training in the first part of the century**

As Jalkanen (1976, 65) indicates, in the 1840s in Finland, serious attention began to be paid to the development of church-singing, which at that time was of a rather modest standard, if not downright poor. It thus fell to the churchwardens to conduct church-singing (*ibid.*, 67–68). Their training was inadequate and their ability to conduct very limited because no music institutes existed specifically to train either them or organists. They simply learned from a more experienced churchwarden or organist (Mietintö 1909, 6). Many churchwardens could not read music at all in fact; they sang from memory and in a loud voice, which was also considered more important than correct and aesthetic singing (Vapaavuori 1997, 119–121). In addition, when applying for the office of churchwarden, other skills were deemed more important than musical ones (*ibid.*, 129). Nevertheless, there were also some highly skilled musicians among churchwardens. For instance, Bror Berndt Broms, who studied first at Carl Frans Blom's school in Porvoo and then in Sweden, was also well-known as a singer and gave concerts around the country in the 1850s and 1860s (*Mikkelin Wiikko-Sanomia* 10 March 1864; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 247–248).

In Ingria, where there was no uniform policy to issue certificates, most of the churchwardens were self-trained (Murtorinne 2015, 147). In Finland, churchwardens who belonged to the diocese of Porvoo, for example, received their training on the authority of the chapter of the diocese from the *director cantus* of the Porvoo Grammar School<sup>4</sup> or from some other qualified teacher of music and singing (Jalkanen 1976, 46, 49). The chapter did not provide any regulations for the training of organists because there were few such offices in the diocese. The or-

---

4 *Porvoon lukio* in Finnish, *Borgå gymnasium* in Swedish.

ganist of Helsinki between 1814 and 1839, Gustaf Lucander, was known to give training and issue certificates to other organists. There were four different skills mentioned in Lucander's certificates: the study of harmony, steady and correct chorale playing, organ-handling in general, and organ-tuning (ibid., 50–51). Playing solo pieces was not done.

In 1847, Finnish-born Carl Frans Blom, who had studied at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music<sup>5</sup> in Stockholm, started his work as the *director cantus* of the Porvoo Grammar School. Two years later he founded a school for training churchwardens. Organ-playing was not on the curriculum, but it was possible to acquire such training for an extra charge. At first, about half of the students used the opportunity to study organ-playing; later it rose to as many as two thirds. This shows increasing interest in playing the organ, even though there were no students who finished a degree in organ only (Jalkanen 1976, 76–77).

There were also other competent teachers in the Porvoo diocese. Fredrik Pacius, Fredrik August Ehrström, and Rudolf Lagi, for example, gave private lessons in Helsinki as well as Erik August Hagfors in Jyväskylä in Central Finland (Jalkanen 1976, 78–79; Urponen 2010, 20).

In the diocese of Turku, churchwardens could receive instruction from any of the other churchwardens, but in fact, most of them learned from the cantor of Turku Cathedral (Jalkanen 1976, 55). Because so many certificates were being issued, there was no uniform policy for assessment (ibid., 90). However, increasing interest in organ-playing was evident there; Carl Theodor Möller in Turku, Abraham Marell in Pori and Anders Nordlund in Vaasa had many organ trainees, for example (ibid., 84–87). Simon Sundqvist, the churchwarden-organist of Pietarsaari and Kokkola in Central Ostrobothnia, was known as a talented organist who gave instruction in playing solo pieces used in the Divine Services as well as in chorale and liturgical playing (ibid., 85–86).

In the diocese of Kuopio in the north (established in 1851), churchwardens and organists received their certificates from the few churchwardens appointed by the chapter (Jalkanen 1976, 80–82). Even though

---

5 *Kungliga Musikaliska akademien* in Swedish.

there were competent private organ teachers there, the level of organ-playing in general was low. The organist of St Nicholas Church in Helsinki (the present-day cathedral), Rudolf Lagi, pointed out during a clergy conference in Kuopio in 1864 that church-singing, including among organists, was of a poor standard throughout the country. Lagi claimed that training by other organists normally led to new organists who could barely play even the commonest chorale melodies from some hand-written and inaccurate chorale book. He was also shocked at the playing of organ postludes in the Divine Services, as they normally consisted of old military marches – e.g. *Björneborgarnes marsch* (The March of the Pori Regiment) or *La Marseillaise* – or other profane music, and sometimes even waltzes or French quadrilles. Finally, Lagi also observed the organists' indifference to organ-tuning and care (Jalkanen 1976, 99–102).

The modest standard of church music and the shortage of proper training establishments for churchwardens and organists further forced church and state administrators to look for solutions to a problem that became ever more pressing as demands on church music continued to escalate.

### **Increase in the number of organs**

After the Great Wrath<sup>6</sup> (1714–1721), in which Russia occupied Finland during the Great Northern War, inflicting huge casualties and employing scorched-earth tactics, Finland was a very poor country indeed. For this reason, there remained very few organs in the whole country. In fact, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were only 33 organs in all of Finland, and during the first third of the century, only three new organs were built by Swedish organ builders (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 197–199; Pelto 2014, 51–53, 83; Tuppurainen 1980, 12). Most of the organs were small, with only one manual with pull-down pedals. In addition, almost all of the surviving organs were located in the coastal areas, but not inland (Jalkanen 1976, 20).

---

<sup>6</sup> *Isoviha* in Finnish, *den stora ofreden* in Swedish.

In the second half of the century, however, organs rapidly increased in number, alongside the building of many new churches (Jalkanen 1976, 18). Steady organ building in Finland began with the Swedish-born Anders Thulé in 1843. He was active in Kangasala in Tavastia, where his work was later continued by his son Bror Axel Thulé. A bit later, in 1870, the Danish-born Jens Alexander Zachariassen started building organs in Uusikaupunki in Southwest Finland. These two workshops produced almost ninety per cent of all of the organs built in Finland during the nineteenth century (Pelto 1994, 18–24). At the end of the century organs could be found in most of the parishes of Finland's southern dioceses and in every other parish in the northern dioceses (Jalkanen 1978, 18–20). Organs at that time numbered over three hundred (Pelto 1994, 20).

There were occasional organ concerts in Finnish churches, but in such cases, there was usually another performer, either a singer, instrumentalist or choir, and at least one hymn. In the first half of the nineteenth century these additional performers were local amateurs who were replaced by skilled artists in the late nineteenth century (Urponen 2010, 25–27). Among those who gave concerts were organists from Germany and Sweden as well as organ teachers at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory, founded in 1862 (Urponen 2010, 27–36, 41; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 328; Tuppurainen 1980, 14–15). Finnish organists began giving regular concerts in the 1850s, the first of which was given by Rudolf Lagi at St Nicholas Church in Helsinki, followed by his German-born successor, Richard Faltin. From the 1860s to the 1880s Oscar Pahlman and Lauri Hämäläinen gave concerts there, and, Oskar Merikanto and Karl Sjöblom thereafter. There were concerts outside Helsinki as well, especially in Turku and Vaasa (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 326, 329; see also Urponen 2010, 39–69).

Alongside the new instruments, material for accompanying hymns and liturgical organ music was also published. The oldest surviving hand-written four-part chorale book for organ accompaniment was written by Erik Hagfors in Helsinki in 1846 (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 206). The first published four-part chorale book, which also included the Mass, was edited by the churchwarden of Vaasa, Antti

Nordlund, in 1850 (Vapaavuori 1997, 227–236). An alternative chorale book was published in 1871, chiefly edited by Rudolf Lagi and finished after his death by Richard Faltin. Erik August Hagfors published a revised edition of Nordlund's chorale book in 1876 (*ibid.*, 266–276, 283–287). After approving a new hymnbook by the Church Synod in 1886, Richard Faltin and Otto Immanuel Colliander published new chorale book as well (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 243, 246).

The situation was similar in Ingria; in the first half of the nineteenth century few churches had organs (von Schubert 1827, 577); apparently, the only Lutheran churches to have organs at that time were found in Saint Petersburg (Ehrström 1829, 38, 105; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 197; see also Kravchun 2009). In the second half of the century, however, many churches were built and along with them, organs. Research material on organs in Ingria is not comprehensive, but at the end of the century there were organs at least in every third church, and the proliferation of new organs continued into the beginning of the twentieth century (Kravchun 2009, 9, 12–47). The dearth of Finnish-built organs is remarkable; in 1914–1916, Martti Tulenheimo from Kangasala built organs in Lempaala church and in Saint Mary's Church in Saint Petersburg, but they were probably the only instruments in Ingria built by a Finnish organ builder (*ibid.*, 19; Valanki 1999, 341). Rather, close connections to Germany were evident, with most of the instruments built by a German organ factory, most notably W. Sauer or E. F. Walcker (Kravchun 2009, 9, 12–47). Furthermore, at least three organs were ordered from organ builders in Saint Petersburg (*ibid.*, 33, 36, 41). In Estonia and Livonia, while many organs were built by German factories, there were also Estonian and German-born organ builders (Uibo and Kuuskemaa 1994, 6–7), and at least three organs in Ingria were built by Estonian or Livonian masters (Kravchun 2009, 12, 24, 29).

### **Professional education institutions in the latter part of the century**

Between 1829 and 1864, attempts were made at establishing professional education institutions for churchwardens and organists in Finland, but they were abandoned by state administrators (Urponen 2010, 21). In 1870, however, a new church law changed the profession of churchwarden, making it chiefly a musical post. According to the same law, the organist was responsible for the musical accompaniment in the Divine Services and other activities that took place in church (Jalkanen 1978, 12–13). These duties included the organization of appropriate professional education.

In Finland, the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminary was founded in 1863. Finnish clergymen had hoped that churchwardens could be educated in the same institution, but neither the administration of the Seminary nor the Senate favoured the proposal (Jalkanen 1976, 240–255). In Ingria, in contrast, the Kolppana<sup>7</sup> Churchwarden and Teacher Seminary was founded in the same year with the mission of preparing both teachers for primary schools as well as organists and churchwardens for Finnish Lutheran parishes. This seminary was a boarding school for men only with a three-year term of study (Kolppanan seminaari 1913, 166–169; Murtorinne 2015, 168–170).

After the unsuccessful effort to educate churchwardens at the Jyväskylä Seminary, churchwarden-organist schools<sup>8</sup> were founded in Finland on the initiative of certain individual musicians. Financial support was provided by the state, and the chapters of the dioceses supervised the schools. Churchwarden-organist schools were set up in Turku by Oscar Pahlman and Carl Gustaf Wasenius in 1878, in Helsinki by Lorenz Nikolai Achté in 1882, and in Viipuri by Emil Sivori in 1893 (Jalkanen 1978, 54–56, 61–62, 93–94). Another school, in Oulu, founded by Anton Kunelius and Johan Emil Sandström in 1882, operated

---

7 Ingrian parishes and villages usually had Finnish, Russian, Swedish and German names. In this article, I use the Finnish names.

8 *Lukkari-urkurikoulu* in Finnish, *klockar-organistskola* in Swedish.

only until 1889 (*ibid.*, 58–61, 69–70). With the founding of the Helsinki Music Institute<sup>9</sup> (the present-day Sibelius Academy) in 1882, it became possible to study solo organ-playing in the capital (Urponen, 2010, 20).

In the churchwarden-organist schools, the main purpose for education in both singing and organ-playing was to teach students to conduct church-singing, i.e. hymns and liturgical melodies. Chorale-singing along with voice instruction and ear-training were most important. Chorale-singing and choir-conducting were also taught, but this focussed on the singing of hymns and the Mass<sup>10</sup> in four parts, and not on the choral repertoire. Vocalises by Salvatore Marchesi and Giuseppe Concone were used for practice, but the solo pieces were mostly religious (Mietintö 1909, 51–54).

In churchwarden-organist schools, the limited number of instruments for teaching and practice was a major problem. In the school in Turku, there was only one organ (see Table 1) with two manuals and an independent pedal (Valanki 1999, 290) as well as a grand piano (Mietintö 1909, 68).

In Oulu, there was also only one organ (see Table 1), which was very small: only two stops on one manual and pull-down pedals (Valanki 1999, 202). There was also a square piano there, and every student had to buy their own silent pedal for practising pedalling. This was not a good solution as Richard Faltin pointed out when he inspected the school (Mietintö 1909, 64–66). Faltin complained that it was not possible to practise trio-playing with a single manual instrument. Moreover, he was worried about the playing skills of the students because they mostly had to practise pedalling without being able to hear anything! The students in the Oulu school had opportunities to play the organ in the Town Church, but only during the final phase of their studies.

---

9 *Helsingin musiikkiopisto* in Finnish, *Helsingfors musikinstitut* in Swedish.

10 For Roman Catholics, the term ‘Mass’ is clear, but not necessarily for Lutherans. Nowadays, the ‘Mass’ usually refers to the entire Divine Service, including Holy Communion, but in nineteenth-century Finland, the term referred to liturgical music. Thus, in using the term ‘Mass’, I refer to the collection of Lutheran liturgical melodies used in celebrating this service.

### **Turku**

*J. A. Zachariassen 1880*

mechanical action

Manual I	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Borduna 16', Principal 8', Octava 4', Trompet 8'
Manual II	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Gedacht 8', Gamba 8', Flöjt dolce 4'
Pedal	C–d <sup>1</sup>	Subbass 16', Principal 8'
Couplers		II–I, I–Pedal
Swell		II
'Kalkant' (signal to bellows-treader)		

### **Oulu**

*B. A. Thulé 1883*

mechanical action

Manual	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Principal 8', Gamba 8' (C–H common)
Pedal	C–d <sup>1</sup>	Pull-down

### **Helsinki**

*B. A. Thulé 1883*

mechanical action, changed to pneumatic in 1899

Manual I	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Principal 8'
Manual II	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Fugara 8'
Pedal	C–d <sup>1</sup>	no stops
Coupler		Manual–Pedal <sup>11</sup>

*B. A. Thulé 1884* ('Kukkopilli', 'Rooster Whistle')

mechanical action

Manual	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Dubbelflöjt 8'
Pedal <sup>12</sup>		no stops
Coupler		Manual–Pedal

*B. A. Thulé 1887*

mechanical action, changed to pneumatic in 1899

Manual I	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Principal 8', Dubbelflöjt 8', Fleut d'amour 4'
Manual II	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Dubbelflöjt 8', Fugara 8'
Pedal	C–d <sup>1</sup>	no stops (Subbass 16' added in 1890)
Couplers		II–I, I–Pedal, II–Pedal, I superoctave, II–I suboctave

### **Kolppana**

*Gebrüder Rieger 1894*

pneumatic action

Manual I	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Principal 8', Gedackt 8', Gambe 8', Octav 4', Flageolet 2'
Manual II	C–f <sup>3</sup>	Gemshorn 8', Salicional 8', Dolce 4'
Pedal	C–d <sup>1</sup>	Subbass 16', Cello 8'
Couplers		II–I, I–P
Fixed combinations		Mezzo-Forte I, Fortissimo

Table 1. Organs at Finnish churchwarden-organist schools and the Kolppana Seminary. Valanki 1999, 57, 202, 290; Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary; Kravchun 2009, 13.

11 No further information about this coupler is given in the source (Valanki 1999).

12 Information about the pedal compass is missing in the source (Valanki 1999).

In the churchwarden-organist school of Viipuri, however, there were no organs at all. Instead, there were four pedal harmoniums with two manuals. The organ teacher and school principal, Emil Sivori, did not see an organ as being necessary (Archives of the Senate, tal. os. AD 160/298 1906). Only the most talented students had the chance to practise in the New Church (Mietintö 1909, 76). For everyone else, Sivori claimed that the pedal harmoniums were sufficient. This meant that most of the churchwarden-organists who graduated from Sivori's school had never played on a real pipe organ at all.

The best situation was in Helsinki, where there were three organs (see Figure 1) in the churchwarden-organist school (Valanki 1999, 57). The students were also allowed to practise in the churches, first in the Old Church, and later in the New Church (present-day Saint John's Church) (Archives of the Senate, tiliarkisto gz 1; Maasalo 1932, 13).

They were many skilled organ teachers at the churchwarden-organist schools, for example, Oscar Pahlman in Turku as well as Lauri Hämäläinen and Oskar Merikanto in Helsinki (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 327–330). Nevertheless, the fact that the instruction at these schools was initially inadequate is partly based on the admission requirements: a primary school certificate, a singing voice and a good ear for music were seen as sufficient, with no actual previous musical training required (Mietintö 1909, 50). Obviously, most of the students had not played any instrument whatsoever when they started at a churchwarden-organist school.

Moreover, students did not start by playing the organ; instead, they studied the piano first, a common system in those days (see e.g. Maasalo 1932, 5). Richard Faltin, for example, said that it was absolutely necessary to practise with the piano first in order for the muscles in the hands to develop to the level needed for liturgical organ-playing (Mietintö 1909, 64).

The most important subject in organ instruction was chorale-playing, although modulation skills were also considered necessary. Chorale-playing meant not only accompanying hymns, but also their short preludes and postludes. Playing chorales also involved trio-playing. Naturally, the Mass was included in the programme because at that

time there were already polyphonic collections of liturgical melodies, and the Mass was meant to be accompanied if an organ was available in the church (Mietintö 1909, 51–56).

German influences were visible in the educational material. For instance, August Gottfried Ritter's organ school was the most popular in churchwarden-organist schools, recommended by Richard Faltin (Mietintö 1909, 67, 69, 80). Every student played the easiest solo pieces, mostly Johann Sebastian Bach's little preludes and fugues. Only the most talented went further and played more difficult pieces of organ music (*ibid.*, 51–56). The famous organist and musicologist Ilmari Krohn even claimed that in the churchwarden-organist schools, time should not be wasted on playing 'concert pieces' because it was urgent to learn reliable playing of chorales and the Mass along with modulation (*ibid.*, 83). According to Krohn, those who wanted to play concert pieces, should go to the Helsinki Music Institute, where Richard Faltin taught organ-playing, and, in fact, many did go there. After completing churchwarden-organist school, many ambitious organists continued their education at the Helsinki Music Institute (Tuppurainen 1980, 20–21). Still, even at the end of the nineteenth century the most talented organists studied abroad, mostly in Germany (*ibid.*, 22–23).

In Ingria at the Kolppana Seminary, the main goal was to educate teachers for primary schools, which led to a scarcity of musical education. It included only church-singing and organ-playing, and later also figured bass (Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary; Kolppanan seminaari 1913, 166–169; Kravchun 2009, 13). Soon after the seminary opened, there was probably no organ in the school building, but it appears that in 1867 an organ was brought there. Unfortunately, there is no information available on what kind of instrument it was. According to the seminary's financial statements (Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary), it might have been bought from Orgelbau Fröhling, which possibly was one of the small organ workshops located in Saint Petersburg (Kravchun 2009, 9).<sup>13</sup> In 1894 the Kolppana Seminary got

---

13 As shown by Kravchun (2009) in 1917 in Spankkova church, there was an organ with two manuals built by 'Grebrüder Froeling', but no further information is available. Spankkova is located next to Kolppana, so it is also possible that the seminary instrument was removed to Spankkova church, which was built in 1833.

a new organ with eleven stops on two manuals and a pedal from the organ factory Gebrüder Rieger in Silesia (see Figure 1). The quality of this organ was modest, however; it constantly suffered from multiple defects and needed continuous repairs. Fortunately, the students had the chance to practise in Kolppana church (Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary).

Initially, singing and playing began only in the second year of instruction, but by 1866 it started from the very beginning. As seminary principal Jaakko Raski pointed out (1913, 37–39), the standard of musical education at the Kolppana Seminary was modest owing to a lack of instruments and the poor quality of teachers. Most of the music teachers were churchwardens or school-teachers who had been working for only a short period of time, and most of them were also former students of the seminary. In comparison with Finnish churchwarden-organist schools, it is notable that in Ingria, the singing repertoire – both solo and four-part – included only religious and nationalist songs and no vocalises at all, for instance (Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary). The reason for this was that the Lutheran Church and the Finnish language were important factors of national identification, leading the Ingrian Finns to prioritize their historical roots and close connections with Finland, which they considered their ethnic and linguistic homeland. Music was also considered an efficient tool to infuse the minds of the common people with nationalist goals (Murtorinne 2015, 170; Nevalainen 1991, 234–235).

A chief figure in the improvement process of Ingrian church music was Mooses Putro, who first obtained his degree and then taught for four years at the Kolppana Seminary. He continued his studies as an organist and composer at Saint Petersburg Conservatory as well as in Finland and Livonia. Putro worked both as an organist in Saint Mary's Church and as a teacher at the Finnish Church School in Saint Petersburg. In addition, he also edited the four-part musical setting of the Finnish-language edition of the Imperial Agenda used in the Lutheran Church of Russia after 1897 (Kolppanan seminaari 1913, 117; Murtorinne 2015, 174–175, 192; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 309; Petkūnas 2013, 491–493).

## Conclusion

In a rather short time, churchwarden-organist schools took the place of private training in Finland and produced musicians who were more skilled than previous generations. The number of organist posts, however, increased less rapidly than the number of organs, but the combined offices of churchwarden and organist became very common in Finnish parishes (Jalkanen 1976, 21). While many churchwardens initially could not play any instrument at all, by the end of the nineteenth century, most could at least accompany hymns and the Mass on the organ. Many ministers confirmed that due to the skill of churchwardens, church-singing was improving in their parishes (Archives of the Senate, tal. os. AD 221/224 1887).

In Ingria, the Kolppana Seminary educated churchwarden-teachers who found employment mostly in combined offices in parishes and primary schools. Even though their musical level was still modest, they established many choirs and brass bands and organized singing festivals (Murtorinne 2015, 170, 174–175). In addition, they were usually the only professional musicians and pedagogues in their own locale (Kravchun 2009, 8).

Not everyone was satisfied with the situation, however. Many contemporary experts in Finland claimed that the standard of church-singing was still low and that the musical level of churchwardens and organists should be raised still further by proper education (Mietintö 1909, 25, 93–94). For example, Bishop Otto Immanuel Colliander (1898, 73), who edited a chorale book with four-part harmonies by Richard Faltin, claimed that the standard of church-singing was so poor that it was urgent to raise the musical standard of churchwardens and organists by means of professional education.

This does not mean that the churchwarden-organist schools were initial failures. On the contrary, those institutes were an answer to the need to improve church-singing. At the time, however, European influences as well as the developing music culture in the surrounding society put increasing demands on church music. Thus, although insufficient in itself, it was a step in the right direction; the basis for our present-day professional standards of church musicians was established.

## Bibliography

### Archival sources

#### Finnish National Archives

– Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary.

– Archives of the Senate of Finland 1809–1918:

*Emil Sivorin anomus valtionavusta Viipurin lukkari-urkurikoululle.* [Application of State aid for the churchwarden-organist school in Viipuri]. Sen. tal. os. AD 160/298 1906.

*Helsingin lukkari-urkurikoulun vuosikertomukset ja tilitykset 1892–1901.* [Annual reports and financial statements of the churchwarden-organist school in Helsinki 1892–1901]. Senaatti, tiliarkisto gz 1.

*Kuopion hippakunnan tuomiokapitulin kertomus Senaatin kirkollisasiain toimituskunnalle 15.9.1887.* [Report by the chapter of the diocese of Kuopio for the Department for the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Senate, 15 September 1887]. Sen. tal. os. AD 221/224 1887.

### Newspapers

*Mikkelin Wiikko-Sanomia* 1864.

### Other printed sources

Colliander, Otto Immanuel 1898. *Kysymys Uudesta Koraalikirjasta Suomen Kirkolle*, Helsinki: G. W. Edlund.

Ehrström, Eric Gustaf 1829. *Historisk Beskrifning öfver S:t Catharina och S:t Maria Församlingar, eller Svenska och Finska Församlingarna i S:t Petersburg. Jemte kort underrättelse om samtliga under Evangeliska Dom-Kapitlet i S:t Petersburg lydande Församlingar i Ryska Riket*, Åbo: J. C. Frenckell & Son.

Mietintö 1909. *Hänen Keisarilliselle Majesteetillensa lukkari- ja urkuriopetuksen uudestajärjestämistä varten maan evankelis-luterilaisissa seurakunnissa asetetulta komitealta alamaismasti.* 14.5.1909, Helsinki.

von Schubert, Friedr. Wilh. 1827. *Reis door Zweden, Noorwegen, Lappland, Finland en Ingermannland in de Jaren 1817, 1818 en 1820. Derde deel. Reis door het westelijke Zweden, Noorwegen en Finland*, Deventer: A. J. van den Sigtenhorst.

### Research literature

Jalkanen, Kaarlo 1976. *Lukkarin- ja urkurinvirka Suomessa 1809–1870*, Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura.

Jalkanen, Kaarlo 1978. *Lukkarin- ja urkurinvirka Suomessa 1870–1918*, Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura.

- Kolppanan seminaari 1913. *Kolppanan Seminaari 1863–1913*, Viipuri: Karjalan kirjapaino o.-y.
- Кравчун, Павел Николаевич [Kravchun, Pavel Nikolayevich] 2009. *Органная «Атлантида» Ингерманландии и Карельского перешейка. Очерк истории органного инструментария пригородов Санкт-Петербурга, Ленинградской области и Кронштадта* [*Organnaya «Atlantida» Ingermanlandii i Karel'skogo peresheyka. Ocherk istorii organnogo instrumentariya prigorodov Sankt-Peterburga, Leningradskoy oblasti i Kronshhtada*], Saint Petersburg: Ассоциация органистов и органичных мастеров [Assotsiatsiya organistov i organnykh masterov] and Издательство «Роза мира» [Izdatel'stvo «Roza mira»].
- Maasalo, Armas (ed.) 1932. *Helsingin Kirkkomusiikkiopisto 1882–1932*, Helsinki.
- Murtorinne, Eino 2015. Inkerin kirkon suuruuden kausi (1809–1905), in Jouko Sihvo and Jyrki Paaskoski (eds), *Inkerin kirkon neljä vuosisataa. Kansa, kulttuuri ja identiteetti*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 129–196.
- Nevalainen, Pekka 1991. Inkerinmaan ja inkeriläisten vaiheet 1900-luvulla, in Pekka Nevalainen and Hannes Sihvo (eds), *Inkeri. Historia, kansa, kulttuuri*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 234–299.
- Pajamo, Reijo and Erkki Tuppurainen 2004. *Suomen musiikin historia. Kirkkomusiikki*, Helsinki: WSOY.
- Pelto, Pentti 1994. *Kaksi suomalaista urkuperinnettä. Tutkimus kangasalalaisten ja uusikaupunkilaisten 1800-luvun mekaanisten urkujen musikaalisista ominaisuuksista*, [Helsinki]: Sibelius-Akatemia.
- Pelto, Pentti 2014. *Puoli vuosituhatta suomalaisia urkuja*, Helsinki: Organum-seura.
- Petkūnas, Darius 2013. *Russian and Baltic Lutheran Liturgy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Klaipėda: University of Klaipėda.
- Raski, J[aa]kko 1913. Kertomus Kolppanan seminaarin vaiheista, in *Kolppanan Seminaari 1863–1913*, Viipuri: Karjalan kirjapaino o.-y. 19–40.
- Tuppurainen, Erkki 1980. Suomen urkutaiteen kehitysvaiheita, in Seppo Murto and Markku Heikinheimo (eds), *Pro organo pleno. Juhlakirja Enzo Forsblomille 14.3.1980*, Helsinki: Sibelius Academy and Organum-seura. 10–42.
- Uibo, Andreas and Jüri Kuuskemaa 1994. *Estonische Kirchenorgeln. Eine Reise durch mehrere Jahrhunderte Orgelbau. Eesti Orelid. Historical organs in Estonia*, Lilienthal/Bremen: Eres Edition.
- Urponen, Ville 2010. *Intomielisen nuoruuden vääjäämätöntä voimaa. Suomalainen urkumusiikki toiseen maailmansotaan asti*, [Helsinki]: Sibelius-Akatemia.
- Valanki, Erkki 1999 [1977]. *Suomen urut ja niiden rakentajat 1500-luvulta vuoteen 1970*, revised edition, ed. by Pentti Pelto, Helsinki: Sibelius Academy.
- Vapaavuori, Hannu 1997. *Virsilaulu ja heräävä kansallinen kulttuuri-identiteetti. Jumalanpalveluksen virsilaulua ja -sävelmistöä koskeva keskustelu Suomessa 1800-luvun puolivälistä vuoteen 1886*, Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura.



PART II  
ACCOMPANIMENTS



# The Increasing Role of the Organ in Nineteenth-Century Roman Catholic Church Music on the Example of Organ Masses in Austria and Southern Germany

MARIA HELFGOTT

Church music and its most important instrument, the organ, have enjoyed high status in the musical life of Roman Catholic Austria and Southern Germany over the past centuries. In many places, large-scale masses with soloists, choir, and full orchestra by well-known composers such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Joseph Haydn have played an important part in the liturgical repertoire. Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century the organ moved into the foreground and replaced the orchestra in many churches. This article analyses the role of the organ in Roman Catholic church music in the long nineteenth century using the example of settings of the Ordinary of the Mass. Organ masses, i.e. masses with organ accompaniment, are well-suited to doing a comparative study, because they use not only the same text but also similar conventions in the compositional style.

The repertoire that has been passed on to us is enormous. Many organ masses were published during the nineteenth century, and so a large quantity has been documented.<sup>1</sup> Many of them are available in

---

1 Contemporary lists of organ masses can be found e.g. in *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht* as well as in *Cäcilienvereinskatalog*. Schellert and Schellert 1999 provide a catalogue of mass composers, and Helfgott 2009 gives a special view of organ masses.

archives and libraries today. The ability of the composers – many of whom are barely known anymore – and the quality of their compositions varies greatly. All of these settings, however, are properly elaborated and demonstrate an understanding of the problems that arise in musical practice; thus, they are well adapted to different conditions and challenges. Depending on the need, composers wrote unison settings for inexperienced choirs or elaborated counterpoint for more advanced ensembles. They chose a small ensemble when financial resources were missing and simple tunes when ability was lacking. Since none of these conditions are absent in present church music practice, the contemporary church musician can find a considerable, stylistically diverse repertoire in nineteenth-century mass settings.

I also place the organ masses in historical context and give an overview of the main reasons for the growing importance of the organ in church music. The main part of the text will then focus on the music itself, especially on the organ part of these masses for choir or vocal soloists and organ, mainly without other instruments.

### **Factors that affected the development of organ masses**

The long nineteenth century is characterized by political, social, and cultural changes that also deeply affected church music. It is not possible here to discuss in depth general trends such as historicism, Cecilianism or the conflict between the prescriptions and reform ideas of liturgical music and the strong local traditions in parishes. The diverse trends proceeded neither absolutely successively nor consistently within one time or region. I therefore give a quasi-kaleidoscopic description of some important developments in the long nineteenth century.

The Age of Enlightenment and the reforms of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II influenced the development of church music in Austria. In addition to a major restructuring of the parishes, he intended to reduce the costs of church music and to adapt it to particular requirements. Joseph II issued a regulation for church music which de-

terminated what kinds of music and instruments were allowed on different days and locations. On weekdays in particular, instrumental church music was strongly limited (Glöggel 1828, 12–13; Biba 1971; Hollerweger 1975–1976, 156–157; Hollerweger 1976, supplement). One argument for this reform was to save money, but there were also important qualitative reasons. Criticism of the quality of the performances was not rare (e.g. Guthmann 1803–1804, 438–439). The reforms of Joseph II not only concerned representative music in cities and courts but even more, the church music in small churches and villages. Since it was believed that singing was an important form of education for the people, it was necessary to make both music and text comprehensible and to perform compositions in what was deemed an appropriate manner. The German *Kirchenlieder* (hymns) were promoted, no longer sung by a choir and accompanied by the organist, but rather by the whole congregation. Instead of pompous orchestral masses, the simple German *Singmassen* (masses of easy religious songs) were seen as the best form of church music. Many of these compositions included not only songs for the Ordinary of the Mass but also for the Proper so that they could be sung continuously and seemingly independent from the mainly silent prayers of the priest. Usually the organ was the sole accompaniment to these masses.

Not all of the reforms of Joseph II ever did gain acceptance, but the ideas of the Enlightenment prompted the rejection of the pompous and florid style of eighteenth-century church music and assumed more clarity and grandeur. Still, the embellished compositions of the Viennese classical period, as well as the masses stylistically related to them, whether accompanied by instruments other than the organ or not, were very popular well into the nineteenth century.

In the early nineteenth century the financial situation at the noble courts changed for the worse so that in the following decades fewer musicians could be engaged. Beginning in the 1820s, bourgeois amateur choral societies began to dominate the music in churches especially in the cities; church music associations financed and oversaw the music. It was the ambition of these associations to perform great compositions. In cities with an adequate cultural life, the professional musicians

earned their living by secular engagements as well as by their service in several churches so that the same musicians could be found both at the opera and in the church (Helfgott 2009, 187ff.). The large orchestral productions with outstanding soloists, who were often popular opera singers, attracted large audiences, especially in some Vienna churches<sup>2</sup>. Critics considered these performances to be concert-like and thus non-religious.

A new tendency gained in importance around 1800: a burgeoning interest in history, which stimulated the revival of early music. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the ideas of Romanticism dominated. The general interest in early music, which affected Lutheran and Roman Catholic church music alike (Garratt 2002 passim), became a very important factor in the second half of the century. Both sides found a special kind of early music that was seen as primary and used to create a religious identity. On the Catholic side, the music of Palestrina and Gregorian chant was promoted by the Cecilian movement. Cecilian associations arose in European countries and in the United States with various manifestations. Below follows an outline of some of the essential developments in Southern, Catholic Germany and Austria.

The divergences between the different manifestations of Cecilia- nism, e.g. between the German Franz Xaver Witt (Regensburg) and the Austrian Johannes Evangelist Habert (Linz), are well documented in association publications.<sup>3</sup> But in this clash between Austrian and German Cecilianism, we also find the conflict between people who, on the one hand, favoured the Austro-Hungarian Empire and did not want to lose ‘their’ music – i.e. the music of Haydn and Mozart, which was also performed by orchestra, and those on the other hand who preferred the ‘Greater German solution’ and the German associations with their restrictive reforms. The Church Music School of Regensburg, found-

---

2 A vivid description of a performance in *Augustinerkirche*, Vienna in 1878 can be found in *Musica sacra* (NN 1878, 52ff.).

3 E.g. *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchenmusik* (since 1866), *Musica sacra* (since 1868), *Zeitschrift für katholische Kirchenmusik* (since 1868).

ed in 1874, also became an important school for the musicians of the Habsburg Monarchy (Helfgott 2009, 107ff.). In diverse ways, the Cecilian movement promoted an intensely focussed and systematic reform of church music.

Whereas the reforms of the outgoing eighteenth century had been introduced ‘top-down’ by the state, during the latter part of the nineteenth century – a time of growing liberalism – there were priests who were also musicians as well as church musicians, many of whom were also teachers, who themselves sought what they considered ideal music. Besides idealising the past, it was important to banish all secular elements – in terms of both style and instrument – from church music, to create music for God and not for humans. Because of its permanent place in the church, however, the Cecilianists did not see the organ as secular, but rather as an ideal liturgical instrument. In its rigorous, especially German form, this movement declined all influences of contemporary secular music, such as rich modern harmonization and expression. Instead, it favoured clear (old) polyphony and tonality. The stringent observance of liturgical rules and discussion of their interpretation became the focus of attention, and the Cecilianists increasingly began using the earlier edicts of the Council of Trent as justification for their rejection of particular instruments.<sup>4</sup>

The main activists of Cecilian associations were composers themselves who had great interest in spreading their ideals as well as their compositions. The need for appropriate music was great, and the

---

4 The Catholic liturgy in the nineteenth century was based on the edicts of the Council of Trent. In *Decretum de observandis et evitandis in celebratione missae* (session XXII of the Council of Trent), we find a ban of all lascivious and impure music (‘Ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas, ubi sive organo sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur, item saeculares omnes actiones, vana atque adeo profana colloquia, deambulationes, strepitus, clamores arceant, ut domus Dei vere domus orationis esse videatur ac dici possit’). This declaration is open to different interpretations. Instructions for music and the use of instruments (such as the organ) can be found in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* from 1600. Although this document was revised in 1886, and was even influenced by the ideals of Cecilianism (Mitterer 1886, 46), it refers to the praxis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and does not mention orchestral masses. Nevertheless, this document became the most important basis for argumentation in the second half of nineteenth century. Another document which already included instrumental music, was the encyclical *Annus qui* from 1749 (Kornmüller 1879, 17; Helfgott 2009, 24–25).

radical stylistic changes as well as the strong propaganda for better church music led to innumerable new compositions. A catalogue with 'appropriate' works (*Cäcilienvereinskatalog*) was published in 1870 to replace 'inappropriate' music. Repertoire lists document how masses with organ accompaniment increasingly replaced settings with other instruments or orchestras in churches in the countryside as well as in the cities (Helfgott 2009, 241ff.).

Although the ideas of the Cecilian movement were dominant in the second half of the nineteenth century, we also find composers of masses who were likely aware of these ideas but nevertheless kept up with secular contemporary compositions and pursued innovations of more modern music.<sup>5</sup> These latter composers became more important at the turn of the century.

### **Examples of the development of diverse styles of organ masses**

The majority of the following examples represent masses for few voices, since the development of organ accompaniment can be illustrated through these mostly simple settings. Because the parts for the singers are straightforward, the organ part gets more individuality in many cases. It ranges from a discreet *colla parte* accompaniment up to quasi-soloistic and virtuosic textures. The stylistic range of the masses is wide; during the long nineteenth century there was a clash of different idioms in church music. On the one hand, we find a strong and vivid tradition based on the Viennese classical style that goes back to the baroque period, but in principle is also open for innovation. On the other hand, the growing interest in the past, with its revival of the polyphony of Palestrina and his contemporaries as well as plainchant, brought about a deliberate break with the former tradition.

Example 1, from a small mass by Alois Bauer (1794–1872) for three voices and organ or instrumental ensemble, was written in the tradition

---

<sup>5</sup> For instance, Josef Gabriel Rheinberger, Vinzenz Goller as well as Franz Liszt in his *Missa quattuor vocum ad aequales concinente organo*, S 8 (1848/1869).

of the outgoing eighteenth century, the time of the German *Liedmessen*. The *ad libitum* part for the bass voice was added with small notes in the musical example.

Agnus Dei  
*Adagio u. tanto.*

O Herr ich bin nicht würdig zu dei-nem Tisch zu gehn, du  
a - ber mach mich wür - - dig er - hör er - hör mein kind - lich  
Flehn. O wah - - res O - ster - lamm.

Example 1. Alois Bauer, *Drei ganz leichte deutsche Messen für Sopran, Alt, Bass und ausgesetzte Orgel oder 2 Violin, 1 Flöte, 2 Clarinetten, 2 Horn und Violon*, Op. 42, No 1, Messe in C, excerpt, Augsburg: Anton Böhm [1840].



Figured bass remained in liturgical compositions much longer than in secular music. Thoroughbass is not only a manner of notation but also a kind of accompaniment that makes it possible to direct the music from a *basso continuo* instrument, in particular the organ. As the large number of figured bass methods published in the first half of the nineteenth century indicates, demand for them was great. Learning to realize the thoroughbass was an important skill until well into the nineteenth century. Although it was already being criticized at the beginning of the century (e.g. Weber 1813, 105ff.), its benefits were likewise highlighted (Helfgott 2009, 518–519). In the 1840s, there was some intense discussion in Vienna concerning the topic. Important personalities such as the respected teacher Simon Sechter (1788–1867) demanded modern, unfigured notation for the organ.<sup>6</sup> But even instructions for playing the organ in the 1870s taught the figured bass for realization in practice, and not only as a basis for teaching composition and analysis (Helfgott 2009, 526ff.).

Figured as well as unfigured bass parts for the organ from the middle of the century often exhibit the rhythmical leadership of the bass, which in many cases is the most elaborate part of the setting. The very clear rhythmical structures in the bass line help to hold together the ensemble. Example 3, for two equal voices with organ accompaniment, is by Ludwig Carl Seydler (1810–1888), organist of Graz Cathedral. Some sections seem to be influenced by an orchestral mass. It was common to let one or two violins double the organ part, even when the title of the mass states that it is intended just for organ (Biba 1971, 70).<sup>7</sup>

---

6 The discussion is documented in some articles in *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* (Sechter 1844, 21; Pause 1844, 147; Duk 1844, 341).

7 *Messe für vier- bis sechsstimmigen gemischten Chor und Continuo (Orgel)*, WoO 17/18A, composed in 1856–1857 by Johannes Brahms, is a late example of a mass with a figured bass that is not written out. Only the Kyrie has a continuo part, which figures sparsely. Here the bass part has been simplified and subsidiary compared to earlier masses.

4 Gloria.  
Moderato.

Glo - ria in ex.celsis De - o et in ter.ra  
Glo - ria in ex.celsis De - o et in ter.ra

pax hominibus be.ne vo.lun.ta.tis lau.damus te bene.di.cimus te a.do.ra.mus  
pax hominibus be.ne vo.lun.ta.tis lau.damus te bene.di.cimus te a.do.ra.mus

Example 3. Ludwig Carl Seydler, *6 kurze Messen für zwei gleiche Stimmen mit Begleitung der Orgel*, *Messe No 1 de St. Norberto in G*, excerpt [1852].

Looking at these settings, the question arises of how to realize their organ parts. In the outgoing eighteenth century the keyboard repertoire was still shared by the harpsichord, the organ, and other instruments. In Austria at this time, many organs had pedalboards with a range of only twelve notes, with octave repetition or still with the short octave. Until the middle of the century, there was no pedalboard with a full range of keys in Vienna. Thus, the manual part is dominant, and even in the first half of the nineteenth century we can find in organ parts many musical figures that do not differ from contemporary compositions for other keyboard instruments.

When it is not only a figured bass part, the organ part is written on two staves, and information concerning the use of the pedals is rare. The left-hand accompaniment sounds good even on small single-manual instruments, because on many contemporary organs, some stops, especially the flutes, are very soft but clear in the lower range, where the accompaniment is performed. So the melody can set apart from this gentle bass. The deep sounds were not always a viable basis for

loud sections, and the pedal of these instruments was not made for clear and quick movements. Average organists could not play agile bass parts on the pedals of such organs. There was, however, a special way of performing the bass part on these instruments: doubling only the important notes in the pedal. Depending on the character, they could last shorter or longer (Helfgott 2016). Franz Krenn (1845, 33–35), for example, explained this practice in his instructions from 1845. The first part of Example 4 is for solo, the second for *tutti*, and the third for tone repetitions in quick sections.



Example 4. The performance of bass parts on the pedal according to Franz Krenn (1845, 35).

Adding or omitting the bass fundament on the pedal brought about the possibility of differentiating between *forte* and *piano*. It has to be noted that the organ did not primarily provide quiet accompaniment – as is often the case today. There are many testimonials describing that at least when the singing threatened to become chaotic, the organist played very loudly, pulling out all the stops (e.g. Witt 1884, 37).

Even though the style familiar from the organ solos of the great masses of Mozart and Haydn, with its light accompanying figures, corresponded to contemporary organ compositions, it was later judged negatively as ‘pianistic’ or as not conforming to church music (Habert 1868, 95–96). Long notes were preferred instead, such as they were found in early vocal polyphony, in the idealised church music. The ability of the organ to produce an endless sound was considered a special capacity of the instrument, which raised it above all others (Böckeler [1890], 88).

Example 5 is another specimen of the ‘pianistic’ style. The mass, ‘to be used by the organist alone or with one or two voices’, was composed by the Tyrolean Stefan Stocker (pseudonym L. B. Est, 1795–1882). The minims in the left hand can be interpreted either as a tendency toward a more sustained sound or an absorption of a typical pianistic practice. Perhaps the use of the pedal is implied here.

The image shows a musical score for a Kyrie. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major). The lyrics are: 'Ky - ri - e - lei - son, e - lei - son. Ky - ri - e - lei - son, e - lei - son.' The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and chords in the right hand. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment with the lyrics: 'son. Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.'

Example 5. Stefan Stocker (L. B. Est), *Ganz kurze und leichte Lateinische Messe zum Gebrauche für Organisten allein, oder mit I und II Singstimmen, No 5 in B*, excerpt, Augsburg: Anton Böhm [1848].

Example 6 is a more difficult mass setting for mixed choir and soloist – but still suitable for undistinguished choirs – by the German composer Christian Heinrich Rinck (1770–1846), well known for his organ tutor.<sup>8</sup> Noticeable is the very independent organ part.

<sup>8</sup> The dedication in a copy of Domarchiv in Linz (A-LId-276) shows that Johannes Evangelist Habert was the former owner of this exemplar.

The image displays a musical score for an organ mass. It is divided into three systems. The first system, starting at measure 1, is marked 'Allegro' and features a piano accompaniment with 'Max' and 'Max et Ped.' markings. The second system, starting at measure 7, continues the piano accompaniment. The third system, starting at measure 13, introduces a vocal line with the lyrics: 'Glo - ri - a in ex - cel - sis De - o! / Preis und Eh - re sei dem All - mächt - gen!'. Below the vocal line, the piano accompaniment continues with 'Ped.' markings.

Example 6. Christian Heinrich Rinck, *Missa pro Soprano, Alto, Tenor et Basso cum obligato organorum comitatu*, op. 91, excerpt, Mainz, Paris, and Antwerpen: Schott [ca. 1829].

What later in the nineteenth century was seen as inadequate for organ and church can sometimes be regarded as the adoption of typical elements from orchestral masses which often incorporated ‘pianistic’ elements. It is remarkable that orchestral elements emerge in masses that were originally and exclusively composed for the organ. One example is the mass for three equal voices by Sigismund Ritter von Neukomm (Sigismond Neukomm, 1778–1858), see Example 7.

SANCTUS.

Andantino maestoso. (96  $\frac{m}{m}$ )

VOCE 1.  
Sanc - tus Sanc - tus Sanc - tus Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth Ple - ni sunt ece - li et  
heil - lig heil - lig

VOCE 2.  
Sanc - tus Sanc - tus Sanc - tus Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth Ple - ni sunt ece - li et  
heil - lig heil - lig

VOCE 3.  
Sanc - tus Sanc - tus Sanc - tus Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth Ple - ni sunt ece - li et  
heil - lig heil - lig

ORGANO.  
Sanc - tus Sanc - tus Do - mi - nus De - us Ple - ni sunt ece - li et  
heil - lig heil - lig

Example 7. Sigismond Neukomm, *Messe à Trois Voix Egales avec ou sans acc.[ompagnement] D'Orgue*, excerpt, Leipzig: Härtel et al. [ca. 1838].

The change of musical taste brought with it a tendency towards longer note values and a more grave and ‘solemn’ character. This corresponded to the grave sound of the new organs and the greater force that was required of their players. Liturgical music had to differ from the playful and ‘secular’ style of the previous century. Filigreed elements and rapid passages no longer had a place.

A preference for longer note values can be seen in Josef Gabriel Rheinberger’s (1839–1901) ‘Little and easy mass for one voice with organ or harmonium accompaniment’ (see Example 8). The repeated notes in the vocal part are held together by *legato* in the organ. A sustained solid sound is here the basis of the music instead of a clear rhythmically structured organ accompaniment. Pauses can be filled with long notes, and interludes are few.

The harmonium became an important instrument in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was used in chapels and small churches as a substitute for the organ. The harmonium is often mentioned on the title pages of sheet music as an alternative to the organ, as in the abovementioned mass of Rheinberger. Mass settings for harmonium usually avoid fast rhythmical elements.

In the examples above, organ accompaniment was prescribed mainly for practical reasons. In the following mass settings, instruments other than the organ were rejected as a matter of principle.

In addition to the abovementioned *Liedmessen*, *a cappella* masses without independent instrumental parts were composed in the eigh-

The image displays a musical score for a voice and organ. It consists of two systems of music. The first system starts at measure 37, marked 'meno mosso'. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and the lyrics 'Et in-car-na-tus es de spi-ri-tu san-cto ex Ma-ri-a vir-gi-'. The organ accompaniment (grand staff) starts with a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic. The second system starts at measure 41, with the vocal line continuing the lyrics 'ne, et ho-mo fac-tus est. Cru-ci-fi-xus e-ti-am pro no-bis sub'. The organ accompaniment continues with a similar texture. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C).

Example 8. Josef Rheinberger, *Kleiner und leichter Messgesang für eine Singstimme mit Orgel- oder Harmoniumbegleitung*, op. 62, excerpt, München: Werner [ca. 1870].

teenth and early nineteenth centuries in an old contrapuntal, ecclesiastical style whose paragons were Johann Joseph Fux, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, and Simon Sechter. Lent was the time for this *stile antico* counterpoint and masses based on plainchant.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the festive seasons of the liturgical year, there was no orchestra during Lent. Instruments – also the organ – only sustained the voices. Choral masses and masses in the old contrapuntal style were often named ‘*a cappella* masses’. Here the term *a cappella* only refers to the subordination of accompaniment. In most cases, it is only the organ (or *basso continuo*) that more or less doubles the vocal parts. Therefore, we often find organ masses classified as *a cappella* masses in the repertoire lists throughout the nineteenth century, regardless of the style.

Because compositions in the ‘old style’ as well as plainchant had their traditional place during Lent, it was difficult for the representatives of Cecilianism to introduce early polyphonic music without instru-

---

9 A typical example is *Missa pro Quadragesima Secundum Cantum Chorem* (*Missa in Dominica Palmarum*), MH 551 (1794), by Johann Michael Haydn (1739–1806).

ments as a new ideal style for church music and especially for the High Mass in many parts of Austria and Southern Germany; the modality and lack of an orchestra were associated with Lent and mourning.

Example 9, taken from the mass for soprano, alto, and organ or harmonium by Johannes Evangelist Habert (1833–1896), shows a typical reference to the vocal polyphony of Palestrina. The notation in long values clearly reveals the model. The mass has only two vocal parts, while the organ plays all four parts. Though written for the organ, this mass could be sung by a mixed choir as well. And because choirs often had problems finding enough male voices, many settings were composed for soprano and alto, with tenor and bass *ad libitum*. In any case, the organ played the complete harmony.

The image displays a musical score for a Mass setting by Johannes Evangelist Habert. It consists of two systems of music. Each system includes two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and a grand staff for the organ (right and left hands). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: 'A-gnus De - - i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - - re no - - bis, ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - - re no - bis, mi - se -'. The notation uses long note values (minims and crotchets) and rests, characteristic of the style mentioned in the text.

Example 9. Johannes Evangelist Habert, *Messe in Es-Dur zu Ehren der hl. Theresia über die Antiphon* 'Veni sponsa Christi' für Sopran, Alt und Orgel (oder Harmonium), op. 39, excerpt, supplement to *Zeitschrift für katholische Kirchenmusik* 1883.

Several compositions were published in different versions.<sup>10</sup> The handling of polyphony in these compositions is very free, as demonstrated by Example 10, a mass by Franz Xaver Witt (1834–1888). The first version (a) was written for five voices, while the second (b) is an alternative version for one voice or unison choir and organ.

a *Adagio. M. M. ♩ = 69.*

b *Con moto M. M. ♩ = 84.*

Example 10. Franz Xaver Witt, *Missa 'tertii Toni'*, op. 46a for five voices (a), and op. 46b for voice and organ (b), excerpts, *Fliegende Blätter* 1886.

10 An early document of the need for flexible settings, which allow performances with various combinations of singers and instrumentalists, is *Cento concerti ecclesiastici a una, a due, a tre, & a Quattro voci con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo* by Lodovico Grossi da Viadana (1602). As Viadana writes in the foreword, his aim was to transfer the great polyphonic music to few voices.

Adagio  $\text{♩} = 66$

Sopran *p* Sanc - - tus, *mf* Sanc - - tus *cresc.* Do - mi - nus

Sopran *p* Sanc - - tus *mf* Do - mi - nus

Alt *p* Sanc - - tus, Sanc - - tus Do - mi - nus

Orgel *p*

Orgel *pp*

Example 11. Josef Rheinberger, *Missa (sincere in memoriam) für dreistimmigen Frauenchor mit Orgelbegleitung*, op. 187, excerpt, Leipzig: Otto Forberg 1897.

Besides the Palestrina revival in the outgoing nineteenth century, Johann Sebastian Bach's organ music from Lutheran Germany became an important compositional model. His counterpoint influenced many compositions by Josef Rheinberger (Irmen 1970, 79ff.). Example 11, from a mass for three-voice women's choir, has a quite independent organ accompaniment.

Approaching the twentieth century, we can find a fully developed new sound ideal: the timbre and a wide spectrum of dynamics from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo* have become important. *Legato* and long notes dominate the organ parts. The organ can imitate an orchestra or just sustain the vocal parts, but it can also be very free. The pedal part is now assigned a separate staff, or is otherwise clearly marked in the score. Performance markings guide the performer.

Profound changes also took place in the Roman Catholic liturgy at the turn of the century. 'Liturgical movements' fostered self-reliance among churchgoers. Strict Cecilianism gradually dissolved. Counterpoint, polyphony, and plainchant were still important models, but the composers applied more and more elements from contemporary secular music in their liturgical pieces without controversy.

Where orchestral masses still had a place, there was great flexibility in their performance through the addition or omission of instruments. Numerous compositions were written with a ‘rubber orchestration’, as it was then called. In the time of thoroughbass, when the organ played the whole harmony, other instruments could also be spared in many cases. However, in the early twentieth century masses were really thought of as compositions for orchestra that could be played by organ alone. Depending on the abilities of the organist and the resources of his instrument, the individual timbres of the missing instruments could be imitated on the organ. Accordingly, organ parts contained annotations concerning instrumentation. The organ had become orchestral; it could substitute for the whole orchestra as well as individual instruments.<sup>11</sup>

The most famous mass of this period is probably the *Loreto-Messe* by Vinzenz Goller (1873–1953), which has been published in various versions. One is for four-part mixed choir and organ (four-to-nine-part brass ensemble *ad libitum*) or orchestra.<sup>12</sup> A second variant is for three-voice women’s choir with organ accompaniment,<sup>13</sup> and still another for three-part men’s choir and organ<sup>14</sup>. The composition has, however, been performed most frequently as an organ mass (Gurtner 1936, 64–65).

---

11 A well-known contemporary example is the Mass in D Major, op. 86, by Antonín Dvořák. The first version (B 153, 1887) was an organ mass, but at the request of the publisher, Dvořák adapted the composition for orchestra (B 175, 1892) (Janz 1999, 154ff.).

12 Vinzenz Goller, *Missa in hon[orem] B[eatae] M[ariae] V[irginis] de Loreto für vierstimmigen gemischten Chor und Orgel- (vier- bis neunstimmige Blechbegleitung ad libitum) oder Orchesterbegleitung*, op. 25, Altötting: Coppenrath [1903].

13 Vinzenz Goller, *Missa in honorem B[eatae] M[ariae] V[irginis] de Loreto für dreistimmigen Frauenchor mit Orgelbegleitung*, op. 25b, Altötting: Coppenrath [1903].

14 Vinzenz Goller, *Missa in honorem B[eatae] M[ariae] V[irginis] de Loreto für dreistimmigen Männerchor mit Orgelbegleitung*, op. 25c, Altötting: Coppenrath [1903].

## Conclusion

That the organ has become the most important instrument in church over the centuries is primarily the result of her wide-ranging applicability. The organ can lead and hold together a choir and an orchestra, but a single organist can also perform music that otherwise would require many instrumentalists (and singers). In compositions intended originally for orchestra, the organ can replace and imitate other instruments. This ability was important in the nineteenth century, when church music no longer was performed by permanent or professional ensembles, and instruments or vocalists were missing. Sometimes the whole orchestra was lacking, so that it had to be replaced by the organ. We therefore find numerous masses which reflect these flexible conditions.

In addition to the above-described practical circumstances, theoretical discussions concerning the use of the organ were important. At first, the ideas of simplicity and comprehensibility from the Age of Enlightenment dominated. Later, all instruments but the organ were rejected, ostensibly because it was through them that the secular and profane had come into the church: playful music, virtuosity, sensuous and other superficial affects. The rigid sound of the organ, however, was considered objective, free from subjective expression (Gumprecht 1862, 59), although nuanced dynamics became possible on the organ over the course of the century. The organ style of the classical period was regarded as more and more pianistic and as representing a fall or decline (Griesbacher 1913).

The new church music style of the nineteenth century, inspired as it was by historicism and Cecilianism, came to be despised as epigonous and uninspired in the twentieth century. On the other hand, compositions that used the modern harmonies of the late nineteenth century were rejected as sentimental in the times of the German organ reform movement and the neo-baroque organs.

Such polemics persist even today, albeit without much reflection, and they still dominate the literature about church music. Preconceptions often prevent appropriate discussion of the liturgical

music of the long nineteenth century. Of course, many organ masses composed in the nineteenth century are addressed to non-professional performers, unlike the great orchestral masses of the classical period, and they offer the opportunity to make good music at little cost even to undeveloped, unprofessional musicians. As seen above, the organ masses of the long nineteenth century contributed to the increasing importance of the organ as a liturgical instrument.

## Bibliography

### Scores

Bauer, Alois [1840]. *Drei ganz leichte deutsche Messen für Sopran, Alt, Bass und ausgesetzte Orgel oder 2 Violin, 1 Flöte, 2 Clarinett, 2 Horn und Violon, op. 42, No 1 Messe in C*, Augsburg: Anton Böhm.

Führer, Robert [n.d.]. *Kurze und sehr leichte Messe No 1 in G für eine Singstimme und Orgel, op. 287*, Ried: Josef Kränzl.

Goller, Vinzenz [1903a]. *Missa in hon[orem] B[eatae] M[ariae] V[irginis] de Loreto für vierstimmigen gemischten Chor und Orgel- (vier- bis neunstimmige Blechbegleitung ad libitum) oder Orchesterbegleitung, op. 25*, Altötting: Coppenrath.

Goller, Vinzenz [1903b]. *Missa in honorem B[eatae] M[ariae] V[irginis] de Loreto für dreistimmigen Frauenchor mit Orgelbegleitung, op. 25b*, Altötting: Coppenrath.

Goller, Vinzenz [1903c]. *Missa in honorem B[eatae] M[ariae] V[irginis] de Loreto für dreistimmigen Männerchor mit Orgelbegleitung, op. 25c*, Altötting: Coppenrath.

Habert, Johannes Evangelist 1883. *Messe in Es-Dur zu Ehren der hl. Theresia über die Ant. 'Veni sponsa Christi' für Sopran, Alt und Orgel (oder Harmonium), op. 39*, supplement to *Zeitschrift für katholische Kirchenmusik*.

Neukomm, Sigismund Ritter von [n.d.]. *Messe à Trois Voix Egales avec ou sans acc. D'Orgue*, Leipzig: Härtel et.al.

Rheinberger, Josef [ca. 1870]. *Kleiner und leichter Messgesang für eine Singstimme mit Orgel- oder Harmoniumbegleitung, op. 62*, München: Werner.

Rheinberger, Josef 1897. *Missa (sincere in memoriam) für dreistimmigen Frauenchor mit Orgelbegleitung, op. 187*, Leipzig: Otto Forberg.

Rinck, Christian Heinrich [ca. 1829]. *Missa pro Soprano, Alto, Tenor et Basso cum obligato organorum comitatu, op. 91*, Mainz, Paris, and Antwerpen: Schott.

Seydler, Ludwig Carl [1852]. *6 kurze Messen für zwei gleiche Stimmen mit Begleitung der Orgel, Messe No 1 de St. Norberto in G*.

Stocker, Stefan (L. B. Est) [1848]. *Ganz kurze und leichte Lateinische-Messe zum Gebrauche für Organisten allein, oder mit I und II Singstimmen, No. 5 in B*, Augsburg: Anton Böhm.

Witt, Franz Xaver 1886a. *Missa 'tertii Toni'*, op. 46a, in *Fliegende Blätter*.

Witt, Franz Xaver 1886b. *Missa 'tertii Toni'*, op. 46b, in *Fliegende Blätter*.

### Sources

Böckeler, Heinrich [1890]. *Wesen und Eigenschaft der katholischen Kirchenmusik im Anschluss an die Verordnung des Kölner Provinzial-Concils vom Jahre 1860 (Pars II, Tit. II, cap. XX, p. 121). Nebst einem Anhang: Zur Geschichte der Singschulen. Festgabe zum 1300jährigen Jubiläum der Thronbesteigung des h. Gregor des Großen 3. September 1890*, Aachen: Albert Jacobi.

*Cäcilienvereinskatalog*, published from 1870 as a supplement to *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchenmusik (Cäcilienvereinsorgan)*, Regensburg: Pustet.

Duk, August 1844. Über die Generalbaßschrift und Generalbaß-Begleitung, in *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, 4: 341.

Glöggl, Franz Xaver 1828. *Kirchenmusik-Ordnung. Erklärendes Handbuch des musikalischen Gottesdienstes, für Kapellmeister, Regenschori, Sängler u. Tonkünstler. Anleitung, wie die Kirchenmusik nach Vorschrift der Kirche und des Staats gehalten werden soll. In drei Abschnitten*, Wien: Wallishausen.

Griesbacher, Peter 1913. *Kirchenmusikalische Stilistik und Formenlehre*, Vol. 2: *Renaissance und Verfall*, Regensburg: Cöppenrath.

Gumprecht, Otto 1862. Kirchenmusik und religiöse Musik, in Heinrich Oberhoffer (ed.), *Cäcilia. Organ für katholische Kirchenmusik*, Luxemburg: V. Bück.

Gurtner, Josef (ed.) 1936. *Die katholische Kirchenmusik Österreichs im Lichte der Zahlen*, Baden: Rohrer.

Guthmann, Friedrich 1803–1804. Aphorismen über Orgelspiel, Choralgesang und Kirchenmusik, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 6: 437–441.

Habert, Johannes Evangelist 1868. Simon Sechter, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Kirchenmusik*: 1, 7–8, 16, 28–30, 34–37, 63–65, 72–74, 83–85, 94–96, 99–100.

Kornmüller, Utto 1879. Rechtskräftige Verordnungen über Kirchenmusik, *Caecilien Kalender*, 4: 16–28.

Krenn, Franz 1845. *Orgelschule oder Anleitung zum Orgelspielen*, Wien: Tobias Haslinger.

Mitterer, Ignaz 1886. Die neueste Revision des Caeremoniale episcoporum in Bezug auf die dort enthaltenen Bestimmungen über kirchliche Musik, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 1: 46–50.

*Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen*, Leipzig: C. F. Whistling 1829–1830 / Friedrich Hofmeister 1830–1835, 1840–1907 / Fr. Kistner 1836–1839.

NN 1878. Aus Wien, *Musica Sacra*, 11: 52–54.

Pause, Peter 1844. Auch eine Meinung über ausgeschriebene Orgelstimmen, *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, 4: 147.

Sechter, Simon 1844. Ueber ausgeschriebene Orgelstimmen, *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung*, 4: 21.

Viadana, Lodovico 1602. *Cento concerti ecclesiastici, a una, a due, a tre, & a quattro voci. Con il Basso continuo per sonar nell'Organo, op. 12*, Foreword, in Claudio Gallico (ed.), *Opere di Lodovico Viadana. Serie I, Musica vocale sacra*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1964.

Weber, Gottfried 1813. Über das sogenannte Generalbass-Spielen bey Aufführungen von Kirchen-Musiken, und über würdigere Anwendung der Orgel, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 15: 105–112.

Witt, Franz X. 1884. Ein neuer Beleg über die Wiener Kirchenmusik-Zustände, *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchen-Musik*, 19: 37–39.

#### Research literature

Biba, Otto 1971. Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783, in Friedrich C. Heller (ed.), *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts, Jahrbuch für österreichische Kulturgeschichte* 1/2, Eisenstadt: Inst. f. österreichische Kulturgeschichte. 7–79.

Garratt, James 2002. *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Helfgott, Maria 2009. *Die Orgelmesse: Eine Untersuchung der orgelbegleiteten Messen vom ausgehenden 18. bis zum beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert*, Dissertation, University of Vienna. <[http://othes.univie.ac.at/5624/1/2009-03-30\\_8571491.pdf](http://othes.univie.ac.at/5624/1/2009-03-30_8571491.pdf)>.

Helfgott, Maria 2016. Einige Überlegungen zum Pedalgebrauch an historischen Orgeln, *das orgelforum*, 19/20: 68–83.

Hollerweger, Hans 1975–1976. Kaiser Joseph II: ein Förderer der Kirchenmusik?, *Singende Kirche*, 23: 156–157.

Hollerweger, Hans 1976. Die Reform des Gottesdienstes zur Zeit des Josephinismus in Österreich, in Bruno Kleinheyer and Hans Bernhard Meyer (eds), *Studien zur Pastoralliturgie* 1, Regensburg: Pustet.

Irmen, Hans-Josef 1970. *Gabriel Josef Rheinberger als Antipode des Cäcilianismus*, *Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* 22, Regensburg: Bosse.

Janz, Bernhard 1999. Antonín Dvořáks Messe in D-Dur opus 86 für Soli, Chor und obligate Orgel, in Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel (ed.), *Kirchenmusik mit obligater Orgel. Untersuchungen zum süddeutsch-österreichischen Repertoire*, *Kirchenmusikalische Studien* 4, Sinzig: Studio. 153–163.

Schellert, Peter and Verena Schellert 1999. *Die Messe in der Musik. Komponisten, Werke, Literatur. Ein Lexikon*, 3 vols, Singen/Bohlingen: Bodensee-Musikverlag.

# ‘All These Rhythms Are in Nature’: ‘Free’ Rhythm in Plainchant Accompaniment in France around 1900

BENEDIKT LEBMANN

It is a well-established fact that France played a major role in the reception of Gregorian chant as well as attempts at its ‘restoration’ during the long nineteenth century (Combe 1969; Bergeron 1998; Ellis 2013). We know the importance of the Benedictine abbey of Solesmes for plainchant research and of other French and Belgian scholars of what might be called the early philology of Gregorian chant, such as François-Joseph Fétis, Joseph d’Ortigue, Louis Lambillotte, Félix Danjou and others.

Less is known, however, about one of the repercussions of Gregorian chant: the lively debate on the *accompaniment* of plainchant in the liturgy, which took place in France in the second half of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries. This debate is particularly interesting as it influenced musical notions such as tonality and rhythm on a more general level. Authors such as Louis Niedermeyer and Joseph d’Ortigue tried to establish concepts of Gregorian modality in simple music for several voices, i.e. plainchant accompaniment. Their influence on composers such as Gabriel Fauré, Erik Satie or even Franz Liszt has often been emphasized (Gervais 1971, 22–23; Tait 1989, 69; Wilhelm 1983; Gut 1977; Rathey 1993).

Subsequently – and this is the main topic of this paper – new notions of rhythm stemming from the performance practice and research on Gregorian chant were adapted into plainchant accompaniment. In this paper, I show what some of these notions were and how they were adopted in accompaniment.

First, a general overview of the debate on plainchant accompaniment in France in the nineteenth century (more precisely since about 1850) is given. Secondly, I illustrate some of the new notions of ‘free’ rhythm that were proposed in the contemporary reception of French plainsong and how they were applied in plainchant accompaniment. As a last step, I hint at the consequences of these developments for liturgical organ music and also perhaps for French music in general.

### **Plainchant accompaniment in France in the long nineteenth century**

Since about 1850, France has seen a lively debate on the accompaniment of Gregorian chant. The often-cited treatise by Niedermeyer and d’Ortigue (*Traité théorique et pratique de l’accompagnement du plainchant*), first published in 1857 and re-edited several times due to its commercial success,<sup>1</sup> is only the most famous of a large number of treatises, articles and manifestos (Niedermeyer and d’Ortigue 1876). For my PhD thesis, I studied more than 30 of them, although there are even more, sometimes rather obscure sources (Leßmann 2016). Some of them were only published privately, and there is even at least one which is targeted at children in the education of plainchant accompaniment (Rousseau 1886). In my research, I was generally able to confirm the portrayal of other scholars (Söhnner 1936; Potier 1946; Wagener 1964) who have shown that a transition to a more diatonic harmony, which one might call ‘modal’, had taken place in plainchant accompaniment. Particularly significant in this context is the use of the diatonic scales of Gregorian chant and the abandonment of the leading-note.

We can see this tendency (in a rather radical form) in the treatise of Niedermeyer and d’Ortigue. Here, six rules of plainchant accompaniment are stated. Two very important ones concern the material and

---

<sup>1</sup> According to the online catalogue of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, it was re-edited at least in 1859 (‘2e tirage’), 1876 (‘nouvelle édition’) and 1903. I quote from the 1876 edition. All editions from the ‘2e tirage’ onward contain chant settings written by Eugène Gigout, although the text is virtually identical.

the texture: (a) In all accompanying voices, only notes of the appropriate mode shall be used. This means for example that there are no leading-notes in the Dorian and the Mixolydian modes (Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue 1876, 35); (b) The voices shall only form triads (Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue 1876, 37). Further rules concern appropriate cadences, chord positions, melodic progression and the placement of the *cantus firmus* in the soprano (Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue 1876, 37–38).

As a general picture of lessons given at the influential Ecole Niedermeyer in Paris, this treatise is rather significant and has often been commented on, albeit often without regard to its larger context. It is important to underline, however, that there are also contemporary manuals claiming the exact opposite: Jean-Baptiste Jaillet, organist at Saint-Étienne in Rennes, published a method in the same year as Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue that clearly uses resources of modern harmony, including seventh chords, mediant, etc. (Jaillet 1857; see also Morelot 1861).

A second observation: Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue are not the first to demand modal harmony in plainchant accompaniment, but merely the first to do it this clearly. Before them, authors such as Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens in his *Nouveau journal d'orgue* (Lemmens 1850, partly reprinted in his *Ecole d'orgue*, Lemmens 1862), experimented with modality in music for several voices. Lemmens claims to have been instructed in this system by his prominent teacher, the music scholar François-Joseph Fétis (see Campos 2013):

In our *Journal d'Orgue*, published in 1850 and adopted by the Conservatories in Paris, Brussels and Madrid, we followed a system of plainchant accompaniment we had been advised to use by Mr Fétis, our illustrious master. This system had as principal rules: 1. the exclusive use of consonant chords, 2. the accompaniment in layered chords of four voices, including melody, in counterpoint of note against note, 3. *the complete exclusion of every note foreign to the modes of the accompanied chants.* (Lemmens 1886, 3, emphasis in original)<sup>2</sup>

---

2 'Dans notre *Journal d'Orgue*, publié en 1850 et adopté par les Conservatoires de musique de Paris, de Bruxelles et de Madrid, nous avons suivi un système d'accompagnement du plain-chant, qui nous avait été conseillé par M. Fétis, notre illustre Maître. Ce système avait pour règles principales: 1° L'emploi exclusif des accords consonants; 2° L'accompagnement en accords plaqués à quatre parties, mélodie comprise, contrepoint de note contre note; 3° *L'exclusion absolue de toute note étrangère aux modes des chants accompagnés.*' All translations in this paper are mine.

The approach of Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue is founded on aesthetic ideas about Gregorian chant. D'Ortigue believes that there is a fundamental difference between early and modern music, or, as he puts it at times, between *plain-chant* and *musique* (L'Écuyer 2003, 126). In opposing plainchant to music, d'Ortigue heavily emphasizes the alterity of chant, which appears as an 'anti-music'. In some of his writings, this dichotomy reads as follows: 'We don't want to make a comparison here between plainchant and music; one does not compare things that are completely dissimilar and whose conditions, point of origin, conception and composition differ essentially' (d'Ortigue 1861, 283).<sup>3</sup>

This distinction, as d'Ortigue explains, concerns the musical material, especially the two different forms of harmony we can see in plainchant and in 'music'. Often he calls them *tonalité ancienne* and *tonalité moderne*, or simply *modalité* and *tonalité* (d'Ortigue 1971, XIX). The abundance of manuals on plainchant accompaniment offers instructive source material on the genesis and development of these notions in France during the nineteenth century (see Leßmann 2016, 183–238, for a more detailed account).

The idea of 'Gregorian' modality is then transferred to music without cantus firmus: Alexandre Guilmant, Eugène Gigout and other composers publish collections of free liturgical organ music in the church modes. They explicitly connect these collections to Gregorian chant by giving them titles such as *Interludes dans la tonalité grégorienne* (Guilmant 1888) or *Album grégorien* (Gigout 1895; see Leßmann 2016, 298–333).

Rather similar developments concerning rhythm can be seen some decades later. Their origins and adaption in plainchant accompaniment shall now be explained in greater detail.

### Notions of 'free' rhythm

Much has been written on the performance practice of Gregorian chant. Today, even if it is agreed that Gregorian neumes contain rhyth-

---

3 'Nous ne voulons pas faire ici de comparaison entre le plain-chant et la musique; on ne compare pas entre elles des choses tout à fait dissemblables et dont la donnée, le point de départ, la conception et la composition diffèrent essentiellement.'

mic information, what remains controversial is whether and how this information might be understood today and used in performance. Movements such as Gregorian Semiology have proposed highly influential solutions to this question, which I do not discuss here. However, as the Gregorian Semiology of Eugène Cardine has French origins and builds on older practices from France, the developments that I do examine here are part of the history of plainchant performance (see Berry 1979).

Without entering into too much detail, I would like to outline some general tendencies of the discussion about Gregorian rhythm in France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There certainly has been a great deal of controversy on this subject. Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that there is at least one aspect of common ground in the majority of French theories at this time: the notion of rhythmic 'freedom', which is thought to be characteristic of Gregorian chant. We can see this as early as in 1859 in Augustin Gontier's *Méthode raisonnée de plain-chant*. Gontier was a friend of Prosper Guéranger, the founder of the abbey of Solesmes (Combe 1969, 15). According to Gontier, '[p]lainchant is a modulated recitation whose notes have an indeterminate value and whose rhythm – essentially free – is the rhythm of speech' (Gontier 1859, 1).<sup>4</sup>

Many French authors of this time emphasize the rhythmic freedom of monophonic plainchant and draw comparisons to speech. Often, the term 'r[h]ythme libre' is used, for example in Joseph Pothier's much read *Les Mélodies grégoriennes* from 1880:

There are two kinds of proportion and consequently two kinds of rhythm. If proportion is established on a rigorous and invariable basis, like in verses, it is measured; if proportion is only determined by the natural instinct of the ear, like in speech, it is free. (Pothier 1982, 179)<sup>5</sup>

---

4 'Le plain-chant est une récitation modulée dont les notes ont une valeur indéterminée et dont le rythme, essentiellement libre, est celui du discours.' At this stage, we often find the older spelling 'rythme' instead of 'rhythm'.

5 'Il y a deux sortes de proportion, par conséquent deux sortes de rythme. Si la proportion est établie sur des bases rigoureuses et immuables, comme dans les vers, le rythme est mesuré; si la proportion n'est déterminée que par l'instinct naturel de l'oreille, comme dans le discours, le rythme est libre.'

Borrowing a term introduced by Pothier – the word *nombre* (number) – André Mocquereau proposed in 1908 a new theory of Gregorian rhythm in performance. Mocquereau’s doctrine, published in *Le nombre musical grégorien*, is today seen as dated (Agustoni 1993, 224). Nevertheless, it is historically important as it was the starting point for scholars such as Cardine. Furthermore, it greatly influenced contemporary thought on Gregorian rhythm, as I will try to show. Mocquereau also emphasizes the freedom of rhythm. However, rhythmic freedom as he sees it is not arbitrary, but rather structured. One could say that Mocquereau tries to ‘re-rhythmize’ free rhythm:

All these rhythms are in nature. The footstep of man is binary; his respiration is ternary. [...] The audible and visible waves of sea’s streams, the movements of the mountains, the waves of harvest, the sound of wind, etc., all this is for sight and hearing marvellously rhythmized, numbered [nombré]; but all this escapes regular pace. Those who affirm that free or mixed rhythm is the most natural rhythm are perhaps right, because everything in the great nature, without escaping either rhythm or number, or proportion, or harmony, is safeguarded from the mathematic and artificial laws, which too often regulate that which is the fruit of the creative genius of man. (Mocquereau 1908, 55–56)<sup>6</sup>

Mocquereau believes that Gregorian rhythm consisted of the free combination of binary and ternary units. I therefore believe that the common distinction between equalist and mensuralist theories (Stäblein 1984) is not helpful for this period in France, since the discussion takes place not so much between proponents of strictly equal

---

6 ‘Tous ces rythmes sont dans la nature. La marche de l’homme est binaire; sa respiration est ternaire. [...] Les ondulations sonores et visibles des flots de la mer, les mouvements des montagnes, les ondulations de la moisson, le bruit du vent, etc. tout cela est pour la vue et pour l’ouïe merveilleusement rythmé, nommé; mais tout cela échappe à une marche régulière. Ceux qui affirment que le rythme libre ou mixte est le plus naturel des rythmes ont peut-être raison; car tout dans la grande nature, sans échapper ni au rythme, ni au nombre, ni à la proportion, ni à l’harmonie, est soustrait aux lois mathématiques et artificielles qui règlent trop souvent ce qui est le fruit du génie créateur de l’homme.’

rhythmic values or of measured values. The conflict resides between different forms of 'free' rhythm. Strict mensuralism, the conviction that Gregorian rhythm is governed by exact mathematic proportions, was rarely advocated for in France around 1900.<sup>7</sup> John Rayburn, in his book about the rhythm controversy, has proposed distinguishing among three parties in the controversy about rhythm: accentualists (who, with Pothier, believe in the deduction of rhythm from speech), 'Solesmes' (who, with Mocquereau, develops a more complex form of rhythmic performance which still claims to be free and natural) and mensuralists (who believe in rhythmic proportions such as 2:1) (Rayburn 1964).

As I aim to show, this discussion also affects plainchant accompaniment, just as theories of modal harmony did a couple of years before. A first step towards free rhythm in accompaniment was presented by the Belgian musicologist and composer François-Auguste Gevaert. In his 1871 *Vade-mecum de l'organiste*, he hints at the possibility of creating a more flexible rhythm in plainchant accompaniment: 'No one is going to deny that the technique used even today of assigning a chord to every tone of the melody is one of the major reasons for the monotony and heaviness plainchant is so much accused of' (Gevaert 1871, 7).<sup>8</sup>

Gevaert then compares two accompanied versions of the *Alma redemptoris mater*, one with semibreves throughout, and the other with mainly minims and crotchets (and even triplets), his preference being the latter version.

Whereas Gevaert's doctrine might be considered just another mensuralist concept of plainchant, the following source was clearly influenced by the contemporary discussion about 'rythme libre' in France: In 1892, the cleric and music scholar Antonin Lhoumeau published his *Rythme, exécution et accompagnement du chant grégorien*, 16 years be-

---

7 Nancy Phillips (2000, 360) mentions Jules Jeannin and Georges Houdard as exceptions to this rule.

8 'Personne ne niera que la manière suivie jusqu'à présent de donner un accord à chaque son de la mélodie ne soit une des principales causes de la monotonie et de la lourdeur tant reprochées au plain-chant.'

fore the first volume of Mocquereau's *Le nombre*. Lhoumeau is of prime importance for the history of plainchant accompaniment. By 1884, he had already published his *De l'Harmonisation des mélodies grégoriennes*, which Francis Potier mentions as the first treatise to offer a rhythmic accompaniment instead of (as he puts it) an 'arhythmic' accompaniment of note against note (Potier 1946, 67, 77). Before entering into the treatment of chant accompaniment, Lhoumeau discusses the rhythm of Gregorian chant and its aesthetic in general, referring to previous contributions by Gevaert and Van Damme in Belgium and criticizing the positions held by protagonists of the Cecilian Movement in Germany, such as Haberl and Witt (Lhoumeau 1892, 164, 238, 281).

Lhoumeau uses the terms *arsis* and *thesis*, the difference between accentuated and non-accentuated syllables (Lhoumeau 1892, 30). Just as Mocquereau after him, Lhoumeau believes in the alternation of binary and ternary rhythms:

This mixture of binary and ternary forms thus contributes a lot to the elegance which distinguishes this chant. I will furthermore observe that notwithstanding the great art of its composition, there is a lot of naturalness and lightness in this rhythm. (Lhoumeau 1892, 168)<sup>9</sup>

The concept of arsis and thesis then is the basis for Lhoumeau's concept of plainchant accompaniment. Lhoumeau creates longer phrases which are accompanied by one chord only. The rhythmic units thus created can be binary or ternary, as his short examples show (e.g. in Example 1). The rhythmic units Lhoumeau uses are all equal; I presume that they are intended to be executed rather freely.<sup>10</sup>

---

9 'Ce mélange de formes binaires et ternaires contribue donc beaucoup à l'élégance qui distingue ce chant. J'observerai encore que, nonobstant l'art très grand de sa composition, il y a beaucoup de naturel et d'aisance dans ce rythme.'

10 Given these examples, I cannot see why Bruno Stäblein classifies Lhoumeau as a mensuralist. Stäblein 1984, 74.



Example 1. Lhoumeau 1892, 241: an extract from the Alleluia *Justus germinabit*.

The sequence of binary and ternary groups then becomes an important concept in plainchant accompaniment and steadily replaces the older principle of using chords of equal duration for any note. Another example of this principle, contemporary with Lhoumeau, would be the *Méthode élémentaire* by Emile Brune, in which groups of two and three quavers similarly occur in succession (Brune 1884, quoted in Potier 1946, 77). A more detailed and very systematic approach leading to similar results (as far as rhythmic grouping is concerned) is proposed by Lepage (1910), who systematically categorizes different kinds of notes foreign to the accompanying chords.

The practice of alternating between binary and ternary units can be traced at least up to the 1920s, when it is used in a remarkable way by Jean Hébert Desrocquettes and Henri Potiron, who also extend the concept of modal harmony in an astonishingly modern way in order to 'satisfy the requirements of modern aesthetics as well as those of Gregorian aesthetics' (Hébert Desrocquettes and Potiron 1929, XXI).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> 'Nous avons donc essayé de satisfaire aux exigences de l'esthétique moderne en même temps qu'à celles de l'esthétique grégorienne'. – Hébert Desrocquettes was a monk at Solesmes, Potiron *maître de chapelle* at Sacré-Cœur and professor at the *Institut grégorien* in Paris.

Rhythm is nonetheless treated before modality in their publication; since Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue, who hardly treated it at all, it has become an equally important aspect in the debate.

The development of the debate that led to this new concept of Gregorian rhythm and modality in accompaniment cannot be treated here in more extensive detail.<sup>12</sup> Suffice it to say that a notion of 'free' rhythm was present from the 1890s on and takes form in the alternation of binary and ternary groups, rendering the older principle of note against note ever more obsolete. It should be emphasized, however, that this development of 'free rhythm' arose before a general knowledge of Mocquereau's doctrine, manifesting itself in the use of rhythmic signs, existed (as verifiable by publication).<sup>13</sup>

### **Adaptions of modality and free rhythm outside of plainchant accompaniment**

As a last point, I would like to briefly show possible repercussions of these developments on French liturgical organ music and perhaps even French music in general from this period. The debate about plainchant accompaniment not only affected church music in a restricted sense but also compositional practices on a more general level. This can be seen in the fact that some composers actively took part in the discussion: as early as 1857 César Franck contributed plainchant settings and

---

12 Further sources are mentioned in Potier 1946, even though only some of them are commented on in detail. It is important to note, however, that the chanoine Potier is in no way objective. See for example his commentary on Hébert Desrocquettes and Potiron 1929, whom he praises as having presented the first 'true doctrine of accompaniment, which is not only objective and founded on Gregorian precepts but also truly artistic.' ('il [cet ouvrage] nous dote pour la première fois d'une véritable doctrine d'accompagnement, objective, fondée sur les faits grégoriens et vraiment artistique.' Potier 1946, 95).

13 The most detailed publication is Mocquereau 1908. Previously, Mocquereau had anonymously given a partial presentation of his theories in the seventh volume of *Paléographie musicale* (Bénédictins de Solesmes 1901, cf. Mocquereau 1908, 16–17). Rhythmic signs appear in an alternate edition of the Kyriale of 1905 (Kyriale 1905). This led to an intense discussion involving the protest of Charles-Marie Widor at the Vatican. See Combe 1969, 437; Ellis 2013, 62. According to Combe (1969, 194), Mocquereau's preoccupation with rhythm had begun around 1896.

was already hinting at the possibility of not accompanying every note with a separate chord (Lambillotte and Franck 1857).<sup>14</sup> Other examples include Niedermeyer's son-in-law Eugène Gigout (Niedermeyer and d'Ortigue 1876); Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens (1886), one of Niedermeyer's precursors in the field of diatonic harmony; Maurice Emmanuel (1913), who only allowed psalms to be accompanied, and, much later, Marcel Dupré (1937). The Parisian church music schools, *Ecole Niedermeyer* and *Schola Cantorum*, served as disseminators of accompaniment concepts and educated many French composers. Their journals, *La Maîtrise* and *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, respectively, contributed to the discourse about Gregorian chant, its accompaniment, liturgical music and other related aspects.

Benjamin Van Wye has shown how composers such as Alexandre Guilmant – one of the founders of the Paris *Schola Cantorum* – adapted these new notions of Gregorian rhythm into their liturgical music (Van Wye 1971, 79–83; see also Van Wye 1974). In pieces such as the *Vêpres de la Fête de Sainte-Cécile*, Guilmant uses similar procedures in organ music, making it purely instrumental and without necessarily accompanying singing (such as *alternatim* versets). The free combination of quavers there creates unusual bars of 10 or 11 beats (Guilmant 1897, 4; cf. Van Wye 1971, 82; Van Wye 1974, 15–16).<sup>15</sup> In another piece by Guilmant, an Offertory for organ ('In virtute tua Domine', Example 2), we can see a constant exchange between binary and ternary rhythms, on the level of both beat and metre.

Just as happened with modality, which was explicitly used in collections of organ pieces by Guilmant or Gigout, rhythm was also transferred from the performance of Gregorian chant via chant accompaniment to liturgical organ music. Stylistically, there seems to have been a fluid transition from chant accompaniment via *alternatim* versets with

---

14 'En règle générale, il ne faut point faire entendre sur l'orgue les notes de passage ou petites notes; cependant un organiste de goût pourra quelquefois les accompagner dans les traits ascendants.' Lambillotte and Franck 1857, IV. – Franck's settings, however, are only mildly affected by this insight.

15 Guilmant's collection *L'Organiste liturgiste*, is discussed in Zimmerman and Archbold 1995; his complete oeuvre is portrayed in Lueders 2002.

The image shows a musical score for piano, consisting of three systems of music. The top system is marked 'Allegretto' and 'Récit' with a dynamic marking of 'mf'. The score is written in a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The time signature changes from 6/8 to 3/4 and back to 6/8. The music features complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth notes, and a variety of chordal textures. The bottom two systems continue the piece with similar rhythmic and harmonic complexity, including some chromaticism and dynamic markings like '2' indicating fingerings.

Example 2. Alexandre Guilmant, opening of *Offertoire pour le commun des confesseurs non pontifes sur une phrase de l'offertoire In virtute*, op. 87, 1898.

*cantus firmus* to other, more independent forms of liturgical organ music.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, traces of modality and free rhythm that occurred in French (sacred and secular) music around 1900 might have Gregorian chant (or, more precisely, what was regarded as Gregorian chant) as one source of inspiration.<sup>17</sup>

The chant scholar Amédée Gastoué in 1911 pointedly described works by Vincent d'Indy and Claude Debussy not only in terms that hint at opposition to German music, but also as nothing less than the result of the encounter with Gregorian chant (which itself is elevated to the status of art, as seen in the title of Gastoué's book, *L'Art grégorien*):

16 The French alternatim tradition cannot be treated here in more detail. See (among others) Morche 1979; Van Wye 1982; Ochse 1994; Mielke 1996.

17 This is not to suggest a monocausal explanation. Modality as well as free rhythm obviously occur in other repertoires as well. One might mention among others the folk song (*chanson populaire*) and Russian music as particularly relevant for the French discourse about music at that time – a complex, overlapping discourse which cannot be analysed as a whole here.

[H]ow can one not be struck to see not only the tonality, but even the rhythms and the forms of this ancient art clothe the works of a Vincent d'Indy or a Debussy? At a time when music, almost succumbing to the development of excessive chromaticism and unprecedented polyphony, seemed to risk returning into wild barbarism, the mixture of these obsolete forms offers a curious antithesis, worthy of the attention of informed minds, where this old but eternally young Gregorian art is revived with such great freshness! (Gastoué 1911, 198–199)<sup>18</sup>

Extending the (alleged) analogy even further, in 1907 the music critic Louis Laloy, described French music in its entirety as the product of cultural heritage, as a glorious result of the imprint that the constant presence of Gregorian chant left on composers' minds. According to Laloy, next to modal harmony, it was the 'liberté rythmique' (Laloy 1907, 78; cf. Keym 2008) that gave French music 'all of its freedom [...], all of its variety of accents, all of its richness of chords and all the ease of its appearance' (Laloy 1907, 80).<sup>19</sup> Among the examples Laloy mentions is Debussy's opera *Pelléas et Mélisande*, which famously uses declamatory rhythm close to speech for its vocal part (Kunze 1984).

The relevance of the debate about modality and free rhythm (which become tangible in plainchant accompaniment) goes beyond the field of organ music, as demonstrated in one example that seems to be influenced by both 'Gregorian' harmony and rhythm as they were conceptualized at the time. A clear separation of the influences that sung plainchant, plainchant accompaniment and liturgical music may have had on contemporary composition is of course not possible: rather, a collective imagery of Gregorian chant has to be presumed, where no-

---

18 'combien ne sera-t-on pas frappé de voir non seulement les tonalités, mais les rythmes eux-mêmes, et les formes de cet art antique, revêtir les œuvres d'un Vincent d'Indy ou d'un Debussy? Au moment où la musique comme succombant sous le développement d'un chromatisme excessif et d'une polyphonie inouïe, paraît menacée de retourner à une sauvage barbarie, quelle antithèse curieuse, digne de l'attention des esprits avertis, n'offre pas le mélange de ses formes caduques où s'insuffle à nouveau, avec quelle fraîcheur, l'antique art grégorien éternellement jeune!'

19 'Toute la liberté de notre musique, toute sa variété d'accents, toute sa richesse d'accord et toute son aisance d'allure, elle les doit au chant grégorien.'

tions of modality and free rhythm are crucial. Plainchant accompaniment therefore is used here as a key to understanding the general ideas about Gregorian chant and their possible consequences, as they add a certain concreteness to historical ideas which are otherwise only indirectly accessible today by using verbal sources. (This is especially true of rhythm: in general, a plainchant setting in four voices, usually using some kind of metre, more explicitly reveals how ‘Gregorian’ rhythm might have been conceived than any theoretic treatise.)

Instead of looking at examples that have been mentioned elsewhere in this context (especially by Debussy and d’Indy), I would like to take a look at the composer Déodat de Séverac, an equally instructive case. Although lesser known today outside of France, Séverac is a very interesting composer who was influenced by different aesthetic currents during his younger years in Paris (Pasler 1991) before moving back to Southern France under the sign of the regionalist movement (Waters 2008).<sup>20</sup> Séverac, born in 1872, is part of a generation that was affected by newer perspectives on Gregorian chant after its rediscovery during the nineteenth century. He studied at the Parisian *Schola Cantorum* (his organ teacher being Guilmant) and took courses in Solesmes with André Mocquereau (Buser Picard 2007, 38–40; Guillot 2010, 29; Hala 2017, 447–461).<sup>21</sup> Coming back from Solesmes as a 24-year-old student in 1897, Séverac wrote an enthusiastic letter to his family:

*Never have drama or symphony provided me with so much emotion and joy! The Gregorian melody is the summum of Art; for me it is the highest expression of Love and of Suffering which lets us hope ... But to grasp all of its depth, one must hear it here, especially when sung by the*

---

20 Although Séverac is an important figure, he of course figures here as an exemplary case. Many other examples of plainchant reception in French music are given by Morent 2013 and Leßmann 2016. Gonnard 2000 examines modality in nineteenth-century French music with some reference to plainchant reception.

21 In 1897 Mocquereau also held a series of eight lectures on Gregorian chant at the *Schola Cantorum*. Combe 1969, 199.

Benedictine nuns. (Séverac 2002, 47; also quoted in Buser Picard 2007, 41, emphasis in original)<sup>22</sup>

Apart from compositions, in which Séverac explicitly refers to Gregorian chant by using its melodies (Guillot 2001; Hala 2017, 458), there are also works with more implicit references to what was commonly regarded as Gregorian modality and rhythm. Séverac's piano cycle *Le chant de la terre* from 1900 (Séverac 1993, 135), published three years later (Séverac 1903), depicts scenes from rural life in southern France, including many religious ceremonies and quasi-religious experiences with nature. The fellow *scholiste* Albéric Magnard criticized Séverac for the excessive use of modality in this composition, expressing the concern that 'the study of plainchant seems to have weakened your feeling of tonality' (Magnard 1997, 196, quoted in Guillot 2010, 145).<sup>23</sup>

The introduction of *Le Chant de la terre* (see Example 3) starts with a passage without barlines, in a free, alternating rhythm. The Dorian sixth (B natural) is stressed, as well as the seventh (C), which is considered characteristic of the Dorian mode. The beginning, with its ascent to the fifth, might also appear in real plainchant melodies. The bourdon-like fifth in the bass also alludes to more archaic music. Here, Séverac clearly refers to contemporary ideas about Gregorian chant.<sup>24</sup>

---

22 '*Jamais drame ni symphonie ne m'ont procuré autant d'émotion et de joie! La mélodie grégorienne est le summum de l'Art; c'est pour moi l'expression la plus haute de l'Amour et de la Souffrance qui fait espérer .... Mais pour en saisir toute la portée, il faut l'entendre ici surtout chez les Bénédictines*'. The letter was written on 12 July 1897. – Benedictine nuns live at the *Abbaye Sainte-Cécile*, also at Solesmes, not far away from the *Abbaye Saint-Pierre* with its monks. Their chant has often been praised, for example by fin-de-siècle author Joris-Karl Huysmans in his novel *La Cathédrale* (Huysmans 1898, 267–268; cf. Hala 2011).

23 '[L]'étude du plain-chant semble avoir affaibli un peu votre sentiment de la tonalité'.

24 Going into more detail and considering the further development of the cycle, one would of course also have to mention other important references, such as the cyclic form of the Franckian school or the importance of the folksong movement in France at that time. See Leßmann 2016, 347–361 for a more detailed description of Séverac's cycle.

Lent. (EXPOSITION DU THÈME.)

The musical score is for the beginning of 'Le Chant de la terre, Prologue' by Déodat de Séverac. It is in 3/4 time and features a piano accompaniment with a vocal line. The piano part consists of chords and single notes, with dynamic markings of *p* and *pp*. The vocal line is a simple melody with some triplets. The score includes performance instructions such as 'Loin', 'Sourdine', and 'Enlevez la sourdine.'

Example 3. Déodat de Séverac, *Le Chant de la terre, Prologue*, [1903], beginning.

The French debate about plainchant accompaniment goes along with profound changes in notions of harmony and rhythm and to some extent inspires them. Church modes are one source for the late-nineteenth-century renaissance of modality, especially in France. Similarly, the alleged ('natural') freedom of Gregorian chant fuels the reflection on rhythmic flexibility – in liturgical organ music and beyond.

## Bibliography

### Scores

- Gigout, Eugène [1895]. *Album grégorien pour orgue ou harmonium*, 2 vols, Paris: Leduc (A. L.9507/9515).
- Guilmant, Alexandre [1888]. *60 interludes dans la tonalité grégorienne (courts et faciles)*, Paris: Schott (A. G. 49).
- Guilmant, Alexandre 1897. *L'Organiste liturgiste* op. 65, 7<sup>e</sup> livraison, Paris: Schott (A. G. 44).
- Guilmant, Alexandre 1898. *Offertoire pour le commun des confesseurs non pontifes sur une phrase de l'offertoire In virtute*, op. 87, Paris: Schola Cantorum.
- Lemmens, Jacques-Nicolas 1850. *Nouveau journal d'orgue à l'usage des organistes du culte catholique*, Vol. 1, livraison 7 (unpaged), Brussels: Vanderauwera 1850.
- Lemmens, Jacques-Nicolas 1862. *École d'orgue basée sur le plain-chant romain*, 2 vols, Mainz: Schott (19009).
- Séverac, Déodat de [1903]. *Le Chant de la terre. Poème géorgique pour piano*, Paris: Mutuelle (E. M. 3035).

### Sources

- Bénédictins de Solesmes, Les 1901. *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 7, *Antiphonarium tonale missarum. XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Codex H. 159 de la Bibliothèque de l'École de médecine de Montpellier*, Solesmes: Saint-Pierre.
- Brune, Emile 1884. *Méthode élémentaire de l'accompagnement du plain-chant grégorien*, Paris: Haton (with several re-editions).
- Dupré, Marcel 1937. *Manuel d'accompagnement du plain-chant grégorien*, Paris: Leduc.
- Emmanuel, Maurice 1913. *Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes*, Lyon: Janin.
- Gastoué, Amédée 1911. *L'Art grégorien*, Paris: Alcan.
- Gevaert, François-Auguste 1871. *Vade-mecum de l'organiste contenant les chants les plus usuels de l'église catholique*, Ghent/Liège: Gevaert.
- Gontier, Augustin 1859. *Méthode raisonnée de plain-chant: Le plain-chant considéré dans son rythme, sa tonalité et ses modes*, Paris: Palmé/Le Mans: Monnoyer.
- Hébert Desrocquettes, Jean and Henri Potiron 1929. *Vingt-neuf pièces grégoriennes harmonisées avec commentaires rythmiques[,] modaux et harmoniques. Commentaires*, Paris: Hérelle.
- Huysmans, Joris-Karl 1898. *La Cathédrale*, 6th ed., Paris: Stock.
- Jaillet, Jean-Baptiste 1857. *Méthode nouvelle pour apprendre facilement l'accompagnement du plain-chant*, Paris: Rénier-Canaux/Rennes: Jaillet.
- Kyriale 1905. *Kyriale seu ordinarium missae cum canto gregoriano ad exemplar editionis vaticanae concinnatum et rhythmicis signis a Solesmensibus monachis diligenter ornatum*, Rom/Tournai: Desclée.

- Laloy, Louis 1907. Le Chant grégorien et la musique française, *Mercur musical et Bulletin français de la S. I. M.*, 3/1: 75–80.
- Lambillotte, Louis and César Franck 1857. *Chant grégorien restauré par le R. P. Lambillotte, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Accompagnements d'orgue par C. Franck (ainé), Organiste, Maître de chapelle de la Paroisse S.-Jean-S.-François. Première livraison. Chants communs*, Paris: Le Clere.
- Lemmens, Jacques-Nicolas 1886. *Du chant grégorien: Sa mélodie, son rythme, son harmonisation*, ed. by Joseph Duclos, Ghent: Annoot-Braeckman.
- Lepage, [Abbé] L. 1900. *Traité de l'accompagnement du plain-chant: 2ème partie concernant les notes étrangères aux accords*, Rennes: Bossard Bonnel.
- Lhoumeau, [Antonin] 1884. *De l'Harmonisation des mélodies grégoriennes et du plain-chant en général*, Paris: Colombier.
- Lhoumeau, Antonin 1892. *Rythme, exécution et accompagnement du Chant Grégorien*, Lille/Tournai: Desclée/Grenoble: Baratier et Dardelet.
- Magnard, Albéric 1997. *Correspondance (1888–1914)*, ed. by Claire Vlach, Paris: Société Française de Musicologie.
- Mocquereau, André 1908. *Le Nombre musical grégorien ou Rythmique grégorienne. Théorie et pratique*, Vol. 1, Rome/Tournai: Desclée.
- Morelot, Stephen 1861. *Eléments d'harmonie appliquée à l'accompagnement du plain-chant d'après les traditions des anciennes écoles*, Paris: Lethielleux.
- Niedermeyer, Louis and Joseph d'Ortigue 1876. *Traité théorique et pratique de l'accompagnement du plain-chant*, Paris: Repos 1857; *Nouvelle édition*, Paris: Heugel.
- D'Ortigue, Joseph 1861. *La Musique à l'église*, Paris: Didier.
- D'Ortigue, Joseph 1971. *Dictionnaire liturgique, historique et théorique de plain-chant et de musique d'église au moyen âge et dans les temps modernes*, Paris: Potier 1854, Reprint New York: Da Capo.
- Pothier, Joseph 1982. *Les Mélodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition*, Tournai: Desclée 1880. Reprint Hildesheim/New York: Olms.
- Potier, Francis 1946. *L'Art de l'accompagnement du chant grégorien: Défense et illustration de l'harmonie grégorienne et Essai de bibliographie critique*, Tournai: Desclée.
- Rousseau, Arthur 1886. *Le petit harmoniste grégorien: Nouvelle méthode pour l'accompagnement du plain-chant. Avec des notions d'harmonie pour l'accompagnement des cantiques populaires*, Prignonieux-Laforce: Rousseau.
- Séverac, Déodat de 1993. *Écrits sur la musique*, ed. by Pierre Guillot, Liège: Mardaga.
- Séverac, Déodat de 2002. *La Musique et les lettres: Correspondance*, ed. by Pierre Guillot, Sprimont: Mardaga.

#### Research literature

- Agustoni, Luigi 1993. Gregorianischer Choral, in Hans Musch (ed.), *Musik im Gottesdienst: Ein Handbuch zur Grundausbildung in der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, Vol. 1, Regensburg: Con Brio. 199–356.
- Bergeron, Katherine 1998. *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.

- Berry, Mary 1979. Gregorian Chant: The Restoration of the Chant and Seventy-five Years of Recording, *Early Music*, 7: 197–217.
- Buser Picard, Catherine 2007. *Déodat de Séverac ou Le chantre du Midi*, Troinex: Papillon.
- Campos, Rémy 2013. *François-Joseph Fétis musicographe*, Geneva: Droz.
- Combe, Pierre 1969. *Histoire de la restauration du chant grégorien d'après des documents inédits: Solesmes et l'Édition Vaticane*, Solesmes: Abbaye de Solesmes (English translation: *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, Washington: Catholic University of America Press 2003).
- Ellis, Katharine 2013. *The Politics of Plainchant in Fin-de-siècle France*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Gervais, Françoise 1971. *Étude comparée des langages harmoniques de Fauré et de Debussy*, Paris: Richard-Masse.
- Gonnard, Henri 2000. *La Musique modale en France de Berlioz à Debussy*, Paris: Honoré Champion.
- Guillot, Pierre 2001. Le Cantus firmus: Un alibi de la musique française pour orgue (1870–1914), in Édith Weber (ed.), *De l'église à la salle de concert*, Paris: Presse de l'Univ. de Paris-Sorbonne 2001. 173–177.
- Guillot, Pierre 2010. *Déodat de Séverac: Musicien français*, Paris etc.: Harmattan.
- Gut, Serge 1977. Die historische Position der Modalität bei Franz Liszt, in Wolfgang Suppan (ed.), *Kongress-Bericht Eisenstadt 1975*, Graz: Akad. Druck.- und Verl.-Anst. 97–103.
- Hala, Patrick 2011. Solesmes et les musiciens au tournant du 20ème siècle, *Études grégoriennes*, 38: 245–261.
- Hala, Patrick 2017. *Solesmes et les musiciens*, Vol. 1, *La Schola Cantorum*, Solesmes: Éditions de Solesmes.
- Keym, Stefan 2008. Franz Liszt und die Ästhetik der französischen Gregorianik-Renaissance, in Detlef Altenburg and Harriet Oelers (eds), *Liszt und Europa*, Laaber: Laaber. 99–112.
- Kunze, Stefan 1984. Der Sprechgesang und das Unsagbare: Bemerkungen zu Pelléas et Mélisande von Debussy, in Werner Breig (ed.), *Analysen. Beiträge zu einer Problemgeschichte des Komponierens. Festschrift für Hans-Heinrich Eggebrecht zum 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart: Steiner. 338–360.
- L'Écuyer, Sylvia 2003. Introduction, in Joseph d'Ortigue, *Écrits sur la musique 1827–1846*, ed. by Sylvia L'Écuyer, Paris: Société française de musicologie. 11–210.
- Leßmann, Benedikt 2016. *Die Rezeption des gregorianischen Chorals in Frankreich im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Studien zur ideen- und kompositionsgeschichtlichen Resonanz des 'plainchant'*, Hildesheim etc.: Olms.
- Lueders, Kurt 2002. *Alexandre Guilmant: Organiste et compositeur*, Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris IV.
- Mielke, Andreas 1996. *Untersuchungen zur Alternativ-Organmesse*, Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter.
- Morche, Gunther 1979. *Muster und Nachahmung: Eine Untersuchung der klassischen französischen Orgelmusik*, Bern/Munich: Francke.
- Morent, Stefan 2013. *Das Mittelalter im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Kompositionsgeschichte in Frankreich*, Stuttgart: Steiner.

- Ochse, Orpha 1994. *Organists and Organ Playing in Nineteenth-Century France and Belgium*, Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Pasler, Jann 1991. La Schola Cantorum et les Apaches: L'Enjeu du pouvoir artistique ou Séverac médiateur et critique, in Hugues Dufourt and Joël-Marie Fauquet (eds), *La Musique. Du théorique au politique*, Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres. 313–343.
- Phillips, Nancy 2000. Notationen und Notationslehren von Boethius bis zum 12. Jahrhundert, in Michel Huglo et al. (eds), *Die Lehre vom einstimmigen liturgischen Gesang*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 293–623.
- Rathey, Markus 1993. Gregorianische Themen in Franz Liszts Orgelwerken, *Österreichisches Orgelforum*, 1993/1–3, 433–442.
- Rayburn, John 1964. *Gregorian Chant: A History of the Controversy Concerning its Rhythm*, New York: Rayburn.
- Söhner, Leo 1936. *Die Orgelbegleitung zum gregorianischen Gesang*, Regensburg: Pustet.
- Stäblein, Bruno 1984. Der Rhythmus des gregorianischen Chorals: Äqualismus und Mensuralismus, in Bruno Stäblein, *Musik und Geschichte im Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by Horst Brunner and Karlheinz Schlager, Göttingen: Kümmerle. 63–101.
- Tait, Robin 1989. *The Musical Language of Gabriel Fauré*, New York: Garland.
- Van Wye, Benjamin 1971. *The Influence of the Plainsong Restoration on the Growth and Development of the Modern French Liturgical Organ School*, DMA, University of Illinois 1970, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.
- Van Wye, Benjamin 1974. Gregorian Influences in French Organ Music before the 'Motu proprio', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 27/1: 1–24.
- Van Wye, Benjamin 1982. Marcel Dupré's Marian Vespers and the French Alternatim Tradition, *The Music Review*, 43/3–4: 192–224.
- Wagener, Heinz 1964. *Die Begleitung des gregorianischen Chorals im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Regensburg: Bosse.
- Waters, Robert F. 2008. *Déodat de Séverac: Musical Identity in Fin de Siècle France*, Aldershot etc.: Ashgate.
- Wilhelm, András 1983. Erik Satie's Gregorian Paraphrases, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 25: 229–237.
- Zimmerman, Edward and Lawrence Archbold 1995. 'Why Should We Not Do the Same with Our Catholic Melodies?' Guilmant's *L'Organiste liturgiste*, op. 65, in Lawrence Archbold and William J. Peterson (eds), *French Organ Music. From the Revolution to Franck and Widor*, Rochester/Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press. 201–247.

# A Biographical and Comparative Perspective on Ilmari Krohn's *Advent and Christmas Hymns* for Voice and Harmonium

MARTTI LAITINEN

This article takes a look at *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä*, a collection of Ilmari Krohn's Advent and Christmas hymn arrangements for voice and harmonium, published in 1902. My aim is twofold. Firstly, I attempt to relate the collection to Krohn's biography, especially his family background, and some aspects of the historical context. Secondly, I compare it to the general tradition of chorale and solo song accompaniment and certain other works by Krohn involving accompanied congregational singing.

The Finnish composer, musicologist and church musician Ilmari Krohn (1867–1960) has never been a popular object of research, but there have been a number of notable exceptions during the last decades.<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this article, one special case needs to be mentioned: Jukka Seppänen's Bachelor of Theology thesis (University of Joensuu, 1997), which discusses the content of the collection in question. My own Master of Arts thesis in Musicology (University of Helsinki,

---

1 E.g. Apajalahti 1993; Autio 2002; Bereczky 2001; Haukka 2013; Huttunen 1993a and 1993b; Laitinen 2012 and 2013; Mantere 2012a; Pekkilä 1984 and 2006; Takkula 2012; Tyrväinen 2011; Viertola 1986 and Virtanen 2013. The Sibelius Academy organized a research symposium on the centenary of Krohn's dissertation in 1999 (articles by various authors in Peitsalo 2000), and in 2013 the Krohn Family Association arranged an event with three presentations about Krohn. Another symposium was prepared for the 150th anniversary of Krohn's birth (8 November 2017) by the University of Helsinki, the University of the Arts Helsinki, and the Finnish Musicological Society.

2014), which is a study of Krohn's life and compositions up to 1905, features a description of his work with the official publications of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and with *Adventti- ja Jouluvirsiä*; however, it does not ascribe any significance to his family background regarding the matter. Markus Mantere's article about Krohn's religiosity as an important factor for his work is also relevant for this text (Mantere 2012b).

### Biographical background

Ilmari Krohn was born into a notable and culturally rich family in Helsinki. His father was one of the most significant figures of the Finnish nationalist movement: the author Julius Krohn, Professor of Finnish Literature, whose parents had a Baltic-German background. Ilmari was the only one of Julius's children to make a career in a field other than language. His elder brother Kaarle carried on their father's work as a folklorist and later acquired a professorship of his own. They had three sisters, Helmi (later Setälä), Aino (later Kallas) and Aune, each of whom became an author. The family was both nationalistic and cosmopolitan – in addition to being devoutly Christian. These values became the guiding motives to Ilmari Krohn's life and work (Krohn, T. 2004; Mantere 2012a, 51–52; Mantere 2012b, 33).

From 1886 to 1890 Krohn studied composition, music theory, organ and piano at the Leipzig Conservatory of Music,<sup>2</sup> and later he continued his studies privately in Germany and Finland<sup>3</sup>. The greater part of Krohn's musical output consists of religious works. It features two oratorios, one passion, one biblical opera, a collection of 150 psalms, seven cantatas, liturgical music, works for orchestra, piano, organ and

---

2 In Leipzig, Krohn studied composition with Gustav Schreck (his uncle by marriage) and music theory, organ, and piano with Robert Papperitz. He was expelled from the conservatory just before graduating because of a conflict with a teacher (See Laitinen 2014, 20–21, 29–30).

3 Krohn received composition lessons from Waldemar von Baussnern in 1909 and studied orchestration under the guidance of the Finnish conductor Leo Funtek in the 1920s (Krohn, I. 1951, 146, 156–157).

violin, and almost two hundred solo and choir songs. Krohn never became popular as a composer, which can be attributed to both his rather theoretical style as well as his position as an academic and church musician. Apart from composition, Krohn also worked as organist first at Alexander Church in Tampere in 1894–1905 and then at Kallio Church in Helsinki in 1911–1944. He taught composition and music theory to dozens of students and was entrusted with several positions of responsibility in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (Laitinen 2014, 2–3; Autio 2002).

Halfway through his studies in Leipzig and some months short of the age of majority, Krohn lost his father in a boating accident in August 1888. The incident was also a national tragedy, and Julius Krohn's funeral had almost six thousand attendees. Kaarle Krohn became his younger brother's principal advisor at this stage (Krohn, I. 1951, 25; Laitinen 2014, 27). His opinion was that both brothers had a mission to honour their father in their own professions: Kaarle would make Julius's folkloristic work known to the world, whereas Ilmari should set his poems to music (Kaarle Krohn > Ilmari Krohn, 20 February 1888, Finnish Literature Society, Literary Archives, Letter Collection 207:4:36). This the young composer seems to have taken as an imperative, since a significant part of the vocal music he produced during the next ten years did feature his father's texts (Laitinen 2014, 134–201).<sup>4</sup> Ilmari Krohn regarded composition as his true calling at least up to 1899. However, he also felt that as a son of the late Julius Krohn, his duty was to pursue another career as a researcher – a path which eventually brought him more fame and prestige than his artistic work (Ilmari Krohn > Kaarle Krohn, 30 May 1899, Finnish Literature Society, Literary Archives, Letter Collection 485:26:2). Krohn studied the Humanities at the Imperial Alexander University of Finland in 1885–1886 and 1890–1894,

---

4 A notable example is *Pikku Julius vainaa* (The Deceased Little Julius), a madrigal for mixed choir composed in 1889. Even though the text is an elegy by Julius Krohn for his second son Julius Bernt (1866–1868), the piece can be considered a farewell song to the composer's father. In addition, the title of Ilmari Krohn's *Kuun tarinoita* (Tales of the Moon), a suite for piano composed in 1895, is borrowed from his father's book of the same name (see Laitinen 2014, 147, 183–184).

majoring in Aesthetics and Modern Literature (Ilmari Krohn's certificate for the degree of Candidate of Philosophy, Finnish Literature Society, Literary Archives, Ilmari Krohn's Archive).<sup>5</sup> At the close of his studies, he turned to researching folk melodies which he had collected from the Finnish countryside on several occasions and published with his own choir and solo song arrangements.<sup>6</sup> Krohn became the editor for the colossal *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* folk tune collection in 1893 (Minutes for the meeting of the Finnish Literature Society, 2.4.1893, in *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran keskustelemukset v. 1893–1894*).<sup>7</sup> In this project, he found a suitable topic for his dissertation: the origin and character of Finnish spiritual folk melodies. Krohn was both the first in Finland to complete a postgraduate degree in the field of music research (Lic. Phil. 1899)<sup>8</sup> and the first to hold an academic position in the same field (*dosentti* of music history and theory 1900–18, Extraordinary Professor of Musicology 1918–1935).<sup>9</sup> His musicological output is both extensive and diverse – especially in the fields of music theory and folk music – and he was responsible for the upbringing of the entire next generation of musicologists in the country. For these reasons, Krohn

- 
- 5 Krohn graduated in 1894 with a Candidate of Philosophy degree, which corresponds to a modern-day Master of Arts. The MA title, which Krohn received in 1900, was purely ceremonial and required no further academic work (Vasenius 1889, 37, 42). In 1919 his *alma mater* was renamed the University of Helsinki (*Kertomus Helsingin yliopiston toiminnasta lukuvuosina 1917–1920*, 1).
- 6 See, for example, the sheet music in Krohn, I. 1886; 1891a; 1891b; 1891c; 1892a and 1892b. Krohn had collected Finnish folk songs for the first time immediately before departing for Leipzig in 1886. Behind the idea was his brother Kaarle, who himself had collected folktales. After returning to Finland, Ilmari Krohn continued his fieldwork in 1890 and on several occasions (including a trip to Sweden) in 1897 (Laitinen 2014, 39, 64; Krohn, I. 1951, 28–42).
- 7 Only the third part of the series (Krohn, I. 1893–1897), which contained 702 folk dance tunes, had been published at this point. However, Krohn had already received the task of editing the first and the second parts as well (Krohn, I. 1898–1901; 1904–1907; 1908–1912; 1932 and 1933), which came to contain 1,016 spiritual and 4,842 secular songs, respectively. Note that the first part, which contained spiritual tunes, was published before *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä*.
- 8 Krohn's Licentiate of Philosophy degree corresponds to a modern-day doctorate. The PhD was a ceremonial title which he received in 1900 (see footnote 6) (Vasenius 1889, 37, 42).
- 9 The post of *dosentti* corresponds roughly to adjunct professor.

is widely regarded as 'The Father of Musicology in Finland'; nevertheless, his work went almost completely out of fashion in academia when he died in 1960 (Ilmari Krohn's certificate for the degree of Licentiate of Philosophy, Finnish Literature Society, Literary Archives, Ilmari Krohn's Archive; Autio 2002; Laitinen 2014, 70–75, 81–82).

### **Demand for new books and folk tunes in the church**

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland was detached from the Church of Sweden when Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire in 1809. In spite of that, the official text hymnals of the Church of Sweden from 1695 and 1701 (in Swedish and Finnish, respectively) remained in use in Finland. Preparation for new hymnals, which had already started in 1817, was therefore a project of national and ecclesiastical identity, but the process was rather lengthy and complicated. It involved many of the most significant writers of the time, such as Elias Lönnrot, Johan Ludvig Runeberg, Zacharias Topelius, Lars Stenbäck – and Julius Krohn, who chaired the Finnish-language hymnal committee in 1876–1880. The new text-only hymnals were finally approved by the General Synod of the church in 1886, after a process of almost seven decades.<sup>10</sup> At the same session, the Synod set up a chorale committee to prepare official melody hymnals in both languages. The committee returned three years later with two books which were recommended for parishes in 1893 after a trial period.<sup>11</sup> In the remainder of this article, my remarks concern only the Finnish-language hymnal as well as its melodies and accompaniment.

While incorporation of spiritual folk tunes in an official hymnal had been attempted as early as the 1860s by the organist Rudolf Lagi,

---

10 *Suomalainen Virsikirja ewankelis-luterilaisille seurakunnille Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaassa 1888* and *Svensk Psalmbok för de evangelisk-lutherska församlingarne i storfurstendömet Finland 1888*.

11 *Yksiäänisiä koraalinuotteja suomalaiseen virsikirjaan ewankelis-luterilaisille seurakunnille Suomen suuriruhtinaanmaassa 1889* and *Koralmelodier, enstämmiga, till Svensk psalmbok för de evang.-lutherska församlingarne i Finland 1889*.

no results emerged at that point: discouraged by the sheer volume of the material, Lagi had abandoned the idea. In the opinion of Otto Immanuel Colliander, Professor of Practical Theology and the chairperson of the chorale committee, folk melodies were an example of corrupt culture and had no place in church services. The melody hymnal of 1889 was conservative in this respect. However, national romantic ideals were flourishing in Finland on the general cultural level. They had a strong influence on the arts, including music (e.g. *Kullervo* by Jean Sibelius, 1892). The church had its share of this phenomenon in the 1890s, a decade which witnessed a rise in both awareness and appreciation of folk tunes. In early 1898 the General Synod carried a motion tabled by two distinguished members: Kaarle Krohn and the influential Pietist pastor Wilhelm Malmberg (later Malmivaara). The chorale committee was commissioned with the preparation of two new publications: (1) an appendix to the chorale book, containing Finnish spiritual folk tunes, and (2) an accompaniment book for the hymnals. Since one of the three members and the only vice-member of the committee were already deceased, new members were elected by the Synod.<sup>12</sup>

It can be argued that the election was the chance of a lifetime for Ilmari Krohn to carry on the work of his father in the church, albeit in his own domain, namely that of music. The first domestically-produced Finnish hymnal represented the values he had acquired in his childhood home: it was not only a book of religious devotion but also a collection of national importance which featured both domestic and foreign texts. It linked the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland with other churches of European heritage and set it on a par with them. Preparing a synthesis of these elements and folk culture was certainly a desirable task for the son of a folklorist.<sup>13</sup>

---

12 The committee consisted of Professor (later Bishop) Otto Immanuel Colliander (chair), the seminary teacher E. A. Hagfors, Dr Johan Gabriel Geitlin (deceased) and the organist Lauri Hämäläinen (vice-member, deceased) (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 240–241).

13 Since the Finnish spiritual folk melodies were mainly variants of European chorales, as was soon proven by Krohn in his dissertation (Krohn, I. 1899), the project was both national and international in scope. In order to evaluate the relationship between the two melodic traditions, Krohn made a study trip to Germany in 1896 (Krohn, I. 1951, 36).

Ilmari Krohn also appears to have been a natural choice for the task of selecting spiritual folk melodies for the hymnal and being responsible for the accompaniment book. He was a man of notable background who had received education in both church music and the Humanities, he had collected and edited folk tunes – and currently he was adding the finishing touches to his dissertation on the subject while also working as an organist. It goes without saying that his elder brother was aware of both his interests and his strong credentials when tabling the motion.

However, when the Synod voted on who would become the new member of the chorale committee, one candidate simply could not be surpassed. The vote was won by a landslide by professor Richard Faltin, a former teacher of Ilmari Krohn and arguably the greatest authority in the field of church music in Finland at the time. He had already published a number of unofficial accompaniment books for the hymnal – two of them with Colliander<sup>14</sup> – which had become popular since then. Thus, he had both an interest in what the official book would be like and a powerful ally in Colliander, who in the meantime had become Bishop of Kuopio in 1897. Krohn was second to Faltin in this election, and only one vote behind him was his own cousin and former fellow folk-tune collector Mikael Nyberg. When the Synod proceeded to elect the new vice-member, Krohn lost again – this time to Nyberg, by a handful of votes. Subsequently, the seminary lecturer E. A. Hagfors resigned from the committee and Nyberg became his successor. Thus Krohn was left out of the official process twice by a razor-thin margin (*Suomen neljän- nen kirkollis-kokouksen pöytäkirjat* 1899, 1140, 1188, 1245; *Suomalainen koraali-wirsikirja Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaan ewankelis-lutherilaisille seurakunnille* 1902, VII–VIII).

### **Krohn's private project**

Even though Ilmari Krohn had lost a great opportunity to further his aims in the church, the result might ultimately have been beneficial

---

14 Colliander and Faltin 1888 and 1897.

to his work. He proceeded independently in the matter, pursuing a new project of his own. In the summer of 1898 Krohn began privately preparing a unison chorale book with two defining characteristics (Ilmari Krohn > Kaarle Krohn, 30 May 1899, Finnish Literature Society, Literary Archives, Letter Collection 485:26:2; Ilmari Krohn > Werner Söderström, 5 December 1901, National Archives of Finland, WSOY's Archive, Author Correspondence Archive):

- (1) 'rhythmic' chorales, i.e. chorales in historical forms that do not consist solely of long notes of equal duration; their (re-)introduction into the liturgy was a major subject of dispute at the time, with Colliander among the chief supporters (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 235–238); and
- (2) Finnish folk tunes.

Two years later Krohn travelled to Paris in order to participate in the World Exhibition of 1900 and the contemporaneous musicological congress. He made his trip through Copenhagen, Berlin, Leipzig, Nürnberg, Neuendettelsau, Strassburg and Cologne, becoming familiar with and receiving ideas from a number of musicians, churchmen, and musicologists. Among them are several notable names: the extremely influential music theorist Hugo Riemann; two central figures in the newly-founded *Internationale Musikgesellschaft*, Oskar Fleischer and Max Seiffert; the music historians Rochus von Liliencron and Friedrich Chrysander; the Swedish musicologist Tobias Norlind; and the theologians Georg Rietschel and Max Herold. A good example of what Krohn learned during his travels is an idea by Rietschel, according to which the organ was played quietly during the Reformation era, whereas singing had the main part in the liturgy. Whether or not this notion is true, Krohn became enthusiastic about it. He also argued that the Finnish language suits early German chorales well – in fact, better than the modern German language – because of its common features with the early forms of German (Travel report by Krohn: *Uusi Suometar* 18 July, 26 July, 1 August, 16 August, 21 September, 12 October, 23 October, and 30 October 1900).

As a result of his trip to Paris through Denmark and Germany, Krohn became interested in researching the unison vocal music of

Antiquity and the Middle Ages. This also affected his aesthetic taste considerably, which can be seen in certain of his compositions and the inclusion of accompaniment in his plan for the new chorale book; from then on, unison singing was a significant element of his artistic work.<sup>15</sup> In 1901 he approached the publisher Werner Söderström and explained his fundamental ideas, whose number had increased from two to four, for the chorale book under preparation (Ilmari Krohn > Werner Söderström, 5 December 1901, National Archives of Finland, WSOY's Archive, Author Correspondence Archive):

- (1) 'rhythmic' chorales;<sup>16</sup>
- (2) a national character emerging from the use of folk tunes and 5/4 time;
- (3) modal harmonies; and
- (4) an independent, easy-to-play, and 'truly accompanying' accompaniment, providing a calm background for the singing, which in Krohn's view would enable the melody to flow in a Lied-like manner.

In 1902, Werner Söderström agreed to publish the first part of Krohn's project, titled *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä rytmillisillä sävelmillä, harmoniumin säestyksellä* (Advent and Christmas Hymns with rhythmic tunes, accompanied on a harmonium). The collection contains melodies and harmonium accompaniment for the first thirty texts of the Finnish hymnal of 1886, the titles of which are presented below. The numbers of the same hymns in the current Finnish hymnal (*Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon virsikirja* 1986) are given in parentheses on the right. The modern hymnal differs considerably from Krohn's collection, but the similarity is evident in most cases.

---

15 This is evident from a comparison of Krohn's lectures before and after the trip, for example (see *Uusi Suometar* 9 June 1900; *Koitar* 13 April 1901). For Krohn's compositions, see e.g. *David's Psalm 25* (comp. 1901; Krohn, I. s.a.) and the collection *Valittuja Psalmeja* (Krohn, I. 1903).

16 Krohn reports having tested each 'rhythmic' chorale with his own church choir in Tampere (Ilmari Krohn > Werner Söderström, 5 December 1901).

- Iloitse, morsian* (4)  
*Sun porttis, oves* (2)  
*O Jesus Kristus, Herramme* (266)  
*Mitenkä käyn mä vastaas* (8)  
*Iloitse, kristikansa* (10)  
*Valmistukaatte vastaan* (7)  
*Hosianna! tulossa* (melody 99, text 3)  
*Kuninkaan' jo tuleepi* (9)  
*Jesus Kristus meille nyt* (melody 334b, text 16)  
*O kiitos nyt, Vapahtaja*  
*Mä seisahdun nyt etehes* (25)  
*Laulu soikoon*  
*Nyt, kristikunta, riemuitse*  
*Synkkä yö* (29)  
*Nyt kristikunta riemuitkoon* (melody 107 and 258)  
*Sua, Jesus Kristus, kiitämme* (22)  
*Riemuitkaamme, kristityt* (text only; musically identical with number 20)  
*Kristikunta, riemuitse* (melody 20)  
*Taas jouluu aika* (17)  
*Kaikki kansat laulakaat* (20)  
*Enkeli taivaan* (21)  
*O armon lähde* (26)  
*Ah lakkaa, sielun', murheestas*  
*Ilmestyi paimenille* (24)  
*Riemuitkaamm' sydämestä*  
*Nyt ilovirttä veisatkaamm'* (18)  
*Ilolla veisatkoon* (18)  
*Korkia taivaan kuningas*  
*Lihaan tuli Jumala* (19)  
*Kas kirkas nyt kointähtönen* (43)

The 29 melodies concur with the melody hymnal of 1889 to various degrees. Three tunes (numbers 2, 5 and 26) are exactly identical with the chorales. Even though Krohn reports having made minor changes in only three other melodies (7, 10 and 16), nine more (3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 17, 21, 23 and 25) deviate slightly from the melody hymnal. Five chorales (1, 6, 19, 18 = 20 and 27) have been heavily modified on the basis of their folk variants, and four (11, 14, 29 and 30) have been made identical with them. According to Krohn, five folk tunes (9, 15, 22, 24 and 28) are 'entirely new', which evidently means that they are variants of chorales other than the ones that have the corresponding number in the melody hymnal of 1889 (Preface of Krohn, I. 1902; Seppänen 1997, 7-23). Though the collection is rather small, it must be remembered that it was supposed to be only the first part of a long series.

Judging from the preface, Krohn's fondness for music history had now become a driving force behind the project. His ideal was to understand and uphold 'the ancient musical spirit'. In using 'rhythmic' chorales, he declared as his role models two Scandinavian fellow pioneers: Richard Norén (Sweden) and Thomas Laub (Denmark).

### **Comparison of the collection with certain other musical works**

Stylistically the publication bears more resemblance to a solo song collection than a chorale book. As Krohn wrote in the preface:

In the accompaniment I have given up entirely on the current practice of arranging hymns and spirituals for a 4-part choir, because they are very seldom sung like that. Therefore a free, purely instrumental accompaniment can use the features of the instrument better in order to provide a background for the unison singing. The melody itself can flow freer when the accompaniment does not burden it with heavy chords following one another from tone to tone. The modest preludes and postludes and the interludes between verses are fit, I think, to give each hymn a proper unified frame, so that they can be executed

smoothly with no interruption and the singer can still be allowed a sufficient time for breathing.<sup>17</sup>

It appears that Krohn regarded ordinary chorale books as nothing more than collections of SATB arrangements that were never actually sung (but rather played) in four parts. His ideal was a freely flowing vocal line, which in his view necessitated an instrument-like accompaniment. Once again, this evidently meant features common in Lied. It seems that Krohn benefited from being outside the official process: operating independently, he was bolder in his work than the chorale committee. A comparison reveals this in detail, but let us first look at the music itself.

---

17 'Säestyksessä olen kokonaan luopunut tähänastisesta tavasta sovittaa virret ja hengelliset laulut 4-ääniselle köörille, koska niitä kuitenkin harvoin sillä lailla lauletaan. Siten vapautuneena voi säestys, puhtaasti instrumentaalisenä, paremmin käyttää soittimen omia apuneuvoja, antamaan sopivaa taustaa 1-ääniselle laululle. Itse melodiakin pääsee vapaammin kulkemaan, kun ei säestys sitä rasita sävel säveleltä seuraavilla painavilla akordeilla. Vaatimattomat alku- ja loppu-soitot, sekä repriisi-osoitukset säestyksen kulusta värssyjen välillä, luulisin sopiviksi antamaan kullekin virrelle eheän kehyksensä, niin että ne pääsevät sujumaan ilman katkeamisia, laulun saadessa kuitenkin tarpeellista hengityksen aikaa' (Preface of Krohn, I. 1902).

M. M. ♩ = 84.

1. Synk - kä yō of maan - il - mas - sa; Sen

näh - den Her - ra tai - va - hās - sa Taas lau - sui. \*Tul - koon val - ke - us!

Koh - ta haih - tui pi - miä pil - vi, Ja Je - sus Kris - tus tu - li il - mi, Uus

Example 1. Hymn 14 (folk variant of Philipp Nicolai's *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*) in Krohn, I. 1902. Published with permission of the Krohn Family Society.

I will now compare the music in *Adventti- ja joulu-virsiä* to the general tradition of chorale accompaniment in Finland. This was a common background for virtually all organists, including Krohn himself, and therefore a natural point of comparison for discerning what new things his work had to offer. As a reference, a hymn from Colliander and Faltin's accompaniment book from 1897 is provided below.

The image displays a piano accompaniment for a hymn, consisting of five systems of music. Each system is written for two staves: a treble staff and a bass staff. The music is in G major and 4/4 time. The accompaniment is primarily chordal, with simple rhythmic patterns. The first system begins with a treble staff containing a half note G4 and a half note B4, and a bass staff with a half note G2 and a half note B2. The second system continues with similar chords, including a treble staff with a half note G4 and a half note B4, and a bass staff with a half note G2 and a half note B2. The third system features a treble staff with a half note G4 and a half note B4, and a bass staff with a half note G2 and a half note B2. The fourth system has a treble staff with a half note G4 and a half note B4, and a bass staff with a half note G2 and a half note B2. The fifth system concludes with a treble staff with a half note G4 and a half note B4, and a bass staff with a half note G2 and a half note B2.

Example 2. Hymn 14 (Philipp Nicolai: *Wachet auf, Ruft uns die Stimme*) in Colliander and Faltin 1897.

At least four major differences can be pointed out between the general tradition and *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä*:

1) *Variation of the number of voices*. Whereas the general tradition, which imitates choral music, strictly adheres to a 4-part texture, Krohn's accompaniment varies the number of voices, usually between 3 and 6.

2) *Rhythmic independence of voices*. The traditional practice is homophonic: all voices move simultaneously in a chorale-like manner. In Krohn's arrangements, however, the rhythmic dominance of the chorale melody is softened by a greater independence of the accompanying voices.

3) *Use of chromaticism and 'experimental' harmonies*. Whereas the traditional hymn arrangements makes use of these quite sparingly, Krohn is somewhat bolder in his use of them.

4) *Function*. A standard chorale book is used to *lead* congregational singing with the organ. As quoted above, Krohn specifically stated that his arrangements are to be used to *accompany* a choir, which in turn should lead the congregation.

The next point of comparison is Krohn's later chorale output. The same chorale in his own chorale book, finished in 1940 and published in 1947, is provided herein.

♩ = 76 ... 58

6

6

5

(-)

6

6

5

4

4

3

3

3

5

Example 3. Hymn 16 (Philipp Nicolai: *Wachet auf, Ruft uns die Stimme*) in Krohn, I, 1947.  
Published with permission of the Krohn Family Society.

While Krohn seems to go even further in his use of chromaticism and experimental harmonies in 1947 than in 1902, he appears to go backwards in the two other points mentioned above. The voice-leading is very homophonic, and the texture is written consistently in four parts. In the preface, he remarks somewhat sadly: 'However, it would be desirable to develop a freely moving organ accompaniment to a well-known chorale sung confidently by the congregation, which I once (1902) tried out in my publication "Advent and Christmas Hymns" [...] Nevertheless, this must be left to the future for the time being.'<sup>18</sup>

Here we have an explicit statement by the composer that *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä* reveals his idealistic view of how congregational singing should be accompanied.<sup>19</sup> The dual development after 1902, in which some of the Lied-like features became stronger and the others weaker, was a result of Krohn's gaining a realistic view of what to expect from the congregation – at least for the time being!

There is, however, an alternate interpretation, according to which all four features compared above *did* develop further in Krohn's work, but their realisation took place in another stream of his liturgical output: accompanied congregational psalmody, with which he worked from 1903 onwards (Kurki-Suonio 1969; Pajamo 1998; Laitinen 2014, 88). Two excerpts from Psalm 18, one of the 150 psalms in Krohn's *Psalttari* (1946–50), are provided herein.

---

18 'Voitaisiin tosin pitää suotavana kehitellä varsinaista vapaasti liikehtivää urkujen säestystä seurakunnan varmasti veisaamaan tuttuun koraalisävelmään, jollaista kokeilin aikoinani (1902) julkaisemissani "Adventti- ja Jouluvirsiä" [...] Toistaiseksi on kuitenkin se jätettävä tulevaisuuden varaan' (Preface of Krohn, I. 1947).

19 It appears the same ideals were present in Krohn's own work as an organist (see e.g. Voipio 1957, 6).

a

ma - na hän a - joi ja len - si, ja tuu - len

sii - vil - lä lii - ti. Pi - me - y - den hän pa - ni

b

hii - lik - si. Ja Her - ra jy - li - si tai - vaas -

sa, Kor - kein an - toi ää - nen - sä

[trem.]

Example 4. Two excerpts (a, b) from Psalm 18 in Krohn, I. 1952. Published with permission of the Krohn Family Society.

If the comparison is repeated with this material, it becomes evident that all of the distinctive features of *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä* increased in Krohn's congregational psalmody. The number of voices varies significantly; the accompanying voices do not follow the melody homophonically; chromaticism is abundant.<sup>20</sup> Regarding functionality, the composer states in the preface to the *Psalttari* (in Krohn, I. 1952 and all other volumes of the work) that his ideal is an *alternatim* between the congregation and a unison choir, with a second choir singing the four-part antiphon, but since that is an unrealistic aim at the present time, he recommends an *alternatim* between two choirs (the antiphon being sung by the congregation in unison) as the second-best choice. In either case, the organ part is intended to accompany the choir, which in turn leads the congregation. Krohn seems to have found a middle way between the idealism of his youth and the realism gained during his decades at the organ gallery.<sup>21</sup>

What has been stated above suggests that in many respects, *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä* (1902) can be considered a predecessor to Krohn's psalmody output, culminating in the composition of the entire Book of Psalms, rather than to his later chorale collections. These works have also something else in common: both were private projects. I conclude that Krohn was at his best (or at least functioned in his most original capacity) when he worked independently from – or even in opposition to – the framework provided by the official church hierar-

---

20 In Krohn's view (Krohn, I. 1951, 194–195), experimenting with unconventional harmonies was a legitimate task for the composers of his era even when operating with ancient musical forms. He seemed to strive for neither stylistic rigorism nor historical authenticity – if there be such a thing – in his work as a composer. This is also evident in *Liturgisen säveltyylin opas* (Krohn, I. 1940 passim), a small guidebook in which he codified his principles regarding the composition of liturgical music.

21 Comparison of the two works can be disputed on grounds of disparity: while *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä* is a collection of arrangements (and melodic constructions), the *Psalttari* is a set of 150 compositions. Therefore, it may be argued that the *Psalttari* is a work of more artistic ambition, though this analysis is not dependent on that. In any case, the definitions are somewhat complicated. Almost all vocal melodies in the *Psalttari* are variations of the Gregorian psalm tones and certain other tunes. Krohn stated that he did not 'compose' them (in Finnish, *säveltää*) but only 'set them to pitches' (*sävelittää*, which is non-standard Finnish). In his view, the real composition in each psalm is the accompaniment (Krohn, I. 1951, 193).

chy. Even though Krohn succeeded in introducing folk tunes into the hymnal, his ideas regarding organ accompaniment (or congregational psalmody, for that matter) never really took fire in the church.

In any case, Krohn's work can be regarded as a good example of thinking outside the box. I consider it a notable fact that even though the church hierarchy in Finland initially rejected (by a small margin) his participation in the official process, he soon gained other connections that enriched his perspective on the matter: the international community of researchers in the fields of music and liturgy. Folk-tunes and 'rhythmic' chorales, which represented his core values, were already close to his heart in 1898. But a trip through Europe led him to the historical treasure of unison vocal music as a form of art.

### **Aftermath**

The chorale committee finally commenced its work in early 1902 (four years after its commission!) and returned in the autumn of the same year with a moderate proposition of 25 new melodies, most of which were folk tunes.<sup>22</sup> However, there was still work to be done, and this time Ilmari Krohn was invited to participate. In 1903, he became the secretary for the Chorale Section of the Synod, to which the committee reported. In this capacity, his task was to examine the parish reports concerning the appendix of 1902 and assess if and how it should be amended based on those findings. Krohn proposed small changes to the appendix, and the Section adopted his view on the matter, but at the same time something unexpected happened. The Section proposed that the General Synod would set up a new chorale committee which would be commissioned to prepare another appendix to the cho-

---

<sup>22</sup> *Suomalainen koraali-wirsikirja Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaan ewankelis-lutherilaisille seurakunnille* 1902.

rale book with folk tunes.<sup>23</sup> This the Synod did. After a brief conflict with Colliander (who was opposed to any modification of folk melodies, which was an essential part of Krohn's work), the new committee took Ilmari Krohn as its chair. In addition, he became a member of the earlier chorale committee; in this capacity, he edited the final version of the 1902 appendix (*Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon viidennen yleisen kirkolliskokouksen pöytäkirjat* 1904, 745–746; *Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon viidennen yleisen kirkolliskokouksen pöytäkirjain liitteet* 1904, V:D:1, 21–22, and VII, 12, 14; Krohn, I. 1951, 79–90).

Even though Krohn's own project was discontinued by the publisher after the first collection (see Ilmari Krohn > Werner Söderström, 12 June 1903, National Archives of Finland, WSOY's Archive, Author Correspondence Archive), and subsequent parts never appeared, what occurred in the Synod was a decisive triumph for him. With the other members of the new committee (Nyberg and Krohn's former pupil Heikki Klemetti), he worked out several publications of Finnish spiritual folk melodies and other tunes, both with and without accompaniment.<sup>24</sup> The significance of this process is still evident in the current Finnish hymnal (*Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon virsikirja* 1986), in which one in four melodies is a Finnish folk tune, as well as its accompaniment book.

---

23 In his autobiography, Krohn states that Colliander (who chaired not only the committee but also the Section) refused to participate when the proposal for a new committee was approved by the Section. There is no mention of this in the minutes. Krohn also writes that he could have proposed that the entire appendix be rejected, but he refrained from doing that out of respect for the 'grey-haired' bishop, whose work as the chair of the first chorale committee was at stake (Krohn, I. 1951, 84–85). At this point, Krohn was almost 36 and Colliander 55 years old.

24 See, for example, the publications titled *Uusia Hengellisiä Sävelmiä* (listed in Laitinen 2014, 121).

## Bibliography

### Archival sources

Finnish Literature Society, Literary Archives

- Ilmari Krohn's Archive.
- Letter Collections.

National Archives of Finland

- WSOY's archive, Author Correspondence Archive.

### Hymnals and scores

Colliander, Otto Immanuel and Richard Faltin 1888. *Uusi koraalikirja Ewangelis-Lutherilaisille seurakunnille Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaassa*, Helsinki: G. W. Edlund.

Colliander, Otto Immanuel and Richard Faltin 1897. *Koraalikirja Suomen toisen yleisen kirkolliskokouksen w. 1886 hyväksymille suomalaiselle ja ruotsalaiselle wirsikirjoille sekä messu suomeksi ja ruotsiksi ynnä G. J. Voglerin Hosianna*, Helsinki: Edlund.

*Koralmelodier, enstämiga, till Svensk psalmbok för de evang.-lutherska församlingarne i Finland* 1889, Helsingfors: Weilin & Göös.

Krohn, Ilmari s.a. *Davids Psalm 25*, Helsingfors: A. Apostol.

Krohn, Ilmari 1886. *Uusi Kannel Karjalasta, Soitto sointuva Savosta. II. Uusia suomalaisia kansanlauluja*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Krohn, Ilmari 1891a. *Kansan lahja Kirkolle, 37 hengellistä kansanlaulua*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Krohn, Ilmari 1891b. *Kansan lahja Kirkolle. Toinen kokoelma. 6 hengellistä kansanlaulua*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Krohn, Ilmari 1891c. *Sydän-Suomesta. 18 kansanlaulua*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Krohn, Ilmari 1892a. *Sydän-Suomesta. II vihko. 18 kansanlaulua*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Krohn, Ilmari 1892b. *Sionin Kanteleen Sävelistö*, Lutherilainen Ewangeliumi-Yhdistys.

Krohn, Ilmari 1893–1897. *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä. Kolmas jakso. Kansantansseja*, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. [Facsimile: *Vanhoja pelimannisävelmiä* 1975, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.]

Krohn, Ilmari 1898–1901. *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä. Ensimmäinen jakso. Hengellisiä sävelmiä*, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Krohn, Ilmari 1902. *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä kansan sävelmillä, harmoniumin säestyksellä*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Krohn, Ilmari 1903. *Valittuja Psalmeja*, Kansanvalistus-seura.

Krohn, Ilmari 1904–1907. *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä. II jakso. Laulusävelmiä I*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

- Krohn, Ilmari 1908–1912. *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä. II jakso. Laulusävelmiä II*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Krohn, Ilmari 1932. *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä. II jakso. Laulusävelmiä III*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Krohn, Ilmari 1933. *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä. II jakso. Laulusävelmiä IV*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Krohn, Ilmari 1947. *Neliääninen koraalikirja*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström.
- Krohn, Ilmari 1952. *Psalttari. 4. vihko. Psalmi 18–20*, Helsinki: Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys.
- Suomalainen Virsikirja ewankelis-luterilaisille seurakunnille Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaassa 1888.*
- Suomalainen koraali-wirikirja Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaan ewankelis-lutherilaisille seurakunnille 1902.*
- Suomen ewankelis-luterilaisen kirkon virsikirja 1986.*
- Svensk Psalmbok för de evangelisk-lutherska församlingarne i storfurstendömet Finland 1888.* Helsingfors: Weilin & Göös.
- Yksiäänisiä koraalinuotteja suomalaisen virsikirjaan ewankelis-luterilaisille seurakunnille Suomen suuriruhtinaanmaassa 1889.*

Minutes of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland

- Suomen neljännen kirkollis-kokouksen pöytäkirjat 1899.*
- Suomen ewankelis-luterilaisen kirkon viidennen yleisen kirkolliskokouksen pöytäkirjat 1904.*
- Suomen ewankelis-luterilaisen kirkon viidennen yleisen kirkolliskokouksen pöytäkirjain liitteet 1904.*

Minutes of the Finnish Literature Society

Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran keskustelemukset v. 1893–1894. *Suomi* III:9.

Newspapers

*Uusi Suometar* 1900.

*Koitar* 1901.

Research literature

- Apajalahti, Hannu 1993. From rhythm to form – Ilmari Krohn's systematic theory of musical rhythm and form, in *Sic. Sibelius-Akatemian aikakauskirja*, Helsinki: Sibelius-Akatemia. 42–74.
- Autio, Veli-Matti 2002. Ilmari Krohn (1865–1960). *Kansallisbiografia*, Studia Biographica 4, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. <<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/1494/>>. Accessed 31 July 2017.

- Berezcky, János 2001. *Ilmari Krohnin vaikutus unkarilaiseen kansanmusiikintutkimukseen*, diss., University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- Haukka, Aleksi 2013. *Katsaus oratorion historiaan, silmäys Ilmari Krohnin oratorioihin*, Bachelor's thesis in Musicology, University of Helsinki.
- Huttunen, Matti 1993a. The impact of Ilmari Krohn's doctrine of forms on Finnish music, in *Nordisk musikkforskerkongress, Oslo, 24.–27. juni 1992: innlegg og referater*, Oslo: Det historisk-filosofiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo. 325–330.
- Huttunen, Matti 1993b. Systematiikan ja historian yhteys Ilmari Krohnin tieteellisessä tuotannossa, *Musiikki*, 3–4: 95–117.
- Kertomus Helsingin yliopiston toiminnasta lukuvuosina 1917–1920*, Helsinki 1920.
- Krohn, Ilmari 1899. *Über die Art und Entstehung der geistliche Volksmelodien in Finland* [sic], diss., Imperial Alexander University of Finland, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. [Also published in *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne – Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran aikakauskirja XVI* (1899).]
- Krohn, Ilmari 1940. *Liturgisen säveltyylin opas*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström.
- Krohn, Ilmari 1951. *Sävelmuistoja elämäni varrelta*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström.
- Krohn, Tiina 2004. *Krohn-suvun vaellustarina*. <<http://www.krohnfamily.org/historia.php?lang=0>>. Accessed 31 July 2017.
- Kurki-Suonio, Erkki 1969. Ilmari Krohn psalmien säveltäjänä, *Kirkkomusiikkilehti*, 45: 94–96.
- Laitinen, Martti 2012. Kohti uutta Ilmari Krohnin teosluetteloa – lähteenä säveltäjän omatekoiset teosluettelot, in *Suomen musiikkitiede 100 vuotta: juhlasymposiumin satoa*, ed. Anna-Elena Pääkkölä, Helsinki: Suomen musiikkitieteellinen seura ry. 49–57. <<http://mtsnet.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/suomenmusiikkitiede100julkaisu3.pdf>> Accessed 31 July 2017.
- Laitinen, Martti 2013. The Gregorian-based psalm tones in the Psalter by Ilmari Krohn, *The Future of the Hymnbook. 26th Biennial IAH Conference, Timișoara/Temeswar (Romania) July 24th–29th, 2011, IAH-Bulletin*, 40: 365–380.
- Laitinen, Martti 2014. *Uupumaton uurastus. Tarkastelu Ilmari Krohnin elämänvaiheista ja sävellystuotannosta kevääseen 1905 asti*, Master's thesis in Musicology, University of Helsinki. <<https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/135232/uupumato.pdf?sequence=1>>. Accessed 31 July 2017.
- Mantere, Markus 2012a. Varhaisen suomalaisen musiikkitieteen oppihistoriaa: tutkimuskohteena Ilmari Krohnin persoona ja tieteellinen profiili, *Musiikki*, 42(2): 40–56.
- Mantere, Markus 2012b. 'Jesus Kristus on suora tie': Kristillinen maailmankuva Ilmari Krohnin musiikillisen ajattelun taustatekijänä, *Musiikki*, 42(3–4): 28–47.
- Pajamo, Reijo 1998. Ilmari Krohn psalmien säveltäjänä, in *Tabulatura 1997. Kirkkomusiikin ja Kuopion osastojen yhteinen vuosikirja*, ed. Erkki Tuppurainen, [Kuopio]: Sibelius-Akatemia. 98–102.
- Pajamo, Reijo and Erkki Tuppurainen 2004. *Suomen musiikin historia: Kirkkomusiikki*, Helsinki: Werner Söderström.
- Peitsalo, Peter (ed.) 2000. *Krohn-symposium 1999. Kirkkomusiikin ja Kuopion osastojen yhteinen vuosikirja*, Kirkkomusiikin osaston julkaisuja 22, Helsinki: Sibelius-Akatemia.
- Pekkilä, Erkki 1984. Ilmari Krohnin 'leksikografisesta' kansansävelmien luokittelumenetelmästä, *Musiikki*, 1: 1–12.

- Pekkilä, Erkki 2006. History, Geography, and Diffusion: Ilmari Krohn's Early Influence on the Study of European Folk Music, *Ethnomusicology*, 2: 353–359. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20174459>>. Accessed 31 July 2017.
- Seppänen, Jukka 1997. *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä kansan sävelmillä*, Bachelor's thesis in Theology, University of Joensuu.
- Takkula, Kaisa 2013. *Ilmari Krohnin laulusarjan 'Lieder eines Wanderburschen' syntyvaiheet ja teosanalyysi*, Written work in Church Music, Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki. <[http://ethesis.siba.fi/files/kaisa\\_takkula\\_ilmari\\_krohn\\_190313.pdf](http://ethesis.siba.fi/files/kaisa_takkula_ilmari_krohn_190313.pdf)>. Accessed 31 July 2017.
- Tyrväinen, Helena 2011. A musicologist is born (on Ilmari Krohn), *Finnish Music Quarterly*, 1: 18–21.
- Vasenius, Valfrid 1889. *Författningar och beslut rörande Kejsarliga Alexanders-Universitetet i Finland från och med den 1 oktober 1852 till utgången af år 1887*, Helsingfors: Valfrid Vasenius.
- Viertola, Hannes 1986. *Ilmari Krohnin messumusiikki Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon suomenkielisen messusävelmistön kehityksessä*, Master's thesis in Theology, University of Helsinki.
- Virtanen, Markus 2013. Kristuksen merkki. *Koraali 'Nyt herätkää ja tielle tulkaa' merkitysten luojana Ilmari Krohnin 'Voittajat'-oratoriossa*, Bachelor's thesis in Musicology, University of Turku.
- Voipio, Aarni 1957. Lähikuvia Ilmari Krohnista, *Kirkko ja musiikki*, 9–10: 6–8.



PART III  
SOLO  
REPERTOIRES



# Musical Dramaturgy and Liturgical Concomitance: Liszt's Two Organ Masses<sup>1</sup>

JONAS LUNDBLAD

In consideration of the legacy of nineteenth-century liturgical organ playing, the name Franz Liszt might be found both central and peripheral. The verdict, however, will likely be influenced by a number of contemporary presuppositions and normative delimitations of liturgical music that inevitably shape perceptions of his contributions in this area. Some performers and scholars will be aware of a number of minor liturgical organ pieces by the 'Abbé', but these are frequently regarded as mere trifles in comparison to his major repertoire pieces for the instrument. Liszt's limited corpus of liturgical pieces exclusively for the organ stems from his searching and forward-looking late period, a phase distinguished by abstract thematic concentration and progressive development of musical techniques. These works thereby represent the historical juncture of an experimental state-of-the-art musical creativity with an intensive commitment to liturgical music. As such, Liszt's late liturgical works highlight a wider aesthetic challenge to composers and musicians in liturgical settings throughout the modern age: How to mediate between the inherited styles and genres of traditional liturgical music, and the expressive, dramatic and communicative potential of autonomous musical trajectories.

This essay will provide analyses of two liturgical works for organ by Liszt: his 1879 *Missa pro Organo* and his 1883 *Requiem*. These pieces constitute a distinct genre of their own among his works: among the pieces

---

1 Work on this article has been made possible by financial support from Sven och Dagmar Saléns stiftelse, Stockholm.

that unproblematically can be described as original works exclusively for the organ, they are the only examples of multi-movement works that are composed for an explicitly liturgical use (as distinct from the non-liturgical setting of important devotional pieces such as the *Rosario* and the organ solo version of the *Via Crucis*). Neither the *Missa pro Organo* nor the organ *Requiem* has yet received wide or deep appreciation; in spite of increasing attention to Liszt's religious convictions and church music, they remain in a sort of forlorn oblivion. As organ pieces, they are often overlooked in studies that engage with the composer's desire for mediation between the church's music and his own striving to unleash a progressive *Zukunftsmusik* (see e.g. White 1973; Heinemann 1978; Redepenning 1985; Merrick 1987; Hartmann 1991; Gabbart 2008; Black 2012). Their apparent simplicity and brevity may be primary reasons for the scant interest taken in them in studies of Liszt's organ music (see e.g. Kielniarz 1984; Kielniarz 2002). Another explanation is a longstanding uneasiness about their liturgical appropriateness and functionality, an outlook echoed in Hermann Busch's suggestion that the twentieth-century organ reform movement is responsible for a dismissal of Liszt's liturgical works as expressions of a too individualistic and emotional idiom (Busch 1988, 436).

My approach here will heed Liszt's own stated ideal in his advice to Camille Saint-Saëns on liturgical music, i.e. that purely musical qualities need to remain subservient to liturgical functionality in order to create 'the most perfect *concomitance* possible with the rite'.<sup>2</sup> In spite of this aspiration, a recurrent criticism has been that Liszt incorporated musical techniques alien to the spirit of liturgy, and thereby in fact made his liturgical 'music reproduce the words not only as *ancilla theologica et ecclesiastica*, but also as *ancilla dramaturgica*'.<sup>3</sup> The notion

---

2 In a letter to Camille Saint-Saëns, Liszt suggests that a lengthy mass passage be omitted lest the officiating priest be forced to stand waiting at the altar: 'From the musical point of view exclusively, I should blush to make such a proposition; but it is necessary to keep peace, especially in the Church, where one must learn to subordinate one's self in mind and deed. Art, there, should be only a correlative matter, and should tend to the most perfect *concomitance* possible with the rite.' *Letters of Franz Liszt*, Vol. 2, 186.

3 Citation (on Liszt) from the 1905 *Oxford History of Music* in Merrick 1987, 113.

of dramaturgy is central in this regard, as concepts such as 'drama' or 'the theatre' in the eighteenth century had already come to symbolize an emerging secular music culture, as distinct from the church's stylistic conventions. The most famous lament of the corruptive influence upon worship of musical sensibilities in a theatrical culture is probably E. T. A. Hoffmann's analysis (Charlton, ed. 1989, 366; cf. Hoffmann 1814, 599) of the way in which:

[...] sacred drama developed; thus, though more like opera than worship, a form of church music came into being that could fill the mind with the subjects of holy scripture and so bring edification and spiritual elevation. It may well also have led eventually to the decline of the true church style. Music migrated from the church to the theatre and then, with all the empty ostentation it had acquired there, moved back into the church.

At the time when Liszt set out to compose music for the church, notions of drama were not necessarily seen to threaten the integrity of the liturgy, but they could also be invoked with divergent agendas as a means to reform and to reconceptualise its meaning. Indeed, as notably described by Winfried Kirsch (1986), in the second half of the nineteenth century such contrary characters as Richard Wagner and the well-known Cecilian reformer Franz Xaver Witt both sought to integrate aspects of religious drama and music into greater unity. Their common ground was a widespread idea that music could serve as an integrated element in the actual dramatic structure of religious worship, an understanding that could be employed in a confessional manner to enhance awareness of an objective dimension of liturgy<sup>4</sup> –

---

4 'Die hl. Messe, der Gottesdienst ist ja nicht bloß Gefühlserguß, er ist Aktion, dramatische Handlung, das größte und wundervollste Drama der Weltgeschichte [...] Die Tonkunst darf sich nicht in endlosen Gefühlsausdruck ergießen, sondern sie muß die liturgische Aktion begleiten'. F. X. Witt in *Musica Sacra* VII, 1874, cited in Kirsch 1986, 91. ('The Holy Mass, the service is not only an outpouring of emotions, it is action, dramatic action, the greatest and most wonderful drama in world history [...] The art of music should not flow out into endless emotional expression, but must accompany the liturgical action' [translated by editor].)

or to produce theatrical music that served as a substitute for actual liturgical celebrations. Liszt did not merely draw musical and liturgical inspiration from both of these opposing tendencies during his career, he also made consistent use of novel stylistic possibilities in his liturgical music (of highly varying character). This article rests upon the hypothesis that the idiosyncratic musical idiom of the organ masses is the result of a refined employment of musical techniques, carefully chosen and fashioned to create, by musical means, certain impressions of liturgical coherence and emotion. In order to get a grasp of this polarity, previous analyses from primarily functional and liturgical perspectives (Busch 1988; Schwarz 1973) are here synthesized with contributions from music theory (primarily Redepenning 1984; Satyendra 1992). A preceding section provides a brief introduction to the development of Liszt's engagement for the regeneration of religious music, here seen through the specific lens of the liturgical role of the organ.

### **The organ in liturgical regeneration<sup>5</sup>**

Liszt's youthful programme for the regeneration of religious music, as articulated in the mid-1830s text *De la situation des artistes, et de leur condition dans la société*, envisioned a far-reaching reconceptualization of church music and nothing less than a new phase in the history of music. Under the impact of liberalism and radicalism among Paris artists after the 1830 revolution, and specifically with inspiration from the abbé Félicité de Lamennais, Liszt outlined a bold program for a merger of religion and a novel artistic humanism (Haringer 2012; Walker 1987, 143–160; Merrick 1987, 3–25). The liturgical repertoire of a church in decay and isolation would be renewed as part of an overall rebirth of music, and so be brought into living contact with the people: 'The creation of a *new music* is imminent, essentially religious, strong and efficacious. This music, which in want of another name we shall call

---

5 On the philosophical backgrounds and implications of the concept of regeneration – rather than renewal – in regard to Liszt's religious music, see Dufetel 2009.

humanitarian, shall in colossal proportions unite the THEATRE and the CHURCH'.<sup>6</sup>

Liszt's analysis of the faulty state of church music, as well as his attention to the stylistic disjunction of liturgical music and modern musical sensibilities, are in themselves conventional for his time. According to his kind of humanism, however, it is novel expressive abilities in contemporary music rather than a specific church style that will accomplish the rebirth of religious music. Nevertheless, his desire for a new popularity in church music is in no way an endorsement of, in his view, French organists having brought frivolous or operatic music into the heart of the liturgy:

And the organ – the pope of musical instruments, this mysterious ocean of sound that once majestically surrounded the altar of Christ, depositing on it, with its streams of harmonies, the prayers and moans of centuries back – can you hear now how it is prostituted with vaudeville songs and even gallops? [...] Can you hear – at the solemn moment when the priest elevates the Holy Host – can you hear this wretched organist execute variations on [Rossini's] *Di piacer mi balza il cor*, or [Auber's] *Fra Diavolo*? O shame! o scandal!<sup>7</sup>

Liszt's vision for the merger of theatrical music with religion does rather aspire to an intertwined musical and religious profoundness, promising a music that employs a modern culture of musical sensibility in order to touch and elevate the human soul. As implied by the contrast pictured in his image of liturgical practices, such religious music

---

6 '[L]a creation d'une *musique nouvelle* est imminente, essentiellement religieuse, forte et agissante, cette musique qu'à défaut d'autre <nom> nous appellerons *humanitaire*, résumera dans de colossales proportions le THÉÂTRE et L'ÉGLISE.' Kleinertz (ed.) 2000, 58 (translation by the present author).

7 'Et l'orgue, – l'orgue, ce pape des instruments, cet Océan mystique qui naguère baignait si majestueusement l'autel du Christ et y déposait avec ses flots d'harmonie les prières et les gémissements des siècles, – l'entendez-vous maintenant se prostituer à des *airs de vaudeville* et même à des *galops*? [...] Entendez-vous, au moment solennel où le prêtre élève l'hostie sainte, entendez-vous ce miserable organiste executer des variations sur [Rossini's] *Di piacer mi balza il cor*, ou [Auber's] *Fra Diavolo*? O honte! ô scandale!' Quoted in Kleinertz (ed.) 2000, 52, 54 (translation by editor); see also Hall-Swadley (ed.) 2012, 129.

does not merely aim for a general transformation of human sentiment. There is also a further aim to strengthen the faithful's participation in liturgical celebration, and a desire for a kind of music that consciously interacts with the structure and integral drama of rite.<sup>8</sup>

During the 1850s, Liszt had opportunities in Weimar to study church music and its sources: Gregorian chant and Palestrina as well as Lutheran chorales and Bach. The Weimar organ scene simultaneously provided a milieu for practical experimentation with the emerging German Romantic organ and the expressive potential of its novel sonic range (cf. Haselböck, M. 1998b, 435–443). Although Liszt himself explored these developments in virtuosic and large-scale forms, the organist Julius Voigtmann employed his previous experiences from the circle around Liszt, Reubke and others when he later published a forceful plea for the reformation of Protestant liturgical organ-playing in accordance with musical ideals established in the New German school (Voigtmann 1869). For Voigtmann, it was essential that an inflexible polyphonic formalism and the static soundscape of prevalent organ practices should give way to a novel orchestral idiom. The new sonic possibilities should be employed to serve a deepened poetic sensitivity to the sentiments that arise from dogma and the texts of communal singing. In a somewhat later substantial treatise on liturgical organ-playing, Voigtmann developed these ideas at some length: the orchestral sensibility of new organs should be employed in a psychological vein to express the sentiments of worship, especially hymns, rather than merely to serve as accompaniment (Voigtmann 1870, 143ff.). Organ music should, however, not only enhance the impact of liturgical texts, but also provide expressions for feelings

---

8 Liszt's ideas of both religion and liturgical music developed during the 1830s in close association with those of music critic Joseph d'Ortigue, who also first introduced him to Lamennais. See d'Ortigue's biography of Liszt, reprinted in Gibbs and Gooley 2006, as well as Sylvia L'Écuyer's contribution to Haine and Dufetel 2012.

completely beyond the scope of words.<sup>9</sup> While such an independent musical contribution beyond the verbal communication in worship can seem provocative enough, Voigtmann even called for organ-playing in worship to fulfil an analogous role to the calling of music in Wagner's conception of drama:

[Organ-playing in the church] does in a certain sense fulfil exactly the same function as that of dramatic music within drama itself. Therefore, organ playing in worship can only be allotted a similar place, as that which dramatic music has been assigned in regard to dramatic poetry, by our ingenious Grand Master Richard Wagner.<sup>10</sup>

Liszt's intensive dedication to liturgical music in Rome during the 1860s brought him closer to the reform ideals of the emerging Cecilian movement (cf. e.g. Saffle 1988) and resulted in a series of works that exclusively fulfil practical liturgical functions. Many of them are brief, clear in textual declamation, harmonically restrained and represent a conscious subordination of music to the objectivity of the rite. Liszt here adheres to the reform movement's desire to limit liturgical accompaniment exclusively to the organ and simultaneously restricts the con-

---

9 'Das Orgelspiel illustriert eigentlich nur die kirchliche Feier dadurch, daß es die Stimmungen, welche die Feier an sich erheischt und die, welche im geistlichen Gesange durch das Wort zum Ausdrucke kommen, in Töne faßt und so dem Herzen näher bringt, eindringlicher macht, als es je das Wort an sich vermag. Ja, es regen sich im Gotteshause Empfindungen und Gefühle, welche durch Worte nicht kund zu geben, nur in dem Orgeltone eine verwandte Macht finden, um am derselben zu erstarken und zu erheben-dem Ausdrucke zu gelangen.' Voigtmann 1869, 30. ('Organ playing, as a matter of fact, only illustrates the church celebrations by translating into music the moods required by the celebration itself, as well as those expressed through the words of spiritual songs, thereby bringing them closer to the heart, endowing them with more power than the word in itself is capable of. Yea, in the House of the Lord, sentiments and feelings are stirred that do not announce themselves in words, but only in the tone of the organ find a kindred power, by which to grow stronger and attain elevated expressions' [translation by editor].)

10 'Dasselbe [das kirchliche Orgelspiel] nimmt zur Feier des Gottesdienstes in gewissen Sinne ganz dieselbe Stellung ein, wie die dramatische Musik zum Drama selbst. Es kann daher dem Orgelspiele im Gottesdienste nur ein ähnlicher Platz zugewiesen werden, wie ihn unser genialer Hochmeister Richard Wagner der dramatischen Musik zur dramatischen Dichtung zuweist.' Voigtmann 1869, 30 (translation by the present author). The 1870 treatise is more careful in its tone and yet argues that New German elements should be employed in organ music, especially in regard to harmony; cf. Voigtmann 1870, 109.

tribution of liturgical organ-playing to the auxiliary role of supporting singing. This stance implies a much less expressive employment of the instrument than Voigtmann's plan for the realization of New German ideals. It is, however, still possible to notice that Liszt preserves some conception of the organ's variety of sound colours, albeit discreetly used.<sup>11</sup>

In 1870 Liszt relinquished attempts to gain a wider reception of his church music, not least after having noticed how his aspirations fell uneasily between the ideals of the clergy and secular expectations. A kind of 'emancipation' (Redepenning 1984, 123) from his previous attempts to conform to the strictures of Cecilian reform aesthetics now entailed the possibility of leaving functional harmony aside and of producing more personal and intimate liturgical works. In the masses studied here, Liszt does not return to the more opulent expressivity of liturgical organ-playing suggested by Voigtmann, but uses the instrument's tonal palette in a restricted way. These works do not in fact emphasize specific instrumental qualities but rather partake of a general tendency in his late works to dissolve such characteristics. As a consequence, it is not the manner in which the organ is used that is significant here but rather the musical techniques Liszt employs.

### **An Organ Mass concomitant with the rite**

At the end of 1879 Liszt was to deliver, at short notice, a Mass for solo organ at the request of a publisher. His method of composition was to rely (mostly) on thematic material from his first-ever Mass setting, written for four-part male chorus and organ in 1846–1847 (and revised

---

11 'Tous les instruments d'orchestre seraient écartés – et je conserverai seulement un accompagnement *ad libitum* d'orgue, pour soutenir et renforcer les voix. C'est le seul instrument qui ait une droit de permanence dans la musique d'Église – moyennant la diversité de ses registres, on pourra ajouter aussi un peu plus de coloris.' *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 5, 35. ('All the instruments of the orchestra should be excluded – and I will only keep an organ accompaniment *ad libitum*, to support and reinforce the voices. This is the only instrument that has the right to a permanent place in church music – in making use of the diversity of its stops, one may also add a little more colour' [translated by editor].)

in 1869).<sup>12</sup> In regard to the choral mass, he had articulated in exuberant words the emotional and religious vision of the integral work and its individual movements:

[The Mass requires] above all, *religious* absorption, meditation, expansion, ecstasy, shadow, light, soaring – in a word, *Catholic devotion and inspiration*. The *Credo*, as if built on a rock, should sound as steadfast as the dogma itself; a mystic and ecstatic joy should pervade the *Sanctus*; the *Agnus Dei* (as well as the *Miserere* in the *Gloria*) should be accentuated, in a tender and deeply elegiac manner, by the most fervent sympathy with the *Passion* of Christ; and the *Dona nobis pacem*, expressive of reconciliation and full of faith, should float away like sweet-smelling incense.<sup>13</sup>

Before a comparison with the *Missa pro Organo* can commence, it should be stated that its overall conception is nothing like the preceding work, the obvious reason being that the latter work is designed to accompany a so-called *Missa lecta* (also known as Low Mass, or *Messe basse*). In contrast to the wide temporal, emotional and dynamic range possible in a *Missa in cantu*, in which the Mass ordinary is explicitly stipulated to be sung, it was the priest's reading of the Mass text that constituted the actual celebration of a Low Mass.<sup>14</sup> Any music performed during such a celebration, whether improvised, consisting of organ literature or congregational singing, was – in a strict liturgical sense – an inessential or auxiliary element. While the clergy officiated the objective and theological reality of the Mass, the organist was responsible for a parallel and more or less independent layer of meaning whose purpose was either to prompt the congregation to sing or to af-

---

12 The discussion follows the Universal edition of the *Missa pro Organo lectarum celebrationi missarum adjumento inserviens* (Haselböck, M. 1984, 1–15) and the Breitkopf edition of the *Missa quattuor vocum ad aequales concinente organo* (Wolfrum 1918, 1–28). The organ solo work itself was subsequently transformed yet again into a choral piece by Leoš Janáček.

13 *Letters of Franz Liszt*, Vol. 1, 315.

14 The clear differentiation between read and sung masses stems from the Tridentine Roman Missal (1570) but was abolished in the 1969 Roman Missal.

fect the receptivity of their devotion (cf. Haselböck, H. 2000; Hochstein and Krummacher 2013, 170–173).

Liszt's *Missa pro Organo* combines tendencies from a 'New German' emotional dramaturgy with ideals from liturgical reformism. While easy to perform, it employs advanced and novel musical techniques in the creation of a work that is closely integrated and subservient to a concise and intimate progression of a Low Mass. It is in fact so intimately shaped by its function that Liszt relinquished an autonomous aesthetic value for the work, stating that the whole cycle of movements would be 'unbearable'<sup>15</sup> to hear if disconnected from the liturgical setting. Interestingly enough, the piece has been praised as one of his most significant organ works thanks to the combination of its 'economical poetry of sound' and its alleged status as an 'intimate prayer of the master's soul'.<sup>16</sup>

In the Kyrie, both of these qualities conjoin with an interesting manner of negotiating musical representations of verbal declamation. The movement has a remarkably clear architecture in which a simple triadic motif, which can be distilled as a carrying element of the choral version, is stated three times in slight variations in the bass line. The gesture of this motif is closed each time by a corresponding right-hand chord.<sup>17</sup> The whole section is repeated three times in ascending transpositions and palpably represents a traditional ninefold utterance of the 'Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie' intercessions, as answered by a quasi-choral 'eleison'.<sup>18</sup> Beside the clear outline, a sense of coherence and restrained euphony stems from Liszt's decision to employ only common major and minor triads.

---

15 Cf. an 1880 letter by Liszt to Carl Gille, cited in Haselböck, M. 1998a, 214.

16 Göllicher (1908, 118) describes the mass as one of the 'most intimate prayers of the master's soul' ('intimsten Seelengebete des Meisters'), and states: 'However, these sound poems, so economical in their [expressive] means, with their delicate wonders of tonality, are ill suited to "a full stomach and the full organ"' ('Allerdings eignen sich diese in den Mitteln so sparsamen Klangpoesien mit ihren feinsinnigen Tonalitätswundern nicht für "vollen Bauch und volles Werk"! [translations by editor].')

17 The third transposition does not have the chordal responses.

18 Busch (1988, 436) inserted a possible intended declamation of the text into the score, in correspondence with Liszt's suggestion concerning his cycle *Rosario* that solo organ-playing (without song) might be understood as a 'Singstimme des Herzens'.



Example 1. Franz Liszt, *Missa pro Organo*, Kyrie, bars 1-10.

The variation of both the principal motif and the responding chords can appear as mere improvisatory embellishment, not least because these transformations do not result in any harmonic progression of ordinary functions. Two transpositions between statements of the whole section clearly reveal how Liszt, via simple means, achieves a cadence-like gesture, although he eschews the interplay between tonic and dominant. He merely inserts a single chord over an ascending bass line to move from the first to the second inversion of a chord, thus reaching the higher pitch from which the next section will commence (i.e. an E-flat chord on G to move from a D-flat chord on F to a D-flat chord on A-flat, and the equivalent structure transposed a minor third higher the second time). These transpositions are indicative of how exquisitely crafted the Kyrie is, with a specific sensitivity to pitch alterations. The movement achieves a balance insofar as the main motif brings about a constant downward melodic movement, whereas the overall pitch range of the whole piece is perpetually ascending.

In spite of a sense of continuous development, the movement can be seen to induce mere fluctuations within an overarching B-flat major tonality. In fact, it constitutes a perfect palindrome that moves between the initial and final B-flat major harmony to a middle axis in bars 23-24, in which an F-flat chord is enharmonically changed to E major. As analysed by Ramon Satyendra (1992, 96-101), the movement

uses a retrograde pitch structure where chromatic progressions are enacted on the level of voice-leading rather than harmonic functions. This feature implies that the counterpoint, rather than the perceived voices themselves, in a 'departure → return scheme' (Cohn 2012, 128–129) gradually moves down from B-flat major to E major, and then ascends back to the original tonal centre. A crucial point here is that the movement's seemingly restrained harmony enables a technique of development in which semitonal movements do not appear dissonant, but rather come to be perceived as leading-tones in a continuous chromatic development.<sup>19</sup>

The aesthetic point to consider from these technicalities is an arch form typical of many sacred works by Liszt (cf. Kregor 2008, 228–229), in which a sense of timelessness replaces both the hierarchic stability and the sense of development inherent in tonal progressions. A vital element of this music is Liszt's decision to abandon the harmonic strictures of orthodox Cecilianism and to allow himself subtle chromatic transformations that imply neither harmonic modulation in a structural sense nor merely expressive accentuations. His particular technique of constant diminutive alteration in the repeated statements of a motif rather instils an extraordinary fine-tuned manifoldness of expression that can be understood as 'colouring effects' (Satyendra 1997, 222).<sup>20</sup>

The Kyrie shows how Liszt could employ such techniques for specific liturgical purposes, among them an attempt to represent the Mass text in musical form. In one sense, the music is indeed exceedingly precise

---

19 Even the choral version had an ascending semitonal motif, in bars 33–42, but in a much more obvious melodic and harmonic manner.

20 The Kyrie is a remarkably distinct example of what in Satyendra 1997, 219, is described as 'a specific type of expressive detail that Liszt favoured throughout his career: a pitch transformation in which a musical segment is repeated with one or more notes inflected by a semitone – *inflected repetition* for short'.

and unsentimental in its manner of rendering the text.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, Liszt's way of transmitting language into music, as manifest not least in his great dramatic tone poems, did not operate within the kind of overarching semiotic framework on which the Baroque rhetoric of, for example, J. S. Bach's church music still relied. As a consequence, Liszt's music is not speech-like in the sense of seeking to represent linguistic ideas or textual meaning in distinct musical figures, not even when the structure of the Kyrie is almost over-explicit in its literal representation of the mass text. Carl Dahlhaus has pointed out how Liszt's dramatic musical structures accentuate the possibility for thematic variation as a manner of approaching language. This ideal is connected to a less definite but potentially more creative semiotics than direct representation. Music is here ascribed a potential for a pre-eminent consummation of an infinite and flexible adaptability inherent in human thought and verbal speech. In regard to music, '[i]t is precisely the unlimited alterations which a motive may undergo – in rhythm, key, tempo, accompaniment, instrumentation, transformation and so forth – that make up the language which allows us to use this motive to express thoughts' (Dahlhaus 1989, 242). While the surface structure of the Kyrie strictly seeks to convey the Mass text as clearly as possible, this simple layout merely forms outer contours for a level of continuous musical transformation and development. With Dahlhaus's description in mind, it is possible to see the interplay of the movement's two dimensions as a merger of the objective liturgical meaning of a Kyrie

---

21 As described by Schwarz (1973, 118): 'Die äußerliche Kargheit der musikalischen Diktion [...] entspricht dem Willen zu einer streng liturgischen Konzentration auf den klaren Ablauf der Messe, ohne daß für den Hörer die geringste Möglichkeit eines gedanklichen Verweilens gegeben wäre. Hier liege keine Andachtsmusik vor, sondern der Versuch, den Messetext vollkommen und in fast überspitzer historischer Verantwortung in eine instrumentale Sprache zu fassen'. ('The outward austerity of the musical diction [...] corresponds to the wish for a strictly liturgical concentration on the clear course of events in the Mass, without offering the listener the slightest opportunity for mental dwelling. This is not devotional music, but an attempt to set the text of the Mass in music, completely and with an almost oversubtle sense of historical responsibility' [translation by editor].) Cf. Dahlhaus 1989, 242: '[T]he more indefinite the context of an utterance, the more precise and comprehensive the syntactic nexus must be in order for language to remain intelligible'.

with an expressive music that articulates the infinite manifoldness of a human soul. Seen in such a light, this seemingly arid and insubstantial movement can rather shine forth as an ingenious attempt to unify a quasi-linguistic representation of the rite's objectivity with a musically evoked and animated receptivity in the believers who attend liturgical celebrations.

No less than the opening movement, the Gloria of the *Missa pro Organo* reveals a completely different mode of engagement with the mass text than the equivalent choral work. Whereas the preceding setting meticulously strives to transmit the verbal content into musical forms, and as a consequence falls into a multi-sectional form, the organ here plays a simpler tripartite form. Although the piece still contains contrasting sections, it approaches the typical trait of Liszt's late period 'to capture a mood and sustain it within a smaller formal frame [...] rather than to create a larger, narrative structure' (Satyendra 1992, 23). The initial section is a resolute, lively and repeated statement of the first three notes of the Gloria intonation *Cunctipotens genitor Deus (Liber Usualis IV)*. The theme is presented thrice, beginning on each note of the D major triad, before it receives a brief development and modulates to a quiet ending on a prolonged C-sharp minor chord (which can be interpreted as a representation of the text's 'peace among men', cf. Busch 1988, 437). While the motif is cited straightforwardly enough to recall the clergy's chanting of this well-known intonation, the theme is also synonymous with the beginning of the Gregorian hymn *Crux fidelis*. As a motif of the cross, it was central to Liszt's mystic religiosity and was both recurrently and significantly used in several of his pivotal works.<sup>22</sup>

---

22 Commenting on his symphonic poem *Hunnenschlacht*, Liszt stated that '[t]he chorale "Crux Fidelis", which is gradually developed, illustrates the idea of the final victory of Christianity in its effectual love to God and man.' *Letters of Franz Liszt*, Vol. 2, 352. On the cross motive, cf. Merrick 1987, 283–295 and Hartmann 1991, 50.



Example 2. Franz Liszt, *Organ Mass*, Gloria, theme from bars 1-6.

The choral mass sets the ‘et in terra pax hominibus’ and several of the ensuing laudations on the common ground of a motif based on a rising and then gradually descending seventh. As suggested by Merrick (1987, 103), this ‘man-made theme’ contrasts with the ‘heavenly’ sound of the chant, and in the *Missa pro Organo* Liszt effectually manages to convey a mystic merger between these realms. His simple thematic development of the Gloria intonation turns out to be concordant with the descending seventh and is restated in the upper voice against a broken chord figuration that it is the only vestige of the independent organ part from the choral version (cf. bar 45ff.). The development of the opening diatonic parallel octaves are here palpably incarnated in the unresolved ‘earthly’ tension of a diminished seventh, and this harmony – rather than the less expressive melodic line – is also accentuated in the organ movement. Both a poetic intimacy and an economical use of thematic material comes to the fore when Liszt, after having moved from a C-sharp minor tonality to B-flat major, imperceptibly allows his descending development figure to assume the form of a longer gradually falling melodic line that was found in the Agnus Dei in the choral version (bars 9, 17–20, 37–39).

The text ‘Agnus Dei, miserere nobis’ is also spelled out over the ensuing solo recitativo, which forms the middle part of the movement before the music of the merger between heaven and earth is repeated once more. After a brief excursion into B major, this well-knit poetic reflection on three palpable theological themes comes to an end with two final prolonged statements of the development figure, in the end stretched out in a cessation of musical time.

That the Credo is the longest movement of the mass is only reasonable in proportion to the length of the text to be recited. Its music is nevertheless even more frugal, constructed out of only two themes, the first of which is the most commonly used Credo intonation (Credo I).



Example 3. Franz Liszt, *Missa pro Organo*, Credo, theme from bars 1–4.

The intonation is found in Liszt's sketches for the male chorus mass, but was left out of that in favour of a psalmodic manner of textual declamation. In the absence of a text, Liszt can thus reemploy this more characteristic musical theme in the organ version, and he uses its distinct rhythmic contour in several harmonic guises. One of them is a short but slow and sublime meditation that fulfils the function of veneration normally associated with the text's mention of the incarnation. This emotional connection is conventional, and Liszt similarly builds a long crescendo that can be seen as depicting the drama of Christ's suffering, resurrection and eventual return (Busch 1988, 438; cf. bars 44–70). Nevertheless, the dramaturgy is not primarily representational but arises from transpositions and minor developments of his main theme as well as a corresponding motif of a falling third that effectively integrates the Credo intonation with an inconspicuous but integral part of the harmonic fabric of the male chorus Credo.

Liszt's methods of varying this interwoven material are contrasts between unison and quasi-choral passages, dynamic changes (ranging from *pp* to *ff*, and significantly altered when the first 30 bars are recapitulated at bar 71), as well as a carefully planned tonal scheme. Similar to the Kyrie, transpositions and coherence between sections are smoothly realized by means of semitonal alterations and pitch affinities to achieve the result of organic development within an overall B-flat major tonality. All in all, the absence of a textual narrative allows Liszt to unfold a kind of instrumental phantasy on the initial Credo theme. This might very well be interpreted as conscious attention to the personal acclamation of faith – 'I believe' – and as such, highlights how the subjective dimension of belief accompanies the whole objective content of the creed (into a jubilant final exclamation).

In contrast to the vigorous opening contours of the Gloria and the Credo, the interrelated Sanctus and Benedictus have a consistent hymnic and immobile character. Both movements are developments of two simple contrary motions in the very first bars of the choral mass, where an ascending semitonal melody is complemented by a descending semitonal suspension (cf. bar 44–46 of the choral mass). In a bell-like triple metre, the slow pace is perfectly suited to instilling the kind of harmonic progression discussed in the Kyrie, insofar as prolonged chords give plenty of time for enharmonic reconfigurations of a given pitch.

The image displays two musical staves. The top staff is for the Sanctus, marked 'Maestoso' and 'mf'. It features a 3/8 time signature and a key signature of three flats (B-flat major). The melody consists of a series of half notes: B-flat, C, D, E-flat, F, G, A-flat, B-flat, C, D, E-flat, F, G, A-flat, B-flat, C. The bottom staff is for the Benedictus, marked 'Molto lento' and 'p dolce'. It features a common time signature and a key signature of two sharps (D major). The melody consists of a series of half notes: D, E, F-sharp, G, A, B, C, D, E, F-sharp, G, A, B, C, D. The accompaniment in both staves consists of sustained chords in the left hand.

Example 4. Franz Liszt, *Missa pro Organo*, Sanctus, bars 1–4, and Benedictus, bars 1–4.

Liszt consistently keeps the number of intervals larger than a triad to a minimum, and with the exception of a few motions within a static triad, limits the movement of individual voices to semitonal or whole tone changes. His specific harmonic technique eschews ordinary tonal functions and once more creates a distinct sense of progression within a static overall harmonic soundscape, not least in the repeated powerful 'Hosanna'. Within this section, Liszt moves from an initial *ff* chord with a F2 as the highest note to a seemingly endless final *pp* chord with a treble A-flat1, both in the over-arching D-flat major tonality. Although

both movements contain contrasting middle sections of more melodic kinds,<sup>23</sup> the overall effect of these central parts of the Mass ordinary – enclosing the consecration and elevation of the Host – is to evoke a powerful aural vision of awesome mystic presence. The thematic simplicity and coherence of the *Missa pro Organo* arguably manages to create a poetic apparition that ventures far beyond the corresponding expressive power of the male chorus work.

The final Agnus Dei effectively rounds off the Mass as it integrates the solo recitativo corresponding to the intercession ‘Agnus Dei, miserere nobis’, which figured prominently in the Gloria, to a renewed statement of the threefold Kyrie motif and a concluding ‘Amen’ cadence. Not only is cyclic cohesion achieved by a wordless juxtaposition of the prayers in the outer parts of the mass ordinary, but when the third (transposed) statement of the Agnus Dei theme is placed directly adjacent to the Kyrie, Liszt furthermore manages to reveal that the former in fact is a slightly elaborated variant of the latter.

### An emotionally coherent Requiem

Liszt described his 1883 *Requiem* for organ as a pendant to the *Missa pro Organo* and it is in a similar fashion composed with the aim to accompany a read Requiem mass.<sup>24</sup> This last aspect comes to the fore in that Liszt twice inserts directions for the interplay between the music and the celebrant’s reading of the mass text.<sup>25</sup> Liszt’s vision for

---

23 Bars 19–30 of the organ Sanctus are an ascending scale motion that is derived from bars 4–5 of the choral ‘Post Elevationem’, i.e. the Benedictus.

24 ‘L’idée m’est venue d’écrire un pendant à la Messe pour orgue seul, pour servir d’accompagnement aux messes basses. [...] C’est un Requiem, dont les motifs sont tirés du Requiem pour voix d’hommes et orgue’. *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 7, 382. (‘I got the idea of writing a pendant to the Mass for organ solo, serving as accompaniment to Low Masses [...] It is a Requiem, the motifs of which are taken from the Requiem for male voices and organ’ [translation by editor].)

25 ‘Im übrigen bestimmt die Funktion dieser Musik ihre Gestalt: Es ist liturgische Orgelmusik zur Begleitung der gottesdienstlichen Handlung; es ist eine musikalische Meditation über die vom Priester gleichzeitig zu lesenden Texte der Messe (mit genauen Anweisungen für eine exakte Synchronisation).’ Kirsch 1987, 95. (‘As for the rest, the function of this music determines its shape: it is liturgical organ music for accompanying the action in the service; it is a musical meditation on the texts of the Mass that are read simultaneously by the priest [with detailed instructions for exact synchronization]’ [translation by editor].)

the organ as liturgical solo instrument results in a method of composition that resembles his mass, in that the 1868 *Requiem* for male chorus with organ accompaniment is reworked into a more concise form (an original compass of 1117 bars is shortened to 347 bars in the organ version, cf. Redepenning 1984, 219).<sup>26</sup> The overall outline entails a number of significant alterations, including the omission of the entire Offertorium and Libera movements, while the original Dies Irae, Sanctus and Agnus Dei provide thematic material for two movements each in the organ version. These changes result in the following structure (with the number of bars given for each movement):

1868 *Requiem für Männerchor*

1. Requiem aeternam (184 bars)
2. Dies Irae (320)
3. Offertorium (204)
4. Sanctus (104)
5. Agnus Dei (121)
6. Libera (105)

1883 *Requiem für die Orgel*

1. Requiem (42 bars)
2. Dies Irae (64)
3. Recordare Pie Jesu! (59)
4. Sanctus (23)
5. Benedictus (50)
6. Agnus Dei (68)
7. Postludium (*ad libitum*, 40)

---

<sup>26</sup> The following discussion follows the Universal edition of the organ *Requiem* (Haselböck, M. 1984, 59–70) and the Breitkopf edition of the *Requiem für Männerstimmen mit Begleitung der Orgel. 2 Trompeten, 2 Posaunen und Pauken ad libitum* (Wolfrum 1918, 63–114).

In regard to the male chorus work, Liszt had already highlighted stylistic and performative simplicity as characteristic traits, and in regard to the organ work, he particularly emphasized its conscious emotional coherence – a novel feature in comparison to other famous settings. His general aspiration is to illuminate the Requiem text in ‘another light’ than the dark and unrelenting colours often prevailing, with an aim to instil a Christian vision of death as mild, redeeming and hopeful.<sup>27</sup> Unlike the mass, no Gregorian chant is employed, and the exclusively self-created themes facilitate Liszt’s aspiration to develop a close-knit musical language that responds to the desired emotional coherence. Even on the level of thematic development, the organ *Requiem* can hardly be seen as a mere adaption of the preceding choral work, but rather constitutes a novel musical structure with a distinct functionality and expressiveness. The most obvious difference is the consistent omission of movements and passages where the organ accompaniment to the choir serves as an independent driving force behind the musical momentum, either providing bridges and accentuations (Dies Irae, bars 278–305, 381–402), melodic lines (Offertorium, 101–135), rhythmic energy (Offertorium 62–64), figurations (Dies Irae, 423–460, and Sanctus, 47–96), or dramatic wordpainting (Libera, 10–16, 26–45, 55–60).

Liszt thereby creates an organ work that consistently dispenses with the idiomatic, lyrical and dramatic motives in the organ part of the preceding choral compositions. He generally lets the instrument assume a ‘choral’ function, in that choral parts and previous organ doublings of the choir are left largely unaltered. Whereas the first 28 bars of the Kyrie are a manifest example of this practice, the exception to prove this rule is the Sanctus and the Benedictus, in which the clear lin-

---

27 ‘Dans tout cet ouvrage [...] j’ai tâché de donner au sentiment de la mort un caractère de douce espérance chrétienne. [...] En general, les grands et petits compositeurs colorent le Requiem en noir, du plus impitoyable noir. Dès le commencement, j’ai trouvé une autre lumière, elle continue de rayonner, malgré les terreurs du Dies irae’. *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 7, 383. (‘In the whole of this work [...] I have endeavoured to give to the sentiment of death a character of gentle Christian hope. [...] In general, both great and minor composers colour the Requiem in black, the most relentless black. Already from the beginning, I found another light, one that continues to shine, in spite of the terrors of Dies Irae’ [translation by editor].)

guistic declamation is left and the repeated Hosanna sections are omitted. The organ here primarily continues to play its own material from the choral version, including broken triads in a diatonic and hymnic character in the Sanctus, and renouncing a prominent vocal line in the Benedictus. The tonal range of the work points to an aesthetic ideal of transparency, but can also be seen to enhance liturgical functionality. For example, Liszt prescribes a limited use of the pedals, not least in the Benedictus, when he renounces both the choral version's occasional bass fundament and the possibility to employ the pedals for the lower voices – an option that would have enabled the use of an expressive solo stop for the main melody.<sup>28</sup> Performance indications for registration generally restrict organists to stay within a sombre dynamic range, from *mp* to *pp*, in 8-foot pitch.<sup>29</sup> Only in the Sanctus and the Dies Irae are more forceful dynamic indications such as *ff* and *fff* provided – the latter movement even calling for a 32-foot stop.<sup>30</sup>

The 'different light' that Liszt seeks for his *Requiem* at the same time entails an ambition to venture beyond verbal restraints, clear-cut temporal measurements and the impediments of being tied to customary tonality. There are passages, for instance in the Requiem (cf. the Agnus Dei) and Dies Irae movements, where Liszt manifestly follows the textual declamation and where the apposite text is spelled out in the score. The passage *Qui Mariam absolvisti* in the Recordare is, however, the most striking example of how the organ version creates a musical structure that renounces the strictures of textual declamation.

---

28 Cf. bar 9ff. of the organ Requiem with bar 47ff. of the choral Sanctus. As specified in Haselböck, M. 1998a, 238, Liszt specifically prescribed that the solo line should be played with the right hand together with two chordal voices.

29 The only exceptions are the specification of a Corno anglaise 8' in the Recordare and two brief instances of dialogue in the Agnus Dei, where an added 4' stop marks the collective intercession of 'Dona eis Domine' in response to a solistic invocation of 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi'.

30 As corroborated by the score, the 32' pitch does not indicate *pedaliter* performance from the outset of the movement, but more likely alludes to the 32' Bordun in the *Hauptwerk* of the Merseburg Dom. See Haselböck, M. 1998a, 238.

The image displays a musical score for a choral and organ piece. The top section features four vocal parts: Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. Each vocal line is marked with a tempo of  $(\text{♩} = 60)$  and a dynamic of *ppp*. The lyrics under the vocal parts are: "Qui Ma - ri - am ab - sol - vi - ti - sil,". Below the vocal parts is the organ part, marked with a tempo of *pp* and the instruction *pp (dolcis.)*. The organ part consists of two staves, with the right hand playing a melodic line and the left hand providing harmonic support. The bottom section of the image shows a single organ part, marked with a tempo of  $(\text{♩} = 50)$  and a dynamic of *pp*. This section features a chromatic melodic motif in the right hand, accompanied by chords in the left hand.

Example 5. Franz Liszt, *Requiem* for male chorus, bars 279–285, and *Requiem* for organ, bars 83–87.

The tempo of *Quieto assai, ma non troppo lento, sempre alla breve* (minim = 60) in the choral work is here decelerated to *Lento assai* (minim = 50), and the chromatic melodic motif is released both from its tonal foundation in an organ point and an accompanying motion, and is also given a syncopated declamation in contrast to the previous square metre (cf. bar 279ff. of the choral *Dies Irae*). The ascending semitone motif is repeated 14 times, with an accompaniment in aerial chords that unsettle the metre but do not inflict contrasting motion, and is constantly elevated in transpositions from B major to D major and F major (eventually falling back to a concluding C major). Liszt pointed out his specific devotion to this stanza, and it is certainly given a strikingly

levitating musical expression, as if defying worldly gravity and rising towards heaven.<sup>31</sup> Both here and in the bridge between Sanctus and Benedictus, he transmits a feature of performance practice typical of the Vatican's Sistine Chapel, in that the declamation of Gregorian chant is embellished with an upper third (Domokos 2000, 398, 404–406). The motif that in the choral *Requiem* served the declamation of a specific text still alludes to the verbal content but now abstracts the expressive musical potential from its original setting. The organ version thereby provides a prolonged kind of meditation on the emotional essence of a theme that was inconspicuous in its first instance, but which here is allowed to constitute a novel musical form of contemplative repetition and augmentative transposition.

A correspondence between devotional concentration and the deconstruction of traditional linear tonal progression is manifest in numerous details in the recomposition of the *Requiem* for the organ. Whereas the opening of the *Requiem* perfectly reproduces the material of the choral version, it opts for a simpler version of a recurring cadence that now eschews the previous oscillation and resolution of an interplay between the functions of dominant and tonic. This minor change is significant insofar as it confirms a consistent tendency to renounce the more immediate dramaturgy of such tonal functions in order to instil the more oblique and therefore contemplative motion so typical of Liszt's late religious oeuvre.

The image displays two musical excerpts for organ. The left excerpt, titled '(Adagio ♩ = 40)', shows a grand staff with a bass line of quarter notes and a treble line of chords. The right excerpt, titled '(Adagio sostenuto ♩ = 44)', shows a grand staff with a treble line of chords and a bass line of quarter notes. The right excerpt includes the instruction 'sempre dolcissimo'.

Example 6. Franz Liszt, *Requiem* for male chorus, bars 21–24 (organ part), and organ *Requiem*, bars 21–24.

31 '[D]ans la strophe Recordare est celle de ma prédilection personnelle: Qui Mariam absolvisi'. *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 6, 382. ('In the Recordare stanza my personal predilection is for "Qui Mariam absolvisi"' [translation by the present author].)

The technical consistency of the Requiem in this regard also comes to the fore in that Liszt markedly reduces the impact of his so-called ‘Hungarian’ or ‘Gypsy’ scale – incorporating the minor third and the augmented fourth (the tritone). Its characteristic tonal qualities had become a standard feature in the Agnus Dei movements of Liszt’s choral masses, and it shapes this movement’s opening even in the organ *Requiem*. Nevertheless, apart from its prominent use in the Dies Irae, Liszt consistently reduced the use of this musical material, whose expressive and agonized harmonic colour contributed to shaping the dramatic narrative of the larger work (see Hamburger 1997, 240–242, 247–249; cf. Loya 2011, 206).

A final point of interplay between liturgical functionality and harmonic language to consider is the fragmentary or open-ended tonality of each movement in the organ *Requiem*. The choral Requiem is designed for use in a *Missa in cantu*, and its movements are self-contained units with a single harmonic centre. Even when individual sections undertake harmonic developments that depart from the movement’s point of origin, Liszt conclusively brings the music back to an ultimate stable ending in the tonic. The accompanying (and thereby partly independent!) musical layer in a *Missa lecta* fulfils another function; to integrate and emotionally interconnect the totality of the Requiem mass. Of great importance for integral musical coherence is Liszt’s decision to recompose the endings of individual movements in order to prepare the tonality of the ensuing music – but also in so doing to destabilize their internal tonal centre. Such harmonic developments shape the structure of every movement with the exception of the initial Requiem and the final Postludium (which, however, form an encompassing harmonic arch of the mass). In a similar fashion as in the *Missa pro Organo*, Liszt carefully avoids progression with the aid of cadences in tonal functions, creating transitions rather by way of semitonal transition and transpositions to adjacent pitches. The final E-flat pitch of the Dies Irae, for example, thus prepares the opening D-sharp of the Recordare, a movement that resolves in C major and is connected to the ensuing F major of the Sanctus via an added initial bar containing an octave C. Even in the more traditional harmony of the Sanctus, Liszt is careful

to terminate the ending of his E major bridge to the Benedictus section on a treble B1, melodically adjacent to the top C2 of the following A minor chord.

### Conclusion

In the carefully crafted musical techniques of both the organ *Requiem* and the *Missa pro Organo*, Liszt offers a distinct mode of musical service to liturgical celebration. The style, aspiration and dramatic modes employed in these works may appear idiosyncratic and do palpably depart from solutions in more orthodox music of the nineteenth-century (Roman Catholic) liturgical reform. These late works should not be taken as outright realizations of Liszt's youthful reform programme or as adaptations of Wagnerian patterns as sources for liturgical organ-playing (cf. Voigtmann). Nevertheless, by way of a certain distance from prevalent reform ideals in liturgical music – and their stylistic conventions – Liszt here manages to realize his own kind of commitment to liturgical drama. One of his ambitions was clearly to create music that, no less than other contemporary reform aspirations, 'accommodates and represents the contents of the liturgy itself'.<sup>32</sup> Liszt's vision is, however, broader in scope. The music does not merely represent such objectivity; it rather seeks both to express and to function as a vehicle for the living manifoldness of believers' interactions with the rite. Liturgical organ-playing along such lines cannot be reduced to the task of supporting the kerygmatic value of the liturgy, or to the subjective realm of religious emotion and devotion. Its hermeneutic import lies in its employment of qualified artistic practices in order to strengthen the concordance between and merging of human subjectivity and the liturgical drama.

---

32 'Die Idee daß die Kirchenmusik das in sich aufnehme und darstelle, was der Kultus selbst beinhalte und sei, finden wir also im gesamten 19. Jahrhundert, zunächst latent und später, nach 1850, verschiedentlich ganz offen ausgesprochen'. Kirsch 1986, 91 (translation by the present author).

## Bibliography

### Editions of music by Liszt

Haselböck, Martin (ed.) 1984. *Franz Liszt: Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, Vol. V, Wien: Universal Edition.

Margittay, Sándor (ed.) 1972. *Franz Liszt: Összes orgonaműve*, Vol. 3, Budapest: Edition Musica Budapest.

Wolfrum, Philipp (ed.) 1918. *Franz Liszts Musikalische Werke*, Vol. V/3: Messen und Requiem, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

### Editions of letters and writings by Liszt

Bach, Constantine (ed. and transl.) 1894. *Letters of Franz Liszt*, Vol. 1–2, London: H Grevel & Company (cited here as '*Letters of Franz Liszt*').

Hall-Swadley, Janita R. (ed. and transl.) 2012. *The Collected Writings of Franz Liszt, Vol. 2: Essays and Letters of a Traveling Bachelor of Music*, Plymouth: Scarecrow Press.

Kleinertz, Rainer (ed.) 2000. *Franz Liszt: Sämtliche Schriften*, Vol. 1, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel.

La Mara [Marie Lipsius] (ed.) 1893–1905. *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. 1–9, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel (cited here as '*Franz Liszts Briefe*').

### Other historical writings

Charlton, David (ed.) 1989. *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings* (transl. Martyn Clarke), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Göllerich, August 1908. *Franz Liszt*, Berlin: Marquardt & Co.

Hoffmann, E. T. A. 1814. Alte und neue Kirchenmusik, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Vol. 16: 577–584, 593–603, 611–619.

Voigtmann, Julius 1869. Der Einfluß der neudeutschen Schule auf das Orgelspiel, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Vol. 65: 30–31.

Voigtmann, Julius 1870. *Das neuere kirchliche Orgelspiel im evangelischen Cultus*, Leipzig: Heinrich Mattes.

### Research literature

Black, David Daniel 2012. *Franz Liszt's Via Crucis: A Summation of the Composer's Styles and Beliefs*, diss., Arizona State University.

Busch, Hermann J. 1988. Franz Liszts Orgelmusik für die kirchenmusikalische Praxis, *Musica Sacra*, 106: 435–443.

Cohn, Richard 2012. *Audacious Euphony: Chromaticism and the Consonant Triad's Second Nature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dahlhaus, Carl 1989. *Nineteenth-Century Music* (transl. J. Bradford Robinson), Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- Domokos, Zsuzsanna 2000. The Performance Practice of the Cappella Sistina as Reflected in Liszt's Church Music, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 41/4: 389–406.
- Dufetel, Nicolas 2009. La musique religieuse de Liszt à l'épreuve de la palingénésie de Ballanche: Réforme ou régénération?, *Revue de Musicologie*, 95/2: 359–398.
- Gabbart, Ryan 2008. *Franz Liszt's Zukunftskirchenmusik: An Analysis of Two Sacred Choral Works by the Composer*, Master's thesis, University of Houston.
- Gibbs, Christopher and Dana Gooley (eds) 2006. *Franz Liszt and His World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Haine, Malou, and Nicolas Dufetel (eds) 2012. *Liszt et la France: Musique, Culture et Société dans l'Europe du XIXe Siècle*, Paris: Vrin.
- Hamburger, Klára 1997. Program and Hungarian Idiom in Liszt's Sacred Works, in Michael Saffle and James Deaville (eds), *New Light on Liszt and His Music*, Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press. 239–251.
- Haringer, Andrew 2012. *Liszt as Prophet: Religion, Politics, and Artists in 1830s Paris*, diss., Columbia University.
- Hartmann, Anselm 1991. *Kunst und Kirche: Studien zum Messenschaftern von Franz Liszt*, Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag.
- Haselböck, Hans 2000. '...die Andacht zu befördern': Zum Orgelspiel im katholischen Gottesdienst des 19. Jahrhunderts, in Hermann J. Busch and Michael Heinemann (eds), *Zur deutschen Orgelmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*. 43–57.
- Haselböck, Martin 1998a–b. *Franz Liszt und die Orgel (Sämtliche Orgelwerke, Vol. X, a–b)*, Wien: Universal Edition.
- Heinemann, Ernst Günter 1978. *Franz Liszts Auseinandersetzung mit der geistlichen Musik*, München: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler.
- Hochstein, Wolfgang and Krummacher, Christoph (eds) 2013. *Geschichte der Kirchenmusik. Vol. 3. Das 19. und frühe 20. Jahrhundert. Historisches Bewusstsein und neue Aufbrüche (Enzyklopädie der Kirchenmusik, Vol. I/3)*, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag.
- Kielniarz, Marilyn Torrison 1984. *The Organ Works of Franz Liszt*, diss., Northwestern University.
- Kielniarz, Marilyn Torrison 2002. Organ Music, in Ben Arnold (ed.), *The Liszt Companion*, Westport, CT: Greenwood. 193–211.
- Kirsch, Winfried 1986. Musik zwischen Theater und Kirche: Zur Dramaturgie geistlicher Musik der Neudeutschen Schule, in Serge Gut (ed.), *Franz Liszt und Richard Wagner: Musikalische und geistesgeschichtliche Grundlagen der neudeutschen Schule*, München–Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler. 90–102.
- Kirsch, Winfried 1987. Franz Liszt's 'Requiem für Männerstimmen', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 71: 93–108.
- Kregor, Jonathan 2008. Stylistic Reconstructions in Liszt's Late Arrangements, *The Musical Quarterly*, 91:3/4: 200–239.
- Loya, Shay 2011. *Liszt's Transcultural Modernism and the Hungarian–Gypsy Tradition*, Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press.
- Merrick, Paul 1987. *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Redepenning, Dorothea 1984. *Das Spätwerk Franz Liszts: Bearbeitungen eigener Kompositionen*, Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner.

Redepenning, Dorothea 1985. Meditative Musik: Bemerkungen zu einigen späten geistlichen Kompositionen Franz Liszts, in Constantin Floros, Hans Joachim Marx and Peter Petersen (eds), *Geistliche Musik: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Funktion im. 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag. 185–201.

Saffle, Michael 1988. Liszt and Cecilianism: The Evidence of Documents and Scores, in Hubert Unverricht (ed.), *Der Caecilianismus: Anfänge – Grundlagen – Wirkungen*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider. 203–214.

Satyendra, Ramon 1992. *Chromatic Tonality and Semitonal Relationships in Liszt's Late Style*, diss., University of Chicago.

Satyendra, Ramon 1997. Conceptualising Expressive Chromaticism in Liszt's Music, *Music Analysis*, 16/2: 219–252.

Schwarz, Peter 1973. *Studien zur Orgelmusik Franz Liszts*, München: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler.

Walker, Alan 1987. *Franz Liszt, Vol. 1. The Virtuoso Years, 1811–1847*, Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press.

White, Charles Willis 1973. *The Masses of Franz Liszt*, diss., Bryn Mawr College.

# Retaining the Fine Bouquet: Otto Olsson's Use of Plainsong in Organ Music

SVERKER JULLANDER

## Background

The Swedish church music reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries focused mainly on restoring the rhythm of Reformation chorales and on using the polyphonic vocal music of the sixteenth century both as repertoire and as a model for new compositions.<sup>1</sup> But there was also a budding interest in Gregorian plainsong as the historical foundation of the music of the Church.

A milestone in the efforts towards a reform of church music was the publication in 1897 of the *Music for the Swedish Mass*. This volume, the official companion to the 1894 Service Order, includes several plain-song-based melodies, though in chorale-like settings and in conventional metre, and a considerable portion of the preface is devoted to the historical Gregorian repertoire (Jullander 2012, 58). There was also an interest in the vernacular medieval heritage of liturgical music, as witnessed by the composer and musicologist Oscar Byström's three volumes of liturgical music, all of which included the phrase 'From the Church Song of the Middle Ages' in the title (Byström 1899; 1900; 1903).

---

1 Swedish composers inspired by sixteenth-century polyphony in their choral music include Johan Lindegren (1842–1908), cantor of the Great (Nicolai) Church, Stockholm as well as an important teacher of composition and counterpoint for several composers in the following generation, and John Morén (1854–1932), cantor of Hedvig Eleonora Church, Stockholm, and a pioneer of the historically-inspired musical-liturgical reform movement in Sweden.

Byström was also the first Swedish composer to use a plainsong theme in instrumental music: the Christmas sequence *Lætabundus*, found in the Intermezzo of his 1895 string quartet *Quartetto Svedese* (the movement was actually an addition to an earlier quartet; see Hedwall 2003, 130–131, 360–361).

### Plainsong in Otto Olsson's music

About 15 years later, the composer, organist and pedagogue Otto Olsson (1879–1964) became the first to publish organ music based on plainsong themes. As we can see in Table 1, all of Olsson's works of this kind were published in a relatively short time span. Between 1910 and 1918, Olsson composed twelve shorter pieces and two larger compositions using plainsong and other pre-Reformation melodies as themes. During the same period he also composed a few choral songs based on Gregorian melodies.<sup>2</sup>

### Possible sources

Only in one of his four publications of organ pieces with plainsong melodies does Olsson give the source to the melodies used: this is in the preface to *Gregorianska melodier*, where he writes: 'The original melodies are all found in *Vesperale Romanum*.' In all probability, the same *Vesperale* is also the direct source of five of the *Six Pieces on Old Church Songs*, and of *Ave maris stella* as presented in the beginning of the variation work on this hymn.<sup>3</sup> In the remaining piece of the *Six Pieces*, *Credo* from the Ordinary of the Mass, the melody has the same form as in *Kyriale Romanum*. The *Vesperale* and the *Kyriale* were among the last official publications of Roman Catholic liturgical music by the

2 For a detailed list of all of Olsson's organ music, see Jullander 1997, 545–561.

3 A copy of *Vesperale Romanum*, which I found in the 1990s in the Library of the Academy of Music (now the Library of Music and Theatre), Stockholm, carries Olsson's signature stamp. In the index of titles, all melodies in the volume used in Olsson's organ pieces (and a few others) are marked with pencil. This copy, however, seems no longer to be part of the library's holdings.

<b>Work/collection</b>	<b>Melody /melodies</b>	<b>Comment</b>
<i>Fantasy and Fugue 'Vi lofve dig, o store Gud' (1909)</i>	Vi lofve dig, o store Gud	Chorale in the Swedish Hymn book in Phrygian mode (first published in 1529), originally a Sanctus trope from the 14th century
<i>Ten variations on 'Ave maris stella' (1910?)</i>	Ave maris stella	Hymn for feasts of St Mary
<i>Gregorianska melodier (1910)</i>	I. Creator alme siderum II. Angelus autem Domini III. O quot undis lacrimarum IV. Veni Creator Spiritus V. Vexilla Regis prodeunt VI. Salve Regina	Hymn for Advent Antiphon for Easter Hymn for the Feast of the 7 Pains of the Holy Virgin Mary Hymn for Pentecost Hymn for the Feast of Corpus Christi Antiphon for Compline from Pentecost until the First Sunday of Advent
<i>Six Pieces on Old Church Songs (1912?)</i>	I. Alma Redemptoris Mater II. Iste confessor III. Hæc dies IV. Credo V. O sacrum convivium VI. Magnificat	Antiphon for Compline from the First Sunday of Advent until and including the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (Candlemas) Hymn for feasts of confessors Antiphon for Easter Ordinary of the Mass (Credo III) Antiphon for the Feast of Corpus Christi Canticle of St Mary, always sung at Vespers (psalmody, 8th tone)
<i>Six Latin Hymns (1912–1913?) [for choir]</i>	II. Canticum Simeonis V. Ave maris stella	Canticle of Simeon ( <i>Nunc dimittis</i> ), always sung at Compline (psalmody, 3rd tone) Hymn for feasts of St Mary
<i>Advents- och julsånger (1908–1916?) [for choir]</i>	VII. Jungfru Marie lofsång (1916?)	Canticle of St Mary ( <i>Magnificat</i> ), always sung at Vespers (psalmody, 8th tone)
<i>Credo Symphonicum (1918)</i>	Credo in unum Deum [Patrem omnipotentem] Jesus Christus nostra salus Puer natus in Bethlehem Crucifixus Christus surrexit hodie Coelos ascendit Veni Creator Spiritus O adoranda Trinitas	Ordinary of the Mass (beginning of Credo I) Eucharist hymn Christmas hymn Ordinary of the Mass (part of Credo III) Easter hymn Ascension hymn Pentecost hymn Part of sequence <i>Benedicta semper</i> for Holy Trinity day

Table 1. Gregorian and other melodies from the Catholic liturgy used by Otto Olsson in his organ and choral works.

Regensburg publisher Pustet, before the privilege was transferred to Solesmes, where the melodies were presented not only in a different notation but in a different form, based on research carried out at the monastery. For *Credo Symphonicum*, Olsson chose a large number of melodies, two of which he had also used in the previous collections: *Veni Creator Spiritus* (in *Gregorianska melodier*) and *Credo* (in *Six Pieces*). In *Credo Symphonicum*, however, the *Credo* melody does not appear in its entirety but only a few phrases: the initial ‘Credo in unum Deum’ (the priest’s intonation), the continuation ‘Patrem omnipotentem’ (the choir’s, or the cantor’s, response), and ‘Crucifixus etiam pro nobis’ from the second article.<sup>4</sup>

While all of the melodies used in *Credo Symphonicum* do date back to the Middle Ages, not all are found in the official Catholic liturgical books. The title melody of the second movement, *Jesus Christus nostra salus*, is an interesting example since it has clearly Protestant connotations, having been transmitted by the Bohemian brethren, a movement inspired by the fifteenth-century reformer Jan Hus and widely used as a Communion hymn, including in Sweden, since the sixteenth century (Jullander 1994, 58). When Olsson composed his symphony, the melody was still part of the commonly used chorale-book (published in 1820 by J. C. F. Hæffner with a semi-official status), though so radically changed (or, rather, corrupted) as to be hardly recognizable.<sup>5</sup> The last melody to be introduced in the symphony, *O adoranda Trinitas*, which appears in the middle of the third movement, consists of four phrases from a sequence for Holy Trinity Day, *Benedicta semper sancta sit Trinitas*. This sequence, which was not among the few officially recognized by the

---

4 As shown in Table 1, the excerpts from the *Credo* found in *Credo Symphonicum* are taken from two different melodies, both in the Pustet *Kyriale*.

5 As vice chairman of the committee charged with producing a new chorale-book for the Church of Sweden (published in 1921), Olsson had the opportunity to restore the melody to a form closer to the original. Instead, however, he (or rather, the committee, where he was undoubtedly the driving force) chose to replace it with a different melody. I have not been able to establish Olsson’s source for the melody as it appears in *Credo Symphonicum*, which clearly differs from the version in *Piæ cantiones* of 1582 (Woodward 1910, 30); it is rhythmically much more varied, and the last phrase contains some melismas of an ornamental character which I have not found in other versions.

Roman Catholic Church, is found in Lucas Lossius's *Psalmodia* of 1553,<sup>6</sup> where the phrases in question, as regards intervals and text underlay, are identical to those found in *Credo Symphonicum*.<sup>7</sup>

The three remaining medieval Church melodies in *Credo Symphonicum* (all in the second movement) are taken from hymns not found in the sources mentioned above. For *Puer natus in Bethlehem*, a possible source is the well-known collection of Swedish-Finnish origin, *Piæ cantiones* (1st ed. 1582), perhaps most likely the third edition (1625).<sup>8</sup> For *Christus surrexit hodie* and *Cœlos ascendit*, I have not been able to find a possible source.<sup>9</sup>

### Why organ music based on Gregorian chant?

In his preface to *Gregorianska melodier*, dated November 1910, Olsson gives a musical characterization of Gregorian chant, describes the difficulties of retaining their peculiar character when using them as material for organ music, and also gives a rationale for why such an attempt is nevertheless worth the effort.<sup>10</sup>

---

6 The full title of this work is *Psalmodia, hoc est Cantica sacra veteris ecclesiæ selecta, quo ordine et melodiis per totius anni curriculum cantari usitate solent in Templis de Deo, & de Filio eius IESU CHRISTO, de Regno ipsius, doctrina, vita, passione, Resurrectione, & Ascensione, & de SPIRITU SANCTO, Item, de Sanctis, & eorum in Christum fide & cruce, i Libros quatuor aptè distincta &c.* Lossius was a Lutheran, but the volume is, as the title says, comprised of 'selected sacred songs from the Old Church', most of them in Latin. The Lutheran legitimacy of the volume is provided by the foreword, written by Philipp Melancton.

7 In the 1579 Wittenberg edition of *Psalmodia*, the melody is somewhat different.

8 The melody used by Olsson appears as the upper voice in the 1582 two-part setting but as a middle voice in the 1625 four-part setting (in both cases in tenor position). The upper voice in the 1625 setting is used in Swedish tradition to the Epiphany text 'En stjärna gick på himlen fram' ('A star appeared in the sky'). As regards the melody used by Olsson, there is only one small difference between the two editions; it concerns the rhythm in the second phrase (cf. Woodward 1910, 16, and Lillhannus, n.d.). In *Credo Symphonicum*, the rhythm is the same as in the 1625 edition.

9 It is possible that the hymn title/first line of the Easter hymn is incorrectly given in Olsson's score and that it is identical to the well-known *Surrexit Christus hodie*; the melody used by Olsson, however, is quite different from that commonly sung to this text.

10 All quotations from the preface to *Gregorianska melodier* translated by the present author.

The singular character of Gregorian chant, its absolute independence of the musical laws of later epochs, makes the task of using its melodies as motives for organ pieces very difficult. Lacking instrumental accompaniment, free of the bonds of harmony and rhythm, it flows forth in recitativic lack of constraint and melodic beauty, and its performance is solely dependent on the text. Any attempt to force this music into modern metre, modern keys, modern notation, and modern harmony risks depriving it of something of its peculiar fine bouquet. The recitativic character usually cannot be retained in an organ piece, the chosen metre influences the accent and the choice of chords, and the melody will suffer from a certain stiffness compared with its original form. Still, however, one constantly returns to these Old Church melodies, using them as a foundation with the purpose of creating organ pieces worthy of the Church. For, if the endeavour is successful, if one attains the goal of developing the chosen *cantus firmus* in a manner that is restrained, dignified and compatible with its character, combining musical richness and artistic simplicity, then one also has a guarantee that the work produced in this way is really *church music* and nothing else.<sup>11</sup>

The attribute ‘Old Church’ (‘gammalkyrklig’) in this text requires some explanation. As is common in Swedish contexts, the term is often used to refer to Gregorian chant, sometimes also including other church melodies of medieval origin. In the preface to *Credo Symphonicum*, Olsson refrains from generally attaching the label ‘Gregorian’ to the

---

11 ‘Den “gregorianska sångens” egenartade karaktär, dess absoluta obundenhet af senare tiders musikaliska lagar, gör uppgiften att begagna dess melodier som motiv till orgelstycken mycket svår. Saknande instrumentalt ackompanjemang, fri från ackordlärens och rytmikens skrankor, flyter den fram i recitativisk otvungenhet och melodisk skönhet, och dess föredragssätt är enbart beroende af texten. Hvarje försök att intvinga denna musik i modern taktindelning, moderna tonarter, modern notskrift och modern harmoni beröfvar den lätt något af dess egendomliga, fina bouquet. I ett orgelstycke kan den recitativiska karaktären i allmänhet icke bibehållas, den valda taktarten utöfvar inflytande på accenten och ackordval, och melodien kommer att i jämförelse med sin ursprungliga form, lida af en viss stelhet. Och dock vänder man ständigt åter till dessa gammalkyrkliga melodier, för att med dem till stomme få till stånd kyrkan värdiga orgelstycken. Ty om försöket lyckas, om man uppnår målet att genomföra den valda *cantus firmus* på ett behärskad, värdigt och med dess karaktär överensstämmande sätt, med på samma gång musikalisk rikedom och konstnärlig enkelhet, då har man ock en garanti för att det på detta sätt åstadkomna arbetet verkligen är *kyrkomusik* och ingenting annat.’

melodies used (although he refers to *Veni Creator Spiritus* as '[t]he Gregorian hymn'); there are good reasons for this, since several of the melodies used there are not Gregorian, as this term is usually understood (see 'Possible sources' above). Even in *Gregorianska melodier*, not all of the melodies used are strictly 'Old Church'; the Ionic melody to *Salve Regina* goes back no further than the seventeenth century.<sup>12</sup>

It is clear from the wording of the preface that Olsson thought of Gregorian chant as invariably performed a cappella, although organ accompaniment was very common in Catholic liturgical practice at the time. He also imagines a rhythmically free performance; the word 'recitativic' is used twice in the preface to characterize the sung performance.<sup>13</sup> Here Olsson echoes Charles-Marie Widor, who, in the preface to his *Symphonie Romane*, writes: 'The rhythmic independence of Gregorian chant conforms badly to the absolutism of our metronomic measure. Is there anything more delicate than to transcribe in modern notation the vocalizations of a gradual or an Alleluia?'<sup>14</sup> This idea of rhythmic freedom and suppleness in rendering Gregorian themes goes back to the Cecilian movement of the mid and late nineteenth century,<sup>15</sup> and it also reflects the views held at the time by many influential specialists, such as Dom Pothier of Solesmes. It is, however, at variance

---

12 According to *Cecilia* (1987, 596), the melody was originally composed by Henri Du Mont (1610–1684). In Olsson's source, *Vesperale Romanum*, the melody appears as the third alternative, the two preceding being versions of the Dorian melody (which was the one used by Widor in the fourth movement of his second organ symphony, which replaced the original movement in his revised version, published in 1901).

13 The term 'recitativic' as used here by Olsson does not in all probability refer exclusively to recitative or cantillation in the strict sense, but to a rhythmically free manner of performance associated with Gregorian chant in general. Ironically, the only Gregorian recitation formula found in these organ works (the eighth psalm tone in *Magnificat*) is used in a strict *perpetuum mobile* setting, requiring absolute rhythmic strictness.

14 Quoted in Near 1997, xxiii. In 1910, when *Gregorianska melodier* was composed, Olsson performed Widor's *Symphonie Romane* for the first time in Sweden.

15 See for instance the views expressed in Michael Haller's 1889 treatise on composition 'for polyphonic church song', where he emphasizes that the rhythmical freedom of Gregorian chant must be re-created in polyphonic music (Garratt 2002, 162). This view, however, is different from that of Olsson and Widor, who tend to sacrifice, both in their writing on the topic and in their compositional practice, this 'freedom' in polyphonic textures (see, however, Olsson's approach to *Hæc dies*, below).

with the equalist ideas that came to dominate Gregorian performance practice for most of the twentieth century (see, for instance, Levy et al., n.d., and Dobszay 1995). Later in the preface, Olsson states that the melodies in his source, the *Vesperale Romanum*, are rendered ‘without any indication of rhythm’. Olsson also points out that the melodies ‘can consequently be rendered in different ways in modern notation, and the performer of these organ pieces need not always feel constrained by the notated rhythm, which is in no way the best from the point of view of declamation’.

This statement gives a distinct idea of how Olsson imagined an ideal approach to his pieces: the primary obligation of the performer was not to play according to the score but to reflect the genuine character of the chant as Olsson conceived it, since the ‘declamatory’ qualities of the melodies are impossible to capture in notation. Thus, we are here faced with a case where the ‘composer’s intentions’, far from being unproblematically reflected in the score, even stand in some conflict with the notation, if we are to believe the composer.

There is also a contradiction between Olsson’s sweeping description of the Gregorian melodies as lacking ‘any indication of rhythm’ and the actual notation. Several distinct note values are used in the *Vesperale: longa, brevis* and *semibrevis*, in addition to ligatures. It is evident from Olsson’s notation of the pieces that he was not unaware of the presence of different note values; on the other hand, there is no exact correspondence between these and the sometimes varying rhythmic renderings in Olsson’s compositions.

In the preface, Olsson contends that ‘one constantly returns to these melodies [...] with the purpose of creating organ pieces’. If ‘one’ is taken to refer to Olsson himself, this is a little surprising, since the volume was hardly a ‘return’ but rather his first published compositions of this kind (though the variations on *Ave maris stella* may have been composed earlier; see below). But the wording may also express an intention to compose more plainsong-based organ music in the future – which Olsson indeed did in the following years. Still another possibility is that ‘one’ refers not to Olsson himself but to all organist-composers within the great tradition of plainsong-based organ music that exists from the

Middle Ages onward, a tradition into which Olsson, as the first Swedish composer, now inscribes himself.

Besides instructions for performance, Olsson's preface also outlines an aesthetic of church music, with keywords such as 'restrained', 'dignified' and 'simplicity'. The Gregorian melodies are used as the basis of organ pieces because they serve a purpose: they offer a solution to the problem of how to create organ music that, in Olsson's words, provides a 'guarantee' that it is 'church music and nothing else'. This is to say that the purpose is not primarily liturgical in the sense of producing functional music for Swedish church organists – if that were the case, congregational hymns commonly used in the services of the Church of Sweden would have been a more natural choice<sup>16</sup> – but to compose music that could be identified as church music, irrespective of performance context. He returns to this idea some years later in a letter concerning the organ symphony, *Credo Symphonicum*, in which he writes: 'although being, of course, purely instrumental by nature, I have sought to give it as far as possible a church character'.<sup>17</sup> This is not to say, of course, that Olsson thought of his Gregorian pieces as excluded from liturgical use: he played several of the small pieces in the main Sunday service, and on Pentecost Sunday 1921 he even performed the finale of *Credo Symphonicum* as postlude.<sup>18</sup>

---

16 In an article on Olsson's organ music (1932), the Danish composer and organist N. O. Raasted (1888–1966) wonders at the absence of pieces based on Lutheran chorales in Olsson's œuvre, expressing the hope that such compositions were forthcoming. The publication of *Tolv orgelstycken över koralmotiv* (Twelve Organ Pieces on Chorale Motives) in 1936, a few years after Raasted's article, may appear to be a response to this plea; however, the pieces had been composed as early as 1908, that is, *before* all of Olsson's 'Gregorian' compositions.

17 'The recipient of the letter, dated 27 October 1918, was Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, the dedicatee of *Credo Symphonicum*. (See also the section *Credo Symphonicum* below.)

18 Since the duration of this movement is ca. 12 minutes, it is possible that he played it in a shortened version.

### *Gregorianska melodier and Six Pieces on Old Church Songs*

How then did Olsson go about producing organ pieces that justified the label ‘church music’, according to his own criteria? What compositional strategies did he use to avoid losing too much of the ‘fine bouquet’ of the Old Church melodies? If we first look at *Gregorianska melodier* and its sequel, *Six Pieces on Old Church Songs*, three general observations come to the fore:

- Olsson shows great *respect* towards the melodies, in the sense that he always uses them as regular *cantus firmi*, unornamented and otherwise unchanged. This treatment of the melodies is very different from that found in his works on melodies from the Hæffnerian chorale-book, especially the *Tolv orgelstycken över koralmotiv*, most of which are free fantasies on motives derived from the first phrase or phrases.
- In comparison to his other organ music, Olsson displays a considerable *restraint* in his use of expressive means, both with regard to compositional technique and performance indications.
  - The *harmony* is generally simpler than in the free works. Several pieces are strictly diatonic with no or very few accidentals, but in others, we find occasional use of chromaticism.
  - Likewise, the use of *dynamics* is more restrained. The norm is either terraced dynamics or little or no dynamic change; consequently, in the preface to *Gregorianska melodier*, Olsson foresees the use of the Tutti piston, but not the general crescendo pedal. There are, however, a few examples of crescendo from *f* to *ff* (the strongest dynamic level indicated in the two volumes), where the use of the general crescendo pedal

can appear to be in order.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, small-scale dynamic changes, to be realized by means of the swell pedal, are relatively frequently indicated, almost invariably in passages at lower dynamic levels; this use of dynamic change can be associated with contemporary ideas on the performance of Gregorian chant.

- *Tempo* changes are rare, as are large-scale *accelerandi* or *ritardandi*.
- There is a striking *variety* in his treatment of the melodies. In some pieces, the texture is homophonic, with the free rhythm of the Gregorian melody reflected in the choice – sometimes even the absence – of metre, as described in the preface to *Gregorianska melodier*, but in others, the melody is part of a polyphonic context. One of the pieces, *Hæc dies*, deserves special mention; in treating this highly melismatic antiphon, Olsson uses imitative techniques in combination with a great degree of rhythmic variation in the non-*cantus-firmus* voices. This results in complex polyrhythmic patterns that, even when played in strict tempo, convey an impression of rhythmic freedom.

The individual pieces in the two collections show a large variety of compositional techniques. In *Gregorianska melodier*, we can perceive two distinct approaches to the *cantus firmus*. Three of the pieces reflect Olsson's ambition, as expressed in the preface, of treating the Gregorian melodies in a free, recitativic manner: in two of them, the *cantus firmus* phrases are unaccompanied and even lack indication of metre. The dynamics in these three pieces is very restrained; with very few exceptions, it does not go above *p*.

---

19 The transition from the quiet B section to the A1 section in *Creator alme siderum*, bb. 33–36, and the bars leading up to the final culmination in *Magnificat*, bb. 22–24.

- *Angelus autem Domini* ('But an angel of the Lord') is an antiphon for Easter whose text describes how an angel rolls away the stone that covers the entrance to Jesus' grave. The setting, however, has nothing of the jubilant character associated with Easter. The piece is composed in an extremely simple, responsorial form (though the melody is an antiphon and is thus not intended for responsorial use): each phrase is first presented unaccompanied, then repeated in a four-part setting one octave above. There is no indication of metre, the exclusive function of the 'barlines' being to indicate phrase borders, and no tempo is given other than the indication 'Recit.' at the beginning. Despite the simplicity and 'purity' of the setting, there is in the 'responses' some chromaticism as well as indications of phrase dynamics.

a

1. Antiphona.  
N-ge-lus au-tem DÓ - mi-ni \*

b

Recit.  
An - ge-lus au - tem Do - mi-ni *pp*

Example 1. *Angelus autem Domini*, beginning, in *Vesperale Romanum* (a) and Otto Olsson, *Gregorianska melodier* (b).

- *O quot undis lacrimarum* ('O what floods of tears') is a strophic hymn. The mood of the text, which focuses on the suffering of the Virgin Mary standing beside the cross, is clearly reflected in the composition, with its slow tempo (*Lento*), subdued dynamics (never above *p*), sustained chords in the treble and intermittent falling fifths in the pedal (echoing the last notes of the first phrase). The *cantus firmus* appears three times in its entirety: first in the middle voice (D Dorian), then in the bass (F-sharp Dorian) and finally in the upper voice (D Dorian).<sup>20</sup> Unlike *Angelus autem Domini*, the piece is notated in a regular metre (C, [4/4]), but the texture, with the *cantus firmus* for the most part accompanied only by sustained chords, gives ample room for a rhythmically free rendering of the melody.
- *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* ('The banners of the King issue forth') has as its theme the mystery of the Cross. It is a strophic hymn, but in Olsson's setting, the melody only appears once, followed by a melismatic 'Amen'. Unlike in *Angelus* and *O quot undis*, the phrases are separated by interludes, all using the same motive in falling sequences, unrelated to the *cantus firmus*. As in *Angelus*, the melody is unaccompanied (though played in octaves), whereas the interludes are harmonized in 2–3-part settings over a very slowly moving bass.<sup>21</sup> The *cantus firmus* phrases have no indication of metre, but the interludes, as well as the *Amen*, are in C (4/4).

By contrast, the remaining three pieces are all set throughout in regular, unchanging metre, use the full dynamic range from *p* to *ff* (in

---

20 At the beginning of this third statement of the melody is found the only indication of registration in the entire volume: 'Flute 8' solo'.

21 This alternation of single-voice and chordal writing may have been inspired by Liszt's similar treatment of the same melody in the introduction to his organ cycle *Via crucis*. There is, however, no evidence that Olsson played or even knew of this piece; it is absent from the list of performed organ pieces that he kept from 1908 to 1916. On the other hand, the list also shows an increased interest in Liszt around 1910, when seven of his works are added to the two that Olsson had previously performed.

*Veni Creator Spiritus* *p* to *mf*) and display an affinity for conventional non-*cantus firmus* musical forms.

- *Creator alme siderum*, a hymn for Advent, is set in a rather clear-cut A-B-A1 form, with powerful, *ff* homophonic A sections in the tonic (C) surrounding a mainly *mf* middle section in the dominant (G), with imitative texture in the accompanying voices. In each of the outer sections, the *cantus firmus* appears in its entirety, whereas the last phrase is missing in the B section. A short transition, in *p* and indicated *misterioso*, unites the first and the middle main sections; here the first phrase of the melody appears in E major with chordal accompaniment. In terms of texture (as opposed to melodic material and key), the A1 section is not a repetition of the beginning: whereas the first section has the *c.f.* in the bass, accompanied with chords and with frequent breaks in the manual, the final section has the *c.f.* in the top voice, accompanied by continuous scales in the lower voices, including the pedal. The *cantus firmus* is adapted to the triple metre, with minims on the accented syllables and crotchets on the unaccented ones. An exception is the first bar of the third phrase, where Olsson adjusts the rhythm to suit the natural accentuation of the first word ('Jesu').
- Olsson's 3/4 setting of the Pentecost hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* takes the form of a [chorale] theme with two variations (though always with the *cantus firmus* unchanged). The melody is first presented in the upper voice, in a simple chorale-like setting. The first variation is a trio, with the *c.f.* in the middle voice, accompanied by a scale movement in quaver triplets in the upper voice, and an independent bass voice, whose rhythm is mainly complementary to, but sometimes follows, that of the *c.f.* In the second variation, the *c.f.* appears in the upper voice, initially in parallel sixths, then in varying intervals. The fast accompaniment, now in the tenor, is in semiquavers, whereas the pedal is rhythmically similar to the previous variation. For the concluding Amen, the music reverts to the chordal texture of the beginning.

- *Salve Regina* is the only piece in the collection that is specifically mentioned in the preface, where Olsson writes:

The polyphonic manner of writing tends to bring with it a constraint, a rhythmic discipline of the voices, to which the *cantus firmus* has to surrender, and a piece such as, for example, *Salve Regina*, should therefore be played in strict tempo because of the fugue accompaniment.

Here again, Olsson's view conforms to that of Widor in his preface to *Symphonie Romane*:

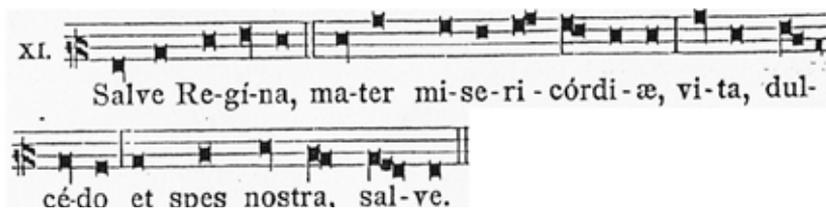
[...] when this theme is taken up in the symphonic network and becomes an integral part of the polyphony, one must execute it strictly in time without attenuation of any kind.

When Olsson refers to the 'polyphonic manner of writing', he is not, as shown by the expression 'for example', referring exclusively to *Salve Regina*, but presumably to *Veni Creator Spiritus* and *Creator alme siderum* as well. Although none of the three pieces uses exclusively polyphonic textures, *Salve Regina* is certainly the most pronounced example of how the supple nature of the Gregorian melody, as Olsson conceives it, must surrender to the strict tempo required by the 'external' musical form imposed on it.

The fugue subject, which is independent of the *c.f.*, consists of sequences on a motive beginning with an octave leap. At first, it is not easily identified since the first statement develops out of a pedal solo beginning with the first notes of the *c.f.*, perhaps in order to emphasize that, as Olsson writes, the fugue has the function of an 'accompaniment', subordinated to the *c.f.*

The general character of the piece is solemn and at the same time vivacious, suitable to the royal greeting 'Hail to the Queen'. Later in the piece, the fugato temporarily gives way to a majestic

a

xl. 

Salve Re-gi-na, ma-ter mi-se-ri-córdi-æ, vi-ta, dul-

cé-do et spes nostra. sal-ve.

b

**Allegro.**



6 Sal - ve Re - gi - na, ma - ter mi - se - ri -

10 cor - di - æ, vi - ta,

12 dul - ce - do

Example 2. *Salve Regina*, beginning, in *Vesperale Romanum* (a) and Otto Olsson, *Gregorianska melodier* (b).

chorale-like phrase, but then returns. The quiet, homophonic ending reflects the words of the concluding adoration 'O clemens, o pia, o dulcis Virgo Maria' ('O clement, o pious, o sweet Virgin Mary'). This is the only instance in *Gregorianska melodier* of a clearly text-related dramatic change of character (texture, dynamics).

In *Six Pieces on Old Church Songs*, Olsson uses a somewhat different compositional strategy, or rather several different strategies in order to keep as much as possible of the Gregorian 'bouquet' while at the same time creating variation between the pieces. Here the composer refrains almost entirely from the most conspicuously unconventional 'recitativic' characteristics found in *Gregorianska melodier*: absence of metre and unaccompanied *c.f.* – two traits found exclusively in the first bar of *Credo* (see below). Neither does he have recourse to conventional, non-*c.f.*-based forms such as those found in *Gregorianska melodier*. On the other hand, contrapuntal textures of different kinds are more frequent in *Six Pieces*.

Still another difference, related to compositional technique, concerns the use of the plainsong melody. In both volumes the complete *cantus firmus* is the backbone of each piece, but in the *Six Pieces*, fragments of the *c.f.* are, in addition, used in the motivic and contrapuntal web.<sup>22</sup> This is especially the case with three of the pieces: *Iste confessor*, *Hæc dies* and *Magnificat*, in all of which a motive from the beginning of the *c.f.* permeates the texture throughout the piece.

- *Iste confessor* is a hymn to be sung on days when 'confessors' (saints, especially bishops who did not die as martyrs) are celebrated. Olsson's setting is very soft, with only 8' flute sound. It is constructed with much contrapuntal finesse. The upper voices, with the tenor played on a separate manual, consistently use

---

<sup>22</sup> In *Gregorianska melodier*, free motives, unrelated to the *c.f.*, are used for such purposes. The only separate occurrence of a motive from the *c.f.* is found in *Salve Regina*, where the initial pedal solo opens with the first notes of the *c.f.* (see Example 2).

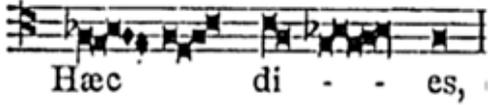
a motive in triplet quavers derived from the first two phrases, sometimes in fugato. Though the triplet movement never ceases, the piece is clearly divided into two halves, the end of the first marked by a pause in the otherwise continuous *c.f.* and a cadence in the dominant key, including a trill. In the latter half, the triplet motive appears in inversion, returning to its original form only in the final bars. The *cantus firmus*, in crotchets and minims, is in the bass.

- *Hæc dies*, an Easter antiphon, is the melody that Widor chose to base his *Symphonie Romane* on. Widor (Near 1997, xxiii) characterises the melody as

an elegant arabesque adorning a text of a few words – about ten notes per syllable – a vocalization as elusive as a bird's song, a kind of pedal point conceived for a virtuoso free of limitation

and suggests the use of 'several versions of a same theme to better make known the inexpressible suppleness of it, and even the free character'; he even gives three examples of possible rhythmic renderings of the beginning of the melody. Olsson, possibly inspired by Widor's description of this melody and his use of it in *Symphonie Romane*, uses a varied assortment of small note-values, which appear irregularly in both the *c.f.* and the other voices, creating a complicated rhythmic pattern with frequent occurrences of 2 against 3, and even 3 against 4. The piece opens with a chain of imitations in the falling sequence S-A-T-B on the first phrase of the *c.f.* (shortened in the alto and tenor entrances), where the bass statement turns out to be the actual *c.f.* Even before the end of the first bass phrase, the notes of the beginning are again heard successively in the other voices (T-A-S [in augmentation]).

a



Hæc di - - es, ,

b

**Adagio**  
(8.4.)  
*pp*



2

*p* (16.8.4.) 3

Example 3. *Hæc dies*, beginning, in *Vesperale Romanum* (a) and Otto Olsson, *Six Pieces on Old Church Songs* (b).

The combination of varying rhythms with contrapuntal intricacy, both in the *c.f.*-based and the free motives, lends the music a strangely mystical character. The piece can be seen as an attempt by Olsson to find a new approach to the problem of adapting plainsong melodies to the inevitable constraints of polyphony that he states in the preface of *Gregorianska melodier*; here, instead of contrasting the recitativo freedom of certain pieces against the imitative counterpoint in others, he attempts a synthesis of these characteristics. Even when the piece is played in strict tempo, the rhythmically complex texture creates an impression of suppleness and freedom.

- *Magnificat* uses as its *cantus firmus* the psalmody formula of the eighth psalm tone (not a self-evident choice, since the *Magnificat* is also sung in other psalm tones). Despite Olsson's oft-professed French orientation (Jullander 1995, 471ff.), this short piece is his only attempt at a *perpetuum mobile*, or 'French' toccata. As in *Iste confessor*, the motivic economy is very striking. The toccata motive is based on the *initium* (g-a-g-c), first in original form, then immediately in [modified] inversion (c-b-c-a); it appears in either of these forms no less than 69 times in the piece. The *c.f.* is stated three times, first in the tenor, then in the alto (in the dominant key) and finally in the upper voice, a majestic, chorale-like statement, immediately followed by the initial motive. This is the only one of the twelve pieces in which Olsson actually indicates a crescendo up to a final culmination.

In the remaining three pieces, the texture is mainly homophonic, while motivic work or contrapuntal-imitative textures are much less prominent. Chorale-like textures in parts of the pieces are balanced by the varying rhythmical shape of the *c.f.*, which lends it at times a somewhat recitativic character.

*Alma redemptoris mater* is a highly melismatic antiphon, which as a *c.f.* in Olsson's composition is given a rhythmically flexible rendering in seven different, predominantly small, note-values, from crotchets to demisemiquaver triplets. The metre is also flexible. The time signature 12/8 (starting with an 'upbeat' of five quavers and in two bars extended to 14/8) has nothing to do with triple rhythm, as is evidenced by the constantly changing beaming pattern in the accompanying voices: in bar 1, 5 + 7; bar 2, 6 + 6; bar 3, 5 + 4 + 3, etc.). In terms of texture, the piece can be divided into three sections, where the first and last are dominated by chords alternating between the tonic (D) and the subdominant (G), an oscillating, 'rocking' pattern often associated with French music (Edling 1982, 65). The middle section starts with fauxbourdon-like parallel sixths but then transforms into a trio with more independent individual voices (the *c.f.* always in the upper voice), interspersed with chorale-like chordal passages. The only case of actual imitation is found

in the beginning of the middle section, where the pedal takes up the *cantus firmus* phrase.

*Credo* is the longest of the twelve pieces, which is not surprising, since the melody is the entire sung Nicene Creed, the only part of the Mass Ordinary that Olsson used in his 'Gregorian' music, and the only one of the pieces in the two volumes (with the possible exception of *Salve Regina*, see above) in which changes in musical character within a piece (key, dynamics, texture) clearly illustrate the textual content. Counterpoint is all but absent, but there is a considerable amount of textural variation. The initial statement 'Credo in unum Deum' is in unison, as is also, in octaves, the phrase 'Filium Dei unigenitum' (bars 12–13). Since these are the only instances of unison treatment of the *c.f.*, one may suspect that the intention was to highlight the words 'unum' and 'unigenitum', respectively, in the tradition of earlier Mass compositions.<sup>23</sup> In the first section of the piece, comprising the first article of faith and the first part of the second, ending with 'descendit de caelis' ('He [Jesus Christ] came from heaven'), the character is brisk and powerful, with the deity of Christ ('Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero') proclaimed on the solo trumpet in octaves. At that particular point, the *c.f.* (always in the upper voice) is accompanied by stepwise movement in parallel thirds (tenths), but otherwise, the setting is chorale-like, in four (occasionally three) parts.

For the second section, beginning with the Incarnation ('Et incarnatus est'), the piece assumes a quite different character; in making such a change, Olsson follows many previous composers of Masses. Not only does the dynamic suddenly decrease from *f* to *p*, but the note-values of the *cantus firmus* are doubled, from minims and crotchets to semibreves and minims, and the key changes from D major to F-sharp minor (without change in the notated key) over a low F-sharp pedal point.

---

23 Cf. also the unison 'Ich bin Gottes Sohn' concluding the *turba* chorus 'Andern hat er geholfen' in J. S. Bach's *St Matthew Passion*.

The image shows a musical score for piano and guitar/chorale. The piano part is in G major, 4/4 time, and consists of two systems. The first system has a treble clef and a bass clef. The second system has a bass clef. The guitar/chorale part is in G major, 4/4 time, and consists of two systems. The first system has a treble clef and a bass clef. The second system has a bass clef. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *pp*, and a performance instruction 'Gt. (or Ch.)'.

Example 4. Otto Olsson, *Credo* from *Six Pieces on Old Church Songs*, bars 29–31 ('[de]scendit de caelo. Et incarnatus est').

For the following 'Crucifixus', there is a further diminuendo but otherwise no significant change. The chorale-like texture of the previous section is now abandoned in favour of continuous stepwise movement in crotchets in the middle voices. For the final *pp* phrase of this section, 'Et sepultus est' ('and was buried'), the movement of the accompanying voices slows down, and a *molto ritard.* on the final note of the *c.f.* leads to a concluding D minor chord in *ppp*.

The proclamation of the Resurrection, 'Et resurrexit tertia die', is accompanied by a rapid stepwise rising movement in quavers over almost three octaves in the middle voice. The setting is here in three voices (the *cantus firmus*, though mostly in octaves, counted as one voice). The transition to the third article of faith ('Et in Spiritum Sanctum') is not marked by any halt in the quaver movement, but the *cantus firmus* now moves down to the middle voice, played in octaves with the bass, while the continuous quaver movement ascends to the upper voice, thus transforming the trio texture to a bicinium. Later on (at 'et conglorificatur'), the bass leaves the *c.f.* for a pedal point lasting for fifteen bars. At the passage dealing with the Church ('Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam'), the first notes ('Et unam sanctam') are repeated three times in octaves in the upper voices – the only instance of the separate use of motives from the *c.f.* in the piece. The *c.f.* – still in octaves – returns to the upper voice at 'Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum', accompanied by rising parallel thirds in the middle voices. A fermata on the last note of this phrase, marking the end of the pedal

point and followed by a pause, prepares for the climax of the piece, to the words, 'Et vitam venturi sæculi' ('And the life of the world to come'), set to massive *ff* chords. For the concluding 'Amen', the simple four-part chorale setting of the first section returns, as does the dynamic level of *f*.

*O sacrum convivium* is, like *Alma redemptoris* and *Hæc dies*, an antiphon dominated by melismas, though treated by Olsson in a less recitativo manner, in 4/2 metre throughout and with less, though still considerable, rhythmic variation. Three kinds of textures dominate the piece: a four-part setting with two pairs of parallel voices (sixths and tenths, respectively) mainly in contrary motion (A); a solo voice in the treble on a separate manual accompanied by chords in the middle register (B); and a four-part chorale setting with an added bass voice playing octave leaps in staccato (C). The *c.f.* is in the top voice throughout the piece. Olsson divides the antiphon (with the exception of the concluding 'Alleluia', see below) into four sections, two of them repeated in a different texture, producing the following pattern:

1st section ('O sacrum convivium...'): texture A (bars 1–7)

2nd section ('Memoria passionis...'): texture B (bars 8–10)

1st section<sup>24</sup> ('O sacrum convivium...'): texture C (bars 11–18);

*c.f.* in doubled note-values

3rd section ('Mens impletur gratia...'): texture A (bars 19–23)

4th section ('Nobis pignus datur...'): texture B (bars 24–26)

3rd section ('Mens impletur gratia...'): texture C (bars 27–31);

transposed, in doubled note-values

We thus see in each half of the main part of the piece a 'counterpoint' between the A–B–A form of the *c.f.* and the simultaneous A–B–C pattern of the different textures. Despite the repetitive patterns of both *c.f.* treatment and texture type, there is no repeat or recapitulation in the usual sense (affecting both *c.f.* and texture) in the whole piece. In

---

24 Somewhat shortened; the notes corresponding to the last word, 'recolitur', are omitted.

this way, Olsson produces an impression of continuity and recognition without resorting to conventional repetition.

The partly polyphonic concluding 'Alleluia', preceded by the only notated general pause in the piece, is texturally unrelated to the previous sections (with one exception; see below). It begins in the unaccompanied soprano voice, with the lower voices following suit in descending octave imitation of the *c.f.* (tenor and alto at the same pitch level). The temporary polyphony then transforms into a chorale-like setting. The final note of the antiphon, which is also the final chord of the piece, sees the return of the staccato octave leaps of texture C in the bass.

### **Ten Variations on the Dorian Plainsong 'Ave Maris Stella'**

In the variations on the hymn *Ave maris stella*, Olsson demonstrates a wide variety of compositional techniques, always, however, keeping within the limits of the Dorian scale on D, thus to be played exclusively on the lower (white) keys. A precedent to this unusual handling of harmony is Olsson's Fantasy and Fugue on the Swedish Phrygian chorale *Vi lofve dig, o store Gud* ('We praise Thee, o great God'),<sup>25</sup> which is also written for 'white keys only', though with the exception of the E major of the final bars. *Ave maris stella* can thus, in a certain sense, be seen as a sequel to *Vi lofve dig*. The variations display a wide variety of compositional techniques. Some of the variations recall Baroque models of chorale arrangement: *bicinium* (Var. 2), fugati on all phrases (Var. 4), ornamented *c.f.* on a solo manual (Var. 5), *plenum* (full organ) with the

---

25 Despite the medieval origin of the hymn 'Vi lofve dig' (as a troped *Sanctus*), this work has not been included among the 'Gregorian' pieces here. It is unlikely that Olsson would have regarded the hymn as a Gregorian melody, considering both that it was taken directly from the Hæffnerian chorale-book and that it invariably appears in long equal note-values, in obvious contrast to the characteristics of Gregorian chant as described in the preface to *Gregorianska melodier*. Nevertheless the absence of metre in the first section and the adherence to the diatonic Phrygian scale, in combination with the time of its composition, make it relevant to see this fantasy as a step on the way towards the 'Gregorian' works.

*c.f.* in the bass (Var. 9), but there are also highly original settings with no apparent model, such as Var. 7, entitled *Carillon*, with the *c.f.* played *portato* in fragments of phrases, accompanied by continuous triplets in parallel thirds and sixths in the middle voices. Advanced counterpoint, something of a hallmark of Olsson's, is found in Var. 3 (diminution, inversion, extreme motivic economy) and Var. 6 (a trio with the *c.f.* in the middle voice accompanied by a canon on a free melody in the outer voices), which culminates in the final variation in the form of a four-part canon. The later variations (from Var. 5) require a virtuoso playing technique with some dramatic developments, traits that make this work stand apart from the simplicity and restrained expressiveness of the twelve smaller plainsong pieces. The text is not given in the score,<sup>26</sup> and there is nothing to suggest that the individual variations are intended to reflect the textual content of the hymn, which has only seven stanzas.

---

26 This may not have been Olsson's wish but an editorial decision; we can note that in the works published in Sweden (*Gregorianska melodier* and *Credo Symphonicum*), the text of the medieval melodies is given in the score, whereas this is not the case in *Ave maris stella* and *Six Pieces*, which were both published by Augener, London.

A - ve ma - ris stel la

The musical notation for the theme is written on a single treble clef staff. It consists of a sequence of notes: a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, an eighth note D5, an eighth note E5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, and a whole note A4. The lyrics 'A - ve ma - ris stel la' are written below the notes, with hyphens under 've', 'ma', 'ris', and 'stel'.

a. Theme

The musical notation for Variation 1 is written on a single treble clef staff in common time (C). It consists of a sequence of notes: a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a half note B4, a quarter note C5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note E5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, and a whole note G4.

b. Variation 1

The musical notation for Variation 2 is written on a single treble clef staff in 3/4 time. It consists of a sequence of notes: a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note E5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, and a whole note F4.

c. Variation 2

The musical notation for Variation 3 is written on a single bass clef staff in common time (C). It consists of a sequence of notes: a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, a quarter note B3, a quarter note C4, a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, a quarter note D4, a quarter note C4, a quarter note B3, a quarter note A3, a quarter note G3, and a whole note F3.

d. Variation 3

The musical notation for Variation 4 is written on a single bass clef staff in 6/8 time. It consists of a sequence of notes: a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, a quarter note B3, a quarter note C4, a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, a quarter note D4, a quarter note C4, a quarter note B3, a quarter note A3, a quarter note G3, and a whole note F3. There is a trill (tr) over the final G3 note.

e. Variation 4

The musical notation for Variation 5 consists of two staves in common time (C). The first staff has notes with 'x' above them: a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note E5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, and a whole note F4. There are trills (tr) over the C5 and G4 notes. The second staff has notes with 'x' above them: a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note E5, a quarter note D5, a quarter note C5, a quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, and a whole note F4. There are trills (tr) over the C5 and G4 notes.

f. Variation 5

The musical notation for Variation 6 is written on a single bass clef staff in 3/4 time. It consists of a sequence of notes: a quarter note G3, a quarter note A3, a quarter note B3, a quarter note C4, a quarter note D4, a quarter note E4, a quarter note D4, a quarter note C4, a quarter note B3, a quarter note A3, a quarter note G3, and a whole note F3.

g. Variation 6



h. Variation 7



i. Variation 8



j. Variation 9



k. Variation 10

Example 5. *Ave maris stella*, first phrase as it appears in Otto Olsson's *Ten Variations*, theme (a), variations 1-10 (b-k).

The theme is presented in free rhythm and with no time signature. It is unaccompanied apart from chords accompanying the final note of each phrase. This kind of treatment accords well with the principles laid down in Olsson's preface to *Gregorianska melodier* (see above) and shows similarities to the settings of *Angelus autem Domini* and *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* in that volume. But in the remainder of the work, the composer is much less faithful to the melody: he adds and, more often, subtracts notes, and in some phrases makes changes in pitch and melodic shape beyond recognition. Some albeit far from all of these liberties can be ascribed to the necessary subordination to a contrapuntal idea or technique.

### A remark on chronology

The plainsong-based organ works discussed above were all composed within a relatively short time in the early 1910s. Their internal chronology is, however, somewhat unclear. The preface to *Gregorianska melodier* is dated November 1910, which strongly suggests that the pieces in that collection were composed over the course of that year. This is, however, the only indication that we have from the composer of a date (or rather a *terminus ante quem*) of composition of any of the pieces. It seems reasonable, however, to assume that the *Six Pieces on Old Church Songs*, entered in Olsson's handwritten list of his own compositions<sup>27</sup> as the second volume of *Gregorianska melodier*, were written later than *Gregorianska melodier* (Carlsson [1994, 340] gives 1912 as a probable date); in any case, this second set must have been composed no later than 1913, when one of the pieces, *Magnificat*, was published in the anthology *Outgoing Voluntaries* (London: Augener).

A more difficult question is whether the *Ave maris stella* variations were composed before or after *Gregorianska melodier*. Carlsson (1994, 340) gives 1910 as the date of composition for both works, though the case of *Ave maris stella* is followed by a question-mark. Nor are the dates of publication (1911 for *Gregorianska melodier*, 1913 for *Ave maris stella*) of much help here since the publisher of the latter work, Augener (London), unlike Olsson's Swedish and German publishers, in several cases waited for many years to publish the compositions that Olsson submitted (for example, *Six Pieces on Old Church Songs* was not published as a collection until 1931). In Olsson's above-mentioned list of compositions, the *Ave maris stella* variations were originally entered as opus 41, and *Gregorianska melodier* as opus 43; the opus numbers of both pieces were later changed to 42 and 41, respectively.<sup>28</sup> The names

27 'Förteckning över egna kompositioner i opusföljd' ['List of my own compositions ordered according to opus number']. In private possession.

28 Whereas the *Ave maris stella* variations were published as Opus 42 (the same number as in the list), the collection *Gregorianska melodier* was published as Opus 30. This is not the only discrepancy between the opus numbers in the list and those found in published editions, and it probably has no relevance for the internal chronology of the two works.

of the publishers are entered in both items, but these seem to be later additions. A possible conclusion is that the original opus numbers reflect the order in which the two works were composed, and the changed numbers the order in which they were published. Thus, the *Ave maris stella* variations may be Olsson's first organ work based on a Gregorian melody.

There is a conspicuous difference in the treatment of the Gregorian theme in the *Ave maris stella* variations compared to Olsson's other plainsong-based compositions. Whereas in the latter works the *cantus firmus* almost invariably appears unchanged, the *Ave maris stella* melody is subjected to far-reaching liberties in the course of the work, even including melodic alteration and fragmentation of individual phrases. This is by no means a necessary consequence of the variation form, as we have seen (cf. the variations on *Veni Creator Spiritus* in *Gregorianska melodier*, above, p. 222). Such free treatment of a Gregorian *cantus firmus*, using it much as any kind of thematic material, is hardly compatible with the reverence for the original melodies expressed in the programmatic preface to *Gregorianska melodier* (see above, p. 214). If the *Ave maris stella* variations were, as suggested above, Olsson's first attempt at composing organ music using plainsong themes, it may be that he here tried out a course of action that was later abandoned in favour of the more 'faithful' approach laid out in the preface to *Gregorianska melodier* and applied in that collection and the following works on Gregorian themes.

### *Credo Symphonicum*

After 1912 Olsson did not compose much organ music for several years.<sup>29</sup> His return to large-scale organ composition was also a return to Old Church motives, but in a very different form. In October 1918,

---

29 Olsson's only organ composition from between 1912 and 1918, apart from a number of very short chorale preludes for liturgical use, was a set of chorale variations, published as *Variations sur un choral* in the sixth volume of the anthology *Maitres contemporains de l'orgue*, edited by Joseph Joubert (Paris: M. Sénart & Cie, 1914).

he revealed in a letter to Archbishop Nathan Söderblom that he was adding the finishing touches to a new symphony for organ based on melodies from the Old Church. He wanted the Archbishop's advice concerning a suitable title for this work: would 'Symphonia ecclesiastica' be appropriate? Söderblom responded swiftly in an enthusiastic letter and settled the matter without hesitation: '*Credo Symphonicum*, the name is given.' The suggested title was translated by Söderblom as 'the Christian faith presented in the guise of a symphony'.

Olsson had probably had a work of this kind in mind for a long time. We have seen that the 1910 preface partly echoes that of Widor's to *Symphonie Romane*, and we can also note that Olsson, alone among Swedish organists, had performed all three of Widor's plainsong-based organ symphonies, the first, *Symphonie Gothique*, already in 1904. When *Credo Symphonicum* was printed in 1927, he sent a copy to Widor, accompanied by a letter in which he wrote:

[B]y these works [*Symphonie Gothique*, *Symphonie Romane*, and *Sinfonia sacra*], I have been convinced that an organ symphony must be based on Old Church motifs to become a religious composition in the true sense of the word.

The use of medieval church melodies in *Credo Symphonicum* is very different from that in Olsson's earlier pieces (and also, for that matter, from Widor's use of plainsong in his late organ symphonies). In addition to their general function of representing the 'church' or being 'church music', the melodies here are included in a specific theological context, where the content of the text determines their place in the symphonic whole.<sup>30</sup>

The work has three movements, representing the three articles of faith, and thereby also the three persons of the Trinity. The first article

---

30 This is not the place for a thorough analysis of this large and complex work; the focus here is exclusively on the composer's use of the eight medieval melodies forming the greater part of the thematic material.

(the Father) is represented by the Gregorian *Credo in unum Deum*, the second (the Son) by *Jesus Christus nostra salus*, and the third (The Holy Spirit) by the universally known Pentecost hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*. These three melodies form the main themes of each of the three movements. In addition, the second movement includes hymns (or phrases from hymns) for the feasts of Christmas, Easter and Ascension, corresponding to the events related in the second article of the Creed, and the third movement includes a few phrases from a sequence for Holy Trinity day.

The first movement can be described as monothematic. The slow Introduction opens with the *Credo in unum Deum* phrase unaccompanied and in free rhythm (without time signature). It then becomes part of a polyphonic texture, followed by a renewed unison statement. It reappears as a more lyrical theme later in the second part of the bipartite slow introduction, and in the ensuing Allegro (the main part of the movement, in free sonata form) it not only has the function of main theme (in combination with a free motive) but also serves as a second theme – in inverted form. The development section sees the same theme fragmented, appearing simultaneously in different note-values.

The second movement is more rhapsodic, with the title melody, *Jesus Christus nostra salus*, appearing in its entirety only at the beginning and towards the end (where it is treated in canon). Motivic material derived from the first phrase also appears in other places; in particular, a four-note motive (a–g–a–d) furnishes material for a highly dramatic, development-like section in the middle of the movement. Four other melodies represent the content of the second article: the Incarnation (*Puer natus in Bethlehem*), the Passion (*Crucifixus*), the Resurrection (*Christus surrexit hodie*) and the Ascension (*Caelos ascendit*). These melodies, three hymns and a phrase from the *Credo* (*Crucifixus*), are presented in a rather straightforward manner, not subjected to any contrapuntal development or motivic work – though the first phrase of *Puer natus* returns a couple of times immediately before the dramatic middle section.

In the third movement, the main theme, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, appears first in modified form (first phrase only) as a lively, syncopated first theme (see Example 6) – one can think of the characterization of

the Holy Spirit as *vivificantem* (life-giver) in the Nicene Creed – then in its entirety as a hymn-like second theme.

**In tempo ordinario.**

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is for the piano, marked 'II. f', and contains a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes. The middle staff is for the second piano, marked 'Pk. II', and contains a bass line with quarter notes and rests. The bottom staff is for the solo flute, marked 'Pk. II', and contains a melodic line with quarter notes and rests. The tempo is 'In tempo ordinario.' and the key signature is two sharps (D major).

Example 6. *Credo Symphonicum*, third movement, 'Veni Creator Spiritus', beginning.

Although the first theme returns from time to time during the whole movement, lending it a rondo-like character, the peculiar shape of the movement is due to its dual symbolic function: on the one hand, it represents the third article, the Holy Spirit, while on the other hand, it summarizes the idea of the work in representing the Trinity as a whole through musical means. This duality is also reflected in a stylistic and formal diversity, which approaches or even stretches the limit for what can be contained within a single movement. The 'trinitarian' aspect is introduced by a Trinity motif, 'O adoranda Trinitas, o veneranda Unitas' ('O adorable Trinity, o venerable Unity'), played on a solo flute in a high register. After that, the main themes of the previous movements are introduced, one at a time. Later on, after several strettos on 'Veni Creator', the three main themes are combined in triple counterpoint, a sublime musical representation of the Trinity.

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is for the piano, the middle for the second piano, and the bottom for the solo flute. The music is in 4/4 time with a key signature of three flats (E-flat major). The score shows a complex texture with overlapping themes, including a triplet in the bass line of the bottom staff.

Example 7. *Credo Symphonicum*, third movement, bars 209–213 (third combination of the three main themes).

By this time, the expectation for a conventional culmination promised by the exuberant beginning has evaporated. Instead we face an austere vocal-style polyphony. Perhaps this was what Olsson had in mind when he wrote to the Archbishop: 'This composition will never become popular, since it contains too much of mystique and counterpoint'. However, the syncopated first theme, based on *Veni Creator Spiritus*, returns, and there is a build-up towards a grandiose ending. Again, however, the expectation is not fulfilled. When what seems to be the final chord in *fff* is released, a single note lingers, which turns out to be the first note in a final, at first unaccompanied, statement of the *Credo* phrase, a counterpart to the single-voice beginning of the work.

### The primacy of the melody

Despite the huge differences between the individual works constituting Olsson's 'Gregorian' body of works, there is one conspicuous trait that is common to all pieces: the highlighting of the *melody*. All melodies, including the lengthy *Credo* in *Six Pieces*, are presented at least once in complete form (with the exception of *Credo Symphonicum*, in which individual phrases are used as themes in a symphonic context).<sup>31</sup> In all four works or collections, there are one or more instances of unaccompanied *cantus firmus* phrases notated with neither time signature nor barlines: as presentation of the melody (*Ave maris stella*) or its first phrase (*Credo*; first movement of *Credo Symphonicum*) or as a *cantus firmus* in phrase-by-phrase alternation, either with the same phrase harmonized (*Angelus autem Domini*) or with a free section (*Vexilla Regis prodeunt*). In addition, the melody appears in some pieces with an accompaniment that is either static (as in *O quot undis lacrimarum*) or following the melody in *falsobordone* parallel chords (as in *Alma redemptoris mater*).

---

31 Nevertheless, two hymn tunes appear in their entirety in *Credo Symphonicum*: *Jesus Christa nostra salus* and *Veni Creator Spiritus* (the main themes of the second and third movements, respectively).

## Conclusion

In the preface to *Gregorianska melodier* quoted above, Olsson formulates as his overarching goal to produce organ music that is recognizable as ‘church music and nothing else’. He seeks to fulfil that goal by using plainsong melodies, but he also recognizes that merely incorporating such themes is not enough; their treatment must be ‘restrained’ and ‘dignified’, and, furthermore, the composition must possess ‘musical richness and artistic simplicity’. Such formulations clearly echo the ideals of the Cecilian movement, but they also go well together with Olsson’s general preference for ‘French’ clarity (Jullander 1995, 471ff.).

Of special interest is Olsson’s pairing of the contrasting (but vague) terms ‘richness’ and ‘simplicity’. Whilst ‘musical richness’ can be reasonably assumed to be a more general ideal for Olsson as a composer, the demand for ‘simplicity’ would have seemed to be more of a challenge, requiring him to question elements in his composing that he previously had taken for granted, such as using the expressive possibilities of the contemporary organ in terms of tone-colour and dynamics, as well as the rich harmonic palette available to composers of his generation (though Olsson was never an avant-gardist in that respect).

We have seen how Olsson implemented, in various ways and to differing degrees, the idea of ‘simplicity’ in the ‘Gregorian’ works: examples include the extreme harmonic austerity of the *Ave maris stella* variations, the equally extreme brevity, dynamic restraint and formal simplicity of *Angelus autem Domini*, and the humble concluding statement of the *Credo in unum Deum* phrase in the finale of *Credo Symphonicum*. But there is to be sure, particularly in the two large-scale works, also ‘richness’, certainly in the sense of dynamics and tone-colour, but also manifesting itself in complex textures and advanced counterpoint. The sublime moment in the finale of *Credo Symphonicum*, where three ‘Old Church’ melodies, practically unchanged, are combined in austere triple counterpoint, representing the Trinity (see Example 7), may be seen as the ultimate fulfilment of Olsson’s desire to combine ‘musical richness and artistic simplicity’ in a work constituting ‘church music and nothing else’.

## Bibliography

### Archival sources

Music and Theatre Library of Sweden

– Otto Olsson's Archive.

Uppsala University Library

– Nathan Söderblom's Archive, collection of letters.

### Printed sources

*Cecilia: katolsk psalmbok* 1987. Stockholm: Verbum.

*Kyrie seu Ordinarium Missæ juxta editionem Vaticanam a SS. PS. Pie X Evulgatam* 1907. Regensburg: Pustet. Facsimile at <<http://lalandelibrary.org>>. Accessed 21 March 2017.

Lossius, Lucas 1553. *Psalmodia, hoc est, Cantica sacra veteris ecclesie selecta etc.* Nuremberg: Gabriel Hayn. Facsimile at <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/-db/0002/bsb00029543/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&seite=5&pdfseite=>>>. Accessed 11 May 2017. Also: 1579, Wittenberg: Antonius Schön. Facsimile at <<https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/search?View=default&db=100&id=BV007836698>>. Accessed 11 May 2017.

*Vesperale Romanum concinnatum ex editionibus typicis Antiphonarii et Breviarii Romani* 1904. Regensburg: Pustet.

### Scores

Hull, A. Eaglefield (ed.) 1913. *Outgoing Voluntaries*, London: Augener.

Joubert, Jos[eph] (ed.) 1914. *Maîtres contemporains de l'orgue*, vol 6, *Ecole étrangère*, Paris: M. Sénart & Cie.

Olsson, Otto 1911. *Gregorianska melodier i form af orgelstycken*, Stockholm: Abr. Hirsch, [1911]. 2nd ed. Stockholm: Gehrmans, [1930].

Olsson, Otto 1913. *Ten Variations on the Dorian Plainsong 'Ave maris stella'*, London: Augener. Facsimile ed. 1976, Stockholm: Eriks.

Olsson, Otto 1927. *Credo Symphonicum*, Stockholm: Elkan & Schildknecht.

Olsson, Otto 1931. *Six Pieces on Old Church Songs*, London: Augener.

### Research literature

Byström, O[scar] 1899. *Sekvenser, antifoner och hymner: Ur medeltidens kyrkosång i Sverige*, Stockholm.

Byström, O[scar] 1900. *Ur medeltidens kyrkosång i Sverige: Sekvenser, antifoner och hymner*, Stockholm.

- Byström, O[scar] 1903. *Ur medeltidens kyrkosång i Sverige, Norge och Finland: Sekvenser, antifoner, hymner, psalmer och andliga visor*, Stockholm.
- Carlsson, Curt 1994. Olsson, Otto, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 28, Stockholm: Svenskt biografiskt lexikon. 337–342.
- Dobszay, László 1995. Gregoriansk uppförandepaxis: några problem, några lösningar, *Svenskt Gudstjänstliv*, 70 (*Tro och tanke* 1995:4): 109–126.
- Edling, Anders 1982. *Franskt i svensk musik 1880–1920: stilpåverkan hos parisstuderande tonsättare och särskilt hos Emil Sjögren*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Garratt, James 2002. *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hedwall, Lennart 2003. *Oscar Byström: Ett svenskt musikeröde från 1800-talet*, Hedemora: Gidlunds.
- Jullander, Sverker 1994. *Sub communione* – perspektiv på kommuniionsmusiken, *Svenskt Gudstjänstliv*, 69 (*Tro och tanke* 1994:8): 45–81.
- Jullander, Sverker 1995. French and German Influences in the Organ Music of Otto Olsson, in Hans Davidsson and Sverker Jullander (eds), *Proceedings of the Göteborg International Organ Academy 1994*, Gothenburg: Göteborg University. 469–505.
- Jullander, Sverker 1997. *Rich in Nuances – A Performance-Oriented Study of Otto Olsson's Organ Music*, diss., Gothenburg: Göteborg University.
- Jullander, Sverker 2012. Gregoriansk sång i svensk gudstjänst: Historiska och aktuella perspektiv, *Svenskt Gudstjänstliv*, 87: 57–84.
- Levy, Kenneth, et al. n.d. 'Plainchant', in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.ltu.se/subscriber/article/grove/music/40099pg12>>. Accessed 11 May 2017.
- Lillhannus, Mats n.d. 'Piæ Cantiones'. <<http://www.lillhannus.net/piae-cantiones/>>. Accessed 11 May 2017.
- Near, John R., ed. 1997, *Charles-Marie Widor, The Symphonies for Organ: Symphonie Romane*, Madison: A-R Editions.
- Raasted, N. O. 1932. Otto Olssons orgelkompositioner, *Tidskrift för kyrkomusik och svenskt gudstjänstliv*, 7: 33–37.
- Woodward, G. R. 1910. *Piæ Cantiones: A Collection of Church & School Song, chiefly Ancient Swedish, originally published in 1582 by Theodor Petri of Nyland*, London: Plainsong & Medieval Music Society.

# The Organ Music of Lauri Hämäläinen in the Light of Liturgical Organ-Playing in Nineteenth- Century Finland

PETER PEITSALO

## Introduction

The latter part of the nineteenth century was a period not only of national awakening, but also of church music renewal in Finland, an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire since 1809. During this period several attempts were made to unify congregational singing through the use of the organ: a domestic tradition of organ building was established; the education of precentors and organists was institutionalized from the 1870s onwards with the establishment of churchwarden-organist schools (*klockar-organistskola*, *lukkari-urkurikoulu*); four-part chorale books were published, on the one hand, to replace the old Swedish (1697) and Finnish (1702) melody hymnals and handwritten chorale books, and on the other hand, to complement hymnal proposals and the new Finnish and Swedish language hymnals, which were approved in 1886.<sup>1</sup> The increasing use of the organ in Finnish Lutheran worship created a market for the publication of liturgical organ music as well.

This study focuses on the organ music of Lauri Hämäläinen (1832–1888), author of the first printed Finnish collections of liturgical organ

---

1 Pajamo and Tuppurainen (2004) provide an overview of Finnish church music history.

music. The aim is to investigate the content and historical significance of Hämäläinen's collections in the light of contemporary Finnish church music practices and aspirations. The study attempts to shed light on why Hämäläinen published such collections, what kind of musical goals he set for his organ pieces, and how they may have been used in contemporary Finnish church services.

The purpose of this investigation is not to revive or uncover some forgotten masterworks, nor to criticize the studied music from a twentieth-century church music reformist point of view. Instead, Lauri Hämäläinen's organ music is examined against the background of its historical setting. His pieces give an idea of the kind of music that was played in Finnish church services during the latter part of the nineteenth century. In addition, they document the compositional activities of a professionally trained church organist working outside the European centres of church music. In order to understand why Hämäläinen published his works, it is necessary to study them in relation to relevant biographical facts and place them in a broader church-musical and cultural context.

The source material of this study consists of the printed scores of Lauri Hämäläinen's organ pieces, biographical material kept in the National Library of Finland (Fin-Hy) as well as contemporary newspaper articles and notices. Hämäläinen published three volumes of organ music: *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan I-II* (Organ Music for the Church; 1869, 1870) and *Helmiwyö. Praeludioita ja koraaleja, kirkkoa ja kotoa varten I* (A Chain of Pearls: Preludes and Chorales for Church and Home, 1878). The volumes of *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* in Fin-Hy contain handwritten additions, possibly by the composer's son Väinö Hämäläinen (1876–1940). The biographical material in Fin-Hy (Coll. 314) was collected by Lauri Hämäläinen's daughter Armi Klemetti (1885–1979). It consists of handwritten copies of newspaper articles and other documents pertaining to Hämäläinen's musical activities, a few letters to his relatives, and recollections of his former students. Armi Klemetti used this material for the biographical notes on her father in her memoirs *Muistelen* (I look back, 1955). Another summary of Hämäläinen's life and works is written by Armi's husband, the choral conductor and music historian

Heikki Klemetti (1876–1953; Klemetti, H. 1945). Contemporary newspapers provide valuable information about Lauri Hämäläinen and church music in nineteenth-century Finland. The Finnish National Library's digitized newspaper collection ([digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi](http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi)) is a convenient research tool for this kind of material.

Research in nineteenth-century Finnish organ art has hitherto mainly focused on organ building as well as studies, recitals and the pedagogical activities of leading organists (e.g. Tuppurainen 1980, 1994; Peitsalo 2001, 2010; Pelto 1994, 2014). Liturgical organ music has not received much space in surveys of Finnish organ music, which concentrate on concert music and emphasize progress and artistic originality (Forsman 1985; Urponen 2010). This gives a narrow picture of the use of the organ during the period in question. In their surveys, both Forsman (1985, 24–25) and Urponen (2010, 49, 130–131) highlight Hämäläinen's Prelude to J. S. Bach's Fugue in G minor, BWV 578, whereas the other pieces in *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* are barely mentioned. Forsman (1985, 26), however, does recognize Hämäläinen as the first Finnish composer to publish cantus firmus organ chorales and describes a prelude from *Helmiwyö*. The other preludes and four-part chorale harmonizations have remained unstudied. This study examines them in relation to contemporary liturgical organ music and Finnish chorale books.

The following three sections provide a background to the study of Lauri Hämäläinen's organ music, drawing the outlines of his career and the liturgical use of the organ in his day. The remaining sections investigate Hämäläinen's collections and discuss their significance in the history of Finnish liturgical organ music.

### **Biographical contours**

Lauri Hämäläinen's professional career coincides with the rise of the Fennoman movement, which reacted against the dominance of the Swedish language in Finland's political life and contributed to the development of Finnish language, literature, and culture in general. A concrete result of Fennoman aspirations was the Language Ordinance of 1863, which aimed to give Finnish, as the language of the majority,

equal status with Swedish as an administrative language within a period of twenty years (Engman 2009, 261).

Originating from the Finnish-speaking peasantry, Lauri Hämäläinen's musical studies and industry paved the way for his entrance into the Helsinki (Helsingfors) bourgeoisie. As the son of a Savonian blacksmith, Hämäläinen initially supported himself as a strolling fiddler before he was employed in a military band in Oulu (Uleåborg). There he also began his organ studies. Supported by patrons from Oulu and grants by the state, Hämäläinen continued his studies at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in Stockholm from 1860, graduating as a Director of Music in 1866 (*Helsingfors Tidningar* 29 July 1864; Klemetti, A. 1955, 17–37). At that time the institutional education of musicians did not yet exist in Finland.

The connections between Finland and Sweden in the area of church music continued despite the political divorce in 1809 and were still evident in the 1860s.<sup>2</sup> Swedish organ builders Per Zacharias Strand (1797–1844) and Gustaf Andersson (1797–1872) were active in Finland during the first half of the century, and the Andersson organ in Oulu (32/IIP) was inaugurated in 1841 (Rautioaho 2007, 251; Pelto 2014, 53, 56–58). The Swedish and Finnish hymnals from the time of the Swedish regime were in official use in Finland until 1886, and about two thirds of the material in the printed four-part chorale book (1850) by Antti Nordlundi (1807–1880) was derived from the Swedish chorale book by Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner (1759–1833), which was published in 1820 (Vapaavuori 1997, 235). In addition, prominent organists from Sweden gave recitals in Finland; e.g. Gustaf Mankell (1812–1880) of Stockholm, who gave concerts in Uusikaupunki (Nystad) and Turku (Åbo) in 1865. Mankell's printed organ music collections were already available in Finland in the late 1850s (Urponen 2010, 33–36).

---

2 Historian Max Engman (2009) characterizes the divorce between Finland and Sweden as a 'long farewell' in both cultural and economic terms. On the orientation of Ostrobothnia, including Oulu, towards Stockholm even after 1809, see Engman 2009, 58, 60–61.

Gustaf Mankell was the teacher of Lauri Hämäläinen and Rudolf Lagi (1823–1868), who was organist of St Nicholas Church (now Cathedral) in Helsinki from 1851 until 1868 (Klemetti, A. 1955, 34; Sipilä 1945, 79). For his debut concerts in Helsinki in 1865 and 1866, Hämäläinen selected organ music by the same composers (J. S. Bach, Hesse, Mendelssohn, Lemmens) as his teacher had played in recent recitals in Finland (*Åbo Underrättelser* 8 August 1865, 19 August 1865; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 16 September 1865, 26 May 1866). Soon after Hämäläinen had finished his studies in Stockholm, Mankell published an organ method (*Orgelskola, antagen vid Kungliga musikaliska akademiens konservatorium*, 1867), which was based on Lemmens's *Ecole d'orgue* (Lundblad 2016).

Like other contemporary musicians, Hämäläinen earned his living from a variety of activities. After graduating from the Conservatory of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in Stockholm, this multi-instrumentalist worked as director of a military band in Viipuri (Viborg), an orchestral violinist in Helsinki, a piano tuner, and as an inspector of new organs. In 1871 Hämäläinen was elected organist of the Old Lutheran Church in Helsinki, where he served until his death. Two years earlier, in 1869, he had applied unsuccessfully for the position of organist at St Nicholas Church, which became vacant after Rudolf Lagi's premature death (Flodin and Ehrström 1934, 147–148; Klemetti, H. 1945, 99; Klemetti, A. 1955, 40–41). It is worth noting that the publication of Hämäläinen's *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan I* coincides with the filling of the position at St Nicholas (see below, section 5).

In 1869, together with Richard Faltin (1835–1918), among others, Hämäläinen had inspected the new organ in the Old Church in Helsinki by the Swedish firm P. L. Åkerman & Lund (Rautioaho 2007, 53). The Danzig-born Faltin had studied at the Leipzig Conservatory and was elected organist of St Nicholas Church, not least because he had already gained a reputation as a developer of the musical life in Viipuri (Flodin and Ehrström 1934, 97–98). In a letter to his brother Matti, Hämäläinen writes enthusiastically about the organ, which he would later play, comparing it to an instrument by Åkerman & Setterquist in Strängnäs, Sweden (Klemetti A. 1955, 41; Edholm 1985, 122). With its several reeds,

overblowing flutes, and Barker machine, the French-inspired Åkerman & Lund organ (30/IIP) of the Old Church represented a new type of organ in Finland. Hämäläinen must have surely got to know it during his time in Sweden, but it remains to be investigated if he had a role in the acquisition of the Helsinki instrument. Its specification (Rautioaho 2007, 53) is a slightly extended and modified version of the 1863 Åkerman organ in Katarina Church, Stockholm (cf. Edholm 1985, 58).<sup>3</sup>

In 1883 Hämäläinen was appointed teacher of organ playing at the churchwarden-organist school in Helsinki, founded the previous year by the cantor of the Old Church, opera singer and conductor Lorenz Nikolai Achté (1835–1900; Maasalo 1932, 4–5). However, Hämäläinen is nowadays mostly remembered as teacher and patron of the organist, pianist, composer, and conductor Oskar Merikanto (1868–1924), who, after private lessons with Hämäläinen, continued his musical studies in Leipzig and Berlin. While Oskar Merikanto's lyrical music is still very popular in Finland, Lauri Hämäläinen's compositions have sunk into oblivion. In addition to organ pieces, they include solo songs and marches (Klemetti, H. 1945, 104–105). In 1868 Hämäläinen published arrangements of Finnish folk songs and dances (*Suomalaisia kansanlauluja ja tanssia* [sic]), which reflect a national-romantic interest in local cultural heritage. Hämäläinen's music publications apparently qualified him for membership in the Finnish Literature Society, which he was invited to join in 1872 (*Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran jäsenet 1831–1892*).

### The liturgical use of the organ

During the Swedish regime organs were mainly built in the coastal regions of Finland (Martikainen 1997). The number of organs increased dramatically during the nineteenth century, from about 30 to over 300 instruments (Pelto 1994, 20; Pelto 2014, 51–52). There are several reasons for this expansion. First, a great number of Lutheran church buildings were erected, especially in the inner parts of Finland,

---

<sup>3</sup> Edholm (1985, 58–59, 122) fails to notice the Helsinki organ and claims that Åkerman would have introduced the Barker machine only in the organ in Uppsala Cathedral (1871).

during the Russian regime from 1809 until 1917. In the period 1810–1865 alone, about 180 new churches were built (Lukkarinen 1989, 339). During the latter half of the century a domestic tradition of organ-building was founded by two immigrants: Anders Thulé (1813–1872), an apprentice of the aforementioned Gustaf Andersson, and Jens Alexander Zachariassen (1839–1902), from the Danish firm Marcussen (Pelto 1994).

A second reason for the increasing number of organs was the rather chaotic state of hymn singing, discussed extensively in newspaper articles during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Vapaavuori 1997, 89–106). By the mid-1800s, the Swedish melody hymnal from 1697 and its Finnish language equivalent from 1702 had become rare (Nordlundi 1850, foreword). Only in 1886 were the new official hymnals approved, followed two years later by a common four-part chorale book, edited by Richard Faltin and the hymnologist Otto Immanuel Colliander (1848–1924). However, melody hymnal proposals had already been approved in 1867 and 1868 (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 234–235, 243).

Before the publication of the chorale book by Faltin and Colliander, Finnish organists played hymns mainly from handwritten compilations, Hæffner's Swedish chorale book or its Finnish equivalent by Nordlundi (Pajamo 1991, 117–120; Vapaavuori 1997, 213–216). In 1871 Faltin issued a four-part chorale book to the above-mentioned hymnal proposals, which was based on materials prepared by his predecessor, Lagi. It already showed traits of chorale restoration concerning the shape of melodies, but with the exception of the appendix, the rhythms are predominantly notated in even-note form (Lagi and Faltin 1871; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 234–235, 237–238). A revised edition of Nordlundi's chorale book, issued by Erik August Hagfors (1827–1913) in 1876, challenged the Lagi–Faltin book and showed that tensions existed between reformists and traditionalists in the area of hymn-singing (Nordlund and Hagfors 1876). These two chorale books formed the framework for Lauri Hämäläinen's chorale harmonizations in *Helmiwyö*, which will be studied in the sixth section.

Like the official hymnals, the liturgical manuals were long-lived. The Swedish Church handbook of 1693, issued in Finnish the following year, was in official use until 1886 (*Jumalan kansan juhla* 1992, 7–8).

This handbook, like the liturgical manual proposal from 1859, does not specifically mention organ-playing in its worship orders (*Käsi-kiria* 1694; *Kirkko-Käsikirja* 1859), since organs were not yet standard equipment in churches. On the other hand, the Church law from 1686 warned against protracted organ playing and prohibited the use of instruments during Lent and national mourning days (Tuppurainen 2000, 122). In the foreword to the liturgical manual for the Evangelical-Lutheran congregations in the Russian Empire, printed in Saint Petersburg and used in some places in the Grand Duchy of Finland as well, the organ is mentioned in passing as a tool for leading and improving congregational singing along with the choir (*Kyrkohandbok* 1834, IV; see also *Jumalan kansan juhla* 1992, 8). In conclusion, even if organs were *de facto* found in some Finnish churches, their detailed liturgical tasks were not prescribed *de jure*.

The question then arises as to what actually was played on the organs in addition to hymn accompaniments. Let us first take a glance at the sources before turning our attention to functions and uses of organ music in church services. As witnessed by newspaper advertisements and preserved sheet music, Swedish and German organ music collections and methods were available in Finland around the middle of the century.<sup>4</sup> As elsewhere, Christian Heinrich Rinck (1770–1846) was a canonical composer in collections of liturgical organ music, but as noted above, Gustaf Mankell's publications were known in Finland, too. Organists also made private compilations from different sources and added their own compositions. In such manuscripts, pieces are usually arranged according to key and occasionally modified or shortened by the scribe, as in the seventeenth-century German *Gebrauchshandschriften* (cf. Riedel 1990, 80).<sup>5</sup>

4 Nordström 2002, 40–41, 43. A few random selections from newspaper advertisements may illustrate this fact: In *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 9 August 1858, Sederholm & komp. booksellers offered for sale Häffner's chorale book, Zöllner's organ school, Mankell's collection *Organisten*, Uddén's easy chorale preludes and postludes after Bach, Vogler, Rinck, Knecht, and Körner, as well as sheet music by Hallberg, Lönnngren, and Jönson. In the same newspaper on 21 February 1863 Beuermann's music shop advertised German organ methods by Kegel, Strube, and Werner.

5 An example of such a collection is the handwritten appendix to *Fyratiotvå lätta, melodiska praeludier* by C. L. Lindberg (1858), now in the possession of the Sibelius Academy Library, University of the Arts Helsinki (Fin-Hs). The appendix was written by Johan August Gottlieb Hymander (1831–1896), cantor of St Nicholas Church in Helsinki.

The function of liturgical organ playing during Hämäläinen's time was to support congregational singing, connect different parts of the liturgy, depict the mood of the hymn texts, and create an atmosphere of prayer. The organ with its masses of sound and celestial voices was an ideal vehicle for creating a sense of the sublime and the transcendental, both central concepts in Romantic aesthetics. According to the music writer and church musician Abraham Mankell (1802–1868), brother of Hämäläinen's organ teacher, 'religious playing' should be like a 'humble prayer in tones'; it should 'appeal to the heart' and 'direct the mind to the celestial' (Mankell, A. 1862, 42–43, 67).<sup>6</sup> 'Religioso – that is godly'<sup>7</sup>, Lauri Hämäläinen in turn explained to a pupil (O. T. Leander > Armi Klemetti, 1 December 1926, Fin-Hy, Coll. 314), expressing a striving to awaken religious feelings through organ-playing.

Judging by contemporary chorale books, collections of liturgical chant (for a summary, see Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 196) and the liturgical organ music referred to above, the organ was used in worship for accompaniments, preludes, and transitions. A postlude could also be played after the service.

Hymns were preceded by a prelude and terminated with a chorale ending (*koralslut, loppusoitto*), i.e. an additional, usually plagal cadence carrying on the final note of the last sung verse. This sequence appears in Hämäläinen's *Helmiwyö* and is implied in Faltin's (1892) collection of chorale preludes and endings. According to Friedrich Zimmer (*Die Kirchenorgel und das kirchliche Orgelspiel*, Gotha 1891, 153; cited from Heinrich 2006, 32), the chorale ending evens up 'the dynamic difference between the powerful singing of the congregation and the [subsequent] speech of an individual, and gradually transforms the [...] congregation into inner silence and gathering'<sup>8</sup>.

A modulation was played when a hymn and a subsequent versicle were in different keys. Such modulations were also improvised by Lauri Hämäläinen (Ulrik Järvinen > Armi Klemetti, 17 January 1933, Fin-Hy,

---

6 '[Ö]dmjuk bön i toner', 'tilltala hjertat', 'stämman sinnet för det öfverjordiska'.

7 'Religioso – se on jumalista'.

8 'Das Orgelspiel, welches vom Gemeindegesange überzuleiten hat zur Rede des Geistlichen, hat die besondere Aufgabe, den dynamischen Gegensatz zwischen dem kraftvollen Gesange einer Gemeinde und der Rede eines einzelnen auszugleichen und die bis daher tätige Gemeinde allmählich zu innerer Stille und Sammlung überzuführen.'

Coll. 314), and models were later published by Richard Faltin (1908) and Oskar Merikanto (1923).

The organ supported the congregational singing of hymns, responses, and the ordinary of the Mass, together with or as a replacement for the choir. In accordance with Hæffner (1820, 1821), four-part harmonizations in Finnish nineteenth-century chorale books and collections of liturgical chant were intended for vocal or instrumental performance. In fact, congregational part-singing was established in some places in Finland (Vapaavuori 1997, 182–194). In the Old Church in Helsinki, students of the churchwarden-organist school participated as a chorale choir in church services (Maasalo 1932, 47–49).

According to the testimony of Lauri Hämäläinen's student Ulrik Järvinen (1856–1937), his teacher did not usually make dynamic changes when playing hymns, and his liturgical playing was slower than was customary in the early 1930s (Ulrik Järvinen > Armi Klemetti, 17 January 1933, Fin-Hy, Coll. 314).<sup>9</sup> Järvinen's first observation forms a contrast to the recommendations of Oskar Merikanto, who in 1916, inspired by the registration aids of contemporary pneumatic organs, encouraged organists to change registrations according to the mood of the different stanzas of the hymn (Tulenheimo and Merikanto 1916, 166–168). One reason for Järvinen's second observation could be that the note values of even-rhythmic chorales were halved in the hymnals approved in 1903 in order to enliven congregational singing. Metronome numbers and suggestions for the length of fermatas were added to each hymn by the musicologist, composer, and organist Ilmari Krohn (1867–1960) (*Suomalainen Koraali-Wirsikirja* 1906; *Swensk Koral-Psalmbok* 1905).

Since the postlude was not, strictly speaking, a part of the church service, its style could be more free. Abraham Mankell (1862, 71, 78–79) encouraged organists to play J. S. Bach's four-part chorales or arrangements of oratorio choruses, instead of artificial organ fugues.

---

9 'Jumalanpalveluksissa soittaissa tapahtui soittaminen pidemmässä tahdissa nykyaikaan verraten. Ei myöskään tavallisissa virsissä p. tai f. muutoksia. Suuri hartaus urkusoittoon nähden.'

In Finland, the manuscript by Johan August Gottlieb Hylander (see footnote 5) contains arrangements of oratorio choruses and arias by C. H. Graun, J. Haydn, G. F. Händel, and J. G. Schicht, which could very well have served as postludes. As stated by Johann Georg Herzog (1822–1909) – to whom Heikki Klemetti (1945, 102) refers when discussing Hämäläinen’s organ pieces – the postludes should be chosen in accordance with the content of the sermon and the character of the festival (Herzog [1857], 5; 1867, 97). Despite such recommendations, secular and forthright political music (e.g. *La Marseillaise*, military marches, dance music) was performed, as reported and strongly criticized by Rudolf Lagi (Westerlund 2002, 146).<sup>10</sup>

In 1891 Oscar Pahlman (1839–1935), cathedral organist and director of the churchwarden-organist school in Turku, the former capital, published a collection of postludes consisting entirely of music by German composers such as C. F. Becker, M. Brosig, J. G. Herzog, A. Hesse, C. H. Rinck, M. G. Fischer, J. G. Schicht, J. Vierling, and W. Volckmar, amongst others. A second edition already appeared by the following year. In the foreword, Pahlman (1892) describes the selected music as ‘purely ecclesiastical, melodic, [and] easily comprehensible’, and like Abraham Mankell (1862, 68–73), discourages organists from playing ‘dry and unenjoyable’ fugues.<sup>11</sup> Pahlman thus reveals a contemporary ideal of liturgical organ music, and his selection of pieces shows that certain German Biedermeier organ composers, such as Rinck, Hesse, and Fischer, still had normative status at the end of the century.

### **The dualism of chorale preludes: Heartfelt melodies and artificial counterpoint**

During Lauri Hämäläinen’s time the primary function of the chorale prelude was to express the spirit of the poem, i.e. the hymn text (Mankell, A. 1862, 42; Herzog 1867, 96). Consequently, a thematic or

---

10 Similar complaints were made by the pseudonym –s–r–t– (Hans Petter Springert?) in *Åbo Underrättelser* 20 February 1866. This writer also refers to Mankell, A. 1862.

11 ‘[R]ent kyrkliga, melodiösa, lättfattliga’, ‘torr och onjutbar’.

metrical relationship with the subsequent chorale was not necessary. This can still be observed in the prelude compilation by Faltin (1892), in which approximately one third of the 453 preludes are not based on a chorale theme.<sup>12</sup> Since hymn-singing was regarded in a Herderian manner as an expression of the soul of the people, and the chorale as a religious folk song, it was felt that preludes should be composed or improvised in a straightforward and melodious manner, comprehensible by all (Mankell, A. 1862, 32, 49–54; Herzog [1857], 1). Abraham Mankell (1862, 42) stated that the chorale prelude should ‘soften the minds of the singers to the hearty singing of the hymn’<sup>13</sup>, stressing the emotional aspect of hymn singing.

The chorale preludes were divided into two main types: strict and free. Whereas the former were based on a chorale theme, the latter were freely composed (Herzog [1857], 3–5; Mankell, A. 1862, 42, 46–48; Faltin 1892, [5]). According to Faltin (1892, [5]), the latter could also have a slight motivic relationship with the subsequent chorale, thus blurring the border between the two types. Herzog ([1857], 3–5) divides the free preludes (*Kurze leichte Vorspiele*) into five categories according to the type of texture: homophonic (*homophon*), song-like (*liedmässig*), figured (*figurirter*), imitative (*fugirter*), and canonic (*canonisch*). Strict chorale preludes (*besondere oder eigentliche Choralvorspiele*) were based on the whole chorale or a part of it. The first chorale phrase could be complemented with figuration and free imitations, or it could be used as a theme in a fughetto or a fugue. The entire hymn tune could appear as *cantus firmus*, or its phrases could be treated imitatively, as in Baroque organ chorales.

Abraham Mankell (1862, 42, 46–48) advocated uncomplicated, melodious, and not-overly-long preludes, based both on the first chorale phrase and sequences. These traits are connected to improvisational practices and are also found in Lauri Hämäläinen’s preludes. In his own time Hämäläinen was appreciated especially for his liturgical or-

---

12 Not surprisingly, German composers dominate the selection, whereas only a dozen contributions by four Finnish composers are included, most of them Faltin’s own students. Pieces by Lauri Hämäläinen are not found in this collection.

13 ‘[U]ppmjuka sångrarnes sinnen till psalmens desto hjertligare utförande’.

gan improvisations (O. T. Leander > Armi Klemetti, 1 December 1926; Ulrik Järvinen > Armi Klemetti, 17 January 1933; Elias Kahra > Armi Klemetti, 24 January 1933, Fin-Hy, Coll. 314; Klemetti, H. 1945, 102; Klemetti, A. 1955, 43). This skill was also cultivated by his protégé Oskar Merikanto (Flodin and Ehrström 1934, 303; Klemetti, H. 1947, 167). As we shall see in the following sections, Hämäläinen made contributions to both of the main types of choral preludes.

### ***Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan: Free forms for church service and concert***

The two volumes of *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* (Organ Music for the Church) were published by Lauri Hämäläinen in 1869 and 1870. The primary historical significance of the collection lies in the fact that it is the first publication of organ music by a Finnish composer. The dates of publication were not given in the original prints but can be inferred from newspaper notices (*Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 16 October 1869, 7 March 1870; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 16 October 1869; *Uusi Suometar* 7 March 1870). Heikki Klemetti (incorrectly) gives 1874 as the publication date for both volumes (Klemetti, H. 1945, 99; see also the revised version of the same article: Klemetti, H. 1965, 163).<sup>14</sup> One reason for this confusion may be the fact that a handwritten copy of twelve additional preludes by Hämäläinen (*12 Sty: Preludium [sic] af Lars Hämäläinen*) was appended to the Fin-Hy copy of *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* with the marking ‘copied in 1926 from Karl Fredrik Hedberg’s manuscript of 1874’<sup>15</sup>. It is possible that even the handwritten parts, which substitute missing pages in the Fin-Hy copy of *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* (vol. 1, pp. 1–12; vol. 2, p. 15), originate from material provided by Hedberg.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately,

---

14 The wrong date has been transferred from Klemetti’s text to other literature as well. See Forsman 1985, 25. However, in Forsman’s work list (1985, 116), the dating of the first volume is correctly given as 1869. The years 1869 and 1874 are also given by Urponen (2010, 130, 241).

15 ‘Jäljennetty v. 1926 Karl Fredrik Hedbergin käsikirjoituksesta vuodelta 1874.’

16 Lauri Hämäläinen’s pupil Karl Fredrik Hedberg (1854–1935) was cantor in Pori and thus a former colleague of Heikki Klemetti (Haapio 1929, 210; Klemetti, H. 1945, 102).

these additions contain several clerical errors, for instance incorrect alignment of notes.

Hämäläinen borrowed the title *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* from a six-volume anthology by Gustaf Mankell (n.d.; Lundblad 2016).<sup>17</sup> But whereas Mankell's collection contains organ music by himself and other then-fashionable composers, Hämäläinen included only his own compositions.

As mentioned before, the publication of the first volume occurred near the time of the election of the organist of St Nicholas Church on 7 November 1869 (*Uusi Suometar* 11 November 1869). As one of three native applicants (Flodin and Ehrström 1934, 147–148), Hämäläinen possibly wanted to show his competence for this post with his organ music publication as well. At the very least, he gained some additional publicity through its newspaper advertisements. By using Swedish on the title-page – even his name was spelled in its Swedish-language form ‘Lars’ – he could appeal to the still very influential Swedish speaking minority, or perhaps aim at a Swedish market for his publication.<sup>18</sup> The duties of organists at that time in Helsinki included church services both in Finnish and Swedish. On the other hand, Hämäläinen skilfully shifted the attention away from himself as it were by channelling the income of sales to funding for an intended statue of the clarinettist and composer Bernhard Henrik Crusell (1775–1838). This purpose is mentioned on the decorative title-page of both volumes (see Figure 1). As far as is known, no statue to Crusell was ever erected, but the stated purpose linked the publication to a contemporary cult of national heroes and an emerging statuomania. Perhaps Hämäläinen was inspired by the statue of the scholar Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804), dubbed ‘The Father of Finnish History’, and the national festivities surrounding the unveiling of this first national monument in Turku in 1864.<sup>19</sup>

---

17 Mankell's collection was known in Finland. Sederholm & komp. booksellers offered the three first volumes in 1859 (*Helsingfors Tidningar* 6 July 1859), and copies of the fifth and sixth volume are found in Fin-Hs.

18 On the crucial role of the vicar in the election of the organist, see a report coloured by language politics in Flodin and Ehrström 1934, 147–148. On the strong position of Swedish as an administrative language until about 1890, see Engman 2009, 255.

19 Concerning organ playing at this event, see *Åbo Underrättelser* 8 September 1864. The statue was sculpted by the Swede Carl Eneas Sjöstrand (1828–1906).



Figure 1. Lauri Hämäläinen, *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan I*, title-page.

Hämäläinen may have sympathized with Crusell, since both musicians came from modest origins, had a background as military musicians, and promoted their career in Stockholm. Crusell, the son of a bookbinder, however, had already moved to Sweden at the age of sixteen and eventually enjoyed an international career (Dahlström 2008). Perhaps Hämäläinen, who also played the clarinet, became acquainted with Crusell's chamber music while studying in Stockholm (Klemetti, H. 1945, 106). Even though Crusell was active for most of his life in

Sweden and on the European continent, by 1854 a biographical entry in *Finlands minnesvärde män* (Finland's memorable men) had already been dedicated to him, thus elevating him to the status of a national hero in his native country (Reinholm 1854, 208–236).

According to the title page, the pieces in Hämäläinen's *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* can be played alternatively on the piano and can even be performed without the pedal. This arrangement was surely meant to increase the market for publication. In 1869 there were about 102 organs in Finland, of which 75 per cent were to be found in churches (Pentti Pelto > the author, 10 May 2017),<sup>20</sup> but well-educated organists were not usual at that time. The poor state of domestic liturgical organ-playing was mentioned in several newspaper articles in the 1850s and 1860s, although the benefit of the organ in the musical education of the congregation was recognized especially among Swedish speaking commentators (Vapaavuori 1997, 196–203).

Hämäläinen's pieces in *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* correspond to the bourgeois spirit of contemporary Lutheran worship music (see Dahlhaus 1980, 147, 150). The congregation should thus be edified by music which can be comprehended by all members and is characterized by a noble simplicity. Such music is primarily made up of a melody-dominated homophony with a heartfelt or elevated, hymn-like character. In *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan*, we meet an organ improviser and budding, albeit not very young composer who has studied four-part harmony and figuration. All pieces except a few passages in the last three of the first volume are written in four parts. He has also learnt to shape four-bar melodic phrases, make sequences and use chromaticism for affective purposes. In addition, attempts to emulate the organ repertoire studied in Stockholm may be noticed.

The music in *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* is free in the sense that it is not based on chorale themes. Two preludes at the beginning of the first volume have a stated liturgical purpose ('Prelude to be played at the beginning of the service, before the confession of sins' [pp. 1–2]; 'Prelude

---

<sup>20</sup> The estimation is based on a database on Finnish organs compiled by the organologist Pentti Pelto.

on festivals' [pp. 3–4]), whereas the following three pieces have titles referring to use in concerts or as postludes ('Middle movement of a larger organ-fantasy' [pp. 5–8]; 'Concluding movement of the above mentioned fantasy' [pp. 8–9]; 'Prelude to J. S. Bach's smaller [BWV 578] G-minor Fugue' [pp. 10–14]).<sup>21</sup> The second volume contains twenty-five untitled short preludes in different keys.

The two melodious preludes which open the first volume are slightly longer (45 and 28 bars) than the corresponding pieces in the second volume (8–22 bars). The former thus belong to the category of general preludes (*allgemeine Vorspiele*), suitable as introductions to the service, as Hämäläinen notes, or to the hymn of the day (*Hauptlied*) on festive occasions (Herzog [1857], 4). The title of Hämäläinen's first prelude calls for explanation. According to the church handbook of 1694, the main service did not begin with an opening hymn since that was placed at the beginning of the earlier morning service. Hämäläinen's title shows that an organ prelude could be inserted between the morning service and the main service, which started with a confession of sins (*Käsi-kiria* 1694, 36, 38). When no morning service was held, the prelude accompanied the minister's movement from the sacristy to the altar. The liturgical manual proposal of 1859, however, mentions the possibility of starting the main service with a hymn when there was no morning service preceding it (*Kirkko-Käsikirja* 1859, 2).

The third and fourth pieces in *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* are more modest than their titles suggest. There is no tonal or motivic relationship between these two fairly short movements of a fragmentary organ-fantasy. The first section of the third piece, in D-flat major, emulates motives from the *Finale* of Felix Mendelssohn's sixth organ sonata, op. 65, whereas the second section, a duet with rolling semiquavers, is slightly reminiscent of the texture in the third movement of the fourth Mendelssohn sonata. The sketchy fourth piece, in G minor,

---

21 Handwritten titles in the only known extant copy (Fin-Hy): *Praeludium att spelas vid gudstjänstens begynnelse, före syndabekännelsen*, no. 1; *Praeludium på högtidsdagar*, no. 2; *Mellansats ur en större Orgel-Fantasia*, no. 3; *Sista satsen ur ofvannämnde Fantasia*, no. 4; *Preludium till J. S. Bachs mindre g-molls [sic] fuga*, no. 5. The titles are also given in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 16 October 1869.

like the preceding movement, relies on four-bar phrases and rather mechanical sequences.

The last piece of the first volume, a prelude to J. S. Bach's Fugue in G minor, BWV 578, is nowadays probably one of the best known of Hämäläinen's compositions because of its famous theme, its inclusion in the anthology *Suomalaisia urkusävellyksiä* (Finnish organ compositions) by Elis Mårtenson (1955), and reputation as 'the first organ piece by a native Finnish composer' (Urponen 2010, 130). The last attribution is conjectural; there is no strict evidence concerning the relative chronology of the pieces in *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan*. It is known, however, that Hämäläinen performed the prelude together with Bach's fugue in his debut concert in September 1865 in St Nicholas Church, Helsinki (*Helsingfors Tidningar* 16 September 1865). The critic Hermann Paul described the prelude as 'carefully worked out, serious, and easily flowing with often surprising harmonic turns'<sup>22</sup> (*Hufvudstadsbladet* 19 September 1865). The piece begins with the long fugue theme's first phrase harmonized in four parts, in march-like two-four time (see Example 1). Nevertheless, the theme fails to reappear, and instead the piece unfolds in four sections based on sequences. Broken semi-quaver triads familiar from the last episode of Bach's fugue appear here as a motive. It may be noticed that the performance indications in Mårtenson's edition (1955) differ from the original. The bass line is adapted for the pedal, and phrasing slurs and indications for manual changes are added.

---

<sup>22</sup> '[O]msorgsfullt utarbetat, allvarsamt hållet och framflyter lätt i ofta öfverraskande harmoniska vändningar'.

*Andante*

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a piano accompaniment. The first system is marked *Andante* and begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, in G minor (two flats) and 3/4 time. The second system starts at bar 8 and features a piano (*p*) dynamic in the right hand and a forte (*f*) dynamic in the left hand, with alternating *p* and *f* markings. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

Example 1. Lauri Hämäläinen, *Orgel-Musik für Kyrkan I*, Prelude to J. S. Bach's smaller G-minor Fugue, bars 1–12.

The short preludes in the second volume belong to a type familiar to generations of church organists from the anthology *Caecilia*, edited by August Reinhard (1831–1912) as his opus 54 (Reinhard n.d.). Hämäläinen has grouped the preludes according to key: parallel major and minor keys up to three sharps and four flats follow each other in the order of the circle of fifths. As in corresponding pieces by Hesse, Kühmstedt, and Rinck (cf. Reinhard n.d.; Heinrich 2006, 17–18), the music is made up of chains of four-part harmonies with embellishing tones, sequences, and occasional chromatic inflections (see Example 2). The moderate or slow tempo markings (*Moderato*, *Andante*, *Adagio*) underscore the solemn, devout character. Some preludes (nos. 1, 3, 7, 13, 22, 23) are written after the fashion of contemporary even-note chorales in ‘great, majestic four-four time’ (C. H. Rinck according to Häuser 1834, 292), while preludes in three-four or compound time contrast with this type

a

*No. 2. Andante.*

Mässig, sanft.

b

Example 2. Lauri Hämäläinen, *Orgel-Musik für Kyrkan II*, No. 2 *Andante* (a); Adolph Hesse, *Mässig, sanft*, bars 1-20, Reinhard n.d., no. 229 (b).

of hymn performance. According to a newspaper announcement (*Uusi Suometar* 7 March 1870), Hämäläinen's preludes were to be welcomed by organists in the countryside, implying that these miniatures were suited for players who were not able to improvise such pieces themselves.

A few comments suffice here to describe the twelve preludes appended to the copy of *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* in Fin-Hy. The large number of clerical errors suggests that the manuscript was copied in haste. The pieces are sketchy and were probably not intended for publication. The five last preludes do not exceed the level of mechanical exercises in writing sequences, whereas the rest belong to the type represented in the second volume of *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan*. The texture of the first piece differs from the other with its embellished, recitative-like treble, which is accompanied by block chords and interrupted by rhetorical pauses. There is an air of contemporary salon music about the piece.

### ***Helmiwyö: Chorale settings for church and home***

Hämäläinen's collection *Helmiwyö. Praeludioita ja koraaleja, kirkkoa ja kotoa varten I* was published in 1878 by Weilin and Göös in Jyväskylä, a town in central Finland known at that time for its pioneering Finnish language schools (1858, 1864) and teacher training college (1863). Correspondingly, Hämäläinen now uses his native language on the title page, perhaps to show a Fennoman orientation.<sup>23</sup> *Helmiwyö* complements *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan* as the first printed collection of organ chorales by a Finnish composer. Actually, it is a small chorale book conveniently comprised of cantus firmus organ chorales, four-part harmonizations, and chorale endings to twelve hymn-tunes from the 1697 Swedish hymnal and the 1702 Finnish hymn-tune collection (see Appendix). Perhaps Hämäläinen conceived of *Helmiwyö* as a trial version for a larger chorale book since he attached a serial number to the title. In any case, the layout with a prelude and an ending for each four-part chorale anticipates later editions of the Faltin–Colliander chorale book.

---

23 Oskar Merikanto describes Hämäläinen as Finnish-speaking and Finnish-minded ('suomenkielisenä ja -mielisenä') (*Uusi Suometar* 9 October 1888).

The enigmatic title *Helmiwyö*, a chain of pearls, needs interpreting. On the one hand, prelude, chorale harmonization and supplemental cadence follow each other like pearls in a chain, thus reflecting contemporary usage of the organ to bridge different parts of the liturgy. On the other hand, the title denotes an anthology. The literature scholar and fennoman Julius Krohn (1835–1888) – father of Ilmari Krohn – had published in 1866 an anthology of poetry in the Finnish language under the title *Helmiwyö suomalaista runoutta* (Krohn 1866). When Hämäläinen's *Helmiwyö* was published, the older Krohn was chair of a committee preparing a new Finnish hymnal (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 236). It may be noticed that both Krohn's and Hämäläinen's publications refer to *Piæ cantiones* translations by the hymn writer Hemminki of Masku (circa 1550–1619), known also as Hemmingius Henrici (*Wanhain Suomen maan Pijspain [...] laulud* 1616). Krohn's (1866) anthology begins with a selection of Hemminki's translations, whereas Hämäläinen's collection concludes with *Jesuksen [sic] muisto ihana* (*Jesu dulcis memoria*), whose *Piæ cantiones* melody is given in the Finnish 1702 hymn-tune collection as a *Finnicé* alternative (Tuppurainen 2001, 137; see Appendix). Contrary to the other hymns in the collection, Hämäläinen does not give a Swedish title to this one since its melody is not connected to the *Piæ cantiones* text in the Swedish 1697 hymnal or 1868 hymnal proposal (*Then Swenska Psalm-Boken* 1697; *Förslag till Swensk Psalmbok* 1869). The title omission enhances on a symbolic level the Finnish flavour of the collection.

The designation 'for church and home' in the title implies performance not only on church organ, piano, or harmonium. Salon organs may also be taken into consideration. Single-manual organs with one or only a few stops were built at that time by both amateurs and professional builders, especially Anders and Bror Axel Thulé (1847–1911). Such instruments have been preserved in private collections and museums, e.g. the Sibelius Museum in Turku (Pelto 1994, 80–82, 244–246; *Suomen historiallisia urkuja*).

In *Helmiwyö*, Hämäläinen shows his knowledge of counterpoint. Its chorale preludes belong to the strict type. With the exception of nos. 4 and 11, one or more *cantus firmus* phrases are displayed alternately or in *stretto* in different voices. Hämäläinen has clarified this structure by

marking the beginning and end of each *cantus firmus* phrase with the abbreviation *C. F.* and a double line. Four preludes are based on the first chorale phrase (nos. 1–3, 6) and five on two phrases (nos. 7–9, 10, 12), whereas the rest involve three or more chorale phrases (nos. 4, 5, 11). The *cantus firmus* notes have the same measure in the prelude and subsequent chorale, implying the same tempo for both parts.

The counterpoint surrounding the *cantus firmus* phrases is characterized by elements familiar from the *alla breve* style<sup>24</sup> of J. S. Bach, with suspensions, embellishing tones, and *figura corta* figures in crotchets and quavers. In the manner of Rinck, the first *cantus firmus* phrase is accompanied in some preludes (nos. 1–3, 5, 8, 12) by one or two voices with contrasting, slightly faster rhythms, ending up in a four-part texture (see Examples 3 a and b). Other preludes are written throughout in four voices with all (no. 4) or two (nos. 7, 10) chorale phrases as *cantus firmus* (see Example 3 c). A special case of this four-voiced type is no. 11, which outlines the chorale melody in a rhythmically slightly altered form and consequently without the marking *C. F.* Another variant is<sup>a</sup> no. 9, which begins with a three-voice harmonization of the first *cantus firmus* phrase. No. 6 is an example of free imitation of the first chorale phrase, a common technique in nineteenth-century chorale settings (Heinrich 2006, 18).

---

<sup>24</sup> Christoph Wolff (1991, 92–93) describes it as ‘a fusion of homophonic cantabile elements with polyphonic traits’.

a

Ah Herr, älä vihassas. Ack, Herre straffa icko mig.

**Præludium.**

8.

b

Im Zeitmass des Chorals.

c

„O Jesu leipä elämän!“ Du lifsens bröd, o Jesu Krist.

Præludium.

7.

Example 3. Lauri Hämäläinen, *Helmiwyö*, No. 8 Præludium (a); C. H. Rinck, *Jesus, meine Zuversicht*, bars 1–7, Reinhard n.d., no. 4 (b); Lauri Hämäläinen, *Helmiwyö*, No. 7 Præludium (c).

The successive or *stretto* repetition of a chorale phrase in different voices is a technique also used by Gustaf Mankell and recommended by his brother Abraham Mankell (1862, 47–48), not because of contrapuntal artificiality but in order to enhance the melodic character of a prelude. In 1874 Gustaf Mankell likewise composed a set of twelve chorale preludes, all based on the first phrase of the hymn melody: *12 Choral Prælugier med psalmmelodiens början till motiv*. The draft and fair copy of this unpublished collection is preserved in Stockholm in the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden (S-Skma, noter rar 223, 224). Whereas Hämäläinen treats the chorale theme as a *cantus firmus* in long note values, corresponding to the note lengths in contemporary Finnish chorale books, Mankell uses the first chorale phrase, notated in crotchets, as a recurrent motive. Mankell's preludes are characterized by bolder harmonic turns, a striving to test the limits of motivic repetition while trying to maintain harmonic interest. It is not known

whether Hämäläinen was aware of Mankell's collection, but it can be assumed that the technique of constructing a chorale setting by repeating a chorale phrase in different voices, without its compositional type being a fughetta, was a part of Mankell's teaching.

The hymns chosen by Hämäläinen are described in newspaper announcements as 'the most beautiful' and 'favoured by the people' (*Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti* 24 August 1878; *Åbo Underrättelser* 24 August 1878). They belong with one exception to the first fifty hymns of the 1701 Finnish hymnal, with texts thematising the Decalogue (nos. 1, 2), the Creed (no. 3), the Holy Communion (nos. 4–7), Psalms (nos. 8–11), and the name of Jesus and his deeds (no. 12) (*Uusi Suomenkielinen Wirsi-Kirja* 1701).<sup>25</sup> The melodic shape of the chorales in Hämäläinen's collection correspond to the old forms in the Nordlund–Hagfors chorale book, also published by Weilin and Göös (Nordlund and Hagfors 1876). These more traditional forms enjoyed greater popularity than the revised melodies in the competing Lagi–Faltin chorale book (Flodin and Ehrström 1934, 299–300; Vapaavuori 1997, 274, 283–285, 322, 326; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 237–238, 240). However, in the notation of phrase endings with fermatas, Hämäläinen follows the example of Lagi and Faltin (1871), as well as the hymnal proposals from 1867 and 1868 (*Uusi Suomalainen Wirsikirja* 1867; *Förslag till Svensk Psalmbok* 1869). Accordingly, phrase-endings with a fermata on a minim are not written out in Nordlund and Hagfors's manner as a semibreve followed by a minim rest.

---

25 As stated above, the last hymn in Hämäläinen's collection is headed with its *Piæ cantiones* text, number 137 in the 1701 text hymnal, although the same melody is also used with another text as number 45 in the 1702 hymn tune collection.

a.

36:s Runomitan luokka. *San päälles, Herra, uskallan.* 36<sup>9</sup> Meterklassen. *På dig jag hoppas, Herre kär.* *Evens. 1886.*

III.

b.

43

44

Statfo 258.

c.

Koraali.

b<sup>7</sup>

Loppu.

rall.

Example 4. Three chorale harmonizations: Lagi and Faltin 1871 (a), Nordlund and Hagfors 1876 (b), Hämäläinen 1878<sup>26</sup> (c).

26 The third tone g<sup>1</sup> in the hymn melody is possibly a misprint, since in the preceding prelude, Hämäläinen gives b<sup>1</sup> in accordance with the two cited chorale books.

Hämäläinen used the Lagi-Faltin and Nordlund-Hagfors chorale books as reference material when making his harmonizations. A comparison of these sources reveals more than coincidental resemblances in harmonic progressions and the placing of embellishing tones between nos. 5, 7, 9, and 10 of *Helmiwyö* and corresponding chorales in the Lagi-Faltin book, and no. 12 of *Helmiwyö* and its equivalent in the Nordlund-Hagfors book (the chorale numbers are listed in the Appendix). No. 11 of *Helmiwyö* contains traits from both chorale books (see Example 4). As was customary, Hämäläinen's chorale endings prolong the last note of the last sung hymn verse with an embellished plagal cadence. To sum up, it seems that Hämäläinen aimed at a reconciliation between the competing Lagi-Faltin and Nordlund-Hagfors chorale books by including elements from both in the four-part chorales in *Helmiwyö*.

### **Conclusion: The significance of Lauri Hämäläinen's organ music**

As we have seen above, Lauri Hämäläinen established a native tradition of liturgical organ music in print. This was his chief contribution to the area of organ composition. It happened at a time which was characterized by a growth of Finnish literature in general.

Hämäläinen was not a renewer of musical style. Instead, he emulated organ music favoured in the musical culture to which he belonged. That included pieces he studied with Gustaf Mankell in Stockholm (Bach, Mendelssohn) and German liturgical organ music from the Biedermeier era (e.g. Rinck, Hesse), a repertoire which was also available in Finland. This liturgical repertoire is characterized by a noble simplicity and easy playability. As shown above, Hämäläinen shared with his teacher Gustaf Mankell an interest in chorale preludes with a migrating *cantus firmus*.

Hämäläinen made contributions to the main types of organ music for contemporary Lutheran liturgy: free and strict preludes, four-part chorales, chorale endings, and postludes. In this sense, his printed collections complement each other. As noted above, it was found that the publication of *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan I* coincided with Hämäläinen's application for the prestigious organist's post at St Nicholas's Church

in Helsinki, whereas *Helmiwyö* could be interpreted as a conciliatory, albeit conservative contribution to the contemporaneous discussion about the principles of hymn revision.

The dualism of free and strict chorale preludes was maintained in *100 koraali-alkusoittoa* (100 chorale preludes), composed by Hämäläinen's student Oskar Merikanto and published in 1906. Written in a late romantic idiom, several of these preludes are technically more demanding and harmonically more complicated than Hämäläinen's. Many Finnish collections of liturgical organ music still await a thorough investigation. In order to more fully appreciate their characteristics, it seems important to raise our gaze from the scores themselves and study them in the context of contemporary hymnody, liturgy, and aesthetic ideals.

## Bibliography

### Archival sources

Music and Theatre Library of Sweden (S-Skma)

– Noter rar 223, 224.

National Library of Finland (Fin-Hy)

– Coll. 314 Lauri Hämäläinen.

– Lars Hämäläinen [1869]. *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan: 1sta Häftet*, Helsingfors, with handwritten additions.

– Lars Hämäläinen [1870]. *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan: 2dra Häftet*, Helsingfors, with handwritten additions.

Sibelius Academy Library, University of the Arts Helsinki (Fin-Hs)

– C. L. Lindberg 1858. *Fyratiotvå lätta, melodiska praeludier*, Stockholm: J. & A. Riis, with handwritten appendix by Johan August Gottlieb Hymander.

### Hymnals and scores

Faltin, Richard and Otto Immanuel Colliander 1888. *Uusi koraalikirja Ewankelis-Lutherilaisille seurakunnille Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaassa, laadittu Suomen toisen yleisen kirkolliskokouksen w. 1886 asettaman Koraalikomitean uuden suomalaisen ja ruotsalaisen koraaliwirsikirjan mukaan ynnä sovitettu myös wahaankin suomalaisen ja ruotsalaiseen wirsikirjaan*, Helsinki: G. W. Edlund.

Faltin, Richard (ed.) 1892. *Kokoelma Alku- ja Loppusoittoja Uuden koraalikirjan koraaleihin*, Helsinki: G. W. Edlund.

*Förslag till Svensk Psalmbok 1869. Förslag till Svensk Psalmbok för de evangeliskt-lutherska församlingarne i Storfurstendömet Finland. Revideradt 1868*, Helsingfors.

Hæffner, Ioh[ann] Christ[ian] Fred. [Friedrich] 1820. *Svensk Choralbok Af Kongl. Psalm-Kommitén gillad och antagen År 1819*, Stockholm: A. Wiborg.

Hæffner, Ioh[ann] Christ[ian] Fred. [Friedrich] 1821. *Svensk Choralbok andra delen*, Uppsala: Palmblad och C.

Hämäläinen, Lauri 1868. *Suomalaisia kansanlauluja ja tanssia*, Helsingfors: G. W. Edlund.

Hämäläinen, Lauri 1878. *Helmiwyö. Praeludioita ja koraaleja, kirkkoa ja kotoa varten I*, Jyväskylä: Weilin ja Göös.

Lagi, R[udolf] and F[riedrich] R[ichard] Faltin 1871. *Koraalikirja Ewankelis-Lutherilaisille seurakunnille Suomessa Wirsi- ja koraalitekijöiden kääntämä ja kokoonpannut R. Lagi ja hänen kuolemansa jälkeen päättänyt ja täydentänyt F. R. Faltin*, Helsinki: G. W. Edlund.

Mankell, Gustaf n.d. *Orgel-Musik för kyrkan*, 6 vols, Stockholm: Abr. Hirsch.

Mårtenson, Elis 1955. *Suomalaisia urkusävellyksiä*, Helsinki: R. E. Westerlund.

Merikanto, Oskar [1906]. *100 koraali-alkusoittoa uruille*, Helsinki: Fazerin musiikkikauppa.

Nordlund, Antti (ed.) 1850. *Suomalaisten Wirtten Koraali-Kirja ynnä Suomalaisen ja Ruotsalaisen Messun sekä Registerin kanssa, jonka jälkeen myös Ruotsalaisten Wirtten nuotit löydetään*, Waasa: Lundberg.

Nordlund, Antti and Erik August Hagfors (eds) 1876. *Suomalaisten Wirtten koraalikirja ynnä Luettelo, jonka jälkeen myös Ruotsalaisten Wirtten nuotit löydetään. Toimittanut Antti Nordlund. Toinen painos tarkastellut ja lisäyksillä warustanut Er. Aug. Hagfors*, Jyväskylä: Weilin ja Göös.

Pahlman, Oscar 1892. *Orgel-Musik: En utvald samling utgångsstycken till användande vid de offentliga gudstjänsterna*, 2nd ed., Åbo: G.L. Grönlunds förlag.

Reinhard, August (ed.) n.d. *Caecilia: Sammlung von Choralvorspielen aus alter und neuer Zeit für Orgel oder Harmonium, op. 54*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

*Suomalainen koraali-wirsikirja* 1906. *Suomalainen koraali-wirsikirja Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaan ewangelis-lutherilaisille seurakunnille, Suomen wiidennen yleisen kirkolliskokouksen w. 1903 hyväksymä Mallipainos*, Helsinki: Weilin & Göös.

*Swensk koral-psalmbok* 1905. *Swensk Koral-Psalmbok för Storfurstendömet Finlands ewangelisk-lutherska församlingar, godkänd af Fente allmänna finska kyrkomötet 1903. Normalupplaga*, Helsingfors: Weilin & Göös.

*Then Swenska Psalm-Boken* 1697. *Then Swenska Psalm-Boken, Med the stycker som ther til höra, och på följande blad upptecknade finnas; Uppå Kongl. Maj:ts Nädigsta befallning, År M DC XCV Öfversedd och nödortfeligen förbättrad, och År 1697 i Stockholm af trycket utgången. Andra uplagan. Stockholm, Å nyo uplagd af Carl Stolpe År 1774.*

Tuppurainen, Erkki (ed.) 2001. *Xvi Tarpelinen Nuotti-Kirja: Vuoden 1702 painettu virsisävelmistö; Näköispainos ja kriittinen editio*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

*Uusi Suomalainen Wirsikirja* 1867. *Uusi Suomalainen Wirsikirja Nuottien kanssa. Armosta asetetun Komitean ehdottama*, Helsinki.

*Uusi Suomenkielinen Wirsi-Kirja* 1701. Turku: Johan Winter. <[http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/virret/wk1701\\_rdf.xml](http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/virret/wk1701_rdf.xml)>. Accessed 13 June 2017.

#### Newspapers

*Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 1858, 1863, 1869, 1870.

*Helsingfors Tidningar* 1859, 1864, 1865, 1866.

*Hufvudstadsbladet* 1865, 1869.

*Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti* 1878.

*Uusi Suometar* 1869, 1870, 1888.

*Åbo Underrättelser* 1864, 1865, 1866, 1878.

#### Other printed sources

Faltin Richard 1908. *Käytännöllinen moduloimisoppi*, Helsinki: K. G. Fazer.

Häuser, Johann Ernst 1834. *Geschichte des christlichen, insbesondere evangelischen Kirchengesanges und der Kirchenmusik, von Entstehung des Christenthums an, bis auf unsere Zeit. Nebst Andeutungen und Vorschlägen zur Verbesserung des musikalischen Theiles des evangelischen Cultus*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig: Gottfr. Basse.

Herzog, J[ohann] G[eorg] [1857]. *Praktisches Handbuch für Organisten, Op. 33*, Erlangen: Ferdinand Enke.

Herzog, J[ohann] G[eorg] 1867. *Orgelschule: Eine theoretisch-praktische Anleitung zur gründlichen Erlernung des kirchlichen Orgelspiels, Op. 41*, Erlangen: Andreas Deichert.

*Kirkko-käsikirja* 1859. *Kirkko-Käsikirja, jossa säätään, miten Jumalanpalvelus Suomen Suuriruhtinaanmaan Ewankelis-Lutherlaisissa Seurakunnissa on pidettävä. Esitys, tehty sitä warten armosta määrättyä Toimituskunnalta*, Turku: Frenckell.

Krohn, Julius (ed.) 1866. *Helmiwyö suomalaista runoutta*, Helsinki: Theodor Sederholm.

*Kyrkohandbok* 1834. *Kyrkohandbok för Evangeliskt-Lutherska Församlingarne i Ryska Riket*, St. Petersburg: P. Widerholm.

*Käsi-kiria* 1694. *Käsi-kiria / josa käsitetty on / Cuinga Jumalan-Palvelus, christillisten Ceremoniain ja Kircon-menin canssa / meidän Seuracunnisam pidettämän ja toimitettaman pitä. Parattu ja enätty Stockholmis Wuonna 1599. ylitzen catzottu wuonna 1608. Ja wielä enämmin uuden Kircko-Ordningin jälken ojettu / Wuonna 1693. Uloskäy nyt Suomexi / hänen Cuning:sen Maji:tins Armolisella erinomaisella privilegiumilla. Wuonna 1694*, Turku: Johan Winter.

Mankell, Abr[aham] 1862. *Den kyrkliga orgelspelningen*, Örebro: N.M. Lindh.

Merikanto, Oskar 1923. *Moduloimis-oppi: Käytännöllinen oppikirja urkureiksi aikoville I, II*, Helsinki: R. E. Westerlund.

Reinholm, Henrik August 1854. Bernhard Henrik Crusell, in *Finlands minnesvärde män: Samling av lefnadsteckningar, Första Bandet, Häft. 2*, Helsingfors: J.C. Frenckell & Son. 208–236.

Tulenheimo, Martti and Oskar Merikanto 1916. *Urut*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.

*Wanhain Suomen maan Pijspain [...] laulud* 1616. *Wanhain Suomen maan Pijspain / ja Kircon Esimiesten Latinan kielised laulud [...]* *Nyt Suomexi käätyd Hemmingild Mascun Kirckoherralda*, Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer.

#### Research literature

Dahlhaus, Carl 1980. *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag.

Dahlström, Fabian 2008. Crusell, Bernhard Henrik, in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu, Studia Biographica 4*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.  
<URN:NBN:fi-fe20051410>. Accessed 13 June 2017.

Edholm, Dag 1985. *Orgelbyggare i Sverige 1600–1900 och deras verk*, Stockholm: Proprius.

Engman, Max 2009. *Ett långt farväl: Finland mellan Sverige och Ryssland efter 1809*, Stockholm: Atlantis.

Flodin, Karl and Otto Ehrström 1934. *Richard Faltin och hans samtid*, Helsingfors: Holger Schildts förlag.

Forsman, Folke 1985. *Suomalaiset urkusävellykset ja suomalainen urkujenrakennus*, Helsinki: Organum-seura.

Haapio, Hannes 1929. *Suomen kirkon kanttorien ja urkuriin matrikkeli*, [Helsinki]: Suomen kirkon kanttori-urkuriyhdistys.

Heinrich, Johannes 2006. Orgelmusik und Orgelspiel im evangelischen Gottesdienst des 19. Jahrhunderts, in Hermann J. Busch and Michael Heinemann (eds), *Zur deutschen Orgelmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 3rd ed., St. Augustin: Musikverlag Dr. J. Butz. 11–39.

*Jumalan kansan juhla* 1992. *Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon kirkolliskokouksen vuonna 1988 asettaman käsikirjakomitean välimietintö*, Suomen evankelisluterilaisen kirkon keskushallinnon Sarja A 1992:1, s.l.

- Klemetti, Armi 1955. *Muistelen*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.
- Klemetti, Heikki 1945. Lauri Hämäläinen, in Sulho Ranta (ed.), *Suomen säveltäjiä puolentoista vuosisadan ajalta*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö. 99–106.
- Klemetti, Heikki 1947. *Elämää, jota elin*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.
- Klemetti, Heikki 1965. Lauri Hämäläinen, in Einari Marvia (ed.), *Suomen säveltäjiä, Ensimmäinen osa*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö. 163–168.
- Lukkarinen, Ville 1989. Kirkkoarkkitehtuuri 1809–1865, in Salme Sarajas-Korte (ed.), *Ars: Suomen taide 3*, [Espoo]: Weilin & Göös. 339–362.
- Lundblad, Jonas 2016. Gustaf Mankell, in *Swedish Musical Heritage*.  
<<http://www.swedishmusicalheritage.com/composers/mankell-gustaf/>>. Accessed 12 June 2017.
- Maasalo, Armas (ed.) 1932. *Helsingin kirkkomusiikkiopisto 1882–1932*, Helsinki.
- Martikainen, Juhani 1997. *Orglar i Finland från tiden 1600–1800: Deras byggare, historia, konstruktion och stil*, [Helsingfors]: Sibelius-Akademin.
- Nordström, Tor 2002. ”Ett ganska vackert stycke å Orgeln”: Reformsträvanden inom orgelmusiken från 1800-talets mitt till orgelrörelsen, in *Kyrkomusiken – tidsenlig och tidlös*, [Helsingfors]: Kyrkomusikerföreningen r.f. 37–44.
- Pajamo, Reijo 1991. *Hymnologian peruskurssi*, Helsinki: Sibelius-Akatemia.
- Pajamo, Reijo and Erkki Tuppurainen 2004. *Suomen musiikin historia: Kirkkomusiikki*, Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.
- Peitsalo, Peter 2001. Helsingin Nikolainkirkon urut 1800-luvulla, *Organum*, 3/2001: 3–36.
- Peitsalo, Peter 2010. En mångfald av klangverkningar och ett fulländat bundet spel: Richard Faltin som Bachinterpret, in Jorma Hannikainen (ed.), *Facultas ludendi: Erkki Tuppuraisen juhlakirja*, Kuopio: Sibelius-Akatemia. 189–207.
- Pelto, Pentti 1994. *Kaksi suomalaista urkuperinnettä: Tutkimus kangasalalaisten ja uusikaupunkilaisten 1800-luvun mekaanisten urkujen musiikillisista ominaisuuksista*, [Helsinki]: Sibelius-Akatemia.
- Pelto, Pentti 2014. *Puoli vuosituhatta suomalaisia urkuja*, [Helsinki]: Organum-seura.
- Rautioaho, Asko (ed.) 2007. *Suomen urut 2006: Urkumatrikkeli*, [Helsinki]: Suomen Kanttori-urkuriliitto.
- Riedel, Friedrich W. 1990. *Quellenkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (vornehmlich in Deutschland)*, 2nd ed., München and Salzburg: Emil Katzbichler.
- Sipilä, Eero 1945. Rudolf Lagi, in Sulho Ranta (ed.), *Suomen säveltäjiä puolentoista vuosisadan ajalta*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö. 78–82.
- Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran jäsenet 1831–1892*.  
<<http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/jasenet/henkilo/1459>>. Accessed 12 June 2017.
- Suomen historiallisia urkuja*. <[www2.siba.fi/shu](http://www2.siba.fi/shu)>. Accessed 13 June 2017.
- Tuppurainen, Erkki 1980. Suomen urkutaitteen kehitysvaiheita, in Seppo Murto and Markku Heikinheimo (eds), *Pro organo pleno: Juhlakirja Enzo Forsblomille 14.3.1980*, Helsinki: Sibelius-Akatemia and Organum-seura.
- Tuppurainen, Erkki 1994. *Suomalaisten urkurien Bach-soitto ja sen esikuvat 1920–1950*, Kuopio: Sibelius-Akatemia.

Tuppurainen, Erkki 2000. Messun järjestys ja musiikki Suomessa 1546–1809, in Peter Peitsalo (ed.), *Krohn-symposium 1999*, Helsinki: Sibelius-Akatemia. 117–128.

Urponen, Ville 2010. *Intomiellisen nuoruuden väjäämätöntä voimaa: Suomalainen urkumusiikki toiseen maailmansotaan asti*, [Helsinki]: Sibelius-Akatemia.

Vapaavuori, Hannu 1997. *Virsilaulu ja heräävä kansallinen kulttuuri-identiteetti: Jumalanpalveluksen virsilaulua ja -sävelmistöä koskeva keskustelu Suomessa 1800-luvun puolivälistä vuoteen 1886*, Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura.

Westerlund, Bruno 2002. En musikdirektörs klagan, in *Kyrkomusiken – tidsenlig och tidlös*, [Helsingfors]: Kyrkomusikerföreningen r.f. 145–147.

Wolff, Christoph 1991. *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

## Appendix

The equivalences of the hymn tunes in Lauri Hämäläinen's *Helmiwyö* (1878) in contemporary Finnish chorale books

H 1878	G 1697	YT 1702	L–F 1871	N–H 1876	F–C 1888
1	2	2	230k	2	172
2	3	3	43ä	390	31b
3	9	9	161m	9	114
4	14	17	82a	17	59b
5	157	– (text VK 1701:19)	191a	19	141
6	16	20	42z	20	30c
7	17	– (text VK 1701:21)	221a	21	163
8	27	28	256hh	28	192b
9	42	40	271b	40a	177b
10	45	42	197e	42	144
11	46	43	111a	43	77
12	48 (with another text)	137 Aliter. (45 with another text)	112b	45, 137	78

### Abbreviations

H 1878 Hämäläinen 1878

G 1697 *Then Svenska Psalm-Boken* 1697/1774<sup>2</sup>

VK 1701 *Uusi Suomenkielinen Wirsi-Kirja* 1701 (text edition)

YT 1702 *Yxi Tarpelinen Nuotti-Kirja* 1702 (facsimile and critical edition: Tuppurainen 2001)

L–F 1871 Lagi and Faltin 1871

N–H 1876 Nordlund and Hagfors 1876

F–C 1888 Faltin and Colliander 1888

# Oskar Merikanto

## As a Developer of Liturgical Organ Music

JAN LEHTOLA

Oskar Merikanto (1868–1924) is regarded as one of the first remarkable Finnish-speaking organists, one who developed not only Finnish organ culture but musical life in Finland as a whole. His contribution was progressive and multi-dimensional. He made his living as an organist at St John's Church in Helsinki from 1892 until his death, taught at the local churchwarden-organist school (*Helsingin lukkari-urkurikoulu*), and from 1906 onwards was the main organ teacher at the Helsinki Music Institute (*Helsingfors musikinstitut*), which later became the Sibelius Academy. As an organ teacher, Merikanto was the leading authority of his day. He wrote and translated into Finnish several textbooks and volumes of exercises for his students. He collaborated closely with many organ builders and wrote reviews of several new organs. His aesthetic opinions shaped the prevailing views of musical life in Finland, and he contributed towards building a Finnish national identity.

This article has two aims. First, I introduce foreign readers to Oskar Merikanto as an important figure in Finnish musical life at the beginning of the twentieth century, one who laid the foundations for future organ culture in Finland. My second aim is to show how Merikanto developed liturgical music from the perspective of organ music.

Merikanto wanted to introduce new instrumental elements into the liturgy, and his achievements were closely connected to a new performance practice and aesthetic view on interpretation. Merikanto was also a spokesman for Finnish church musicians and took steps towards developing the music of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. After being appointed organ teacher at the Helsinki Music Institute, he

got a grant from the Finnish Senate for a major study tour to several European cities in 1907. On his return, he wrote two extensive articles (Merikanto 1907a and 1907b), in which he suggested ways of improving the quality of Finnish liturgical music. In these articles, Merikanto specified many requirements for the implementation of organ music in particular. He not only advanced concrete wishes, concerning for instance the tempi of hymns, but he also discussed less visible aspects of performance; Merikanto compared the playing of French and German organists, for example, and noticed that a versatile competence and musical education was appreciated abroad (Merikanto 1907a, 186–190; see also Lehtola 2015, 202–208).

Merikanto's ideas were revolutionary in comparison with those of previous organists. His most notable predecessors in Helsinki were German-born Richard Faltin, organist of St Nicholas Church, and Lauri Hämäläinen, organist of the Old Church. Both composed some works for organ, which are not really virtuosic concert pieces. Rather, they represent more or less conventional church music which people expected to be played in the Sunday services. Merikanto, in contrast, created something new and wanted his music to touch the listeners emotionally. In order to demonstrate this, I introduce some of his ideas about performance and compare them with the writings of the German theorist Hugo Riemann (1849–1919).

Riemann's books about expressivity and phrasing were influential in his time (Lohmann 1995, 251–253; Lehtola 2009, 94), and his ideas can help reveal the spirit of late romantic music. In fact, Riemann is a main authority in this article because his writings also influenced leading figures in Finnish musical life, e.g. music historian Heikki Klemetti, musicologist Ilmari Krohn, as well as Merikanto himself. Riemann is known as a teacher of Max Reger (Lohmann 1995, 278), and Merikanto was the first organist to play Reger's music in public concerts in Finland. In addition, Merikanto's son Aarre (1893–1958) studied with Reger in Leipzig.

I focus here on two collections by Merikanto: *100 koraali-alkusoittoa* (100 Chorale Preludes), op. 59, composed in 1905, and *Lähtökappaleita uruille: Kolme lähtökappaleita juhlatilaisuuksia varten* (Three Postludes for Celebration), op. 88, from 1915. Both collections were composed

mainly for worship use. In addition, my sources consist of material from Oskar Merikanto's archive at the National Library of Finland, Merikanto's writings, and books by Hugo Riemann.

### Merikanto's legacy to Finnish organ art

Oskar Merikanto was trained as an organist in accordance with contemporary German ideals in Helsinki, Leipzig and Berlin. Later, he became familiar with French, Italian and English organ art, while nevertheless retaining his strong connections to Germany. Stylistic elements from these countries were absorbed into Merikanto's national-romantic musical language.

As an organist, Merikanto was in tune with the times and favoured technically demanding works by contemporary composers in his recitals, which he gave not only in Finland, but also in other European countries, Russia, and the United States. Merikanto's concert programmes also included older music by e.g. Bach or Mendelssohn. The reviews of his recitals tell us that he enjoyed a fine reputation, both technically and musically, as an organ virtuoso (National Library of Finland, Coll. 148.5). As a pianist, he was the first recording artist in Finland before the First World War and made recordings with celebrity singers such as Eino Rautavaara (1876–1939) and Abraham Ojanperä (1856–1916).<sup>1</sup>

Merikanto's compositions for the organ are few in number but nonetheless significant. They consist of a Sonata (1887, lost), a 'Concert Fantasia' (*Konserttifantasia*, 1890), a 'March to the Funeral of Zacharias Topelius' (*Surumarssi Topeliuksen hautajaisiin*, 1898, lost), the 'Fantasia and Chorale "Finland in Mourning"' (*Fantasia ja koraali Suomi surussa*, 1899), a 'Wedding Hymn' (*Häähymni*, 1901), a *Passacaglia* (1913), 'Three Postludes for Celebrations' (*Lähtökappaleita uruille: Kolme lähtökappaleita juhlatilaisuuksia varten*, 1915) and a 'Prayer' (*Rukous*, 1923). He further wrote over a hundred chorale preludes, five pedal etudes, and

---

1 Finnish Broadcasting Company and Fuga have released old recordings of Finnish artists. Merikanto's pianism can be heard with Abraham Ojanperä (FUGA 9095) and Eino Rautavaara (FUGA 9121).

transcriptions (Lehtola 2009, 54). Many of Merikanto's works were printed during his lifetime, and the *Passacaglia*, dedicated to Marco Enrico Bossi, became an especially popular concert number among organists abroad as well. We do not know why he wrote so few items for the organ. The reason may be that he was also working on several other genres, such as opera and Lied, so he may not have had time for more organ music. Looking at the large variety of pieces in his recitals, we can assume that he may not have needed more music of his own.

Merikanto accomplished a momentous life's work as a teacher at the churchwarden-organist school and the Helsinki Music Institute. Since almost no teaching material was available in Finnish, he wrote or translated a dozen textbooks and volumes of exercises for pianists and organists. Merikanto translated Gustav Merkel's *Organ School* into Finnish and Swedish and owned a copy of the *Technische Studien* by Hugo Riemann and Carl Armbrust, published in 1890. It is an important book, because the authors contemplate whether or not it is possible to give an expressive performance on the organ. Prior to this book, Riemann had written several others addressing questions of dynamics, agogics, and phrasing. He investigated a new performance practice of which Merikanto was also aware, at least through the Riemann-Armbrust volume. The authors raised a number of major points, since no other nineteenth-century organ method had treated musical interpretation in such detail.

After Merikanto died, his legacy to Finnish organ art was forgotten due to a radical shift in aesthetic values, which applied to both composition and organ-building. Merikanto's organ compositions are important sources for the study of his performance style. On the other hand, a performer of Merikanto's organ music needs to know the organs he played.

### **European city tour of 1907**

During his trips, Merikanto got to know different European organ cultures and visited leading conservatoires. Inspired by these experiences, he developed his own teaching system, in which he took advantage of the latest developments in organ-building and -playing.

Merikanto's publications indicate that he possessed a method for acquiring an assured playing technique. His application for a grant from the Finnish Senate in 1906 describes his goals as an organ teacher (National Archives of Finland, Archives of the Senate, Finance Department).

In 1907 Oskar Merikanto travelled for three-and-a-half months. He stopped in Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Munich, Venice, Rome, Bern, Paris and London and met numerous organists, among them Gustaf Hägg, Otto Malling, Hans Fährmann, Paul Homeyer, Karl Straube, Marco Enrico Bossi, Charles-Marie Widor, Louis Vierne and Alexandre Guilmant. On his return, he published the two aforementioned articles in the magazine *Säveletär* on the ideas he had gathered during his travels. The first article focuses on organists' training and conservatoires (Merikanto 1907a, 186–190; see also Lehtola 2015, 202–208), whereas the second article discusses church music and congregational singing (Merikanto 1907b, 203–206; see also Lehtola 2015, 208–212). Merikanto's style of writing was analytical. He compared the educational systems of Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Italy, France and England, listed the subjects available for study and compared the teaching material used by students. At the end, he put forward ideas for the education of organists in Finland. He also wrote sharp analyses of the different professors (Merikanto 1907a, 186–190; see also Lehtola 2015, 202–208). In the second article, he discussed the rhythmic shape of chorales and compared the singing and accompanying of hymns in the cities he visited. In conclusion, he proposed a four-part choir for liturgical singing but insisted that hymns should be sung with a unison choir and the organ. Sermons, he said, should be shorter, and priests should concentrate not on length but on substance, form and presentation (Merikanto 1907b, 203–206; see also Lehtola 2015, 208–212).

In Germany, Merikanto met Paul Homeyer in Dresden and Karl Straube in Leipzig. After these meetings, he wrote about his experiences to his wife, Liisa. Merikanto was not very impressed by the way Homeyer and Straube played and thought that organ performance was much better in Helsinki than in Germany. Karl Straube, at St Thomas's Church, played the chorales at the same speed as

Merikanto, but Straube's registrations were strong and powerful throughout. Merikanto further disliked the fact that Straube did not use trio-playing while accompanying the congregation, concluding that there was nothing to learn about liturgical organ-playing in Germany. The teaching at the conservatories was, in his view, only fair. He listened to lessons given by Homeyer but did not hear anything of much importance (Oskar Merikanto > Liisa Merikanto, 15 February 1907, National Library of Finland, Coll. 148.3; see also Lehtola 2015, 149–150). Several of Merikanto's students nevertheless later studied in Leipzig, so he may have subsequently modified his opinion<sup>2</sup>.

In Italy, Merikanto found nothing to fault in the playing of Marco Enrico Bossi. He praised Bossi's performances of Bach's Toccata in C Major and Bossi's own Concerto in A Minor (Oskar Merikanto > Liisa Merikanto, 19 March 1907, National Library of Finland, Coll. 148.3; see also Lehtola 2015, 175–176). In France, he met Widor, Vierne and Guilmant. He enjoyed himself there and described his many meetings with well-known organists to his wife (Oskar Merikanto > Liisa Merikanto, 26 April 1907, National Library of Finland, Coll. 148.3; see also Lehtola 2015, 197–198). In England, he enthused about several organ recitals, the large audiences and beautiful organ music (Oskar Merikanto > Liisa Merikanto, 28 April 1907, National Library of Finland, Coll. 148.3; see also Lehtola 2015, 200).

### **Merikanto and a new performance practice**

The way of performing music changed considerably during Merikanto's lifetime. A leading figure in Germany was the pianist and musicologist Hugo Riemann, whose influence spread far and wide to many

---

2 Several Finnish organists studied in Leipzig before the Second World War. One student of Robert Papperitz was Elis Jurwa 1896–1898; students of Paul Homeyer were Heinrich Järviö 1905–1906, Karl Sjöblom 1906–1907, Kyösti Alho 1907–1909 and Gerda Schybergson 1907–1908; students of Karl Straube were Elis Mårtenson 1919–1920, John Granlund 1919–1920, Venni Kuosma 1920, Juhani Pohjanmies 1922 and Paavo Raussi 1925–1926; and students of Günther Ramin were Arvo Kaarne 1923–1924, Henrik Miettinen 1925–1927 as well as Oiva Saukkonen 1935–1936, 1939 (Lehtola 2009, 29).

areas of music. His thesis *Über das musikalische Hören* was not accepted at the University of Leipzig, but he obtained a doctorate in 1873 at the University of Göttingen. Riemann taught in Bielefeld, Leipzig, Bromberg (today Bydgoszcz), Hamburg, Sondershausen and Wiesbaden in 1876–1895. He returned to Leipzig in 1895 and became a professor there in 1901. A well-known teacher, he had many students who would later be celebrated pianists, composers and musicologists. His writings were trendsetters and came to be regarded as research benchmarks. For this reason, he ranks as one of the founders of modern musicology (Hoffman 2001, 364–365).

As mentioned above, Riemann's influence in Finland was considerable. Ilmari Krohn followed Riemann's ideas about major and minor tonality in function theory, whereas Klemetti concentrated on the natural laws of music and their representations in music history, a topic also addressed by Riemann (Huttunen 1993, 81).

In an earlier study, I applied Hugo Riemann's theories of phrasing and expressive interpretation to Oskar Merikanto's organ music (Lehtola 2009). Riemann wrote about expression in *Musikalische Dynamik und Agogik* (1884), *Praktische Anleitung zum Phrasieren* (1886), *Grundlinien der Musik-Ästhetik* (1903a), *System der musikalischen Rhythmik and Metrik* (1903b) and *Vademecum der Phrasierung* (1912). *Technische Studien für Orgel* (1890) was written together with the American organist Carl Armbrust (1849–1896). Merikanto also wrote about contemporary performance practice and expression in the third part of the book *Urut: Niiden rakenne ja hoito sekä registreeraustaito* (The Organ: Its Structure, Care, and Art of Registration), which he co-authored with Martti Tulenheimo (1883–1945), director of the Kangasala organ factory (Tulenheimo and Merikanto 1916).

A new concept of musical expression emerged with the rise of autonomous instrumental music in the nineteenth century. It had been preceded by a mainly aesthetic view called *Affektenlehre* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to this *Affektenlehre*, music was regarded as expressing content of a clearly formulated and limited emotional nature. Addressing the new subjective emotional experiences of Romanticism and their disclosure, however, Wilhelm

Heinrich Wackenroder wrote in 1799 that ‘the musical art has become a comprehensive and flexible mechanism for the portrayal of human emotions’ (cited from Paddison 2001, 464). Thus, through music, complex human emotions can be expressed. This phenomenon can widely be seen in the writings of numerous artists, poets, composers and critics of the period as well as in the novels by E. T. A. Hoffmann and the writings of Hector Berlioz and Robert Schumann (Paddison 2001, 464).

The publication of Riemann–Armbrust’s *Technische Studien für Orgel* was a clear sign that performance practice had reached a turning point: it runs to 52 pages – 16 pages of theory and 36 of exercises in English and German – and was designed as a supplement to any organ tutor. The foreword states that the booklet includes systematic exercises for pedal alone and polyphonic exercises for both hands with and without pedal. Furthermore, it has agogic exercises as a basis for ‘expressive’ organ playing (Riemann and Armbrust 1890, II). It thus covers the same topics as any other organ tutor but in addition gives advice on questions of expressive performance.

Riemann’s and Armbrust’s handling of touch and legato articulation raises the book’s most important question: is expressive playing possible on the organ? The answer is yes, even though changes of dynamics are not possible on the organ in small motifs. Crescendi and diminuendi are, however, possible in larger units, thanks to the swell pedal and by changing registers (Riemann and Armbrust 1890, XII).

According to Riemann and Armbrust (1890, XIII), an organist has four means of achieving an expressive performance: changing the dynamics or the agogics, modulating the speed, and using different tempos. Previous organ tutors do not mention these because the true musician will, they claim, learn them instinctively. It is therefore important for the student to train his ear and musical instinct in this respect. A performance executed with the precision of a metronome is, in Riemann’s (1884, II) opinion, simply unmusical.

Merikanto was strongly influenced by the New German school of Liszt and Wagner, as well as by Riemann, both in Helsinki and in Leipzig. However, we do not know exactly how he understood the word ‘interpretation’. In an article entitled ‘Musikaalisia mietelmiä’ (Musical

thoughts) in the journal *Valvoja*, he philosophised on how to enter into the spirit and soul of a composition. He began by speaking of musical motifs and of ways of binding the different musical parts together. This is how the architecture of a composition takes shape. Only then it is possible to express the musical ideas, emotions and experiences:

Then what about the handling of the musical motifs, the alternation of nuances, the interweaving of different fragments, the overall architecture, the development and elaboration of the musical idea, the intensification of the mood, its crescendos and diminuendos, the grasping of the content and spirit, the feeling for the soul of the work and the soaring with it to other worlds? For yes – indescribably great and wondrous are the new worlds to which the soul of the musically-erudite human being will rise. Experience, awareness and enjoyment such as this are worth striving towards.<sup>3</sup> (Merikanto 1909, 817; translated by Susan Sinisalo)

I assume that ‘the handling of musical motifs’ refers to the expressive performance that gives a composition structure. Until Riemann and Armbrust, dynamics and agogics had been the basics of expressive organ playing (Riemann and Armbrust 1890, XII, XV). Even though Merikanto did not actually use the word ‘expression’, his aim was obviously to achieve a powerful interpretation.

Merikanto was perhaps influenced by Riemann when he wrote about the quality and implementation of liturgical music, which he said should be varied and uplifting and should enhance religious feelings. The organist should, through his playing, convey joy, sorrow, doubt, hope, courage, elation, praise and thanksgiving (Tulenheimo and Merikanto 1916, 153). One may well ask how he is to do this. The concepts of doubt, courage and elation are particularly interesting because they are not

---

3 ‘Entäs sitten musikaalisten aiheitten käsittely, äänilajien vaihtelu, eri palasten kokoon punominen, koko teoksen arkkitehtuuri, musikaalisen ajatuksen kehitys ja laajennus, tunteen syvennys, sen nousut ja laskut, sisällön ja hengen tajuaminen, teoksen sielun tunteminen ja sen kanssa muihin maailmoihin liitelemine! Niin, – sanomattoman suuret ja ihanat ovat ne uudet maailmat, joihin musikaalisesti sivistyneen ihmisen sielu nousee. Sellaiseen tuntemiseen, tajuamiseen ja nauttimiseen kannattaa pyrkiä.’

as concrete as joy or sorrow. The latter are in the hierarchy of the most general affects and can be further subdivided. There is even a fine line between sorrow and doubt, the latter being a more metaphysical concept, which might be difficult to express on the organ.

Merikanto also defended the importance of varied registrations. He probably did not mean simple registrations in the normal way, but rather something larger, perhaps the expressivity about which Riemann wrote so widely in his various books:

The slight musical side of our divine worship must be rendered more varied, yet at the same time edifying and uplifting. The organist alone has the power to do this. From his instrument he can conjure forth the most diverse harmonies and tremors. Notes of joy, sorrow, doubt, hope, courage, elation, praise, and thanksgiving are in his command. He can, with the sweet sounds of his instrument often enter the listener's heart better than many a priest with his sermon. What a beautiful yet at the same time responsible task! For the organist may, through poor playing and tasteless registering, banish all devoutness and make the whole church attendance a torment for sensitive souls. May each and every one therefore strive firstly to ensure that he is technically capable of giving a completely faultless performance at a good tempo, and that this is then coloured in a way that is both musical and dignified.<sup>4</sup> (Tulenheimo and Merikanto 1916, 153; translated by Susan Sinisalo)

The idea of expressive performance was based on the variation of dynamics and agogics. Riemann did not appreciate the ability of mu-

---

4 'Meidän jumalanpalveluksiemme vähäinen musiikkipuoli on saatava vaihtelevaksi, mutta samalla mieliä ylentäväksi ja hartautta herättäväksi. Siihen on yksistään urkurilla valta. Hän voi soittokoneestaan loihkia esille mitä erilaisimmat soinnut ja väreet. Ilon, surun, epäilyksen, toivon, uskalluksen, sisäisen riemun, ylistyksen ja kiitoksen sävelet ovat hänen hallussaan. Hän voi soittokoneensa vienoilla sävelillä tunkeutua kuulijan sydämiin usein paremmin kuin moni pappi saarnallaan. Mikä kaunis, mutta samalla edesvastaullinen tehtävä! Sillä urkuri voi myös huonolla soitolla ja mauttomalla registreerauksella karkoittaa kaiken hartauden ja tehdä koko kirkossaolon herkille sieluille piinaksi. Pyrkiköön siis jokainen siihen, että hän ensinnäkin teknillisesti pystyy aivan virheettömästi ja hyvässä tahdissa soittonsa suorittamaan ja sen myöskin sitten musikaalisesti ja arvokkaasti värittämään.'

sicians to analyse, and he therefore wanted to help them with new editions equipped with slurs and other performance marks. At the same time he changed the positions of barlines, beams and time signatures in order to place the main accent in the bar just after the bar line. He wanted the performer to play the right motifs and phrases automatically. Riemann juxtaposed his own editions of music with commentaries on Greek and Roman literature (Riemann 1912, 15). In *Technische Studien*, he wrote about phrasing in playing the organ and gave technical facts about dynamics and agogics, i.e. expressive performance.

Merikanto also wrote about phrasing, which proves that he was familiar with the new performance practice. By phrasing he meant a manner of playing in which the form of the piece is analysed by separating the thematic motifs. Failure to do this results in a dull and unmusical performance:

But musical ‘phrasing’ is also part of a lucid performance. The organist must analyse the architectonic structure of the piece; at certain points he must lift his hand, even though there is no rest; other passages should by no means be played legato, etc. The playing must not sound like an unbroken thread; it must not be mechanical; it must have a living spirit and soul. Above all, in other words, the player must understand the spirit and content of the composition. He must be in both technical and musical command of his task. He may then also find a fortuitous registration and create lucidity in his playing.<sup>5</sup> (Tulenheimo and Merikanto 1916, 174; translated by Susan Sinisalo)

Merikanto also paid attention to phrasing in reviewing a concert given in Helsinki by Marco Enrico Bossi. We can see that he focused not only on long phrases but also on small thematic motifs:

---

5 ‘Mutta selvään esittämiseen kuuluu myöskin musikaalinen ”fraseeraus”. Kappaleen arkkitehtonista rakennetta on jäseneltävä, vississä kohdissa on käsi nostettava ylös, vaikei paussia olekaan, toisia kohtia ei ole lainkaan soitettava legato jne. Soitto ei saa kuulua kuin katkeamattomalta langalta, se ei saa olla koneen työtä, siinä pitää olla elävä henki ja sielu mukana. Soittajan pitää siis ennen kaikkea ymmärtää sävellyksen henki ja sisältö. Hänen tulee sekä teknillisesti että musikaalisesti hallita tehtävänsä. Silloin hän myöskin voi onnistuneen registratsionin löytää ja soittoonsa selvyyttä luoda.’

If, therefore, we take into account that playing the organ can be more than a heavy hand and infinitely precise binding ('legato'), we already come close to the playing of Bossi – I have not heard anyone else 'phrasing' with such mastery. Even the smallest thematic job, the briefest 'imitation' acquires prominence, value and attention.<sup>6</sup> (Merikanto 1907c, 303; translated by Susan Sinisalo)

Merikanto also talks about phrasing in performing a fugue, in which each thematic entrance has to be highlighted: 'It is in a fugue, if anywhere, that the musical structure, phrasing and theme must be emphasised'<sup>7</sup> (Tulenheimo and Merikanto 1916, 176). Phrasing is part of a wider issue, i.e. transparency and interpretation (Tulenheimo and Merikanto 1916, 174).

Riemann juxtaposed phrase borders with the phrasing of the text: with the wrong phrases, the singing is dull, but with the right phrasing, the accents are in the right places and the text is structured. Just as in speech we need a rest before and after a full stop, so in music we need to take longer and shorter rests between phrases so that the melody and harmony are as structured as in speech (Riemann 1912, 7–11).

Riemann developed a large number of rules for implementing the phrasing system, but the era in which he lived prioritised individual freedom and creativity. He therefore wanted the interpreter to be free to make his own choices, and he did not wish to question the individual's rights. Just as guides to the study of poetry provide a theoretical basis for interpretation but do not provide the reader with the ultimate answers, Riemann believed that books on phrasing should give suggestions but not final answers. The poet certainly cannot write a full explanation of his poems any more than a composer can explain everything about his phrasing (Riemann 1912, 15).

---

6 'Jos siis otamme huomioon, että urkujensoitto voi olla muutakin kuin raskasta painamista ja äärettömän tarkkaa sitomista ("legatoa"), tulemme jo lähelle Bossin soittoa – En ole kuullut kenenkään niin mestarillisesti "fraseeraavan". Pieninkin temaattinen työ, lyhinikin "imitatiooni" pistää esille, saa arvon ja huomion.'

7 'Jos missä, niin juuri fuugassa, tulee musikaalinen jäsentely, fraseeraus ja teeman korostaminen kysymykseen.'

If the performance practice of Merikanto's era were to be summed up in a few words, it might well be the title of Riemann's *magnum opus* of his theoretical thinking: *Dynamik und Agogik*. Dynamics and agogics are the tools for achieving an expressive performance. These words embody the very essence of this whole period in the performing arts, and they may be generalized to cover all late-Romantic music, Merikanto included.

Dynamics and agogics in Romantic music should be understood as musical techniques similar to accentuation and *non legato* articulation in Baroque music. Dynamics and agogics not only create transparency, but they also help to underline the musical thoughts, motifs and phrases that make the music interesting.

In playing organ music by Merikanto, we should note that he composed mainly for the Walcker organ, which favoured *legato* articulation. The interpretation therefore had to be achieved with techniques possible in that articulation: dynamics and agogics. Riemann was possibly aware that organists at the time were still performing in an old manner, even though the organ and the music for it had already taken a huge step into the future. That is why he wrote the *Technische Studien* in 1890 with Carl Armbrust. In it he tried to express both theoretically and through exercises the principles of expressive performance. Merikanto was aware of this new performance practice and the capabilities of his Walcker organ at St John's Church. In 1916 he wrote that 'the first condition is lucidity'<sup>8</sup> and 'a lucid performance also needs musical "phrasing"'<sup>9</sup> (Tulenheimo and Merikanto 1916, 174).

Merikanto's organ compositions provide excellent material for implementing Riemann's theories of phrasing. Merikanto was on the cutting edge of organ composition in using different slurs to mark off motifs and phrases. I believe that he did not use slurs to indicate *legato*, however, because it was the normal touch in his music. His slurs therefore are related to expression.

---

8 '[E]nsimmäinen ehto urkujensoitossa on selvyys'.

9 '[S]elvään esittämiseen kuuluu myöskin musikaalinen "fraseeraus".'

### **Opuses 59 and 88: Church music with a difference**

Merikanto's technique and skill was superior to that of any other organist at that time in Finland. His skills as an organ composer were also above those of other Finnish composers. This may explain why Jean Sibelius (1865–1957) did not write any organ music until after Merikanto had died in 1924, but then again, perhaps nobody had asked him to. Shortly after the death of Merikanto, Sibelius wrote such pieces as the *Intrada* (1925), *Preludium* and *Postludium* (1925), *Musique religieuse* (1927/46) and *Funeral Music* (1931), but they are not on a par with his other works.

Merikanto was an organ expert, but was he a composer in keeping with the times? The question is difficult to answer, because organ music had not developed in Finland in the same way as opera or orchestral music. Merikanto's harmonies and virtuosic use of the instrument are, however, similar to the techniques used by Liszt and Reger, and for that reason, he can be considered an up-to-date composer. His organ compositions are masterly crafted, melodic, rich in their harmonies and well written for the instrument.

Many of Merikanto's compositions for organ are virtuosic concert pieces even when they are based on hymn themes. He undoubtedly wrote them for his own recitals. Opuses 59 and 88, however, are explicitly intended for liturgical use. The 'Prayer' is the only composition that can be played by a beginner. The other works demand an advanced technique and an ability to play scales, broken chords and parallel thirds, which Merikanto combines with melodic textures and large chords.

Merikanto was both a pianist and an organist. This was common in his day, and he performed on both instruments regularly throughout his life. It explains why his organ pieces are very pianistic, with large chords and virtuosic passages. Sometimes such music was criticized for being merely pianistic and not very organ-like; such was Helmut Walcha's view (1952, 4) when he wrote about Max Reger's organ music. Merikanto's way of writing for the organ may sometimes seem

unidiomatic if we do not know the relevant performance practice. It is not enough to use the right instruments to play music by him or his contemporaries. However, this article is not the place to analyse the performance of Merikanto's works but to seek out the ideas which developed liturgical music.

The 'Three Postludes for Celebrations', op. 88, were probably composed in 1915. There is evidence that Merikanto performed one of them at St John's Church in a concert he gave with organist Adolf Lussmann and singer Eric Laurent on 24 April 1920. The Postludes were published the same year by Lindgren.

The first Postlude, in E-flat major, has folk-tune-like melodies. The grandiose beginning with broken chords and the following melody accompanied by virtuosic broken triad arpeggios sounds like an opera overture or a piece for symphony orchestra.

a



b



Example 1. Oskar Merikanto, Postlude I, bars 1-3 (a) and bars 10-13 (b) (Ms. Mus. 163 Oskar Merikanto, National Library of Finland, Fazer's Collection).

The second Postlude, in D major, is like a *grand chœur* with magnificent chords and detailed counterpoint between the melody in the right hand and the countersubject in the left.



Example 2. Oskar Merikanto, Postlude II, bars 1–3 (Ms. Mus. 163 Oskar Merikanto, National Library of Finland, Fazer's Collection).

In the middle part is a common chorale, 'Jeesus kruunun kirkkaan kannat, Jeesus, ilo, elämä, armon Herra, ystävä'.



Example 3. Oskar Merikanto, Postlude II, bars 45–49 (Ms. Mus. 163 Oskar Merikanto, National Library of Finland, Fazer's Collection).

The third Postlude, in F major, begins with a festive *maestoso* introduction evocative of Mahler's symphonies, with unpredictable chords.



Example 4. Oskar Merikanto, Postlude III, bars 1–4 (Ms. Mus. 163 Oskar Merikanto, National Library of Finland, Fazer's Collection).

The beginning is followed by a four-part fugue with beautiful melodic moments and thick chromaticism. The piece could easily be called an Introduction and Fugue in the manner of Reger.



Example 5. Oskar Merikanto, Postlude III, bars 73–76 (Ms. Mus. 163 Oskar Merikanto, National Library of Finland, Fazer's Collection).

The 'Three Postludes' resemble another famous triptych, César Franck's *Trois Chorals*. It is impossible to know if Merikanto wanted to write a symphonic suite similar to Franck's. Merikanto's pieces resemble chorales, even though only one has a recognisable chorale. The other two have a chorale-like melody, but the melodic material is Merikanto's own. According to the manuscript, Merikanto treated his Postludes

with great respect. They are written in a beautiful, clear hand, and even give detailed fingerings. They are also full of performance markings, such as phrasings, tempi, agogics and dynamics.

The Postludes are like concert etudes with many technical difficulties. If they were meant to be played in the context of a Mass, as I assume, they demand a very high standard of playing. We therefore have to acknowledge how high Merikanto set his goals for the training of church organists and their ability.

Another opus which I introduce here is the set of ‘100 Chorale Preludes’, op. 59, (1905), published by Fazer in 1906. They were composed for parish needs as introductions to hymns and flowed from his pen as by-products of larger projects. They are not named according to the hymnbook chorales or numbers. Instead, they are arranged by key. Very few have a specific hymn tune, such as no. 48 in E major. The melody is that of ‘Christus der ist mein Leben’ (‘Oi Herra, ilo suuri’) by Melchior Vulpius.

Example 6. Oskar Merikanto, Chorale Prelude no. 48, bars 1–13 (Merikanto 1906, 19).

Merikanto (1906, 1) wrote in his preface that he wanted to help parish organists with these preludes. To be honest, even though they are far from virtuosic, some of them are in many other ways rather difficult. By this I mean, for example, the large chords and octaves he regularly used to enlarge the principal organ sound.

The interesting thing about these pieces is their emotional power. In the introduction of this article, I pointed out that Merikanto wanted

organists to convey in their playing joy, sorrow, doubt, hope, courage, elation, praise and gratitude, and I asked how this could be possible. Looking at the ‘100 Chorale Preludes’, it is possible to find signs of the affects he called for. The main purpose of the pieces is therefore to introduce not the tunes but the key and general atmosphere of the hymn. In fact, the preludes could be introductions to any hymn, depending on its general character. A closer look might shed more light on this statement.

Prelude no. 22 in E minor might introduce a feeling of sorrow. Descending motifs and a static atmosphere are common in a sad piece.



Example 7. Oskar Merikanto, Chorale Prelude no. 22, bars 1-8 (Merikanto 1906, 10).

Prelude no. 63 in D minor describes courage with a bold, powerful melody in the tenor voice and rich harmonies in the right hand.

Example 8. Oskar Merikanto, Chorale Prelude no. 63, bars 1-20 (Merikanto 1906, 26).

Prelude no. 73 in G minor, with its short progressive motifs and clear harmonic structure, might reflect hope.



Example 9. Oskar Merikanto, Chorale Prelude no. 73, bars 1–8 (Merikanto 1906, 30).

Prelude no. 99 in F minor is doubtful, with *portamento* chords and descending melodic lines, even though the intensity rises.



Example 10. Oskar Merikanto, Chorale Prelude no. 99, bars 6–14 (Merikanto 1906, 42).

Merikanto wanted to bring new musical thinking into liturgy, and he mainly did it through his organ compositions opus 59 and 88. These pieces brought virtuosity to the liturgical context but also a rich variety of feelings, from joy to sorrow. Merikanto felt that liturgical music should be rich in variation. By his new compositions, Merikanto opened the door to new musical thinking, which was far away from conventional music-making. Merikanto's achievement was a new musical attitude that included emotional compositions and expressive performance.

### Conclusion

Oskar Merikanto, being the first Finnish-speaking organ virtuoso, laid a remarkable foundation for various aspects of organ culture. He played a major role as a trainer of organists, and his position as a church organist in Helsinki was demanding. He was the first Finnish

composer to create a sizeable volume of technically challenging pieces for the organ. Aesthetically, he was a child of his time and was strongly influenced by the ideas and theories on phrasing and expressivity of Hugo Riemann.

Merikanto developed the church music of his day in many ways. His most important contribution concerned aesthetics and playing technique. In his writings, he claimed that an organist should incorporate a wide range of emotions in his playing. Looking at his organ compositions, such as the '100 Chorale Preludes', op. 59, which for the most part are not related to any individual chorale but designed merely as an introduction to the key and atmosphere, we may notice that he wanted to have an effect on his listeners' feelings. He was a romantic personality who wanted to convey and express emotions in his music and playing. Liturgical organ-playing was no longer just a question of hitting the right notes in the right places, but also of having an expressive influence on emotions. Merikanto's opus 88 has a different goal; it shows us a real virtuoso. Merikanto set high goals for organists and how they should use the organ in a Mass. His virtuosic postludes are like concert etudes.

As a developer of liturgical organ music, Merikanto not only composed a new kind of music, he also introduced a new performance practice he had learnt from Riemann's books. Contemporary practice demanded that a performance be expressive. Phrasing emotional music using many different means created a sound world such as had never been heard before, as a unique resource for liturgical music. In this respect, Merikanto the composer, performer and teacher was, in Finland, not only a pioneer but also a consistent and innovative master.

## Bibliography

### Archival sources

#### National Archives of Finland

– Archives of the Senate of Finland 1809–1918, Finance Department.

#### National Library of Finland

– Fazer's Collection, Ms. Mus. 163 Oskar Merikanto.

– Oskar Merikanto's Archive, Coll. 148.

### Scores

Merikanto, Oskar 1906. *100 koraali-alkusoittoa uruille, Op. 59*, Helsinki: Fazer.

Merikanto, Oskar 1915. *Lähtökappaleita uruille. Kolme lähtökappaletta juhlatilaisuuksia varten, Op. 88*, Helsinki: Lindgren.

### Newspapers and periodicals

Merikanto, Oskar 1907a. Ulkomaanmatkalta I. Urkurikoulut ja urkurien opetus, *Säveletär*, 13–14: 186–190.

Merikanto, Oskar 1907b. Ulkomaanmatkalta II. Kirkkomusiikki ja seurakunnan laulu, *Säveletär*, 15–16: 203–206.

Merikanto, Oskar 1907c. Enrico Bossi urkujen ääressä, *Säveletär*, 22: 304–305.

Merikanto, Oskar 1909. Musikaalisia mietteitä, *Valvoja*, 817–820.

### Research literature

Hoffman, Mark 2001. Headword 'Riemann, Hugo', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London: Macmillan.

Huttunen, Matti 1993. *Modernin musiikin historian kirjoituksen synty Suomessa. Musiikkikäsitteet tutkimuksen uranuurtajien tuotannoissa*, Acta Musicologica Fennica 18, Helsinki: Suomen musiikkitieteellinen seura.

Lehtola, Jan 2009. *Oskar Merikannon perintö suomalaiselle urkutaiteelle*, Kirkkomusiikin osaston julkaisuja 31, [Helsinki]: Sibelius-Akatemia.

Lehtola, Jan 2015. *Oskar Merikannon kirjeitä Liisalle 1889–1922, "Rakas, kaivattu muoriseni"*, Helsinki: Kulttuuriosuuskunta Partuuna.

Lohmann, Ludger 1995. Hugo Riemann and the Development of Musical Performance Practice, in Hans Davidsson and Sverker Jullander (eds), *Proceedings of the Göteborg International Organ Academy 1994*, Gothenburg: Göteborg University. 251–283.

Paddison, Max 2001. Headword 'Expression', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London: Macmillan.

Riemann, Hugo 1884. *Musikalische Dynamik und Agogik. Lehrbuch der musikalischen Phrasierung auf der Grund einer Revision der Lehre von der musikalischen Metrik und Rhythmik*, Leipzig: Fr. Kistner.

Riemann, Hugo 1886. *Praktische Anleitung zum Phrasieren*, Leipzig: Max Hesse.

Riemann, Hugo and Armbrust, Carl 1890. *Technische Studien für die Orgel. Ein Supplement zu jeder Orgelschule*, Leipzig: Rieter-Biedermann.

Riemann, Hugo 1903a. *Grundlinien der Musik-Ästhetik*, Leipzig: Max Hesse.

Riemann, Hugo 1903b. *System der musikalischen Rhythmik and Metrik*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Riemann, Hugo 1912. *Vademecum der Phrasierung*, Leipzig: Max Hesse.

Tulenheimo, Martti and Merikanto, Oskar 1916. *Urut: Nüiden rakenne ja hoito sekä registreeraustaito*, Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.

Walcha, Helmut 1952. Regers Orgelschaffen kritisch betrachtet, *Musik und Kirche*, 1: 2–14.

---

Abstract

Michael Heinemann

**From Rinck to Reger: Nineteenth-Century Organ Chorales  
Against the Backdrop of Bach's *Arnstädter Choräle***

A shift in the aesthetic and theological outlook around 1800 had important implications for the function of the liturgy and of church music, in Protestant as well as Roman Catholic contexts. Alongside the continued composition of organ chorales, new genres of large-scale chorale-based organ music emerged. The young J. S. Bach's *Arnstädter Choräle* – chorale settings with bold harmonizations and virtuoso interludes, which allegedly caused confusion in the early eighteenth-century congregation of Arnstadt – are used to highlight various aspects of the complicated situation for liturgical organ music in the following century. The one-sided view of the nineteenth century as a period of decay in organ music and organ-building – dating back to the early days of the twentieth-century *Orgelbewegung* – is not tenable. It is important, however, in comparing the organ culture of the nineteenth century with that of the eighteenth, not to use the unique genius of J. S. Bach as a yardstick but rather the work of his contemporaries, the quality of which was rather more equal to that of the following generations of organ composers. Although the nineteenth century was a period of change, there was also a continuity in organ composition, represented by the line from Bach's pupils and their pupils to nineteenth-century composers of Mendelssohn's generation. The suitability of different kinds of music for use in the church and its services, a topic intensely discussed throughout the nineteenth century, proved to be a complex issue: on the one hand, there was a demand for simplicity in order to not draw too much attention to the music at the cost of the spoken word and the liturgy; on the other hand, it was recognized that artistically more advanced music could have the power to create the desired religious moods and enhance the experience of the words, of a hymn for instance. A common topic was whether interludes between chorale verses or lines should be allowed, and if so, how they should be shaped.

Keywords: chorale-based organ music, church music aesthetics, Germany, nineteenth century

---

---

Abstract

Maria Helfgott

**The Increasing Role of the Organ in Nineteenth-Century  
Roman Catholic Church Music on the Example of Organ Masses  
in Austria and Southern Germany**

The author analyses the role of the organ in nineteenth-century Austrian and South-German settings of the Mass Ordinary, beginning with the Enlightenment period, when the reforms of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II had an impact on Roman Catholic church music in Austria; one resulting aim was to reduce the costs of liturgical music by diminishing the use of instruments other than the organ. Universal comprehensibility was another goal of church music. Therefore, *Singmassen*, masses of easy religious songs in German, were promoted over the florid and pompous orchestral masses of the time. Nevertheless, the latter, performed by bourgeois choral societies, remained popular in the nineteenth century and beyond. The author gives examples of mass compositions for few voices and organ in which the instrumental part ranges from a discreet *colla parte* accompaniment up to quasi-soloistic and virtuosic textures. The stylistic range of the masses is wide, reflecting a clash of idioms in nineteenth-century church music. On the one hand, there is a tradition based on the Viennese classical style, but which is open for innovation. On the other hand, Cecilianism, with its anti-secular tendencies and revival of plainchant as well as the polyphony of Palestrina and his contemporaries, brought about a deliberate break with this tradition. Furthermore, in orchestral masses composed at the turn of the twentieth century, the whole orchestra could be substituted by the organ.

Keywords: mass compositions, the organ, Austria, Germany, Roman Catholic Church, nineteenth century

---

Abstract

Sverker Jullander

**Retaining the Fine Bouquet:  
Otto Olsson's Use of Plainsong in Organ Music**

Otto Olsson (1879–1964), professor of organ at the Conservatory of the Royal Academy of Music, Stockholm, and a prolific composer of organ and choral music in particular, was the first – and for a long while, only – Swedish composer to use Gregorian and other medieval church melodies in organ music. Olsson used plainsong material in two collections of short pieces (*Gregorianska melodier* and *Six Pieces on Old Church Songs*) as well as in two larger works (*Ten Variations on the Dorian Plainsong 'Ave Maris Stella'* and the second organ symphony, *Credo Symphonicum*), all composed between 1910 and 1918. Olsson's use of plainsong themes, largely unknown in Sweden at the time, can be related to international developments in church music aesthetics originating in the nineteenth century, which saw an increasingly important distinction between sacred and secular music. Both the use of melodies from the Old Church and their musical setting were central to Olsson, whose goal was to create music that could be recognized as 'church music and nothing else'. Olsson's settings vary considerably in form and character, ranging from free recitative to strict polyphony, and even attempts to combine the two approaches. The free treatment of the chant melody in the *Ave maris stella* variations (probably the first of his 'Gregorian' works) stands in contrast to the unchanged *cantus firmus* in the other compositions. In most pieces, text-related musical symbolism is not prominent, the exception being *Credo Symphonicum*, in which the composer makes varied use of eight melodies to represent the Christian Creed and the Trinity.

Keywords: Otto Olsson, organ music, Gregorian melodies, music analysis, Sweden, twentieth century

---

---

Abstract

Samuli Korkalainen

**The Training of Churchwardens and Organists  
in Nineteenth-Century Finland and Ingria**

The training of churchwardens – precentors with extra-musical tasks – and organists changed measurably in nineteenth-century Finland as well as Ingria, a Province of Saint Petersburg, which was inhabited during the nineteenth century by a Finnish-speaking, Lutheran majority. This article focuses on that improvement process and the factors that contributed to it. The main sources are archival material concerning the Finnish churchwarden-organist schools and the Ingrian Kolppana Seminary in the Finnish Archives in Helsinki as well as earlier related studies.

In the first half of the century, every evangelical-Lutheran parish in Finland and Ingria had the office of churchwarden, but owing to the shortage of organs, the post of organist existed in only some parishes. The profession of organist was of a purely musical nature, whereas the churchwarden's duties were manifold. In the second half of the century organs rapidly increased in number, and at the end of the period the organ was to be found in most Finnish and Ingrian parishes.

During the latter part of the century, the profession of churchwarden evolved primarily to that of musician; consequently, the foundation of professional education institutions for church musicians in Finland and a teacher seminary that also educated churchwardens in Ingria replaced the private instruction given by certified churchwardens and organists. The contemporary development of a public educational system and the escalating demands for higher-quality worship music were important in this regard. In addition, an increase in the number of pipe organs had an impact on the curricula of these institutions. While many earlier churchwardens could not play any instrument at all, by the end of the nineteenth century most could at least provide organ accompaniment to hymns and the Mass.

Keywords: church music, education of church musicians, organists, Finland, Ingria, nineteenth century

---

## Abstract

Martti Laitinen

**A Biographical and Comparative Perspective on Ilmari Krohn's *Advent and Christmas Hymns* for Voice and Harmonium**

Professor Ilmari Krohn (1867–1960) was a Finnish composer, musicologist and organist. He is a significant character in the history of Finnish church music, but until recently his musical output has received little attention. His *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä* (1902) is a collection of twenty Advent and Christmas hymn arrangements for voice and harmonium.

Krohn's guiding motives in life and work were his faith, the Finnish nation and internationality. He was the younger son of the notable nationalist Julius Krohn, who chaired the preparation of the new Finnish-language hymnal (1886) of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. At the age of 20, Ilmari lost his father in a boating accident. Honouring Julius through their work was a task for both of his sons.

Initially Ilmari Krohn regarded composition as his true calling, but he also worked as a collector, researcher and eager proponent of Finnish spiritual folk tunes. In 1898 new members were elected to a chorale committee assigned to select such melodies for the new hymnal. This was the chance of a lifetime for Krohn to carry on the work of his father in the church, and to work for the aforementioned values. However, he lost the election by a narrow margin. One outcome of this setback was a private project. *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä* was the first part of an intended multi-volume chorale book in which Krohn displayed his preferences concerning folk melodies and style of accompaniment. Krohn was bolder in his work than the aforementioned committee for two reasons: he worked independently and acquired international contacts as a researcher. His trip through Denmark and Germany to the musicological congress in Paris in 1900 was the turning point: it spurred him to start examining music from Antiquity and Gregorian chant, which inspired him to pursue unison vocal music as a form of art.

Inspired by the German theologian Georg Rietschel, Krohn advocated an independent and 'truly accompanying' accompaniment to provide a calm background for the singing, which in his view would enable the

---

melody to flow in a Lied-like manner. Many features of the harmonium part differ from those of contemporary Finnish chorale books: the number of voices varies constantly, the accompaniment is rhythmically independent from the melody, and chromaticism and experimental harmonies are used somewhat boldly. In Krohn's view, leading the congregation was a task for a choir, not for the accompanist.

By 1903 Krohn had become chair of a new official chorale committee, and he remained an influential figure in the field of congregational hymn accompaniment for decades, although his later output seems to be more traditional than *Adventti- ja Joulu-virsiä* in some of the aforementioned aspects. In 1947 Krohn noted that a rhythmically independent accompaniment would be ideal but unrealistic at that time. However, it can be argued that those same features were developed even further in his *Psalttari* (1946–1950), a collection of 150 accompanied psalms, which he also intended to be sung by the congregation.

Keywords: Ilmari Krohn, chorale books, hymnals, hymn accompaniment, Finland

---

Abstract  
Jan Lehtola

### Oskar Merikanto As a Developer of Liturgical Organ Music

This article has two aims. First, it introduces foreign readers to an important figure in Finnish musical life at the beginning of the twentieth century – Oskar Merikanto – who laid the foundations for future organ culture in Finland. The second aim is to show how Merikanto developed liturgical music from the perspective of organ music. In order to demonstrate how Merikanto wanted his music to touch his listeners emotionally, some of his ideas about performance are introduced and compared with the writings of the German theorist Hugo Riemann. In addition, two collections by Merikanto are discussed: *100 koraali-alkusoittoa* (100 Chorale Preludes), op. 59 and *Lähtökappaleita uruille: Kolme lähtökappaleita juhlatilaisuuksia varten* (Three Postludes for Celebration), op. 88. Both were composed mainly for worship use. Looking at Merikanto's organ compositions, such as the '100 Chorale Preludes', op. 59, which for the most part are not related to any individual chorale but designed merely to introduce their key and atmosphere, it becomes evident that he intended his music to have an effect on his listeners' feelings. Liturgical organ-playing was no longer just a question of hitting the right notes in the right places, but also of having an expressive influence on emotions. Merikanto's opus 88 has a different goal; it shows us a real virtuoso. Merikanto set high goals for organists and how they should use the organ in a Mass. His virtuosic postludes are like concert etudes. As a developer of Finnish liturgical organ music, Merikanto not only composed a new kind of music; he introduced a new performance practice he had learnt from Riemann's books. Contemporary practice demanded that performance be expressive. Phrasing emotional music using many different means created a sound world such as had never been heard before and became a unique resource for liturgical music.

Keywords: Oskar Merikanto, organ music, organ playing, Finland, twentieth century

---

---

Abstract

Benedikt Leßmann

**‘All These Rhythms Are in Nature’: ‘Free’ Rhythm in Plainchant Accompaniment in France around 1900**

Plainchant accompaniment was a widely discussed topic in French musical discourse from the middle of the nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth century. The article discusses important steps of this debate and possible impacts outside the field of liturgical music. At a time of robust attempts to restore Gregorian chant within the French Roman Catholic liturgy, different approaches to the harmonization and rhythmisation of chant were suggested, and of these, the treatise of Louis Niedermeyer and Joseph d’Ortigue is one of the best-known, a strictly diatonic procedure that uses only the notes of the respective mode. After this attentiveness to the harmonic design of plainchant settings, somewhat comparable attention was given to rhythm near the end of the nineteenth century. While Niedermeyer and d’Ortigue had assigned one chord to each note, authors such as Antonin Lhoumeau now proposed rhythmically more flexible styles of accompaniment. This happened against the backdrop of a fierce debate about the place of Gregorian rhythm in chant performance and philology. Modality and free rhythm were also used outside of accompaniment, such as in liturgical organ pieces following the French *verset* tradition by Alexandre Guilmant and Eugène Gigout in particular. Furthermore, the notions of Gregorian harmony and rhythm that were established in this way may have also influenced non-sacred music: the beginning of Déodat de Séverac’s piano cycle *Le Chant de la terre* (1900), which makes extensive use of modal harmonies and starts with a passage without barlines, may serve to highlight the relevance of the debate about accompaniment for French music in general.

Keywords: plainchant accompaniment, Gregorian chant, organ, France, nineteenth century, Déodat de Séverac

---

---

Abstract

Kurt Lueders

**Revisiting Parisian Organ Culture  
from the Long Nineteenth Century: Models for  
Renewal in a Challenging Context for Religion?**

France in the course of the long nineteenth century underwent dramatic political and cultural changes echoed indirectly in liturgy and church music. The ascendancy of the piano with its expressive capacities and the concurrent development of the symphony orchestra led to hearty debate in the church music field between proponents of a liturgical music set apart from all worldly gesture (plainchant, Palestrinian polyphony) and those who on the contrary perceived human emotional expression as a strength made available by the Romantic movement. Awareness of foreign culture enhanced by improved means of communication gave rise to a sense of inferiority among French organists in relation to the ‘profundity’ of German music since the time of J. S. Bach. By the mid-nineteenth century the ‘serious’ style of playing and composing, as practised and taught by Lemmens, began to challenge the widespread opera- and operetta-inspired pianistic language of liturgical organ music. The irony of the ‘profane’ liturgical pieces of Lefébure-Wely versus the ‘sacred’ tone of the non-liturgical organ music of César Franck was not lost on contemporary critics. In the latter half of the century the reforms of Gregorian chant – resulting in a quicker and lighter performance style – had a profound influence on organ music as well, and the harmonies of liturgical organ pieces were increasingly based on the church modes. Can the nineteenth century provide us with models for dealing with analogous challenges confronting us in our own time? These include secularization and new modes of communication that can call into question the sacred and our contemporaries’ expression thereof. In particular, how can music offer aid in approaching the virtual – or even fake – realities that surround us today?

Keywords: organ music, liturgical music, Roman Catholic Church, France, nineteenth century

---

---

Abstract

Krzysztof Lukas

**Liturgical and Liturgically-Inspired Polish Organ Music  
in the Long Nineteenth Century**

This article presents the most important nineteenth-century Polish composers of liturgical and liturgically-inspired organ music and describes the development of church music in Poland within the context of the difficult political situation between 1795 and 1918. Poland was partitioned by Prussia, Austria and Russia, and the general level of church music was described as low by contemporary witnesses. However, several leading organists and composers made efforts to improve the education of church musicians and created a native repertoire of liturgical organ music. Connections to Germany were important on both the Lutheran and Roman Catholic sides. One of the leading organists and organ composers was the German-born Karol August Freyer (1801–1883), the founder of a music conservatory in Warsaw. Although Freyer was organist at the Lutheran St Trinity Church in Warsaw, he was also a teacher of Catholic organists and helped improve the level of church and organ music in Poland. One of his pupils was Stanisław Moniuszko (1819–1872), a composer of Polish national operas, a church organist and author of several choral preludes and choral variations on Polish hymn tunes.

The second half of the nineteenth century can be described as a renaissance of organ music in Poland. This revitalisation was connected to the work of organists educated by the Warsaw Conservatory and the Cracow Conservatory: e.g. Stefan Surzyński, Mieczysław Surzyński, Józef Surzyński, Gustaw Roguski and Władysław Żeleński. The German *Allgemeiner Cäcilienverein*, founded in 1868 in Bamberg, had a great impact on Catholic church music in Poland. Accordingly, Cecilian ideals were applied to Polish liturgical organ music of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Even prominent composers such as Mieczysław Surzyński, an award-winning Polish organ virtuoso, composed liturgical organ pieces that corresponded to Cecilian ideals. Mieczysław Surzyński's compositions include chorale preludes and variations on

---

chorale themes. Even more important composers in the Cecilian style were two of his older brothers: Józef Surzyński (1851–1919) and Stefan Surzyński (1855–1919). Feliks Nowowiejski (1877–1946), author of nine organ symphonies, also composed easy and short pieces for liturgical use.

Polish hymns and organ pieces based upon them contributed to shaping and preserving a Polish cultural identity during the difficult time of partition. In times when it was forbidden to speak Polish, churches offered the opportunity to sing Polish hymns. Listening to organ pieces based on them during divine services reminded the people of their Polish texts.

Keywords: organ music, liturgical music, Poland, nineteenth century

---

Abstract

Jonas Lundblad

**Musical Dramaturgy and Liturgical  
Concomitance: Liszt's Two Organ Masses**

This article analyses two late cycles of organ music by Franz Liszt, *Missa pro Organo* (1879, S 264) and *Requiem* (1883, S 266), both of which were intended exclusively for the Roman Catholic liturgy, more specifically the spoken or Low Mass, and were composed in an introverted, austere and, at least at first glance, simple style. Liszt here eschews the outward drama and technical challenges of his previous organ music as well as much of the expressiveness of his vocal church music. Both works are based on Mass compositions for male choir and organ, but their substantial differences in relation to the original vocal works, while related to the different liturgical contexts of the respective compositions – the sung and the spoken Mass, respectively – are also the fruit of a new conception of the function of (organ) music in the liturgy. Liszt here moves beyond the idea of purely devotional music (intended to express or enhance [the congregation's] religious feelings), but does not wholly subscribe to the total subservience of music to the proclamation of the kerygma, which in the Cecilian movement led to the cultivation of an archaic musical style. Instead, in these works Liszt intends to support and express the manifold living interaction between the individual believers and the 'objective' drama unfolding in the liturgy. He does this through an innovative approach to harmony which avoids traditional cadential resolutions in favour of enharmonic or semitone-based connections and destabilizes the keys of individual movements, subordinating them to the tonality of the cycle as a whole.

Keywords: Franz Liszt, music analysis, liturgical music, organ music, Roman Catholic Church

## Abstract

Peter Peitsalo

**The Organ Music of Lauri Hämäläinen in the Light of Liturgical Organ-Playing in Nineteenth-Century Finland**

The Finnish organist and composer Lauri Hämäläinen (1832–1888) established a native tradition of organ music in print with his collections *Orgel-Musik för Kyrkan I-II* (Organ Music for the Church, 1869 and 1870) and *Helmiwyö* (A Chain of Pearls, 1878). This happened at a time characterized by an increasing use of the organ in Finnish Lutheran worship. Hämäläinen, a student of Gustaf Mankell in Stockholm, contributed to the main types of organ music for contemporary Lutheran liturgy: preludes, four-part chorale harmonizations, chorale endings, and slightly longer free pieces, suitable as postludes. Hämäläinen's chorale preludes illustrate the dualism between a free and a strict type. This dualism was described in the nineteenth century by e.g. Abraham Mankell and Johann Georg Herzog. Whereas the free chorale prelude was selected or improvised by the organist on the basis of the spirit of the poem, i.e. the hymn text, the strict prelude introduced the hymn tune as a theme. Hämäläinen's pieces show knowledge of German organ music from the Biedermeier era, a repertoire which was also available in Finland. Based on a comparison with contemporary Finnish chorale books, the four-part chorales in *Helmiwyö* are interpreted by the author as a conciliatory contribution to the contemporaneous discussion of the principles of hymn revision.

Keywords: Lauri Hämäläinen, organ music, liturgical music, Finland, nineteenth century

## Contributors

- Michael Heinemann DPhil habil, professor of historical musicology, Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber, Dresden
- Maria Helfgott DPhil, MA, senior scientist, University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna
- Sverker Jullander DPhil, professor and chair of musical performance, Luleå University of Technology
- Samuli Korkalainen MMus, MTh, doctoral student, Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
- Markus Kuikka DMus, doctoral study coordinator, deputy head of DocMus Doctoral School, Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
- Martti Laitinen DMus, MA, church musician, Kokkola Swedish Parish
- Jan Lehtola DMus, lecturer in organ music, Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
- Benedikt Leßmann DPhil, assistant for historical musicology, University of Vienna
- Kurt Lueders Dr, organist at Eglise Protestante Unie du Saint-Esprit, Paris

- Krzysztof Lukas      Dr, adjunct professor of organ, Academy of Music in Katowice, organist at Lutherkirche, Stuttgart
- Jonas Lundblad      MA, MFA, MTh, researcher, Uppsala University
- Peter Peitsalo      DMus, lecturer in organ music, Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

# Index of Persons

- Achté, Lorenz Nikolai 97, 250
- Åkerman, Per Larsson 249, 250
- Albrechtsberger, Johann Georg 123
- Alexander I, Emperor of Russia 89
- Alho, Kyösti 284
- Andersson, Gustaf 248, 251
- Armbrust, Carl 282, 285–287, 291
- Auber, Daniel-François-Esprit 185
- Bach, August Wilhelm 57
- Bach, Johann Sebastian 9, 10, 21, 22, 25, 27, 29, 33, 40, 43, 44, 46–49, 51–54, 57, 59, 63–66, 71, 72, 74, 77, 81, 84, 101, 126, 186, 193, 229, 247, 249, 252, 254, 261–263, 267, 272, 277, 281, 284, 302, 310
- Bauer, Alois 114, 115
- Baur, Ernst Friedrich Albert 55
- Baussnern, Waldemar von 154
- Becker, Carl Ferdinand 255
- Beethoven, Ludwig van 21, 22, 48
- Benoist, François 24, 25, 40
- Berlioz, Hector 42, 79, 286
- Blom, Carl Frans 92, 93
- Bodenschatz, Salomo Heinrich 76
- Boëllmann, Léon 35, 42
- Boëly, Alexandre-Pierre-François 20, 24, 25, 34, 40
- Bossi, Marco Enrico 282–284, 289, 290
- Brahms, Johannes 27, 81, 117
- Broms, Bror Berndt 92
- Brosig, Moritz 76, 255
- Bruckner, Anton 49
- Brune, Emile 141
- Buchholz, Carl August 45

- Busch, Hermann J. 182, 190
- Byström, Oscar 209, 210
- Cardine, Eugène 137, 138
- Cavaillé-Coll, Aristide 20, 23, 25, 40
- Chauvet, Charles-Alexis 20, 40
- Chopin, Fryderyk 70, 72, 73, 75, 76
- Chrysander, Friedrich 160
- Chybiński, Adolf 78
- Colliander, Otto Immanuel 12, 96, 103, 158–160, 165, 166, 173, 251, 265, 278
- Concone, Giuseppe 98
- Cordes, Johannes 60, 61
- Couperin, François ('Le grand') 29
- Couturier, Nicolas (MM) 29
- Crusell, Bernhard Henrik 258–260
- Dahlhaus, Carl 193, 260
- Danjou, Félix 40, 133
- Debussy, Claude 144–1461
- Diabelli, Anton 71
- Dobrzyński, Ignacy 71
- Dröbs, Johann Andreas 46
- Du Mont, Henri 215
- Dupanloup, Félix 37
- Dupré, Marcel 143
- Dvořák, Antonín 127
- Ehrström, Fredrik August 93
- Elsner, Józef Ksawery 70, 72
- Emmanuel, Maurice 143
- Engman, Max 248
- Erdman, Jerzy 81
- Est, L. B., *see* Stocker, Stefan
- Fährmann, Hans 283
- Faltin, Richard 12, 95, 96, 98, 100, 101, 103, 159, 165, 166, 249, 251, 253, 254, 256, 265, 270, 271, 278, 280
- Fauré, Gabriel 35, 42, 133
- Fétis, François-Joseph 20, 41, 133, 135

Fischer, Michael Gotthard 255  
Fleischer, Oskar 160  
Flügel, Gustav 47, 56  
Forsman, Folke 247, 257  
Franck, César 9, 23, 27, 32, 35, 40, 76, 142, 143, 295, 310  
Frescobaldi, Girolamo 27  
Freyer, Karol August 70–75, 79, 311  
Frotscher, Gotthold 78  
Führer, Robert 116  
Funtek, Leo 154  
Fux, Johann Joseph 123  
Gastoué, Amédée 144–145  
Gauss, Otto 78, 79  
Geißler, K. B. 72  
Geitlin, Johan Gabriel 158  
Gevaert, François-August 139, 140  
Gigout, Eugène 26, 35, 36, 42, 134, 136, 143, 309  
Gille, Carl 190  
Glazunov, Alexander 82  
Glinka, Mikhail 72  
Gluck, Christoph Willibald Ritter von 23  
Goller, Vinzenz 114, 127  
Göllerich, August 190  
Gołos, Jerzy 79  
Gontier, Augustin 137  
Granlund, John 284  
Graun, Carl Heinrich 255  
Grieg, Edvard 81  
Griepenkerl, Friedrich Conrad 57, 72  
Guéranger, Prosper 37, 38, 39, 137  
Guilmant, Alexandre 12, 32, 35, 40, 41, 136, 143, 144, 146, 283, 284, 309  
Haberl, Franz Xaver 140  
Habert, Johannes Evangelist 112, 120, 124  
Hæffner, Johann Christian Friedrich 212, 248, 251, 252, 254  
Hagfors, Erik 95

- Hagfors, Erik August 93, 96, 158, 159, 251, 270, 271, 272, 278
- Hägg, Gustaf 283
- Hallberg, Bengt Wilhelm 252
- Haller, Michael 215
- Hämäläinen, Lauri 14, 15, 95, 100, 158, 245–251, 253–273, 278, 280, 314
- Hämäläinen, Väinö 246
- Handel, George Frideric 21, 22, 52–54, 255
- Händel, Georg Friedrich, *see* Handel, George Frideric
- Haydn, Johann Michael 123
- Haydn, Joseph 21, 25, 62, 75, 109, 112, 119, 255
- Hébert Desrocquettes, Jean 141, 142
- Hedberg, Karl Fredrik 257
- Heinemann, Michael 9, 43, 302, 315
- Helfgott, Maria 11, 109, 303, 315
- Hemminki of Masku 266
- Henrici, Hemmingius, *see* Hemminki of Masku
- Herold, Max 160
- Herzog, Johann Georg 14, 255, 256, 314
- Hesse, Adolph Friedrich 33, 47, 49, 64, 72, 74, 76, 249, 255, 263, 264, 272
- Hildebrandt, Zacharias 52
- Hobsbawm, Eric 7
- Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus 56, 183, 286
- Homeyer, Paul 283, 284
- Houdard, Georges 139
- Hummel, Johann Nepomuk 21, 22
- Hus, Jan 212
- Huysmans, Joris-Karl 27, 147
- Hylander, Johan August Gottlieb 252, 255
- Indy, Vincent d' 145, 146
- Jaillet, Jean-Baptiste 135
- Jalkanen, Kaarlo 90, 92
- Janáček, Leoš 189
- Jarecki, H. 84
- Järvinen, Ulrik 254
- Järviö, Heinrich 284

Jeannin, Jules 139  
Jönson, composer 252  
Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor 11, 110, 111, 303  
Jullander, Sverker 14, 16, 304, 315  
Jurwa, Elis 284  
Kaarne, Arvo 284  
Kallas, Aino (née Krohn) 154  
Kauppala, Anne 15  
Kegel, Carl Christian 252  
Kefler, Friedrich 59  
Kirsch, Winfried 183  
Kittel, Johann Christian 50–52, 70–71  
Klemetti, Armi (née Hämäläinen) 246  
Klemetti, Heikki 173, 246, 247, 255, 257, 280, 285  
Klonowski, Teofil 75–77, 79, 86  
Knecht, Justin Heinrich 51–53, 252  
Korkalainen, Samuli 11, 89, 305, 315  
Körner, Gotthilf Wilhelm 57, 252  
Kravchun, Pavel 101  
Krejčí, Josef 79, 80  
Krenn, Franz 119  
Krogulski, Józef 71  
Krohn, Aune 154  
Krohn, Ilmari 12, 13, 101, 153–161, 163–173, 254, 266, 280, 285, 306, 307  
Krohn, Julius 154, 155, 157, 158, 266, 306  
Krohn, Julius Bernt 155  
Krohn, Kaarle 154–156  
Kühmstedt, Friedrich 55, 263  
Kuikka, Markus 16, 315  
Kunelius, Anton 97  
Kuosma, Venni 284  
Kurpiński, Karol 70, 79  
Kuusi, Tuire 15  
Ladegast, Friedrich 45  
Lagi, Rudolf 93–96, 157, 158, 249, 251, 255, 270, 271, 278

- Laitinen, Martti 12, 153, 306, 315
- Laloy, Louis 145
- Lambillotte, Louis 133
- Lammenais, Félicité (de) 37
- Lasceux, Guillaume 21
- Lasso, Orlando di 23
- Laub, Thomas 163
- Laurent, Eric 293
- Lefébure-Wely, Louis-James-Alfred 9, 26, 29–34, 41, 310
- Lehtola, Jan 15, 279, 285, 308, 315
- Lemmens, Jaak Nicolaus (Nicolas-Jacques) 9, 20, 25, 33, 41, 135, 143, 249, 310
- Leo XIII, pope 83
- Lepage, L. (Abbé) 141
- Leßmann, Benedikt 12, 133, 134, 309, 315
- Lhoumeau, Antonin 12, 139–141, 309
- Ligeti, György 25
- Liliencron, Rochus von 160
- Lindberg, Carl Ludvig 252
- Lindgren, Johan 209
- Liszt, Franz 13, 47, 48, 62, 114, 133, 181–205, 221, 286, 292, 313
- Łobos, Ignacy 77
- Lohi, Matti 249
- Lönngren, Knut 252
- Lönnrot, Elias 157
- Loret, Clément 34, 41
- Lossius, Lucas 213
- Lucander, Gustaf 93
- Lueders, Kurt 9, 19, 310, 315
- Lukas, Krzysztof 10, 69, 311, 316
- Lundblad, Jonas 13, 181, 313, 316
- Lussmann, Adolf 293
- Magnard, Albéric 147
- Majkowski, Hilary 81
- Makowski, H. 84
- Malling, Otto 283

- Malmberg, Wilhelm 158
- Malmivaara, Wilhelm, *see* Malmberg, Wilhelm
- Mankell, Abraham 14, 253–256, 269, 314
- Mankell, Gustaf 14, 248, 258, 269, 272, 314
- Mann, Thomas 66
- Mantere, Markus 154
- Marchesi, Salvatore 98
- Marell, Abraham 93
- Mårtenson, Elis 262, 284
- Melanchton, Philipp 213
- Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix 10, 23, 46, 55, 56, 72–75, 249, 261, 272, 281, 302
- Merikanto, Aarre 280
- Merikanto, Liisa 283
- Merikanto, Oskar 15, 95, 100, 250, 254, 257, 265, 273, 279–299, 308
- Merkel, Gustav 47, 55, 76, 282
- Merrick, Paul 195
- Messenger, André 42
- Messiaen, Olivier 35
- Miettinen, Henrik 284
- Miné, Adolphe 21, 22
- Mocquereau, André 12, 138–140, 142, 146
- Möller, Carl Theodor 93
- Moniuszko, Stanisław 70, 72, 75, 76, 79, 311
- Morén, John 209
- Moritz, Carl Philipp 49
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus 21, 22, 27, 62, 63, 75, 109, 112, 119
- Müller, Robert, Jr 73
- Natorp, Bernhard Christoph Ludwig 58
- Neukomm, Sigismund Ritter von 121, 122
- Nicholls, Richard 15
- Nicolai, Philipp 165, 166, 168
- Niedermeyer, Louis 35, 41, 42, 133–136, 142, 143, 309
- Nordlund, Anders (Antti) 93, 95, 96, 248, 251, 270, 271, 278
- Nordlundi, Antti, *see* Nordlund, Anders
- Norén, Richard 163

Norlind, Tobias 160  
Nowialis, Józef 84  
Nowowiejski, Feliks 81, 84, 85, 87, 312  
Nyberg, Mikael 159, 173  
Ojanperä, Abraham 281  
Olsson, Otto 14, 209–242, 304  
Ortigue, Joseph-Louis d' 33, 38, 42, 133–136, 142, 186, 309  
Pacius, Fredrik 93  
Pahlman, Oscar 95, 97, 100, 255  
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da 12, 23, 54, 112, 114, 124, 126, 186, 303  
Papperitz, Robert 154, 284  
Paul, Hermann 262  
Peitsalo, Peter 14, 16, 314, 316  
Pelto, Pentti 260  
Pius X, pope 85  
Pohjanmies, Juhani 284  
Porthan, Henrik Gabriel 258  
Pothier, Joseph 137–139, 215  
Potier, Francis 140, 142  
Potiron, Henri 141  
Putro, Mooses 102  
Raasted, Niels Otto 217  
Rachmaninov, Sergei 82  
Ramin, Günther 284  
Raski, Jaakko 102  
Raszek, Waclaw 70  
Raussi, Paavo 284  
Rautavaara, Eino 281  
Reber, Napoléon-Henri 79  
Reger, Max 43, 56, 65, 280, 292, 295, 302  
Reicha, Antonín 48  
Reinhard, August 263  
Réty, Hippolyte 28, 29  
Reubke, Julius 47, 54, 186  
Rheinberger, Josef Gabriel 114, 122, 123, 126

- Riemann, Hugo 15, 81, 160, 280–282, 284–291, 299, 308
- Rietschel, Georg 13, 160, 306
- Rinck, Johann Christian Heinrich 43, 46, 59, 65, 74, 76, 120, 121, 252, 255, 263, 267–269, 272, 302
- Ritter, August Gottfried 46, 59, 74, 101
- Roguski, Gustaw 78, 79, 311
- Rossini, Gioachino 27, 42, 185
- Runeberg, Johan Ludvig 157
- Rychling, Wincenty 80
- Saint-Saëns, Camille 40, 182
- Sandström, Johan Emil 97
- Satie, Erik 133
- Sauer, Wilhelm 96
- Saukkonen, Oiva 284
- Schicht, Johann Gottfried 255
- Schneider, Friedrich 72
- Schneider, Johann Gottlob 23, 46, 64
- Schreck, Gustav 154
- Schumann, Robert 47, 286
- Schwarz, Peter 193
- Schweinfleisch, Friedrich 73
- Schybergson, Gerda 284
- Scriabin, Alexander 81, 82
- Sechter, Simon 117, 123
- Seiffert, Max 160
- Seppänen, Jukka 153
- Setälä, Helmi (née Krohn) 154
- Séverac, Déodat de 12, 146–148, 309
- Seydler, Ludwig Carl 117, 118
- Sibelius, Jean 158, 292
- Silbermann, Gottfried 45, 52
- Sivori, Emil 97, 100
- Sjöblom, Karl 95, 284
- Sjöstrand, Carl Eneas 258
- Söderblom, Nathan 217, 238
- Spohr, Louis 73

Springert, Hans Petter 255  
Stäblein, Bruno 138, 140  
Stehle, Gustav Eduard 47  
Stemler, Adolf 84  
Stenbäck, Lars 157  
Stocker, Stefan 120  
Strand, Per Zacharias 248  
Straube, Karl 283, 284  
Stravinsky, Igor 27  
Strube, C. H. 252  
Sunderman, Lynne 15  
Sundqvist, Simon 93  
Surzyński, brothers 80, 87  
Surzyński, Franciszek 81  
Surzyński, Józef 81, 83, 84, 311  
Surzyński, Mieczysław 80–83, 311, 312  
Surzyński, Piotr 81  
Surzyński, Stefan 78, 82, 83, 84, 311, 312  
Taubert, Ernest Edward 84  
Thiele, Ludwig (Louis) 46  
Thulé, Anders 95, 251, 266  
Thulé, Bror Axel 95, 99, 266  
Topelius, Zacharias 157, 281  
Töpfer, Johann Gottlob 55, 59, 74  
Tournemire, Charles 35  
Trost, Tobias Heinrich Gottfried 45  
Tulenheimo, Martti 96  
Uddén, Wilhelm 252  
Umbreit, Carl Gottlieb 46  
Urponen, Ville 247, 257  
Van Damme, Pierre-Jean 140  
Van Wye, Benjamin 143  
Viadana, Lodovico Grossi da 125  
Vierling, Johann Gottfried 255  
Vierne, Louis 283, 284

- Vogler, Georg Joseph (Abbé) 45, 52, 53, 64, 73, 252
- Voigtmann, Julius 186–188, 205
- Volckmar, Wilhelm 76, 255
- Vulpus, Melchior 296
- Wackenroder, Wilhelm Heinrich 285, 286
- Wagner, Joachim 52
- Wagner, Richard 183, 187, 286
- Walcha, Helmuth 293, 301
- Walcker, Eberhard Friedrich 96
- Walczyński, Franciszek 78, 79
- Walther, Johann Gottfried 52
- Wangermée, Robert 29
- Wasenius, Carl Gustaf 97
- Weber, Carl Maria von 53, 74
- Wender, Johann Friedrich 44
- Werner, Johann Gottlob 252
- Widor, Charles-Marie 34, 41, 142, 215, 223, 226, 238, 283, 284
- Więckowski, A. 81
- Witt, Franz Xaver 83, 112, 125, 140, 183
- Wolff, Christoph 267
- Wolfrum, Philipp 55
- Zachariassen, Jens Alexander 95, 99, 251
- Żeleński, Władysław 79, 80, 86, 311
- Zimmer, Friedrich 253
- Zöllner, Carl Heinrich 252



The long nineteenth century was an era of transition, paradoxes and conflict in the area of church music. A time of continuing decline in the position of the church and the organ in musical life, it also saw the birth of several reform movements relating to liturgy, organ and church music – movements that not only shaped many of the developments in the following century but have also had significant repercussions on present-day practices. Far from being neglected, the use of the organ in the liturgy received a great deal of attention and was intensely debated in nineteenth-century publications.

The essays in this book deal with various forms of liturgical organ music and liturgical organ-playing in the long nineteenth century: solo repertoires, accompaniment of congregational singing, plainchant and other liturgical vocal music, as well as non-liturgical organ music echoing liturgical practices. Important thematic strands in the volume include: (1) Historical preconditions: the forms and practices of organ music in relation to the various kinds of liturgical singing, influential liturgical and aesthetic ideals, as well as theological, philosophical, ideological and social contexts; (2) Border-crossing: how liturgical-musical practices and repertoires transcended confessional, regional and national boundaries. Special attention has been given to the central, northern and eastern regions of Europe.

**SIBELIUS  
ACADEMY****X UNIARTS HELSINKI**ISBN 978-952-329-091-4  
ISSN 2341-8257